

Music in the San Juan, Puerto Rico, Cathedral to 1900



LOST DOCUMENTATION

The first archivist to extract notices from the now vanished 22 books of San Juan cathedral *actas capitulares* covering the years 1652–1870 was the Capuchin Fray Antonio de Castillo. Since these same 22 books took wing between 1915 and 1940, the notices that he extracted concerning music rank as primary sources.

Born at Castillo in Santander province, Spain, October 10, 1873, this archivist became a priest in 1897 and during the next decade published historical essays in *Mensajero Seráfico* of Madrid, *Las Florecillas* of Valencia, and *El Pan de los Pobres* of Bilbao. After leading various pilgrimages to Lourdes, Rome, Assisi, and Padua, he emigrated to Puerto Rico at the end of 1909 and during the next quadrennium helped edit *La Verdad*.¹ In 1928 Saint Bonaventure University at Allegany, New York, awarded him a D.Litt. for his dissertation published the next year at San Juan with the title *La Luisiana Española y el Padre Sedella*. In 1937 Catholic University at Washington, D.C., published his valuable Ph.D. dissertation *Historia de la Educación en Puerto Rico (1512–1826) (Studies in American Church History, XXVII)*. By that time he was incardinated in Santo Domingo archdiocese as Antonio Cuesta Mendoza and no longer a Capuchin.

Eleven years later when he published volume 1 of what was to have been a two-volume *Historia Eclesiástica del Puerto Rico Colonial (1508–1700)* (Ciudad Trujillo [Santo Domingo]: Imprenta “Arte y Cine,” 1948), the entire series of 22 books of capitular acts from which he had extracted summaries for publication in *La Verdad*, 1913–1914, were now “gone with the wind.” At pages 169–170 and 338 of his volume 1 he bewailed the purloining of these 22 books, which on the evidence of his mere summaries contained more data for Puerto Rican cultural history than any other documents. No volume 2 followed because he died March 30, 1949, on Pinos island, Cuba, while serving as a hospital chaplain.² The next year there appeared in the *Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, nos. 7, 8, 10, and 11 (June, July, September, October, 1950), edited by G. E. Morales Mendoza, a reprint of the “Índice Razonado de las Actas Capitulares de la Catedral de San Juan de Puerto

¹*La Verdad* ran from July 29, 1905, to December 15, 1929 (año XXIV, núm. 23) according to Antonio S. Pedreira, *Bibliografía puertorriqueña (1493–1930)* (Madrid: Casa Editorial Hernando, 1932), p. 356. See also Antonio Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia de la Educación en Puerto Rico (1512–1826)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1937), p. xxvi (biographical details concerning Cuesta Mendoza at p. 191).

²According to Adolfo de Hostos, *Tesoro de datos históricos* (San Juan: Imprenta del Gobierno de Puerto Rico, 1949), II, 297, who quotes the obituary “Padre Cuesta ha fallecido en la Habana, marzo 30, 1949” from *El Mundo*, no. 13634, p. 9, he died at Havana. G. E. Morales Muñoz, founder-director of the *Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, II/7 (June, 1950), 207, said that he died on Pinos island where he was a hospital chaplain.

Rico"³ that Cuesta Mendoza using the name of Fray Antonio de Castillo had published in *La Verdad* beginning with Año N.º 17, April 26, 1913.

Shortly after *La Verdad* had in 1913-1914 encapsulated *inter alia* the musical data in San Juan cathedral capitular acts. Fernando Callejo Ferrer finished his 316-page *Música y Músicos Portorriqueños* (San Juan: Tipografía Cantero Fernández & Co., 1915). Because of various additional data on colonial organists and other cathedral musicians recorded by Callejo Ferrer, he or his deputy Hormachea must personally have searched the same set of 22 books of *actas capitulares*. Much less the scholar, Callejo Ferrer omitted however page- and volume-number. He also erred when he pretended that the first book of capitular acts began with the session of January 9, 1660 (unless of course the leaves for 1652 through 1659 seen by Fray Antonio de Castillo = Antonio Cuesta Mendoza had been torn out in the interim).

What follows below—a narrative history of music in San Juan Cathedral to 1900—ineluctably depends on the cathedral act summaries published in Cuesta Mendoza's twice-printed "Índice Razonado," eked out by the few additional data ministered by Callejo Ferrer, Fray Pedro Nolasco Pérez, and other secondary authorities.

Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries

The first bishop of Puerto Rico, Alonso Manso (1470-1539), brought a rich musical background to the see that he entered in June 1513. Himself a Salamanca university graduate, he served for two years before the premature death of the Spanish royal heir-apparent Prince Don Juan October 4, 1497, as *Sacristán Mayor* of the prince's *capilla*.⁴ Juan de Anchieta, one of the chief composers of the epoch was *maestro de capilla*.⁵ Manso was still further habituated to the best music of the epoch between 1497 and 1512.⁶ He signed his plan for the Cathedral of San Juan September 26, 1512. In his plan he named the *chantre* = precentor to be the third ranking cathedral dignitary (after dean and archdeacon). The other musician named in Manso's plan dated September 26, 1512, was an organist "to play on feast days."⁷ According to plan, the chantre shall "sing at the choirbook stand, teach singing to other cathedral ministers, and direct and correct everything musical."⁸ Later on in colonial history the chantre delegated his professional

³Cuesta Mendoza's summaries were reprinted in the June, July, September, and October 1950 issues of *Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña* according to this scheme: June, 1652-1700 (18th-century copy of the damaged original); July, 1700-1774 (skips from 1700 to 1771), 1774-1784, 1784-1790, 1790-1794, 1794-1797, 1798-1801, 1801-1808, 1808-1812, 1813-1815; September, 1815-1817, 1817-1821, 1822-1823, 1823-1825, 1825-1830, 1830-1844, 1845-1848, 1849-1851; October, 1852-1857, 1857-1859, 1860-1865, 1865-1870.

⁴Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Libro de la Cámara Real del Príncipe Don Juan* (Madrid: Viuda é Hijos de Galiano, 1870 [Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, VII]), p. 73: "Fue sacristan mayor del Príncipe, mi señor, el doctor Alonso Manso, que poco tempo há murió obispo dela ysla de sanct Johan en las Indias, con loable fama."

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁶Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica del Puerto Rico Colonial* (Ciudad Trujillo [Santo Domingo], Imprenta "Arte y Cine," 1948), I, 26.

⁷Alejandro Tapia y Rivera, *Biblioteca histórica de Puerto-Rico que contiene varios documentos de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII y XVIII* (San Juan: Instituto de Literatura Puertorriqueña, 1945 [segunda edición]), p. 378.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 377: "Al Chantre pertenece cantar en el facistol, y enseñar a cantar a los serviciales de la Iglesia, y en el coro, ordenar, corregir, y enmendar las cosas que pertenecen al canto . . . a la cual

musical responsibilities to paid subalterno. Not so at the outset of New World annals. To be recommended in 1529 for Chantre of an island cathedral meant that he himself had to be "a good singer and skilled in all musical matters."⁹ At Manso's death the San Juan chantre Juan de Oca headed the signatories of the letter of October 12, 1539, to Charles V.

Until 1521 a small temporary building at Caparra substituted for a cathedral. The hurricane of October 4, 1526, destroyed the first cathedral built on its present location.¹⁰ At the close of 1528, the rebuilt thatch-covered wooden structure could hold 2000 worshippers. Or at least so implied the bishop of Santo Domingo Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal in a letter to Charles V dated March 1, 1529, saying that during his 13 days in San Juan en route to Santo Domingo he saw the roofing finished of a cathedral capable of seating 200 more persons than there were then residents of San Juan.¹¹ In 1540 while San Juan Cathedral still remained suffragan to Seville the cornerstone of a new permanent structure was laid. However, building funds were inadequate. Even after San Juan became suffragan to Santo Domingo in 1546 funds trickled and Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas had to leave a half-finished stone structure when he relinquished the see in 1567. The Dominican Diego de Salamanca, ruler of the see from 1577 to 1587, had better success. During his decade outside approaches were handsomely completed and the interior furnishings included for the first time a notable organ.¹²

On June 18, 1598, the English under George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605), entered San Juan and on July 7 the island's Spanish officialdom escaped to Cartagena de Indias. However, after 155 days of English occupation the invaders were so decimated by disease that they themselves sailed away November 23 carrying with them among other booty the San Juan cathedral organs and bells.¹³ Clifford's chaplain, John Layfield—a King James Bible reviser (Genesis to II Kings) who died November 6, 1617—wrote an account of the voyage published in *Pvrchas his pilgrimes . . . The Fourth Part* (London: William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), with the title "A large Relation of the Porto Ricco Voyage; written, as is reported, by that learned man and reuerend Diuine, Doctor Layfield, his Lordships Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition." At page 1164 of *The Fourth Part* Layfield thus described the San Juan Cathedral:

dignidad ninguno pueda presentarse sino es que sepa música, o a lo menos que en el cantar llano, sea docto y perito."

⁹Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, "Carta que derixe a Su Maxestad el Obispo electo de La Ysla Española, e Presidente de su Abdiencia," *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernández, 1882), XXXVII, 566. Recommending Francisco de Mendoza for the position of chantre in Santo Domingo Cathedral, the newly arrived Ramírez de Fuenleal cited his qualifications: "es buen cantor e diestro en todo canto."

¹⁰Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 138. Present address of the Santa Iglesia Metropolitana is Calle del S. Cristo, No. 151.

¹¹"Carta" in *Colección*, XXXVII, 559: "la Yglesia se acabó de cubrir estando yo allí, e es suficiente para otros duscientos vescinos más." He cited 120 stone built houses in the town. According to Hostos, *Tesouro*, II, 96, quoting *Alma Latina*, July 1936, Ramírez Fuenleal was consecrated bishop in San Juan Cathedral during his 13-day Puerto Rico stopover.

¹²Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 145.

¹³Hostos, *Tesouro*, II, 305, quoting Fray Niño Abbad y Lasierra, *Historia Geográfica, Civil y Natural de la Isla de Puerto Rico*, ed. by J. J. Acosta y Calbo (San Juan: Imprenta y Librería de Acosta, 1866), p. 159.

The Cathedral Church . . . is faire and handsome; two rows of proportionable pillars, make two allies beside the middle walk. . . . Their church wanteth no necessarie implement. On the North side a faire paire of Organs; above the Organs on the same side there is a decent Pulpit very conueniently placed. . . . On either side of him [the bishop] seeme to sit six Prebends, and vpwards are places for singing men and Quiristers. . . . A man walking in the Church may behold the ships riding in a very fine Harbour.

Further disasters befell the cathedral in the early seventeenth century. Although by 1607 the cathedral had been repaired except for the bell tower, it was again seriously damaged by a hurricane in 1615.¹⁴ Dutch invaders in September of 1625 carried off most of what had been acquired during the episcopates of Martin Vázquez de Arce (1603-1609), Francisco Díaz de Cabrera (1610-1613), Pedro de Solier (1615-1619), and Bernardo de Balbuena (installed in January of 1623). Their booty included "the bells, an organ, and majority of the ornaments."¹⁵ Worse still, they burned Balbuena's exceptional library¹⁶ and the cathedral music library (*libros de canto*).

According to the cathedral act of January 19, 1655, the succentor Juan Piñero, clergyman, was that day assigned 250 reales for teaching four choirboys how to sing.¹⁷ On July 23, 1660, the chapter appointed the clergyman Gerónimo de Ovando y Guerra to be cathedral organist at 100 ducats annually, plus additional sums payable from a chaplaincy.¹⁸ On October 4 of that same year, Bishop Issasi rejoiced in the number of homegrown musical talents being trained by immigrant friars and other arrivals "to play organ and to sing intelligently, so that the luster of the divine cult will not diminish."¹⁹ Ovando y Guerra, who continued organist to 1690, may therefore have himself been a native of the island. From January 1692 to

¹⁴*Tesaurus*, II, 97, citing *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico*, ed. by Cayetano Coll y Toste, V (1918), 345.

¹⁵Quoting from Archivo General de Indias, *Santo Domingo*, 535. John Van Horne, *Bernardo de Balbuena Biografía y Crítica* (Guadalajara, Mexico: Imprenta Font, 1940), cited a letter from the San Juan Cathedral cabildo saying that "el holandés entró en aquella ciudad y llevó a la dicha iglesia las campanas, un organo, y la mayor parte de los ornamentos."

Johannes de Laet (1582-1649) gave the Dutch version of the sack in his *Historie Ofte Iaerlijck Verhael van de verrichtinghen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (Leiden: Abraham Elsevier, 1644). As translated in Fernando J. Géigel Sabat, *Balduino Enrico Estudio sobre el general Balduino Enrico y el asedio de la ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico por la flota holandesa en 1625* (Barcelona: Editorial Araluce, 1934). Laet recorded September 26, 1625, as the day on which the Dutch pillaged San Juan Cathedral, broke all the statues and organs, and defaced the paintings. See Géigel Sabat, pp. 80, 92, and 97.

¹⁶Lope de Vega's lines in *Laurel de Apolo* have been frequently quoted. During the same Dutch sack they destroyed Balbuena's library, a "tesoro tan rico en Puerto Rico / que nunca Puerto Rico fue tan rico."

¹⁷"Índice Razonado de las Actas Capitulares de la Catedral de San Juan de Puerto Rico," *Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, II/7 (June 1950), 209. Bishop Francisco de Issasi's letter of October 4, 1660, cited by Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 245, mentions four choirboys.

¹⁸"Índice," 211, citing *Actas Capitulares*, I (1652-1700), fol. 47: "Se nombra organista al clérigo Jerónimo de Obando, con el haber de 100 ducados, más 150 misas de capellanía de a 8 reales, para que le sirva de título de ordenación."

¹⁹Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, pp. 244-245: "Nunca me han faltado músicos de balde, de los muchos ministros y frailes que vienen a ordenarse de otras partes. Estos han enseñado y van enseñando a algunos muchachos a tocar órgano y saber canto, para que no falte en adelante el lustre del culto divino. La fábrica da salario a un organista . . . del noveno y medio del Hospital en erección se sustentan cuatro monaguillos, que sirven a la Santa Iglesia." As source for this letter of Bishop Issasi (ruled February 25, 1659 to April 4, 1661), Cuesta Mendoza cited Salvador Brau's transcript from an Archivo General de Indias original.

December 1698 Juan de Morales was organist. Juan Téllez Rodríguez, who became maestro de capilla in January of 1672, transferred to Caracas cathedral in January of 1680.²⁰ At Caracas he immediately won kudos for his voice and character. How highly he was esteemed at San Juan can be inferred from Jacinta de Salinas's having in 1675 endowed Saturday Lady Masses to include the most solemn singing of the Salve Regina possible.²¹ On April 10, 1676, the chapter promised a cathedral musician named Sebastián García Serrano sufficient Masses so that he could be ordained.

Notwithstanding all these signs of musical life in San Juan, the Mercedarian bishop Francisco de Padilla who occupied the see from June 23, 1684, to May 24, 1694, wrote a letter to Charles II dated January 24, 1688, begging for musical help from Spain.²² What is needed, said this bishop, "are shawmers and other instrumentalists to play at church festivals, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and when communion is taken to the sick." Various previous efforts to attract the needed instrumentalists from Santo Domingo, Havana, and Mexico City have failed, complained Bishop Padilla. The reason: "the poverty of Puerto Rico causes musicians from everywhere else in the Indies to shun the island." He foresaw that even two instrumentalists could vastly aid the island, "so great are the numbers eager to learn how to play." With any musicians sent from Spain, the bishop also prayed that their instruments be sent—no shawms or other such wind instruments being then present in the island.²³

²⁰Caracas Cathedral, *Libro V de Acuerdos Capitulares* [1673-1688], fol. 52 (January 30, 1680): "Como en esta ciudad se halla Ju^o telles clerigo presbytero musico de Canto de organo que a sido mro de capilla de la S^{ta} Yg^a Cathedral de la Ciudad de San Juan de Porto Rico, de mui buena voz, virtuoso y con mucha neçesidad que vino a esta Ciudad con deseos de seruir a esta S^{ta} Yg^a Como lo a pedido y a su ss^{ria}, el qual sera de Vtilidad en el seruicio de esta S^{ta} Yg^a en alguna Plaça q estubiesse desocupada . . ." On the Caracas bishop's recommendation, he was that day received as *capellán de coro* and *maestro de ceremonias*.

²¹Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 250. On January 24, 1680 (*Actas Capitulares*, II, fol. 73 [*Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, II/7, 215]), Bishop Marcos de Sobremente (ruled February 26, 1679 to August 10, 1681), obliged the entire clergy of San Juan to assist every Saturday at these sung Salves. From Caracas, where he had been cathedral dean, he brought the 19-year-old prodigy *bajonista* Francisco Pérez Camacho, who returned to Venezuela after his patron's death. His talents were such that Pérez Camacho rose to be Caracas Cathedral maestro de capilla and the first professor of music in the newly founded university at Caracas.

Apart from Jacinta de Salinas, another patroness of San Juan cathedral music in this era was Francisca Zarzuela, wife of Francisco de la Torre. Her heir Diego de la Torre contested the clause in her will endowing a *misa cantada al Santo Cristo* (*A.C.*, II, fol. 27, July 27, 1700 [*Boletín*, II/7, 216]).

²²Pedro Nolasco Pérez, *Los Obispos de la Orden de la Merced en América (1601-1926) Documentos del Archivo General de Indias* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1927), pp. 281-282: "Señor: Según lo que Vuestra Majestad tiene mandado en la Nueva Recopilación, libro 3.^o, título 10.^o, ley 17.^a para que se tengan cuatro ministriles chirimías, que sirvan al mayor culto y veneración del Santísimo Sacramento de la Eucaristía, en sus fiestas, y cuando se administra a los enfermos, ha pasado esta Santa Iglesia a ejecutar todos los medios posibles por lograrlos, así en la isla de Santo Domingo y Habana, como en México, y el horror con que todos miran la pobreza de esta tierra, hace nulas sus diligencias.

Por lo cual me hallo precisado a recurrir a la Soberana piedad de Vuestra Majestad, para que este tan debido culto se prosiga, proponiendo y suplicando a Vuestra Majestad el medio que parece más efectivo.

Y es, que Vuestra Majestad mande vengan, los cuatro de esa habilidad, de allá, entre la primera gente que Vuestra Majestad enviare para refuerzo de este Presidio y juntamente los instrumentos, porque en esta tierra no hay cosa del género, ni se ha visto jamás; y aunque solo viniesen dos, bastara para enseñarlos, que aquí gustarán de aprender, que no fueron pocos, viendo la merced que Vuestra Majestad les hace, porque se consiga este santo fin tan considerable."

²³Acting on Bishop Padilla's request the Council of the Indies ordered March 5, 1689, that if two could not be found in Spain, the Mexican viceroy supply them (*ibid.*, p. 282).

Or at least Bishop Padilla so opined in 1688. Nonetheless, other instruments must have abounded. The Puerto Rican Credo of 1645 testifies to them. According to paragraphs 56 and 57 of the *Constituciones Sinodales hechas por el Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo señor don fray Damián López de Haro, Obispo de la Ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico* (Madrid: Catalina de Barrio y Angulo, 1647) priests or deacons who roamed the streets playing musical instruments, who participated in musical serenades, or who took roles in masquerades or mummings—even at Corpus Christi—were to be severely punished by fines or imprisonment.²⁴ Tightening restrictions even further, the chapter on September 28, 1700, concurred with the then bishop's edict restraining ecclesiastics from attending any publicly mounted plays or dances whatsoever—even those to be given in the plaza in honor of St. Francis on the approaching October 4.²⁵

On November 26, 1700, the chapter instructed the Negro bell ringer to begin shutting the cathedral doors every day after the singing of the Divine Office.²⁶ How central a role Negroes and mulattoes should take in cathedral music was discussed at mid-century. Ferdinand VI's cedula dated at El Escorial June 12, 1749, denied the chapter's petition to exclude mulattoes from the band of four wind instrument players present in the cathedral since the time of Bishop Padilla's 1688 request for a quartet.²⁷ The same cedula instead obliged these four *ministriles* to play at all first- and second-class feasts and commanded that each be treated with impartial courtesy, whether or not mulatto. The royal cedula also stipulated that these coveted posts be henceforth awarded only to the best competing players.

Meanwhile Negroes continued monopolizing bell ringing. On July 5, 1774, the chapter sent a Negro *campanero* to the countryside to recover his health, and on July 11, 1775, the new Negro bell ringer who had fled was found hiding in the northwest coastal town of Aguadilla.²⁸ To lighten the load, the cathedral chapter on March 20, 1781, therefore started hiring two bell ringers instead of one and raised the pay of each to six pesos monthly. The alternate was delegated the additional duty of working the organ bellows.

²⁴Clergy in minor orders were exempted from these restrictions. See Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 230. López de Haro ruled the see 1644-1648. His *Constituciones Sinodales* have been twice reprinted at San Juan: in 1818 and 1920. See Pedreira, *Bibliografía*, p. 354; however, Pedreira misdates the first printing ("Madrid 1674" should read "Madrid 1647"). Paragraphs 56 and 57 of these *Constituciones Sinodales* were reprinted in the *Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, II/12 (November 1950), 354, 382.

LVI. Que los Clerigos no den musicas, ni ronden de noche. Ordenamos y mandamos SS.A. que ningún Clérigo dé músicas de noche por las calles, ni ronde, ni toque instrumentos músicos, ni se halle al dar las tales músicas, pena de mil maravediz por cada vez.

LVII. Mandamos, que ningún clérigo de Orden Sacro deste Obispado represente, ni entre en comedias, autos, danzas, fiestas, músicas, ni regocijos, ni máscaras, o vestirse de humoracho, aunque las tales fiestas sean en el día de Corpus Christi, o de otras solemnidades de la Iglesia, lo qual así cumplan, pena de excomunió mayor, y de un mes de cárcel, y de seis pesos de por la primera vez.

²⁵*Actas Capitulares*, II, fol. 44 (*Boletín de Historia Puertorriqueña*, II/8, 217).

²⁶A.C., II, fol. 55 (*Boletín*, II/8, 218).

²⁷Callejo Ferrer, pp. 22-23: "la cédula expedida en El Escorial, el 12 de junio de 1749, por el Rey Fernando VI, negaba a acceder a la petición del Cabildo para que se excluyesen los mulatos al designarse los cuatro músicos que constituían la capilla de la cofradía del Sacramento y fué obligatorio, para dichos músicos, tocar en todas las festividades de 1ª y 2ª clase."

²⁸*Boletín*, II/8, 226.

According to Callejo Ferrer, the titular organist in 1756 and 1757 was the priest Francisco de Sotres who was simultaneously diocesan notary and secretary and from 1758 until his death in 1761 the titular organist was Miguel Feliciano. Whether these two actually did much playing seems doubtful, however, in view of the claim later made for Domingo de Andino (1737-1820). Born at San Juan, Domingo de Andino was the son of Juan de Andino and Juana Francisca Muriel (died May 29, 1786).²⁹ As early as 1744 the seven-year-old Domingo began showing his precocity on the organ. Or at least so states his obituary of July 4, 1820 (*Actas Capitulares*, XII, folio 151). Even if not named titular organist until December 31, 1769—Callejo Ferrer's date,³⁰ he began officiating regularly in 1758, according to the chapter minutes of December 28, 1818, cited below.

Meantime, the succentor from 1756 until his death the next year was Bernardino Lexes, in 1761 was Miguel Bonilla, from 1762 to 1768 was the clergyman in minor orders Pedro Martínez, in 1769 was José de Torres, and from 1770 to 1774 was José Vicente Muñoz (or Martínez).³¹ In rapid succession until 1800 eight others held the post of succentor.³² Such quick turnover contrasts with the stability of the family man Domingo de Andino, who continued uninterruptedly as cathedral organist until his retirement December 28, 1818, on full pay after sixty years on the organ bench.³³

To hold him so long, the chapter did make numerous concessions along the way. The mere fact that as a married man he held the post was a concession in his epoch. His wife was Laureana Campeche, sister of Puerto Rico's most famous colonial painter, José de Campeche (1751-1809). Of their children—Isabel, Francisco, Silvestre, Mateo, and Belén—the last four were still alive when he made his will November 29, 1819, before the notary Francisco de Acosta. Challenged by such an increasing family's needs, Andino was permitted simultaneously to ply the trade of silversmithing outside the cathedral without losing his right to cathedral pay raises. As early as January 11, 1771, the chapter agreed to raise his annual pay retroactively to 50 pesos.³⁴ On August 27, 1776, the chapter acceded to his plea

²⁹Arturo V. Dávila, "El platero Domingo de Andino (1737-1820), Maestro de Música de Campeche." *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*, V/16 (July-September, 1962), 36.

³⁰Callejo Ferrer, p. 23. Evidently Padre Hormachea who was in 1915 San Juan Cathedral archivist found documentation for the years 1700 to 1770 not seen by Cuesta Mendoza in 1913. As transcribed by Cuesta Mendoza, the act of July 18, 1798, allotted Andino 40 years as cathedral organist and the act of December 28, 1818, allotted him 60. The act of July 4 attests his having begun cathedral organ playing at the age of seven. See note 54 below.

³¹On May 31, 1774, the San Juan cathedral chapter granted José Vicente Martínez (*not* Muñoz, according to Cuesta Mendoza's transcript of *A.C.*, II, fol. 211 [*Boletín*, II/7, 223]) leave to study canon law at Santo Domingo: "se autoriza al Sochantre José Vicente Martínez para trasladarse a Santo Domingo a estudiar Cánones, y se le sustituye con el Subdiácono José Antonio López."

³²The priest Antonio José Espeleta was succentor in 1775-1776, Leonardo del Toro y Quiñones in 1777-1783 (died in office), José María Ruiz in 1784, Miguel Gómez in 1784-1785, Pedro Level in 1785-1790, Nicolás Ruiz in 1791-1792, Pascual González in 1793-1795, the priest Agustín Benito Valdejuli in 1796-1800 (simultaneously he was diocesan notary and secretary). A royal cédula dated December 18, 1792, called for the appointment of a succentor instructed in plainchant (Callejo Ferrer, p. 24, citing the *Boletín histórico de Puerto Rico*, ed. by Coll y Toste, I, 57).

³³*A.C.*, XII, fol. 38 (*Boletín*, II/10 [September 1950], 293): "Por hallarse en la avanzada edad de 80 años de los cuales habia empleado 60 en tocar órgano, Andino es jubilado con el haber mismo que gozaba y se acuerda nombrarle un sustituto por 300 pesos, que sepa canto llano y figurado."

³⁴*A.C.*, II, fol. 67 (*Boletín*, II/7, 218): "Que se paguen al organista Domingo de Andino, 50 pesos por el año pasado, en atención a que, de no, dejaria el empleo, y no habria quien le sustituya."

that the choirboys, two of whom were his sons, be each paid four pesos monthly, since no worthy candidates could be attracted at only 12 reales. On June 30, 1778, the chapter ordered a locked door for the new staircase leading up to the loft for the organ, because choirboys as well as some adult men were using it to climb out on the tile roof.³⁵ In 1783 his brother-in-law, the famous-to-be José Campeche won one of the instrumentalist posts dating from Bishop Padilla's time (1688), that of cathedral oboist—which carried with it the added duty of "substituting when the organist is ill or otherwise absent."³⁶ On September 14, 1784, the chapter agreed to buy a music book containing the Requiem Mass that Andino said was needed.³⁷ On January 24, 1786, his salary was raised to a yearly 80 pesos. On June 19, 1794, he recommended that José Campeche (who was now helping to rear the younger children after his sister Laureana's death in September 1789³⁸) be hired to fix the organ bellows.³⁹ Two years later Bishop Juan Bautista de Zengotita Burgoa offered to pay out of his own episcopal pocket for moving the organ upstairs to the tribune awaiting it.⁴⁰

No longer able to care for a family of eight on his 80-peso annual salary, and no longer able to eke out his income as heretofore with silversmithing because of failing eyesight, Andino asked July 18, 1798, for a salary raise to an annual 200 pesos (for which sum he promised also to keep the organ in repair as long as it lasted). The chapter went not so far, but did raise him that day to an annual 160 *pesos de 8 reales de plata*,⁴¹ thus doubling his previous yearly pay.

Nineteenth Century: Part I

Stimulated by the example of Caracas, San Juan in 1801 petitioned the crown to elevate it to a metropolitan see and to transfer the university from Santo Domingo.⁴² The repair and rebuilding of the cathedral became prime items of chapter concern during the early years of the century. In 1802 the main door was closed and the canons began singing the Office in the side chapel of San Pedro. In

³⁵A.C., III, fol. 86 (*Boletín*, II/8, 229). The act speaks of "la escalera nuevamente fabricada para subir a la Capilla deputada para el Organo." Apparently the organ had not yet been moved upstairs.

³⁶Andino taught his brother-in-law, reasonably infers Dávila, "El platero Domingo de Andino," pp. 36-37. Even earlier than 1783 Campeche regularly substituted for Andino on the organ bench.

³⁷A.C., IV, fol. 2 (*Boletín*, II/8, 234): "Que si es util se compre el libro de solfa que contiene la misa de difuntos."

³⁸Concerning his mounting musical reputation, see Arturo V. Dávila, "José Campeche, maestro de música," *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*, III/8 (July-September, 1960), 14-16. He taught the San Juan Carmelite nuns plainchant and keyboard instruments, including piano.

³⁹A.C., VI, fol. 6^v (*Boletín*, II/8, 241): "Por estar inservibles los fuelles del órgano, los arregla Campeche, hombre curioso e inteligente, y pide cuatro pesos por su trabajo." Paying tribute to his versatility, the chapter on May 11, 1798, invited Campeche to repair broken fingers on Christ's statue in the cathedral and to lacquer a painting of the Christ Child.

⁴⁰A.C., VI, fol. 83 (*Boletín*, II/8, 242). After announcing his pastoral visit to the diocese beginning five days later, Bishop Zengotita on May 18, 1796, proposed "el trasladar el órgano a la tribuna fabricada para él" at his own expense. Felipe Ramírez, *coronel de ingenieros* and a great friend of the cathedral, offered to superintend the move.

⁴¹A.C., VII, fol. 20^v (*Boletín*, II/8, 243): "Domingo Andino hace presente que con los 80 pesos anuales que el Cabildo le pasa, por tocar el órgano, no puede atender a su familia compuesta de 8 personas; y que en atención a sus cuarenta años de servicio, y que no puede ayudarse del oficio de platero por falta de vista, ruega se le asignen 200 pesos por año, con el gravamen de componer el órgano mientras valga; y se le asignan 160 pesos de 8 reales de plata."

⁴²A.C., VII, fol. 112^v (*Boletín*, II/8, 243 [April 8, 1801]).

1809 a new bread tax was diverted to cathedral repair costs. In 1813 the chapter debated the erecting of an entirely new structure on the site of the old—a project which although several times deferred began being realized in 1832 and was at last consummated at great expense during the episcopacy of Gil Esteve, 1848–1855.⁴³

Concurrently with these building spurts, cathedral music made giant leaps forward. At the fiestas in April 1804 celebrating the ascent to the San Juan miter of the first native-born Puerto Rican bishop—Juan Alejo de Arizmendi (1757–1814), an orchestra played a concert on the illuminated balcony of the town hall⁴⁴ prior to solemn Mass and Te Deum in the cathedral.⁴⁵ Five years later, news of the Junta Suprema and the imminent restoration of Fernando VII inspired another Te Deum in the cathedral “during which all the regimental bands” played. At the close, the company of grenadiers and the artillery company posted at San Juan united in a salvo.⁴⁶ On June 22, 1812, the secular cabildo agreed to hiring an orchestra to play on the town hall balcony June 24 (Saint John Baptist Day) to stimulate local pride while they rode horseback in a group to the cathedral.⁴⁷

On August 8, 1809, the chapter ordered the bellows of the cathedral organ fixed with all haste, in order that such a necessary instrument not go lacking “and because it is our only one for solemnities.”⁴⁸ On October 17, 1809, the chapter at last came to grips with the problem of finding a musically adequate succentor. Recognizing that the island lacked any chant expert, the chapter that day voted to invite a Franciscan from Spain, Fray Bartolomé de Laso, resident of Martos just south of Jaén.⁴⁹ But whence the funds to pay an imported succentor? On July 15, 1812, the chapter acknowledged a “royal promise” to sustain such an importee, “provided he teach others.”⁵⁰

The priest Juan Vicéns imported that year, 1812, remained in cathedral employ until death in 1830. However, he found the succentorship so much more onerous than anticipated that he tried resigning February 19, 1813.⁵¹ In January of 1815 he asked the chapter for a certificate of merit so that he could petition the crown for

⁴³Hostos, *Tesouro*, II, 97–98.

⁴⁴*Actas del Cabildo de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, 1803–1809*, ed. Aida R. Caro de Delgado, (San Juan: Municipio, 1967), p. 61 (act of March 20, 1804): “algunos de los señores regidores voluntariamente quisieron subscribirse para entretener la atención del público con unas luminarias en el balcón de la casa consistorial y concierto de música u orquesta en el mismo balcón.”

⁴⁵A.C., [of the cathedral], VIII, fol. 139 (*Boletín*, II/8, 246 [April 6, 1804]).

⁴⁶*Actas del Cabildo . . . 1809–1810* (1968), p. 26 (act of April 20, 1809). At the Te Deum “concurrirán todos los cuerpos de música del Regimiento con una compañía de granaderos que hará salva al concluirse, y lo mismo la artillería.”

⁴⁷*Libro de Acuerdos N.º 15 del M. Y. Ayuntamiento.º que da principio en 8 de Octubre del Año de 1810*, fol. 182: “el día del Patron una orquesta de música en los balcones de la Sala Consistorial p^a más excitar el júbilo y alegría destes Naturales, habiéndose este último saber al Mayordomo de Propios p^a el abono del costo.”

⁴⁸A.C., IX [1808–1812], fol. 63 (*Boletín*, II/8, 250).

⁴⁹A.C., IX, fol. 69: “Como aquí no hubiera sujeto capaz de Sochantría, cuando Andrade estuvo en España habló a Fray Bartolomé de Laso, franciscano de la villa de Martos, músico de canto llano, dotado de buena voz, y sujeto de acreditada conducta, quien se ofreció por su parte a venir a servir el oficio: Se le acepta y nombra para la Sochantría, y se escribe a la Junta Suprema y al Provincial, para que le expidan licencia.”

⁵⁰A.C., IX, fol. 157^v (*Boletín*, II/8, 252): “Se recibe la Real Orden de 16 de Abril, dotando en 300 pesos anuales, sacados del sobrante de los diezmos, la plaza de Sochantre con obligación de enseñar a otros.”

⁵¹A.C., X [1813–1815], fol. 1 (*Boletín*, II/8, 253): “El Sochantre Vicéns renuncia la plaza, pero el Cabildo no condesciende y apela al Prelado.”

the hitherto nonexistent post in San Juan Cathedral of maestro de capilla.⁵² Failing of that, he became a cathedral title collector sometime before 1817.⁵³ From 1816 to Domingo de Andino's death June 30, 1820, at the age of 82,⁵⁴ Vicéns substituted for him at the organ: which in 1815 had been moved from a back tribune to the middle of the rebuilding cathedral.⁵⁵ On March 2, 1824, the chapter agreed to buy from Vicéns's sister the music for Holy Week that he had recommended as needful.⁵⁷ By June 1825 his budgeted successor's salary was in arrears the sum of 2000 pesos because of Royal Treasury deficits during the previous decade. In that month the chapter therefore promoted him to titular cathedral organist at an annual 300 pesos. Two months later, August 5, Archdeacon Arroyo offered to buy a new small organ needed by Vicéns for choir practices.⁵⁸ Now lacking any successor whatsoever, the chapter on October 7, 1828, empowered Vicéns to contract not one, but two, successors in Spain. According to him: "Want of trained singers, especially on important days of the church calendar, deprives cathedral services of requisite splendor, and no such trained singers are anywhere to be found on this island."⁵⁹ To make sure that the new successors did not wander to other local churches on classic days of the church calendar, the chapter furthermore specified that they should be each paid an extra three pesos for Corpus Christi maitines and the feast of Saint John Nepomuceno, an extra four pesos for the Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, and other extras at stated times—thus augmenting their guaranteed income to no less than an annual 575 pesos. Upon arrival at San Juan each was also to receive a 200-peso gift.

⁵²A.C., X, fol. 126 (*Boletín*, II/8, 255): "El Sochantre Vicéns solicita testimonio de sus servicios, para recabar de S.M. el título de Maestro de Capilla."

⁵³A.C., XII [1817-1821], fol. 1 (April 23, 1817): "Participa el Gobernador al Obispo que ha mandado a los Alcaldes que ayuden al P. Vicéns en su cargo de Colector . . ." Vicéns was collecting money to rebuild the cathedral.

⁵⁴A.C., XII, fol. 151 (*Boletín*, II/10, 294 [July 4, 1820]): "Con motivo de haber fallecido el 30 de Junio el organista Andino, que la venia siendo desde el año 44 del siglo pasado, se nombra organista interino al presbítero Vicéns, quien venia supliendo a Andino desde cuatro años antes." Copying Callejo Ferrer, who dated Andino's death two years too late ("1822," p. 28), all other reference writers have gone astray.

⁵⁵On December 28, 1818, he was 80, according to A.C., XII, fol. 38 (*Boletín*, II/10, 293): "Por hallarse en la avanzada edad de 80 años . . . Andino es jubilado." For the rest of the act, see footnote 33. If he was related to the powerful Dr. Andino cited in footnote 56, the chapter's generosity in retiring him on full pay is more easily explained.

⁵⁶A.C., XI [1815-1817], fol. 103 (September 13, 1815): "Sin embargo de las dificultades que se han tocado para fijar el coro en el medio de la Iglesia, porque donde se halla ahora es el transito general que impide el recogimiento, el Dr. Andino ofrece costear el emplazamiento, y ademas el traslado del órgano, porque aunque las sillas laterales queden algo embutidos entre arco y arco, quedarán siempre las que hacen la testera, frente al altar mayor; y así mejorará el coro, hoy almacenado."

⁵⁷*Boletín*, II/10, 299: "Que se compren a la hermana del presbítero Vicéns los papeles de música que tiene en su poder, correspondientes a la Pasión, Lamentaciones y Miserere de la Semana Santa, para que en ella se celebren las funciones con el decoro debido."

⁵⁸A.C., XIV [1823-1825], fol. 88 (*Boletín*, II/10, 301): "Al sochantre Vicéns debía la Real Tesorería en este tiempo, 2000 pesos, de diez o doze años, por lo cual la renuncia.": fol. 90 (June 14, 1825): "Vicéns es nombrado organista con 300 pesos.": fol. 102 (August 5, 1825): "Ofrece el arcediano Arroyo costear un órgano para la Catedral, si le den los 150 pesos existentes para tal objeto."

⁵⁹A.C., XV [1825-1830], fol. 79 (*Boletín*, II/10, 302): "Se faculta al presbítero Vicéns a fin de traer de la Peninsula dos eclesiásticos para sochantres primero y segundo en vista del estado decadente en que se halla el culto por falta de cantores que sostengan el coro, siendo éste el motivo de faltarse, en los días principalmente clásicos, a aquella gravedad que inspira el canto sonoro y arreglado de música, y no facultándose voces suficientes en la Ysla."

At Vicéns's death, Manuel Passarell June 14, 1830, succeeded him on the organ bench "not because he is an experienced organist so much as because he is a good musician and something of a composer." His monthly salary of 16 pesos obligated him also to play "another instrument" when the organ was silent.⁶⁰ Against the bishop's wishes Manuel Benigno Freijó simultaneously became Passarell's substitute at seven pesos monthly, "because nobody else in this city knows how to play."

On June 20, 1834, Passarell resigned the organistship⁶¹ and proposed forming a cathedral orchestra. The chapter all the more eagerly harkened because the old organ then needed drastic repairs. On April 7, 1835, an organ repairman's offer to fix it for 475 pesos was accepted.⁶² Still, plans for a cathedral orchestra continued afloat. On February 9, 1841, the members of the orchestra then playing solicited chapter approval of their constitutions and a guarantee that no outside orchestral players should henceforth be hired for cathedral events.⁶³ On November 21, 1843, the chapter ordered the just arrived new organ placed where the old had been, and on December 24, 1844, approved sale of the old to the church in Mayagüez for 350 pesos.⁶⁴ After petitioning the crown to exempt the new organ from import duties, the chapter at last reluctantly agreed to paying the duties September 22, 1846.⁶⁵

José Bermejo Iturriaga, who followed Manuel Passarell, continued cathedral organist from 1834 to 1847 (died in 1848). On June 22, 1847, he excused his having not played on Corpus Christi "because his salary was miserable, having not been raised above 25 pesos monthly during all his fifteen years of service."⁶⁶ The chapter

⁶⁰A.C., XVI [1830-1844], fol. 4 (*Boletín*, II/10, 303): "Se admite como organista a Don Manuel Passarell, que aunque no era enteramente práctico en el órgano, era buen músico y algo compositor; y se obligaba a tocar cualquier otro instrumento cuando no se necesitase del órgano, dándole 16 pesos mensuales y nombrando sustituto suyo a Manuel Benigno Freijó con el haber de siete pesos, por no haber otro en la ciudad que supiera tocar."

⁶¹Soon thereafter Manuel Passarell returned to Ponce where he composed a *sinfonía*. At Louis Moreau Gottschalk's farewell concert in Ponce January 7, 1858, the 14-year-old Adelina Patti touring with him played on the piano Gottschalk's *Capricho criollo* expressly composed for the occasion on three themes from the Passarell symphony: the Seis, Caballo, and Seguidilla, all echoing Puerto Rican folklore. See my *A Guide to Caribbean Music History* (Lima: Ediciones "CVLTVRA," 1975), p. 47 (quoting Emilio J. Passarell's "El centenario de los conciertos de Adelina Patti y Luis Moreau Gottschalk en Puerto Rico," *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña*, II/2 [January-March, 1959], 53).

⁶²A.C., XVI, fol. 156 (*Boletín*, II/10, 305): "Habiendo llegado persona hábil, que se ofrece a arreglar el órgano por 475 pesos, se acuerda."

⁶³A.C., XVI, fol. 317 (*Boletín*, II/10, 309): "Ramón Seguer, Domingo Delgado y José Bermejo, sochantres y organista, participan al Cabildo que deseando que esta Santa Yglesia se nivele en todo lo posible a las demás Catedrales de España, han proyectado establecer una Capilla de Música para solemnizar sus fiestas con la pompa y magnificencia propias del templo, y que para esto se han puesto de acuerdo con algunos Profesores de varios instrumentos, y que se ha formado un reglamento, y que el Cabildo prohíba que toque en la Catedral otra orquesta. Contesta el Cabildo pidiendo el reglamento."

A week later, February 16 [A.C., XVI, fol. 319], the chapter approved: "Aprueba el Cabildo el reglamento de la proyectada Capilla de Música, y prohíbe que toque en la Catedral otra orquesta." On October 22 of that year (1841), José de Sandoval, the conductor of a rival orchestra, complained to the cathedral chapter that he and his orchestra were injured: "no permitiendo tocar en la Catedral a su orquesta, en las fiestas y entierros." Six years later he competed for the cathedral organistship.

⁶⁴On February 8, 1842, San Juan chapter agreed to buy the new organ (A.C., XVI, fol. 335). It arrived toward the close of 1843. It took another 13 months to find a buyer for the old (A.C., XVI, fol. 378).

⁶⁵A.C., XVII [1845-1848], fol. 23^v: "Habiendo desaprobado S.M. la exención de derechos de Aduana concedida al órgano de la Catedral, se pagan los derechos." The chapter was just then preparing to receive a new bishop.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, fol. 87^r (*Boletín*, II/10, 313): "José Bermejo, organista, faltó a tocar en Corpus, y respondió

replied to such contumacy by provoking competition during July (1847) at which he, the priest Domingo Crisanto Delgado and José de Cabrizas.⁶⁷ Bartolomé García, and José de Sandoval vied for the organistship. On July 30 (1847) Delgado was named the winner.⁶⁸ However, Delgado himself eventually tired of playing for a mere 25 pesos monthly and shortly before his death in 1856 petitioned for either a share in the time-honored tips for special functions (*ovenciones*) or a salary raise.⁶⁹ In 1915 Callejo Ferrer rated Delgado as the earliest Puerto Rican "master composer whose extremely lovely sacred repertory still survives" and testified to the frequent performance of his religious works during the twilight years of Spanish rule.⁷⁰

As for the two "golden-voice" lay succentors brought over to the island at Vicéns's urging: Isidoro Martí held office as first *sochantre* 1831–1836, Ramón Seguer⁷¹ as second. At Martí's death Seguer became first—occupying the post from 1836 to his own death April 8, 1857. The chapter that day voted to name only an ecclesiastic to follow Seguer, not any lay succentor. Strong motivation for this rule was the chapter's recent experience with widows. The second succentor, José Bey, died shortly before March 29, 1852. Beginning May 4, 1852, the chapter began paying the widow a bounty.⁷² Bey's successor as second succentor was Vicente Martínez, a native of Burgos, Spain, then resident in San Juan, who had the reputation of being "an expert in plainchant as well as figural music."⁷³

On November 9, 1852, the chapter approved the formation of a boy choir to match the best in Spain.⁷⁴ Bishop Gil Esteve, two years later translated to Tarazona, suggested their white surplices over purple habits. The Cuban Miguel María de Herrera who was appointed organist in December of 1856,⁷⁵ and who continued until 1862 when he became maestro de capilla of Santo Domingo cathedral, taught the boys plainchant and figural music until September 27, 1858—on which day Felipe Gutiérrez y Espinosa received chapter permission to organize a new choir of "nine or ten children from the Casa de Beneficiencia."

que su sueldo era miserable, pues después de 15 años de servicio, no percibía más de 25 pesos mensuales."

⁶⁷Callejo Ferrer, pp. 37, 162, cited Cabrizas as the Catalan immigrant piano teacher who was the best in San Juan at mid-century. He taught Manuel G. Tavárez (born San Juan, November 23, 1843; died Ponce July 1, 1883) until at 15 he sailed for Paris. Also, he taught Gonzalo Núñez, Gerardo Soler, and Inocencia Caparros.

⁶⁸A.C., XVII, fol. 90^v (*Boletín*, II/10, 313).

⁶⁹Callejo Ferrer, pp. 32–33.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 43. The other local composers whose sacred works were most performed were Felipe Gutiérrez y Espinosa, Braulio Dueño Colón, Gregorio Ledesma, and Sandalio Callejo (1833–1883), father of Fernando Callejo Ferrer.

⁷¹Misspelled "Segné" in Callejo Ferrer, pp. 29–30.

⁷²"Se le concede a la viuda de José Bey, sochantre segundo, un socorro de 30 pesos."

⁷³A.C., XIX [1852–1857], fol. 9^v: "Por fallecimiento de Bey, es nombrado sochantre segundo Vicente Martínez, vecino de esta ciudad y natural de Burgos, bien impuesto en canto llano y figurado."

⁷⁴A.C., XIX, fol. 41 (*Boletín*, II/11 [October, 1950], 326): "Deseoso de aumentar el culto, el Cabildo aprueba la formación del Coro Infantil; considerando cuanto contribuirá a ello el canto de los seises de coro, como los hay generalmente en todas las catedrales, y lo aprueba de acuerdo con su Prelado [Gil Esteve], quien ya por su parte dio principio a su elección y aprobación de traje."

⁷⁵A.C., XIX, fol. 173^v: "Miguel María de Herrera es nombrado organista de la Catedral, con las mismas obligaciones de afinar y componer el órgano, enseñar música y canto llano a los dependientes del coro, cantar acompañado del órgano en todos los casos necesarios, especialmente en los días clásicos y de fiesta."

Nineteenth Century: Part II



The transcendental year in colonial Puerto Rico musical annals was 1858.⁷⁶ On May 10, 1858, the Capuchin Pablo Benigno Carrion de Málaga (1798–1871) arrived at San Juan to take possession of the see. On September 9 he approved these thirteen lay instrumentalists and three lay singers to form the cathedral capilla: Felipe Gutiérrez y Espinosa, director; Miguel María Herrera, organist; Claudio Grandy, Aniceto Andino, and Francisco Martínez, violinists; Manuel Martínez Aparicio, cellist; Aurelio Dueño, contrabass; Eduardo Matorell, flautist; Salvador Ramos and Vicente Franco, clarinetists; Francisco Borrás and Juan Noriega, French hornists; Juan Bastart, ophicleide; José Salabert and José Benaven, tenors; Tiburcio Portillo, bass. In addition the cathedral musical forces in 1858 continued including six singing chaplains, succentor and assistant succentor.⁷⁷

Gutiérrez who ruled this capilla for the next four decades until its dissolution in 1898 outranks every other Caribbean isle cathedral composer of his century. His eminent biographer Gustavo Batista Ortiz has assembled the following *curriculum vitae* from archival sources. His father, Julián Gutiérrez of Santander, who in 1815 was posted to San Juan with the First Granada Battalion (artillery), married Lucia Espinosa on June 9, 1822.⁷⁸ Pablo, their first child, was born March 22, 1823⁷⁹; Felipe was born May 26, 1825, and baptized June 4 in the cathedral. Clara was born August 12, 1828. Another younger brother, José, was in 1885 residing at Guayaba. Felipe died of chronic nephritis November 27, 1899. His wife Juana Bautista Medina,⁸⁰ native of Manatí, Puerto Rico, died July 4, 1887. They had no children and he died too poor to make a will. He was buried in La Capital cemetery.⁸¹

The army unit to which the composer's father belonged, the artillery Regimiento de Granada, revolted October 24, 1835, and was thereafter abolished. However, Julián Gutiérrez's own loyalty having been confirmed, he was contracted September 1, 1839, as a *músico de segunda clase* in the infantry Regimiento de Iberia and held that post until February 14, 1849. In 1845 Felipe followed his father's army footsteps by becoming a *músico mayor* of the Batallón de Iberia. So far as studies with

⁷⁶Louis Moreau Gottschalk and Adelina Patti made their San Juan debut May 16, 1858. At his June 23 concert a sonnet was dedicated to him and at his farewell he assembled all 250 musicians in San Juan in a monster concert (*El Fénix*, nos. 142 and 146 cited by Emilio J. Pasarell, *Orígenes y desarrollo de la afición teatral en Puerto Rico* [San Juan: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1951], p. 148).

⁷⁷"Guía eclesiástica de la Diócesis de Puerto-Rico," *Boletín eclesiástico de Puerto-Rico*, 1 (1859), 114–118. Emilio J. Pasarell, *Esculcando el Siglo XIX en Puerto Rico* (Barcelona: Ediciones Rumbos, 1967), pp. 31–32, misspelled Bastart and Salabert. Also Pasarell miscalled Aurelio Dueño a contralto. Callejo Ferrer, p. 36, mistook the clarinetists and the second and third singers. For the inauguration of the capilla, he said that Gutiérrez composed a Mass in C still occasionally performed in 1915 (possibly identifiable as the *Misa à Contraltos de niños*, dated February 1859, that was in 1977 N.º 8 among his works possessed by the illustrious investigator Gustavo Batista Ortiz, G.P.O. Box 3104, San Juan, P.R. 00936).

⁷⁸His parents: Baltazar Gutiérrez Izquierdo and Tadea de Dueña; hers: Antonio and María del Rosario Ortega. Their marriage in the cathedral parish was officiated by Manuel Almanza (Santa Iglesia Metropolitana, Archivo Parroquial, Matrimonios, V, fol. 79).

⁷⁹Archivo Parroquial, *Libro de Bautismos*, XI, fol. 39, núm. 2 [baptized March 22, 1823].

⁸⁰She was the daughter of José Antonio Medina of the Canary Islands and Juana Cortés, native of Manatí.

⁸¹According to *El País*, November 29, 1899, 2:4, he was buried November 28.

other musicians than his father, Braulio Dueño Colón said that he was heavily influenced by the cathedral organist who was elected July 30, 1847, Domingo Crisanto Delgado.⁸² Federico Asenjo who in 1868 wrote an essay on Gutiérrez's religious style called him an autodidact who had immersed himself in German music composed between 1780 and 1850.⁸³ On the other hand, he can have heard only Italian operas at the San Juan Teatro Municipal inaugurated in May 1832. Here was premiered Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* May 21, 1835, the first opera performed in Puerto Rico.⁸⁴ From 1839 Gutiérrez frequented every production in the Teatro Municipal, if we may believe Daubón.⁸⁵ In 1842 Steffano Busatti's visiting Italian company presented to deliriously enthusiastic San Juan audiences Donizetti's *Belisario* (May 15), *Lucia di Lammermoor* (September 29), *Lucrezia Borgia* (October 6), *Gemma di Vergy*, and *Marino Faliero*, Rossini's *Il Barbiere*, and Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda* and *Norma*. Since both the orchestra and chorus for these eight productions was locally recruited, each opera cost numerous rehearsals, *Norma* alone costing eight.⁸⁶

Having with his fellow islanders been thus immersed in Italian opera, Gutiérrez did not escape charges of plagiarizing Donizetti in his own highly successful first opera *Guarionex*.⁸⁷ The libretto of this three-act opera, reworked by Alejandro Tapia y Rivera from his "primitive legend" *La Palma del Cacique* (Madrid: Santiago Martínez Ael, 1852), distorts history by locating Guarionex's last revolt against the encroaching Spaniards not in Hispaniola in 1502 but in Borinquen (Puerto Rico) in 1511.

After having his life magnanimously spared in a duel with the handsome young Spanish captain Sotomayor, the Indian chief Guarionex assembles his allies. At midnight they treacherously attack Sotomayor, who is too brave to flee. Jealousy consumes Guarionex. Loarina, the Indian princess whom he has adored from the moment he spied her bathing nude, has transferred her affections to Sotomayor. Guarionex exults in himself delivering the death thrust. Loarina thereupon recoils from Guarionex in horror. But when Guarionex himself dies, she falls on his bier and insists on being interred with him. Taboa, Guarionex's faithful

⁸²Concerning his army career see Braulio Dueño Colón, "Felipe Gutiérrez y Espinosa, Maestro-Compositor," *Revista del Café* (Ponce, P.R.), XXXI/4 (March 1976), pp. 5 1-3, 6-7. As late as August 20, 1883, the composer was still *Músico Mayor* of the Regimiento de Iberia. On that day he asked an eight-day leave to conduct some personal business.

⁸³Federico Asenjo, *Las fiestas de San Juan. Reseña histórica de lo que han sido y de lo que son. Relación verídica de las que se celebran en este año de 1868*, ed. by Emilio M. Colón (San Juan: Editorial Coquí, 1971), p. 110.

⁸⁴Pasarell, *Orígenes*, pp. 74, 82. *Il Barbiere* was premiered at New York City November 29, 1825.

⁸⁵José Antonio Daubón, "El maestro Felipe Gutiérrez," in *Plumas amigas. Compilación de Trabajos en prosa y verso de miembros de la Sociedad de Escritores y Artistas de Puerto Rico. Cuarto Fascículo* (San Juan: Cantero Fernández & Co., 1913), p. 355.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 84. A scenery accident incapacitated the title role singer, Ester Corsini, at the third performance. Félix Astol Artés (1813-1901), a Spanish tenor with the company, arranged the music for what after various vicissitudes became the official Puerto Rican anthem *La Borinqueña* (adopted by the Puerto Rican Legislature July 24, 1952). See Cesáreo Rosa-Nieves and Ester M. Melón, *Biografías puertorriqueñas: Perfil histórico de un pueblo* (Sharon, Connecticut: Troutman Press, 1970), pp. 39-41, 453.

⁸⁷Pasarell, *Orígenes*, p. 114, argues for 1856 as the year of the première. In 1912 Manuel Martínez Plé (1861-1928) described *Guarionex* as a work with which he was personally familiar. See the quotation from his *Boletín Mercantil* article, "Euterpe Borinqueña," in Pasarell, *Orígenes*, p. 115. However, the score disappeared before 1977. *La Yuca*, an overture in Gustavo Batista's collection, may belong to *Guarionex*.

follower, joins in following her to the grave. From their combined remains grows a palm tree (*La Palma del Cacique*) that hurricanes have never yet uprooted.

Guarionex included a bass aria for the Indian *Taboa* that quickly passed into the repertory of regimental bands in the island. *La Guirnalda Puertorriqueña*, I/21 (August 30, 1856), eulogized the Indian *Taboa*'s aria in these terms:

The good taste shown in the bass aria, its sentiment, its fine melody and harmony, and the maintaining of interest to the end, speak favorably in behalf of its composer. In it he has shown how to drink from pure artistic fountains all that conduces to the beautiful and the sublime. The happy strokes in this aria have caused many to murmur that he plagiarized it from this or that composer. Nonetheless, not a single bar can be traced to any model. All that can be truly claimed is that Gutiérrez has studied one composer more than another, not that he has copied any single composer.⁸⁸

After *Guarionex* (sung in Spanish by five local actors⁸⁹), Gutiérrez next composed a two-act zarzuela *El amor de un pescador*, the libretto by Carlos M. Navarro y Almansa. Mounted December 13, 1857, at the San Juan Teatro Municipal, this zarzuela again enlisted none but Puerto Rican singers and players. Gutiérrez himself directed. His next two stage works failed of production in his lifetime, *El Bearnés* (four acts, libretto by Antonio Biaggi) and *Macías* (three, libretto⁹⁰ after the likenamed play by Mariano José de Larra: Madrid, September 2, 1834). However, when belatedly premiered at the San Juan Teatro Tapia August 24, 1977, the opera *Macías* immediately took rank as a paramount monument of Caribbean art-music.

All the more impressive is this opera—winner of a gold medal June 30, 1871, at the Exposición Pública in San Juan—because Gutiérrez completed it, orchestrated it, and himself penned the entire score dedicated to King Alfonso XII October 4, 1877, while simultaneously carrying out a full regimen of cathedral composing, conducting, and instructing. The astounding fertility of invention which made his collaborator Tapia y Rivera (1826–1882) the wonder of the century also accounts for Gutiérrez's successes. Tapia y Rivera's periodical *La Azucena*, II/42 (April 30, 1876), 1, paid Gutiérrez rightful tribute in a review of his cathedral compositions: "This year he gives us an Easter Mass, last year he presented us with an Ascension Mass; only the indefatigable laboriousness and application of this artist accounts for his amazing productiveness. His self-imposed task is the composition of one

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 116: "el gusto que distingue a esta composición (hablo del *aria*), su expresión sentimental, su buena melodía y armonía y el interés sostenido hasta el fin, son circunstancias que dicen mucho en pro de su autor; el cual ha sabido beber en las buenas fuentes del arte todo lo que ofrece de más bello y más sublime; rasgos hay en el *aria* muy felices, pero que *han hecho decir a muchos* que son copiados de tal o cual autor; empero un compás no forma una composición ni puede ser calificada; todo lo más que puede decirse es que el Sr. Gutiérrez ha estudiado más a un autor que a otro. pero no le ha copiado."

⁸⁹Francisco Oller (1833–1917), the bass who sang *el indio Taboa*, became more famous as a painter. See Federico Ribes Tovar, *Enciclopedia Puertorriqueña Ilustrada* (New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, 1970), I, 182–183. As late as 1915 he still fondly remembered passages from *Guarionex* (Callejo Ferrer, p. 184). Antonia Montilla who sang the feminine lead Loarina, Isabel Oller who sang the second female role Anona, the tenor Manuel Paniagua who sang the part of *el Español* and the baritone Antero Adzuar who sang the title role, were all members of La Sociedad Filarmonica. See Callejo Ferrer, pp. 33, 181, 184–185. The Ollers were brother and sister, Paniagua was Isabel's husband. With Adelina Patti she sang the soprano duet from *Norma* during the latter's 1858 San Juan concerts.

⁹⁰Dueño Colón attributed the libretto to Martín J. Travieso (Callejo Ferrer, p. 116), a Puerto Rican who made his literary debut in the first *Aguinaldo puertorriqueño* (1843).

major work for each festival of the church year celebrated with the assistance of the capilla of which he is worthy director."⁹¹

Even though data is still too sparse for any exact chronology, various highlights of his first fifteen years as cathedral maestro are flashed in the table below.

1859, January 18	Gutiérrez asks exclusive performance rights within the cathedral for the newly organized capilla. ⁹²
1860, April 12	The French consul requests a cathedral Te Deum for Napoleon III's birthday.
April 13	A royal order dated March 8 abolishes the cathedral woodwind quartet dating from Bishop Padilla's epoch (1688), and transfers the income to the capilla. ⁹³
1861	Gutiérrez's <i>Misa de San Juan Bautista</i> dedicated to the bishop calls for 12 voices and 50 instruments. ⁹⁴ The theme of the Kyrie is the plainchant hymn <i>Ut queant laxis</i> .
1862, December 13	Gregorio Ledesma, ⁹⁵ a native of Aragon exiled for his part in the Carlist wars, wins the competition for cathedral organist (continuing as such until death in 1874).
1863, February 13	Aided by the succentors Sebastián Borrás and Vicente Martínez, Antonio Escudero is appointed to give the four choirboys, and such cathedral chaplains as need it, a class in plainchant. The one-hour class shall meet three times weekly. ⁹⁶

⁹¹"La tarea que se ha impuesto, de consagrar una composición musical á cada una de las festividades de la Iglesia, á que haya de concurrir la Capilla de que es digno maestro . . ." Concerning *La Azucena*, see Josefina Rivera de Álvarez, *Diccionario de literatura puertorriqueña* (San Juan: Ediciones de La Torre, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1955), p. 421.

⁹²A.C., XX [1857-1859], fol. 229: "Gutiérrez pide la exclusiva en la Catedral, y la concede el Cabildo de conformidad con el Obispo."

⁹³A.C., XXI [1859-1865], fol. 39: "Real Orden de 7 de Marzo sobre los músicos chirimías la que en parte dice: Considerando que las obligaciones que la ley 17, título 10, libro 3º de la Recopilación de Indias, impuso a dichos individuos, sólo cumplen éstos la más fácil, cual es la de acompañar al Santísimo Sacramento en las festividades de Corpus y sus octavas . . . y teniendo presente que las plazas de que se trata han sido virtualmente suprimidos desde la Real Cédula de 20 de Abril [1859] asignó una cantidad para la dotación de la Capilla de Música . . ."

⁹⁴For informed criticism, see Asenjo, "Función religiosa" in *Las Fiestas de San Juan*, ed. Emilio M. Colón, p. 107. The Ayuntamiento patronized the performance in 1868. Asenjo called the melodies in the Quoniam "del más exquisito sentimiento." Instrumental solos such as the French horn before the Benedictus, or obbligatos such as that of the violin counterpointing a tenor solo, imprinted themselves indelibly on the listener, wrote Gutiérrez's critic. The contrast of majesty in the Incarnatus and of jubilation in the Et resurrexit could not have been better conceived, according to Asenjo.

⁹⁵A.C., XXI, fol. 206: "Se nombró organista de la Catedral por méritos de oposición a D. Gregorio Ledesma, por la maestría, precisión, limpieza y aplomo que desempeño todos los actos del concurso y por tener muchos años de práctica en el órgano, que ha tocado en otras catedrales, cuyas plazas ganó por oposición."

Ledesma taught piano and sold music and pianos at Ponce from 1853 (Pasarell, *Esculcando el siglo XIX*, pp. 48-49). In 1857 he accompanied the mezzo soprano Catalina de Ferrari and other artists concertizing at Ponce, and on January 7, 1858, he and Charles Allard participated in the fifth and final Ponce concert of Gottschalk and Adelina Ponce (Pasarell, *Orígenes*, pp. 132-133, 146). By 1865 he had established himself in San Juan where his sons Matías and José followed in his musical footsteps (Callejo Ferrer, pp. 44-45, 196).

⁹⁶A.C., XXI, fol. 216: "Se establece en la S.I.C., una hora de Academia de Canto Llano, bajo la dirección de D. Antonio Escudero."

1865. After the laying of a new floor, restoring of the painting in the central
November 5 nave, installing of the patron saint's statue, and reception of relics of St. Benedict, Bishop Pablo Benigno Carrión de Málaga consecrates the rebuilt cathedral.
- November 22 Gutiérrez's *Gran Misa de Santa Cecilia* for three soloists, chorus, and large orchestra wins first prize in the first composition contest held in Puerto Rico.⁹⁷ His rewards include a gold medal and diploma.
- 1869, Gutiérrez directs the music at the festival "de las Dagas" (stigmata) in
October 19 San Francisco Church. For conducting he receives 20 pesos, the tenor and baritone soloists receive 16 each, and 2 violins 8 each, flute, clarinet, horn, bombardino 8 each. During the Salve Regina and Mass an extra clarinet, horn, cello, 2 more violins, and 2 contraltos are added.
- This disposition (no choir, two adult male soloists, sparse use of boy soloists, 11-piece chamber orchestra) typifies Gutiérrez's forces not only in guest appearances at San José and San Francisco churches, but also in the cathedral.
- 1871, Gutiérrez⁹⁸ petitions the San Juan Ayuntamiento to subsidize a free Aca-
May 16 demia de Música for apt youth.⁹⁹ He guarantees at least 70 pupils in a letter describing the project. His academy, having functioned since February 3, 1871 (with Corregidor Bartolomé Borrás's permission), has jumped to an enrollment of 360 pupils by May 16. The Town Council in January 1872 accedes with a monthly 250 pesos paid through March 1874.
- June 30 *Macías* wins a gold medal at the Exposición Pública in San Juan.
- 1872, Gutiérrez petitions a one- or two-year subvention from the Ayuntamiento,
December 20 permitting him to study and travel in Europe which he has never seen.
- 1873, After approval by the Ex^{ma} Diputación Provincial, the Ayuntamiento
February 27 grants him 250 pesetas monthly. On March 1 Rosario Ceruti, Músico Mayor del Batallón de Artillería, agrees to direct the Academia while he is in Europe. On March 5 the Ayuntamiento guarantees to pay 1500 pesetas when he embarks.¹⁰⁰ During his absence the rest will be paid through his younger brother, José (second and last instalment collected January 22, 1874).
- April 24 He embarks for Europe. The night before sailing he is regaled with a four-stanza hymn (text by Manuel Dueño Colón, music by Rosario Ceruti)

⁹⁷Callejo Ferrer, p. 196. The judges were Aurelio Dueño (father of Braulio Dueño Colón), who at the last moment substituted for Gregorio Ledesma, Rosario Ceruti (*not* Aruti), and Santiago Arcas or Arcos. The latter two were the band leaders of the Artillery and Cádiz battalions.

⁹⁸Data concerning his academy was researched by Gustavo Batista Ortiz from the Ayuntamiento de San Juan de Puerto-Rico Archivo, Año de 1871, Legajo núm 57, Dep^{to} de Fomento, núm 33: "Expediente relativo a una instancia de D.ⁿ Felipe Gutiérrez interesando se le conceda una subvencion para sostener la Academia de música que tiene establecida." During the absence of Francisco Oller (the painter who sang the role of el indio Taboa in *Guarionex*) the academy had functioned free on his premises, but now that he was back classes were suspended for lack of locale, states the petition dated May 16, 1871. Gutiérrez wanted 50 pesos for monthly rent, 10 for materials.

⁹⁹In handwritten quarterly reports submitted to the S^{or} Secretario de la Junta Local de Gobernación Pública de esta Ciudad throughout 1872, he mentions classes in solfège, harmony, other branches of theory, and various instruments. Braulio Dueño Colón studied in this academy.

¹⁰⁰Callejo Ferrer, pp. 109-110, mistakenly reported his date of embarkation as April 24, 1876, and misspelled the name of his substitute, the Italian band director, Rosario Ceruti who composed the hymn sung in his honor the night before sailing. However he did rightly report on his age on sailing as 48.

apostrophizing him as the "cantor de la bella, feliz Borinquen." But at Vienna he cannot negotiate in German and at Paris he is disappointed to learn that the leading musicians have never even heard of Puerto Rico, much less of any of its composers.¹⁰¹

Upon returning home in mid-1874 Gutiérrez resumed both his cathedral and army¹⁰² posts. In 1875 appeared the third edition of his *Teoría de la música* (San Juan: Imprenta de Sancerrit [Fortaleza 21]).¹⁰³ He bid for the premiere of *Macías* at Madrid by sending Alfonso XII the full score with a dedication dated October 4, 1877. This fortunate dispatch saved his reputation for posterity. When *Macías* was at last premiered in 1977, a microfilm of Gutiérrez's manuscript now at the Madrid Biblioteca de Palacio served as the source for both the conductor's score and the orchestral players' parts.

In 1880 Braulio Dueño Colón (San Juan, March 26, 1854; Bayamón, April 4, 1934)¹⁰⁴ won the competition for cathedral flautist. The rest of the orchestra in that year consisted of two interim violinists, Julián Andino, composer of popular songs, dances, and stage works,¹⁰⁵ and José Rendón; a third violinist Sergio Lecompte,¹⁰⁶ who was better skilled than the second; a clarinetist Francisco Verar¹⁰⁷ who did Gutiérrez great service by copying works now in the Archivo General de Puerto Rico; and two French hornists, José Bey and Vicente Jordán. In 1882 José Agulló y Prats became organist and Lecompte ascended to second violinist. Around 1885 Pepe París became first hornist, and José Laza was hired to play *bombardino* (euphonium).

However, the later instrument must have been constantly in use from no later than 1864, the date of a Gutiérrez *Salve Regina* that includes it (itemized as 13 among his works in the Archivo General de Puerto Rico). Gutiérrez's *Misa a dos voces* of 1872 and all other works dated later than 1864 call for it. His *Misa de Requiem N° 2* in C Minor of 1867 even contains a part for saxophone in E flat.¹⁰⁸

Despite these cathedral orchestral players, more regulars were needed for the

¹⁰¹Callejo Ferrer, p. 111. At Paris Georges Mathias (1826-1910), to whom he dedicated a quartet, could not even find Puerto Rico on a world map. Cuba was a line, Santo Domingo a dot, but Puerto Rico did not exist. "Until that memorable day, I never fully comprehended how small is our country, and how unknown are Puerto Ricans elsewhere in the world." Gutiérrez confessed to Braulio Dueño Colón on returning.

¹⁰²Músico Mayor of the Regimiento de Iberia.

¹⁰³José Géigel y Zenón, *Bibliografía puertorriqueña* (Barcelona: Editorial Araluce, 1934), p. 150 (item 216).

¹⁰⁴For his sacred works, all but one with orchestra and all antedating 1898, see Callejo Ferrer, p. 99: Mass in C, 2 voices; Salve in C, 2 voices; Salve in D, mezzo-soprano, chorus [organ optional]; *Letanias* in G, contralto, chorus; *Ave Maria*, 4 voices (won first prize in the Ateneo contest of 1882). He also wrote a *Pater noster* for mezzo and organ.

¹⁰⁵Listed in Callejo Ferrer, p. 216.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁷Born at San Juan in 1850, he studied with Salvador Laloma. In 1867 he competed successfully for a musician's post in the Madrid Battalion, in 1872 he became *músico mayor* of the Firemen's Band at Mayagüez, and in 1880 Sandalio Callejo brought him back to San Juan as *requinto* in the Volunteers First Battalion Band and as music teacher in the Orphans' Asylum. From 1881 to 1898 he was cathedral clarinetist. In 1901 he organized the Island Police Band, in existence in 1908. In 1915 he conducted the Municipal Band of Manatí. For further biography, see Callejo Ferrer, pp. 291-292.

¹⁰⁸Charles Allard, brother of the Paris Conservatoire Allard, introduced the saxophone at Ponce (Regimiento de Cádiz) in 1857. On June 11, 1858, he played at Ponce a solo for saxophone by Joaquin Montón, *El Patriota*. See Pasarell, *Esculcando*, pp. 13, 70.

ambitious repertory of the 1880s. In 1891 José J. Nin (secretary of the chapter since 1876¹⁰⁹) petitioned the crown for additional salaried instrumentalists and relief from a ten percent tax on musicians' incomes.¹¹⁰ The autonomous Puerto Rican government created by decree of November 27, 1897, ceased payment of all cathedral musicians' salaries. Agullo y Prats, cathedral organist, therefore returned home to Spain.¹¹¹ Throughout 1898 the now 73-old childless Gutiérrez (who had been a widower since 1887) earned 40 pesos monthly as concierge of the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza. After lowering of the Spanish flags at San Juan on November 18, 1898 and abolition of the Instituto, he received during his last seven months a pension of 20 pesos from the San Juan *municipio*.¹¹²

As for his appearance, Gutiérrez was tall, had a broad forehead, was of olive complexion, and customarily wore black. He smoked and was an avid coffee drinker. His affability and his kindness to children were proverbial. None was more industrious than he. His manuscripts testify to rapid creation. He often turned crossed out passages into floral or geometrical designs. He read widely and constantly—literature as well as music scores. Much concerned with his reputation, he always believed that his merits would be recognized without his having to fight for his place.

He did however have a healthy respect for his position as maestro. When a guard tried to push him out of a gallery containing a portrait done by Campeche that he was admiring he remonstrated that he was cathedral *maestro de capilla*—as if being maestro were sufficient excuse for tarrying when the San Juan town council was about to assemble in that very room. This contretemps would have ended with a night in prison had not he been rescued by Braulio Dueño Colón's father (who was Royal Audiencia procurator as well as cathedral bassist).

Consistently with so high a view of the maestro de capilla's calling, Gutiérrez wrote nothing but Masses, Te Deums, Misereres, and Passions in the religious vein; operas in the secular. Martínez Plée—who in 1911 demanded that Puerto Rican composers limit themselves to danzas and other regional folkloric pieces, utterly eschewing operas, symphonies, and concertos¹¹³—denounced Gutiérrez's *Guarionex* for being not even an opera, but worse still an oratorio.¹¹⁴ In Martínez Plée's opinion the true Puerto Rican laureates were Juan Morell Campos (1857–1896) and

¹⁰⁹Hostos, *Tesaurus* II, 99.

¹¹⁰Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Ultramar, *III Inventario de la Serie Gracia y Justicia de Puerto Rico*, ed. by María Teresa de la Peña Marazuela and others (Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1975), p. 191. "Don José J. Nin, en nombre de los capellanes de coro de la catedral de Puerto Rico, y don Felipe Gutierrez, maestro de capilla, solicitan el establecimiento de asignaciones de ministros subalternos y capilla de música y supresión del impuesto del 10 por 100 sobre sus haberes" (4 documents).

¹¹¹Callejo Ferrer, p. 58.

¹¹²Dueño Colón in *Revista de Café*, XXXI/4, p. 56.

¹¹³"Por la Danza de Puerto Rico," *Pica-Pica*, June 17, 1911: "Escribid danzas, maestros de Puerto Rico: escribid nuevas 'Borinqueñas', nuevas 'Criollas', nuevos 'Días felices', nuevas 'Últimas Ilusiones', nuevos 'Amparos'. No os metais en sinfonías, las grandes sinfonías están hechas. *No tratemos de dar* á la civilización universal lo que no podemos darle, y procuremosnos lo que ella no pueda procurarnos. Recordad lo que dijo Jorge Brandes, ese cesar danés de las inteligencias en nuestro tiempo: 'tratad de lo que es nuestro, tratad de lo que sabéis sentir.'"

¹¹⁴Pasarell, *Orígenes*, p. 115: "acostumbrado a escribir misas y salves, su ópera [*Guarionex*] carece de movimiento lírico y de acento dramático, y, cambiándole la letra, quedará en lo que verdaderamente es: un oratorio. Estudió mucho a Mozart y Haydn." Martínez Plée's chronology errs. *Guarionex* much

Manuel G. Tavárez (1843–1883) composer of danzas—not Gutiérrez, composer of Masses and operas.

At last in 1977 Gutiérrez gained the world's "pardon" (if not Martínez Plée's) for having written operas, rather than danzas, by reason of the resounding success of *Macías*. So far as his sacred works go, no well prepared performance in recent years has failed of enthusiastic acclaim.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, his sacred works had by 1977 suffered wide dispersal. At Caracas, Venezuela, the Biblioteca Nacional (Fondo no bibliográfico in the Las Mercedes branch) owned the two Masses thus catalogued:¹¹⁶

Misa a duo con dos Violines, dos Vozes, dos trompas, Flauta, Clarinette, contrabajo, y Bombardino. (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo in B \flat , sanctus in F, Agnus in G minor. Concords with Archivo General de Puerto Rico, San Juan, Felipe Gutiérrez collection, item 7, dated 1872.)

Misa a dos voces con dos violines, dos cornos, flauta, clarinete, bajo y bombardino, do mayor. (C Major, dated at Caracas, 1867.)

The private collection of Gustavo Batista Ortiz boasted eight more Masses, two of them Requiems.

Misa à 2 contraltos de niños, Febrero 1859. Kyrie in C Major. Flute, clarinets in C, horn in F, violins 1 & 2, bass. Voz 1^a & 2^a.

Misa a 2 voces. Kyrie in G. Sanctus and Benedictus in G minor, rest in G Major. Only Voz 2^a part.

Misa dela Anunciata. Kyrie F minor 4/4, Gloria 4/4 and Credo 3/4 F Major, Sanctus F minor 3/4, instrumental offertory G minor 4/4, Agnus F Major 3/4. Flute, clarinet in C, cornet in B \flat , horns in F, bombardino, violins 1 & 2, double bass. Solo tenor.

Misa de San José. Kyrie and Gloria in G Major, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus in C (with interior movements in related keys). Flute, 2 clarinets in C, horns in D, bombardino, violins 1 & 2, cello, double bass. Solo tenor. Concords with Archivo General de Puerto Rico, Gutiérrez collection, item 8.

Misa pastorela. C Major. Dotted 6/8 Kyrie. Sanctus and Agnus missing. Only Voz 1^a & 2^a parts.

Misa para voces de Niño. Kyrie and Gloria in B \flat , Credo and Sanctus in C, Agnus A minor.

Misa pequeña a 2 voces, B \flat .

Misa de Requiem. G minor. Kyrie 4/4; Sequence C minor 3/4 (perhaps interspersed with sections from Mozart's *Dies irae*); Sanctus B \flat ; Benedictus G minor; Agnus repeats music of Sanctus. Extant parts: Voz 1^a, voz 2^a [tenors], flute, clarinet [in C], vns 1 and 2.

Misa de Requiem N.º 2 ("dedica por su autor a la muerte de N.S. Jesucristo à orquesta pequeña"). C minor. Kyrie-Dies irae-Sanctus & Benedictus [E \flat]. Parts: flute, 2 clarinets B \flat , saxophone E \flat , cornet B \flat , 2 horns E \flat , bombardino, [strings]; 2 tenors in G clef [sounding octave lower]. 10-stave score.

preceded Gutiérrez's appointment as cathedral maestro de capilla. Born in 1861, five years after *Guarionex* was produced, Martínez Plée never saw the opera mounted. Nor is it likely that he ever saw the score.

¹¹⁵E. Ramírez Brau. "Interpretarán obra de Felipe Gutiérrez el día Viernes Santo. Se trata de las Siete Palabras, obra cumbre entre la música sacra." *El Mundo*. March 11, 1948, p. 21; "Cantarán las Siete Palabras de Felipe Gutiérrez." *El Mundo*. March 23, 1948, p. 8; see also April 13, 1949, p. 9.

¹¹⁶Ingrid Hernández Mantellini and Jorge Escobar Rago. *Inventario de manuscritos musicales propiedad de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Caracas: Biblioteca Nacional, 1977). pp. 2 and 110 (items 6 and 576).

The Gustavo Batista Ortiz collection included also *Las Siete Palabras*: 10 *Salve Regina*, including those numbered 3, 5, 7, and others dated 1865 ("Novenario Belén"), 1878 ("Grande," 2 voces y coro) and 1892 ("Solemne," niños y órgano); *Te Deum*; *Tota pulchra*¹¹⁷; *Miserere*¹¹⁸; Passions for Palm Sunday and Good Friday dated 1870; *Lamentación* 3^o for Maundy Thursday dated 1867; *Parce mihi*, 1871; *Gozos de la Inmaculada Concepción*, 1878; *Reservas de 8^{va} de Corpus N^o 10*, 1866.

The Archivo General de Puerto Rico owned in 1977 incomplete parts for Gutiérrez's *Salve Regina* numbered 3 and 8 and for a *Salve* dated 1864 ("obligado a barítono"), for two sets of *Letanías* ("de Nuestra Señora de Belén" and "Jesuitas"), for *Novenario y Gozos de la Purísima Concepción*, *Conclusión de Novenas*, and *Despedida y adiós a la Virgen*.

The profound emotion that many of these sacred works inspired in so sensitive and informed a critic as Braulio Dueño Colón justifies their revival. They may yet place Gutiérrez on a pedestal shared with only two or three other greatest Latin Americans of his century.

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¹¹⁷In Dueño Colón's catalogue (Callejo Ferrer, p. 115) he calls this *Tota pulchra* for chorus and orchestra the first work composed in Puerto Rico with saxophone solo.

¹¹⁸Dueño Colón, p. 114, cites this *Miserere* for 3 voices and orchestra as "one of the master's most inspired works. The sometimes somber, sometimes pathetic character inspires terror, so forceful is the master's expression throughout most of the psalm."

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 115: "The Third Lamentation in G minor is the work that most profusely illustrates his unquenchable genius. How bitter the sorrow this sublime music exhales! The composer seems to have translated into the language of sound the cruel vicissitudes of his own life: the bitterness of seeing one after another of his sisters die of tuberculosis, his own harsh poverty, the silent war with certain political reactionaries in his own orchestra because they disapproved of his liberal political views. Even yet I can hear the master's baritone voice as he pleaded in the Latin of Jeremiah's text: *Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return to the Lord Thy God!* He seemed then to be addressing his enemies, imploring them to repent of the evil they did him. Dear departed Master!"

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