

**Musical Women and Identity-Building
in Early Independent Mexico (1821-1854)**

Yael Bitrán Goren

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

Music Department,

Royal Holloway, University of London

2012

Declaration of Authorship

I, Yael Bitrán Goren, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: Yael Bitrán

Date: 13 April 2012

Abstract

This thesis investigates music in Mexico City, with an emphasis on women's relationship to Romanticism, education, consumption, domestic music-making and public performance. During the first decades after independence in 1821, Mexicans began the process of constructing an identity, which musically speaking meant an expansion of the secular musical world. Such construction involved the development of internal activity alongside a conditional receptivity to external influence in the form of the visits of Italian opera companies such as those of Manuel García and Max Maretzek, and travelling virtuosi such as pianist virtuoso Henri Herz, who brought new repertoire and performance practices to Mexican theatres and homes. As consumers and as musicians, women were at the centre of such developments. In Mexico, both European music and that of local musicians was disseminated by means of ladies' journals and imported and locally-printed sheet music by foreign and Mexican composers, in order to supply a growing home market for amateurs. Abundant surviving repertoire for the home, the widespread availability of musical instruction as revealed through advertisements, and witness accounts of soirées and concerts in the theatre reveal a budding musical world that has hitherto been overlooked and which occurred during a period generally deemed of little importance in Mexican musical history.

By investigating a key period in the social-cultural history of Mexican music, this thesis crafts a narrative of intersections between the musical life of Mexican women and the incipient construction of a musical-cultural identity.

Index of Contents

Declaration.....	2
Abstract.....	3
Index of Contents.....	4
Acknowledgements.....	5
Introduction.....	7
Chapter 1. ‘An excess of sensibility’. Constructing Women’s Identity in Romantic Mexico.....	27
Chapter 2. Albums for Young Mexican Women: Music, Dance and Iconography.....	60
Chapter 3. Women Musicians and their Teachers in Independent Mexico.....	111
Chapter 4. The Operatic World of the New Nation.....	155
Chapter 5. Henri Herz: A European Virtuoso in Mexico (1849-1850).....	208
Conclusion.....	249
Bibliography.....	262
Table I. Composers and Arrangers.....	283
Table II. Musical Genres.....	287
Table III. Album Josefa Zúñiga.....	290
Table IV. Album Instructor Filarmónico, Vol. I.....	295
Table V. Album Instructor Filarmónico, Vol. II.....	298
Appendix A. Henri Herz’s Concert Programs in Mexico City as Published by Mexican Newspapers.....	300
Appendix B. Original Spanish Quotes.....	307

Acknowledgments

I thank my parents, Sofía and Daniel Bitrán, my brothers Arón and Álvaro, and their families, for their love, encouragement and support, and also my brother Saúl, for having brought me countless books and CDs from the US that were necessary for my research.

I am very grateful to my supervisor Professor Katharine Ellis for her indefatigable, generous support and reassuring advice throughout the project, together with her willingness to overcome the challenges of long-distance supervisory work.

The thesis benefited from the corrections and observations made by the committee members Dr Benjamin Walton and Dr Matthew Head, for which I am deeply thankful.

I would further like to thank my musicologist colleagues in Mexico for their support in different ways and in diverse moments of this project: Aurelio Tello, Karl Bellinghausen, Jesús Herrera, Armando Gómez, Nelson Hurtado, Omar Morales Abril, José Luis Segura Maldonado, Lorena Díaz Núñez and Ricardo Miranda. I especially thank Eduardo Contreras Soto for the hours of company and conversation we have shared through these years. I would further like to thank my friends Anette Pier, Pilar Montes de Oca Sicilia, Claudia Montero, Juan Arturo Brennan, Álvaro Vázquez Mantecón, Gabriela Rivera, Blanca Avendaño, Marina Elías, Adriana Herrera and Mónica Sesma.

My deepest thanks to Catherine Rendón for editing considerable parts of this thesis, translating part of the quotes and helping me with my conundrums with the English language; her generous help and friendship were invaluable.

I would further like to thank my friends and colleagues John Koegel and John Lazos for their generosity and their support sending materials that they found for me in American and Canadian libraries and also for their constant disposition to embark upon an enriching academic dialogue. Thanks are due to Dr Lois Zamora for her support and careful and constructive reading of part of this work. The academic exchange with Dr Haiganus Preda-Schimek was enriching for both of us, and I thank her sharing her work with me. I thank Eugenia Roldán Vera and Javier Álvarez for having informed me about universities and PhD programs in England and having encouraged me to undertake this project.

I thank Dr Henry Stobart, my advisor, for his encouragement and support. I also thank Dr Julian Johnson and Dr Julie Brown and Directors of Graduate Studies of the Music Department in different moments of this thesis for having supported me with letters needed for my Mexican scholarship and in other ways. Professors Jim Samson and Tina K. Ramnarine provided valuable comments that enriched my original proposal. Nanette Elias, Faculty Administrator, was always helpful in sending across the ocean several letters and documents I needed in Mexico.

While in England, living with my family, I was fortunate to meet wonderful people who made our stay there a great experience and who have remained friends throughout these years: Andrew and Helen Taylor, Ana Muñoz and Andrés Carvajal, Natalie Tsaldaraki and Panayotis Archontides, Thomas Hilder, Matthew Pritchard, Juliane Dorsch, Lena Hoppe, Andrea Bohlman, John Ling and Rachel Beckles-Willson. They too deserve my thanks.

This thesis has been generously funded by the government of Mexico through the Study Abroad Program of The National Fund for the Culture and the Arts (FONCA) during three full years. For this, and the three months leave that the National Centre for Musical Research (Cenidim/INBA) granted me in the final writing months, I feel honoured and deeply thankful.

For my children, León, Samuel and Clara this thesis is an integral part of their lives; I thank them for enduring the process and giving me reasons to carry on with this project. Georg Leidenberger, my husband, was the unremitting support in all areas of my life during its realization. His love for me and faith in my capacity to complete this thesis, along with an engaging impatience, were indispensable ingredients for this project to come to light.

México D.F., April 2012

Introduction

After independence in 1821, the Mexican upper classes embarked on the construction of political institutions, a constitution (issued in 1824), and definition of a national profile and identity. If by the end of the colonial times this exclusive and learned elite comprised ‘noblemen and aristocrats, high bureaucrats, clergymen, professionals, professors and students’,¹ after independence the grouping expanded to include lawyers and intellectuals who founded ‘literary, scientific, and economic associations (whose publishers, readers and members overlapped)’.² This thesis engages with their musical world, centring on Mexico City during the first independent decades after three centuries of Spanish dominion. Diverse ingredients constituted that world. A thriving community of amateur musicians, many of them women, was eager to play, to sing or to listen to the musical novelties coming from Europe, and to savour local compositions. Additionally, this musical community represented the majority of people attending concerts at the National Theatre. The men of the Mexican bourgeoisie liked music not only for musical reasons but also because performances facilitated interaction, during the intervals and also during the spectacles themselves. In addition, it was fashionable for the men of the elite to take prominent positions in the organisation of musical events. Theatre performances served as a laboratory to regulate standards in behaviour, including the reception of new repertoire and performance practices by visiting musicians and companies, who also played a role in the creation of a Mexican musical profile.

A growing market for instruments, music teachers and for sheet music for the home sustained this participatory culture while a freelance professional community also developed, dependent on its own financial means after centuries of church patronage which was now in decline. Professional musicians were employed as teachers for private classes, and a few created their own academies or taught music in schools. Their employment options included poorly paid jobs in orchestras or choirs for visiting companies and musicians, making musical arrangements, or publishing their own compositions for theatre or home consumption. Some of these musicians were preoccupied with the construction of a national musical profile, including the

¹ Victor M. Uribe-Uran, ‘The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, No.2 (2000), 437.

² *Ibid.*, 445.

musical education of a community that would come to be worthy of the new country, as well as composing pieces with a local flavour. Finally, adventurous opera companies and visiting musicians from Europe were willing to face bandits, political unrest and nearly impassable roads in order to obtain adoration and, especially, large profits.

This thesis concentrates on the musical spaces of the home and the theatre and on how they interacted, paying special attention to the participation of women. The emphasis is historical and aims at the construction of a cultural and social history of music performance, public formation, reception, consumption and social integration among the Mexican high-bourgeoisie. In Matthew Head's words: 'For the historian, the challenge of "music as a cultural practice" is to situate the new stories music is heard to tell within a specific material world inhabited by musicians and listeners who themselves produced those stories through performance and interpretation'.³ Within this 'specific material world', we have granted the home special importance as a centre for musical production and consumption. All actors within the musical community interacted there, and their many stories have been generally overlooked because of the nature of the music performed (mostly salon repertoire), the main actors (women) and, last but not least, the difficulty of documenting the phenomenon. A wide array of primary sources from the period, such as sheet music (including the cover images—as carriers of socio-cultural and not only musical meaning—)⁴ pamphlets, newspaper and magazine advertisements, chronicles and articles, paintings, novels, short stories and poems, are the basis for this construction of a 'thick description' to use anthropologist Clifford Geertz's concept of culture.⁵

The timeframe of the thesis extends from 1821, the year of Mexico's final independence from Spain, to 1854, by when a first stage of consolidation of the new republic had ended and a gradual consolidation of music institutions and symbols had taken place. It was also the year of the composition of the national anthem (which is sung in Mexican schools on every Monday to this day), and that of the

³ Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (Summer, 1999), 205.

⁴ Valuable examples of this type of reading include Candace Bailey, 'The Antebellum 'Piano Girl' in the American South,' *Performance Practice Review*, 13 (2008), Claremont Graduate University: 1-43, and James Davies, 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 131, No. 2 (2006), 287-309.

⁵ Clifford Geertz, 'Chapter One. Description: Toward and Interpretive Theory of Culture,' *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30.

celebrated German soprano Henriette Sontag's death in Mexico from cholera. The year 1854 is symbolically taken as the end of an era. About fifty years later, a vigorous nationalistic musical movement developed in Mexico, to which many well-known composers such as Silvestre Revueltas, Carlos Chávez, Manuel M. Ponce and José Pablo Moncayo belonged. This period in Mexican music history has been widely studied and documented. The flourishing of that world of composition is illuminated by the less glamorous beginnings probed in this thesis, which contends that Mexico's nationalistic period can be better understood by looking not only at the composers who preceded the famous generation of Chávez and Revueltas, but also by examining the musical culture of their predecessors. Moreover, the complex interactions between the community of the Mexican capital and the European musical world form a running thread in this thesis, which examines the cultural traffic between European and Mexican music and musical practices through concepts such as adaptation and resistance, as developed by historian Mary-Louise Pratt.⁶

Partly this period of Mexican musical history has been underplayed or disregarded in Mexican music histories due to the apparent absence of 'canonic' subjects for musicological study, such as great composers and compositions and notable performers. This thesis demonstrates that when seen from a broader historical-cultural standpoint, the period contributed greatly to the development of a secular musical community in Mexico. Among other things, I argue that the construction of an early Mexican musical identity encompassed the forging of a national-sounding music that consisted initially in salon pieces and that was encouraged by an emerging musical publishing industry and consumer market.

After achieving independence, Mexico was plunged into a period of internal factionalism and division whose political instability manifested itself through the inability of any one president to finish his term. The liberal and conservative parties were violently negotiating conflicting views over the shape the nation ought to take, as monarchist tendencies were still strong within the new republic, and federalist leanings competed with centralist ones. The role Indians and *mestizos* were to play in the country's social and political life remained unclear. Both groups found themselves marginalized within a nation created essentially by the *criollos*, or Spanish descendants, who inherited the power previously held by the Spaniards and

⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

maintained the class structures. A powerful institution was the Church, which continued to meddle in governmental and civic affairs at least until 1859, when the liberal government promulgated the Reform Laws, which officially separated State and Church. A system of 'institutionalised disorder, in which the republic moved from crisis to crisis, the steadily growing burden of foreign and domestic debt [was] the best measure of the republic's weakness. [...] The price for these decades of internal conflict was paid in 1845-8, when the United States declared war and inflicted an overwhelming defeat on a demoralised and divided Mexican army'.⁷

Mexico, not unlike nineteenth-century European countries, reacted to foreign invasions with formidable patriotism. According to historian Carlos Illades: 'In the formation of the [Mexican] national consciousness, one finds a confluence of the experience of fighting external invaders, with a consequent heightening of patriotic sentiment, and the budding of literature, visual arts and science devoted to the national cause.'⁸ Music too formed part of the recipe that created Mexican identity.

Ever since the arrival of the Spaniards, music had been a relatively accepted medium for the cultural integration of European values. During the three centuries that ran from 1521, the year of the conquest of the Aztec's capital Tenochtitlan, to 1821, which marked definitive independence from Spain (as negotiated by the *criollo* colonel Agustín de Iturbide), the Catholic Church was the richest and the most dominating colonial institution. Mexico (called New Spain at the time) was Spain's most important overseas possession, providing it with abundant supplies of silver and gold. Obtaining a tenth of the metal being exported, New Spain's Church financed not only luxurious altarpieces in churches across the colony, but also musical chapels of the highest level. These included imported chapel masters from the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian courts who conducted choirs and orchestras in cathedrals located in Mexico's main cities. Throughout the year, local and foreign composers composed music for religious festivities that was played by professional and amateur musicians. Children following an ecclesiastical career learnt music in church schools and went on to become singers, organists or instrumentalists in cathedral orchestras.

⁷ D. A. Brading, *The First America. The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal States: 1492-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 640.

⁸ Carlos Illades, *Nación, sociedad y utopía en el romanticismo mexicano*, Sello Bermejo (Mexico: Conaculta, 2005), 20. This and the following translations from Spanish texts are mine unless indicated otherwise.

A wealth of high-quality compositions attests to a vibrant religious music movement within the Mexican Church.

The importance that colonial and peninsular authorities conferred on music was partly due to the fact that music was, from the conquest onwards, a device capable of attracting Indians towards Catholic religious practices in ways no other element could. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Church consciously used music in order to Christianize the indigenous population. In addition, in New Spain, representations of drama, another catechizing device that included music, took place inside churches, in atriums, religious schools or plazas. Musical gatherings also took place in the homes of the *criollos*, although not as frequently as after independence. There are ecclesiastical documents dating from as early as the sixteenth century that express concern over the ‘excessive fondness’ Indians displayed for music in churches, a predilection that was lacking either with regard to the learning of the Spanish language or the Catholic religion itself. As will be demonstrated, a similar critical charge of ‘excessive fondness’ for music was directed at women of the upper classes in the mid-nineteenth century. This parallelism suggests that subdued subjects in New Spanish/Mexican history seemed to have found in music a means of expression, or at least a source of enjoyment, that proved problematic in terms of control by the dominant, male, contingent.

During the three centuries of dominion, Spain held over her colonies a monopoly regarding the publication and circulation of printed materials that affected the variety and amount of music available. From the second half of the eighteenth century onward, however, the Colonial authorities started to lose the battle *vis à vis* smuggling in all areas of economic activity, and in music this meant a growing market of imported sheet music and local publications. Smuggling co-existed with legal imports and the deep-rooted practice of making hand-written copies. A growing market of sheet music for home consumption ran parallel to the theatre’s performances. Music merchants allowed the community access, via domestic formats, to what they had heard in the theatre, while they also supplied a vast array of other European music. They also provided music in advance of theatre performances, bringing the local community closer to European musical fashions despite not having a regular theatrical life.

An inventory from the estate of publisher and bookseller José Fernández de Jáuregui after his death in 1801 provides testimony of the music repertory being sold

at a store at the end of colonial times.⁹ There is a predominance of classical composers with pieces for different instrumental combinations: symphonies, sextets, quartets, trios and duets, as well as diverse forms, such as sonatas, serenatas, concertos and individual pieces for solo instrument (particularly guitar, cello, piano, flute and violin). Composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Stamitz, Johann Christian Bach, Boccherini, Paisiello, Cimarosa and Clementi, among many others, are included on this list. Interestingly, Fernández de Jáuregui also sold Spanish and Mexican music, such as *sonecitos de la tierra*, *tiranas* and *boleras*.¹⁰

A study by John Koegel has revealed invaluable Mexican musical sources in the Sutro Library in San Francisco that corroborate the extent to which all kinds of European music reached the New Spanish territory during the last decades of its existence, in quantity and variety unheard of before. In it, Koegel also revealed important facts about the circulation of music at the end of the colonial era: imported theatrical songs from the Spanish court and theatre that were sung at the Coliseum were frequently sold in stores for home consumption. Ballet and dance music from Europe and Mexico, arias and overtures from Italian operas, and music from the Classical period were all played at the theatre and in the homes of the *criollos* in chamber music forms, handwritten in notebooks.¹¹ The Sutro collection is a proof of the significant circulation of secular printed music from Europe in Mexico at the time.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, opera gradually took prevalence over the Spanish *seguidillas* and *tonadillas escénicas*, the most popular genres during Colonial times. The change in taste and repertoire proved gradual and started to take place by the end of colonial times. According to Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *tonadillas* met Rossinian opera ‘without confrontation, clashes or rivalries, announcing the beginning of the era of great Italian opera’, which he situates in 1805.¹² It was Italian opera sung in Spanish by Spanish *tonadilleros* and, to a lesser

⁹ See John Koegel, ‘Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España,’ trans. by Yael Bitrán, *Heterofonía* 116-117 (1997), 25-26, and also Ricardo Miranda, ‘Reflexiones sobre el clasicismo en México (1770-1840),’ *Heterofonía*, 116-117, (1997), 39-50.

¹⁰ This inventory demonstrates, that Classicism was playing a decisive role at the end of Colonial times, despite earlier claims by historians that this musical school was practically nonexistent in Mexico and that the country nearly bypassed it to transit directly from Baroque to Romanticism. Miranda, ‘Reflexiones sobre el Clasicismo,’ *passim*.

¹¹ Koegel, ‘Nuevas fuentes musicales,’ 9-37.

¹² Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música, III. La música en el periodo independiente* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes/Departamento de Música/Sección de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 106.

extent, by local actors educated in the Spanish style, since no Italian companies had arrived at the time. The date provided by Baqueiro Fóster seems somewhat early regarding the available evidence of Italian opera in theatres and homes; I would be more inclined to subscribe to John Koegel's more cautious claim that '[t]he dominance of Italian opera in performance and in compositional style within theatrical and non-theatrical contexts, as well as social prestige, was a constant factor at least from the 1820s.'¹³ In any event, it was not until Manuel García and his company's visit to Mexico in 1826 that the country heard Italian opera in its original language. From then on, as we explore in this thesis, Italian opera in Italian reigned supreme for the better part of the nineteenth century.

Although important historians of nineteenth-century Mexican music implicitly recognize the existence of a lively amateur music life where professionals played an important role and acknowledged the existence of music schools and a wealth of compositions, they nevertheless consider the first half of the nineteenth century in the Mexican music history as musically weak or even failed. The Spanish exile of German descent Otto Mayer Serra, who published his *Panorama de la música mexicana. Desde la Independencia hasta la actualidad* in 1941, considered that while the Church was in charge of Mexico's musical production during Colonial times, the country stayed more or less in tune with high European musical development; but once Mexico achieved independence and a literal separation from Europe, a delay took place, which he attributed partly to the flourishing of the 'retrogressive' bourgeois salon. Mayer Serra labelled Mexican compositions of the nineteenth century as 'a slavish imitation of Italian, and later French and German models'.¹⁴ He considered salon music, in Mexico and elsewhere, '*herabgesunkenes Kulturgut*', a degenerate cultural asset. Mayer Serra did not seek to discover what was specific about Mexico's music; he thought that the same 'basic factors' that played a role in Europe were also active in Mexico's musical 'evolutionary process', and 'that the process came about in the same way', although delayed.¹⁵ This social evolutionist thought process, which implicitly regards all civilizations as the same but lying at different stages of development, underwrote many cultural historical

¹³ John Koegel, 'Music and Theater in Nineteenth-Century Mexico.' A paper read at the conference *Musical Theater and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain and America*. Clark Library, UCLA, 28 October 2006, 3.

¹⁴ Otto Mayer-Serra, *Panorama de la Música Mexicana. Desde la Independencia hasta la actualidad*, [1941]. Facsimile (Mexico: INBA-CENIDIM, 1996), 74.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

explanations, not only of music, which, in the end, failed to account for local difference.

Similar opinions were later replicated by other Mexican historians of Mexican music such as Gloria Carmona, who, over 40 years later, subscribed to many of Mayer Serra's observations regarding nineteenth-century music. Although Carmona claims that Mexico at the time absorbed the worst of European products and views, implicitly, one may conclude, this fact accounts for Mexico's cultural backwardness. Carmona agrees with Mayer Serra in that the level of Mexican professional musicians was low, but she displays greater sympathy for Mexican musicians in that she places part of the blame on the public's preferences for foreign over Mexican musicians, despite the fact that the former were often 'equally mediocre'. A Mexican musician thus 'had [received] little stimulus from a public that he pretended to please and on whom he depended for earning his wages'.¹⁶ Mayer Serra had claimed that the musicians who came to Mexico were probably those who could not get jobs in Europe because of their poor standard. Regarding composition, Carmona shares Mayer Serra's Germanic sympathies, for she considers that Mexicans imitated 'the most superficial strokes of Italian opera', especially Bellini and Donizetti, and this opera she considers 'schematic, if we compare it to the density of German music'.¹⁷ Carmona also assesses Mexican salon music as second-class European compositions. In sum, salon music is deemed unworthy, musically speaking, and thus the whole phenomenon is discarded. An 'auto-ethnographic' attitude of sorts is found in the tone and reasoning of Mexican musicological studies in its will to please the First World's musicological mainstream.

Spanish musicological studies have taken similar perspectives and have reached comparable conclusions regarding the salon and amateur music to those which I have detected in secondary literature from Mexico. Musicologist Celsa Alonso considered that music in Spanish salons was 'only the private practice of the privileged classes' which included salon games, dancing, singing and dining. The salon is rather 'playful' with no 'aesthetic debates', compared to the 'intellectual Anglo-Saxon [sic] and Germanic' salons. In addition, literary discussion, reading of verses and dramatic representations were also common. The 'invasion of Italianism

¹⁶ Gloria Carmona, *La música de México, I. Historia. 3. Periodo de la Independencia a la Revolución (1810 a 1910)*, ed. Julio Estrada (Mexico: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1984), 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

and French customs' played an important role in Spanish salons; thus the repertoire that predominated was Italian arias and cavatinas'.¹⁸ Alonso deplors the fact that the French influence on philosophical debates taking place in Spain was much deeper than German influence. She concurs with the opinions of the Spanish press of the time, which in my view underrates the actors and repertoire of the salon as (nothing more than) women who wanted to demonstrate their musical abilities and elegance and their Spanish *gracejo*. Several factors constituted, according to the author, a 'problem' in the Spanish salon: 'The invasion of Italian music, frivolity, mediocrity of musical repertoire depended on the music fashion of the time (based on famous operatic tunes and of the lowest quality), and the overwhelming weight of the aficionados.'¹⁹ A contemporary article in the Spanish music press called these amateurs a 'plague', which, incidentally, demonstrates the popularity of this type of salon in Spain in the 1840s, the decade on which the article concentrates.²⁰ Apparently, the Spanish salon was close to that of Mexico in terms of repertoire and the role of women, as well as the variegated nature of the soirées themselves. As we have said earlier, and strive to demonstrate in this thesis, we believe that underestimating the salon in terms of its (lack of) German repertoire or 'serious' chamber music leaves the underlying socio-cultural phenomenon unaccounted for and fails to valorise it within its own social reality. An aspiration of Spanish musicology to be accepted within the tradition of Germanocentric musicological studies is a plausible explanation for the repetition of clichés regarding salon music.²¹

A more nuanced definition of amateurs is the one provided by Paula Gillett which, despite the different time-frame and location (the late Victorian world) can be fruitfully applied to the Mexican case.

Amateurs — conventionally defined as those who pursue music-making for intrinsic gratification rather than as a primary source of income, but on closer examination a group whose precise constitution is far more elusive—purchased instruments and sheet music in unprecedented quantities, performed in a variety of private and public settings, engaged music teachers (mostly) for their daughters, and attended concerts.

¹⁸ Celsa Alonso González, 'Los salones: Un espacio musical para la España del XIX', *Anuario Musical: Revista de musicología del C. S. I. C.* 48, 1993, 167-8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

²⁰ Quoted by Alonso González in *ibid.*, 170.

²¹ I discussed this topic in depth in the paper: 'Periphery within the margins: studies of salon music in Spain,' unpublished paper presented at the Annual Music Graduate Exchange Conference for the East and South of England 2006. Department of Music, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey.

They read and discussed music criticism and musical gossip in general-interest magazines, and many also subscribed to specialized music journals.²²

In recent decades the most long-lived Mexican musicological journal *Heterofonía* has opened up to wide-ranging studies on nineteenth-century musical practices in Mexico. The journal, founded in 1968, has published a significant number of articles on nineteenth-century Mexican music, especially since it started a new epoch in 1996: 30 articles by 21 different writers, thus reflecting a growing interest in this previously neglected area of knowledge. Some of the topics included are archives and repositories containing nineteenth-century music or specific sources such as bound volumes or the analysis of specific works—mainly piano and voice and piano music, also an opera section—or composers' input. There are articles on visiting musicians, on reception (Rossini in Mexico), on musical life more generally, or wide-ranging reflections on, for instance, Classicism or Modernism in Mexico.²³ The variety of topics is not only a sign of different research interests, but also of a vast uncharted research territory. Recent theses probing this area of study reveal an increasing interest in this time-period looked at from different perspectives.²⁴ It can be said that knowledge of nineteenth-century Mexican music is still at the primary stage of constructing repositories of specific and general information as a prelude to

²² Paula Gillett, 'Ambivalent Friendships: Music Lovers, Amateurs, and Professional Musicians in the Late Nineteenth Century' in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 321.

²³ For example: Yael Bitrán, 'Los que no han oído tocar a Herz no saben lo que es un piano. Un virtuoso europeo en México,' *Heterofonía* 134-135 (2006): 89-108; Ricardo Miranda, 'Música de raro encantamiento: los vales de Ricardo Castro,' *Heterofonía* 136-137 (2007): 9-26; Joel Almazán, 'Aproximaciones al lenguaje armónico de Ricardo Castro,' *ibid.*, 27-43; Armando Gómez Rivas, 'El segundo concierto de Ricardo Castro para *El Imparcial*,' *ibid.* 45-56; Áurea Maya, 'La verdadera locomotora de la *Sinfonía Vapor* de Melesio Morales,' *ibid.*, 57-67; Áurea Maya, 'Preludio a *Ildegonda* de Melesio Morales: narrativa y contenido temático,' *Heterofonía* 140 (2009): 11-41; John G. Lazos, 'Gómez, Antonio: el maestro de los maestros, o ajonjolí de todos los moles,' *ibid.*, 77-100; Jesús Herrera, 'La música infantil para piano del maestro Morales: ópera y baile en el romanticismo mexicano,' *ibid.*, 101-124. See also additional *Heterofonía* articles by John Koegel, Ricardo Miranda and Joel Almazán in the bibliography.

²⁴ There are two relevant history theses on the Nineteenth-century Mexican musical press: 'Una cultura en movimiento: la prensa musical de la ciudad de México (1866-1910),' Licenciatura thesis (Mexico: UNAM, 2002); and Luisa del Rosario Aguilar Ruz, 'La imprenta musical profana en la ciudad de México (1826-1860),' Master's thesis (Mexico: UNAM, 2011); one on Nineteenth-century women composers by María Guadalupe Castro Guzmán, 'Compositoras mexicanas de 1850 a 1917,' Licenciatura [undergraduate] thesis (México: Conservatorio Nacional de Música, 2003). See also Emilio Casco Centeno, 'Julio Ituarte (1845-1905),' Master's thesis (Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2004), including a catalogue of works; and Miriam Laura Vázquez Montano, 'El modernismo en la obra para piano de Castro, Elorduy y Villanueva' Master's Thesis (Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2006). G

formulating explanations that provide a more substantive and analytical view of the period.

Specifically relevant to this work is the research of Mexican musicologist Ricardo Miranda. Miranda's work on nineteenth-century Mexican music has effectively opened up the field to deepen the knowledge of this period. He takes account of the diversity and value of the nineteenth-century repertoire and contributes to a more general appreciation of the period in Mexican music. Miranda has analysed Mexican nineteenth-century piano pieces and voice and piano pieces, and has even recorded some of them, demonstrating their musical and aesthetic value. In an article entitled '*A tocar señoritas*', Miranda has called attention to the fact that nineteenth-century Mexican historiography has seen the repertoire of that century, especially salon music, either as an antecedent of nationalism or as a pro-European or pseudo-European music, accused of lack of quality and development. The author strives to demonstrate the diversity of the works themselves, indicating that 'each work reveals a distinctive trait'—for instance, the rhythmic variety he finds in the study of 50 Mexican mazurkas.²⁵ However, overall he discovers what he calls 'a disconcerting lack of musical development' and 'a series of shared elements—rhythmic configurations, harmonic progressions, structural sequences, melodic designs and a more or less limited range of tonalities—to the point of fettering the task of telling the difference between one composer and the next'.²⁶ If we add to this last idea his defence of the Mexican salon music as a 'socio-musical repertoire that extends from danceable to concert pieces that sketches an aesthetic trajectory leading to [...] a showy repertoire of simple music and immediate evocative capacity, deeply Mexican for no evident reason[...]',²⁷ we are left with an ambivalent, almost apologetic, assessment of this repertoire which, it seems, needs to compensate for its lack of intrinsic musical value with a nostalgic veil of vague Mexicanism. In addition, in his approach to salon music, Miranda falls prey to a traditional view concerning women and music: 'The repertoire destined for women neither intended to indulge in technical advances nor in any other kind of innovation,

²⁵ Ricardo Miranda, "'A tocar señoritas'" in *Ecos, alientos y sonidos: ensayos sobre música mexicana* (Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 109-114.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 115, 122.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 92.

but simply intended to present a musical sample that proved conducive to the ephemeral pleasure of a sociable afternoon get-together'.²⁸

By contrast, researching this thesis has proved the intensity of the home music phenomenon and the importance it held in the lives of its participants and of those around them, as manifest in texts of the time. Together with an undeniable variety of repertoire, these factors are indications of a musical experience of significance—personal, social and even in identity formation processes—that we foreground and reinterpret from a modern-day standpoint. That standpoint inevitably involves invoking the most recent writings on women and music, and the relation between men, women, and artistic experience. Gender studies related to nineteenth-century music has been an area widely explored in the Anglo-American world. Some of those works such as those by Richard Leppert, Paula Gillett, Ruth Solie, Phyllis Weliver, Katharine Ellis and Mathew Head among others, helped to cement the connections between gender and music in this thesis.²⁹

However, gender studies take us only so far. When studying subjects involved in the unequal relations between centre and peripheries of the Western world, postcolonial perspectives help to fragment monolithic images of unilateral influx.³⁰ A common image that needs to be challenged is that of Europe as an omnivorous pre-existing universal power that dominated the Americas for centuries without being contested or affected. Without ignoring the obvious inequity in imperialistic relations, the interaction between Europe and Latin America went beyond a unilateral dominion and can be more precisely described as a circular relation of mutual influences and constructions.

²⁸ Ibid., 114.

²⁹ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Gillett, 'Ambivalent Friendships'; Ruth Solie, *Music in Other Words. Victorian Conversations*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Phyllis Weliver, 'Music, crowd control and the female performer in *Tribby*' in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction* ed. by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 57-80, and *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900. Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, No. 2/3, (1997), 353-385; and Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 52 (1999), 203-254.

³⁰ I follow Nelly Richard in her article 'Cultural peripheries: Latin America and postmodernist de-centering' in *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America*, ed. by Michael Aronna, John Beverley and José Oviedo (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1995), 217-22, when talking about Latin America as a cultural periphery.

The way Europe was ‘constructed’ as the dominant cultural power, and the binaries created in the process, are themes developed in complementary ways by authors such as Bill Ashcroft, Otmar Ette and Walter Mignolo. Silvia Spitta suggests the term ‘transculturation’, coined by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in 1940, to replace the term ‘acculturation’.³¹ While acculturation implies a unilateral flow of cultural products from Europe to America, transculturation involves a more complex two-sided process that, according to Ortiz’s account of the Cuban case, included: ‘1- Partial loss of culture by all immigrant groups, 2-concomitant assimilation of elements from other cultures (European, African and Asian) and 3-the creation of a new, Cuban, culture’.³² Spitta draws attention to the specific contexts one should keep in mind when using the term transculturation, as well as the fluidity of cultures in Colonial contexts.

A culture that becomes static is doomed. Likewise, a rigid imperial power, a power unwilling to absorb foreign elements, is not viable. Vital cultures invariably and necessarily transform themselves over time and under the impact of foreign influences.[In addition] subjectivity and identity—particularly for Latin America and other Colonial contexts—must be understood as historical and cultural constructs that are always in flux, split between two or more worlds, cultures and languages.³³

For Bill Ashcroft, the ‘imagining’ of Europe is made possible only by means of facing the question of America. The sense of superiority in the Old Continent was triggered by the invasion of new territories, hence setting them apart through ‘a difference which was taken to be superiority’.³⁴ Thus was born the binarism ‘modern–traditional’ that provided the basis for Eurocentrism. Ottmar Ette further claims that discovering the New World really meant the discovery of Europe by the Europeans: ‘Europe is always defined through her peripheries and movements; it

³¹ Bill Ashcroft, ‘Modernity’s First-Born: Latin American and Post-Colonial Transformation’ in *El debate de la postcolonialidad en Latinoamérica: una postmodernidad periférica en el pensamiento latinoamericano*, Alfonso de Toro/ Fernando de Toro eds., TCCL-Teoría y crítica de la Cultura y Literatura. Investigaciones de los signos culturales. Semiótica-Epistemología-Interpretación (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 1999), 13-29; Ottmar Ette, ‘Europa como movimiento. Sobre la construcción literaria de un asunto fascinante,’ trans. by Meter Storandt Diller in *Política, identidad y narración*, ed. by Gustavo Leyva (Mexico, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana/Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2003), 319-362; Walter Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* Blackwell manifestos (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), x-xx; and Silvia Spitta, ‘1. Transculturation and the Ambiguity of Signs in Latin America’, *Between Two Waters. Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America* (Houston, TX: Rice University Press, 1995), 1-28.

³² Spitta, ‘I. Transculturation,’ 6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 8. Spitta draws from the book by José María Arguedas, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*.

³⁴ Ashcroft, ‘Modernity’s First-Born,’ 17.

would probably not even be imagined without *extraEuropa*'.³⁵ For Ette, Europe is most of all 'movement' rather than geography. Walter Mignolo takes a similar perspective from the Americas' standpoint. He claims that the Americas started to exist only after the conquest 'as a consequence of European Colonial expansion and the narrative of that expansion from the European perspective, the perspective of modernity'.³⁶ According to Mignolo, modernity is linked to Coloniality in inextricable ways, and he proposes the concept of 'the logic of Coloniality', which remains in place long after actual Colonialism is gone. Mignolo thinks along similar lines to Ashcroft when he claims that Europeans considered 'Latin' Americans as 'second-class Europeans who lacked the science and sophisticated history of Europe'.³⁷

These perspectives underline the violence exerted by the European powers upon the lands and peoples of Latin America while they also emphasize the effects this contact had on the European powers. Postcolonial methods and studies have been applied mainly to Colonial contexts where the unequal encounter is evident and the differences between the entities coming into contact are radical. These ideas have hardly been put to use regarding nineteenth-century encounters between European powers and Latin American emerging nations, where the 'colonized' subjects are already part of Western culture by language, commerce, culture, religion, etc., and, while they want to belong to the Western world, are precisely looking for their own political and more generally cultural specificity through independence movements.

Pratt has done work on this area in her studies of nineteenth-century European travellers to Latin America, who greedily looked at America for profit and lacked their Colonial predecessors' moral or religious justification. The travellers showed intolerance to what their forerunners idealized: unexplored nature and 'primitive' societies. They regarded the material backwardness of these countries as a failure and acted as 'capitalist vanguards'. 'Ideologically, the vanguard's task is to reinvent America as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of the rationalized exploitation the Europeans bring'.³⁸ Pratt defines the 'contact zone' as a space of Colonial encounters 'involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict', which is 'an

³⁵ Ette, 'Europa como movimiento,' 342.

³⁶ Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, xi.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 151-2.

attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect'.³⁹

Pratt's idea of the constructedness of the subjects in their relations to one another is valuable when dealing with cultural matters such as music. These ideas are particularly useful when applied to nineteenth-century visiting musicians to Mexico. As we establish in Chapter Five, Henri Herz's economic interests prevailed in precisely such a capitalist manner. In his case, the 'contact zone' was fraught with interests on the part of the musician, but also on the part of the local actors welcoming him. Some of the issues raised by the reencounters of former Colonial subjects with cultural ambassadors of the European musical world included negotiations of meaning: —the local, the national, the international, the cosmopolitan—, and the dissimulation of inequality on both sides in order to obtain what was coveted: fame and money on the part of the visitors, and to get the maximum advantage of the work opportunities the musician provided.

The complicated balance between independence, originality, will to integration, the continuities of power structures, definitions of the foreign and the local, is not easily defined by binaristic explanations. The Mexican bourgeoisie was in the process of constructing a national identity by refashioning: rejecting, resisting, adapting, inventing European ideas and practices and by searching their own background, historical, cultural and present, including their conflicted relation with the European powers. There were different, conflicting, ideas about what becoming a nation within the international community meant, and what the Mexican self was. The dominating elite, replacing the colonial one, was not constructing an inclusive democratic society, but rather a highly stratified one, where liberal and conservative parties debated, among other issues, the nature of important issues such as religion, the best government system for the country, the role of women, and education.

By performing a culturally-situated reading of sources this thesis takes a different approach from that of traditional music analysis. It focuses on the way people, through their own artefacts and ideas, expressed music in print and experienced it. This is an especially valuable and valid approach when dealing with typically silenced subjects such as women, who had virtually no access to direct

³⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6-7.

means of expression and whose experiences were mainly of an indirect and fragmentary nature. This work reconstructs and recreates, from a contemporary perspective a meaningful world of musical enjoyment, as well as occasional pain and disappointment, within Mexico's nineteenth-century musical community. Thus, the theatrical and home musical life gain a place within identity-construction issues as well as offering comparative perspectives with the Old World's musical worlds.

The thesis begins in the home of the nineteenth-century Mexican upper classes and introduces its main subject: musical women. From the home it moves to public spaces—the theatres—and deals with the interaction between these spaces. On the way, we become acquainted with men who played an important role in the education of women and in the creation of spaces for the development of their musical inclinations. These mentors' belief in the importance of music education for men and women is closely related to their conviction that music was to bear upon the process of nation building. The reading of primary sources uncovered that the construction of a national identity impinged on all areas of Mexican life, not least on the reworking of traditional gender roles. Women in music and identity construction are intertwined issues within a social-cultural-musical world that is probed in multifaceted ways throughout this work.

The importance of women of the upper classes in the development of Mexico City's secular musical world after independence is far more considerable than previously recognised. The home was the locus where women developed their musical skills and where they were allowed to participate actively in music. Women's participation as amateur and semi-professional musicians was the driving force of domestic music-making and the professional and economic activities related to it. Sheet music, related literature and music manuals were printed and sold for their needs. Professional musicians, national and foreign, worked as their private instructors and some of them opened schools to cater to their musical needs. Composers wrote pieces directed to them, and saw them published and distributed thanks to an emerging market revolving around them. Women made their fathers, husbands and relatives invest in the music field—a field that, as long as it was properly framed, men regarded as a positive part of women's upbringing and moral education. Women's devotion to music is manifest in the soirées, which they organised, and, among games, dance, food and conversation, amateur and professional musicians interacted, played together, conversed about music, and

commented on the latest performance at the theatre or the opera that was coming up. Women were essential as a public in the music performances organised in theatres, as can be seen by the publicity the impresarios targeted at them. After opera performances, women emulated the hairdos and dresses of *prima donnas*; they asked for adaptations of their favourite opera arias to play and sing at home; and they invited singers and musicians to perform in their homes. As indicated in the sources, these women were serious and passionate about music and reading, to such a degree that sometimes they neglected the roles traditionally assigned to them.

Mexican women of the period under research are present throughout this work, but they are the main subject of Chapter One. Their relationship to the production and reception of music has been overlooked, their having been regarded as mere *jolies meubles de salon*,⁴⁰ to use a phrase concocted at the time but somehow still present in contemporary studies of nineteenth-century music history. While women's musical talents were, in effect, mainly, although by no means exclusively, relegated to private spaces, their participation as consumers, theatre audiences and quality music performers deserves a second look that might convert them into protagonists rather than merely decorative elements of musical culture. Women were not citizens in a political sense, but they exerted a considerable influence within private moral terrain. The importance of women's education was a field where secular authorities gradually interfered with the traditional predominance by religious institutions after independence. In fact, women were in charge of fostering moral, religious and patriotic values in childhood and youth, such that the content of the knowledge and values they transmitted had to be regulated by means of the education they themselves received. European influence from conservative and liberal standpoints concerning woman's position in society and how best to educate her took the form of pamphlets (locally published, in translation) which included different notions of 'Romantic sensibility' that advocated the restraining of women's liberties and reinforcement of their traditional roles; while others stemming from liberal sources claimed for a greater presence of women in public areas, even in the political arena. These ideas served to expand women's mental and sentimental universe. The practice of music in the home formed an important and positive part in women's lives as long as it did not interfere with their household chores and duties. I

⁴⁰ *El Cosmopolita*, 11 July 1840.

demonstrate that women found ways of transcending traditional roles and thereby managed not only to construct their identity as women but also to contribute to the unfolding of Mexico City's secular musical world. The relation between women, music and identity construction is additionally exemplified in this chapter via analysis of a Mexican play by Fernando Calderón, *None of the Three*.

The enormous amount of sheet music printed in Mexico and imported into the country, as well as an active market of piano sales, which we explore in Chapter Two, attests to the popularity of the practice of home music making. The names of the pieces contained in them, the dedications, the illustrations and the technical level, all indicate the consumer that composers and publishers had in mind: female amateur musicians. During the 1840s alone, there were at least six magazines that published sheet music for their women readers: *El Mosaico Mexicano*, (1840), *Semanario de las Señoritas*, (1841). *Panorama de las Señoritas*, (1842), *El Museo Mexicano o Miscelánea Pintoresca*, (1843-1844), *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas* by Ignacio Cumplido (1847). This was in addition to the more specialized paper by José Antonio Gómez, *El Instructor Filarmónico. Periódico Semanario Musical*, in which during the year 1843 alone, he published close to 50 different scores for piano, guitar and/or piano and voice. Musical albums that women lovingly put together to preserve the pieces and organise them according to their tastes and needs, are our window onto this now lost musical and female-centred world. Iconographical, together with musical, analysis proves a valuable tool in the appraisal of sheet-music as symbolic objects in the salons of Mexican upper-class homes. The chapter also explores the socialization of music in soirées, where dance held a central position.

The waning of the Church's overbearing power after the Bourbonic reforms and Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808 endowed not only music but also musicians with wider opportunities for circulation. Once the dissolution of the Spanish empire ensued musicians previously, or currently, employed by the Church actively promoted music in different forms and secular spaces outside ecclesiastical walls. Chapter Three explores the lives and trajectories of specific Mexican musicians, both male and female, illustrating how they contributed to the construction of a musical secular life, and how, in turn, music shaped their lives. Mariano Elízaga, José Antonio Gómez and Agustín Caballero are cases in point in this chapter. Mariano Elízaga was the first musician of independent Mexico who

worked as not only a theorist, teacher, composer and organist but who also founded his own music school and printing shop in the 1820s. Elízaga was headed with clear conscious in the direction of a Mexican musical profiling that José Antonio Gómez further developed during the next decades. In his career and musical education, Gómez combined composition, performance and the publication of scores for home and theatre consumption, the organisation of concerts in private and public, secular as well as religious, spaces. This array of activities provides evidence of a man of his times who knew how to combine his passion—the art of music in a broad sense—with the ability to earn a living, and who also had a clear idea of the role music was to play in the new country. Agustín Caballero, too, went to great pains all his life to educate Mexican youth, especially women, in the art of music, for he believed this to be a civilizing and patriotic endeavour. Caballero was named the first director of the National Conservatory at its foundation in 1866. For the first time in Mexican music historiography, this chapter deals with how several women, students of these teachers, constructed, as amateurs, semi-professionals or professionals, a place for themselves in a hitherto closed professional music world. There were very few professional women at the time. Exceptionally, families supported young women to venture into professional life, especially when they were in financial need and their daughters' talents could bring additional income to their households. These professional women performed in private and public settings, composed and taught music, and were pioneers in the difficult opening-up of paths for future generations of professional women musicians. Their uneven trajectories are fascinating because of the social tensions surrounding them, together with gender and musical issues, and the questions they raised in the Mexican society of the 1840s and 1850s.

Upper-class Mexicans loved opera. It formed a central and daily part of their lives, being present in literature, in the fashion exhibited in women's journals, in the public discussions found in diaries and newspapers editorials, and, of course, in theatre performances themselves. Chapter Four is dedicated to this operatic world of the Mexican capital from the 1820s to the 1850s, and studies a widely-disseminated operatic repertoire, visiting companies—in particular the one of Spanish tenor Manuel García—, performance and reception issues, including behaviour in the theatre. We have found evidence that it was the home and the home formats that contributed to make this musical transition feasible by facilitating previous knowledge of the 'new' repertoire, which often came first to the home and later to

the theatre. This research documents countless Mexican piano and piano and voice arrangements of opera sections or even complete opera arrangements for voice and piano that antedate their performance in the theatre. The chapter considers the operatic phenomenon as a whole, the circulation of music between home and theatre, and deals with issues related to the construction of a civil society, including gender aspects, within Mexican identity formation. It was a shared belief of the upper classes that music, and especially opera, had an educational and civilising power in the new Mexican society. A vigorous operatic world was one means to join the Western community of nations, an objective the dominating elite held in high regard. In that respect, good behaviour in the theatres, reasonable quality of performances, compliance with rules on the part of the audience, performers, impresarios and authorities, became crucial elements in the held ideal of opera as a civilising means. In this view, the European world of opera became sometimes an elusive paradigm or sometimes a rather conveniently idealised entity, with different actors of Mexico's musical community alluding to it according to their own interests. As Chapter Four demonstrates, the ideas about practices in European operatic centres became ideals which might not, and most probably would not, be attainable but gave the person(s) voicing them an authority over the rest and became an (imaginary) beacon toward which operatic Mexican civilisation ought to direct itself.

Chapter Five is a case study of the visit of the eminent piano virtuoso and composer Henri Herz who toured Mexico in 1849 and 1850. In Mexico, Herz promoted the composition of a national anthem, insisted on the importance of collecting local melodies, and composed a popular national march. This chapter analyses the musical impact of his stay in the country, especially concerning issues of gender and identity. Post-colonial theory is applied to this case in order to demonstrate how the pianist acted as a modern coloniser and Mexican as colonised subjects. In addition, this chapter contends that Herz' tour profoundly renovated Mexican musical life and debate and brought familiar questions about salon music and women to the fore in yet another new guise.

Chapter 1

‘An excess of sensibility’. Constructing Women’s Identity in Romantic Mexico

During 1849, *El Álbum Mexicano* (The Mexican Album), a lavishly illustrated magazine for women, published its ‘*Balanza amorosa*’ (Scales of Love), a kind of commercial catalogue intended to keep its public abreast of ‘love’s ups and downs in the city’. Its author rather mischievously announced that its purpose was ‘one day [to] have a complete statistical analysis of love, which will most certainly be a veritable social improvement’.¹ The article defines different categories of women and fixes their position in the market. In general terms, the definitions reveal that a traditional Mexican education for women is preferred over the pernicious effects of foreign influence, which causes them to abandon their domestic duties and to become absorbed in romantic day-dreaming. Some of the entries include references to music:

Buenas (good women): for motherhood, as well as going to polkas and tending to the sick. Tender without affectation.

Note: *there are many of these women; the problem is finding them.*

Enmarañadas (complicated women): but affectionate; sensitive, but at home they go around with their stockings around their ankles, their tunics hiked up around their waist and their fingers yellow from cigarettes.

Notes: *there are many, but those who go after them are sub-lieutenants on indefinite leave, guitarists, dancers, two-bit composers and widowers overwhelmed by energetic offspring.*

Filarmónicas (Philharmonic women): this item, previously not much in demand, is held in high esteem in the latest opera productions: [...]Murguía² sells innumerable works by Rossini, Bellini, Verdi, Marzan, Valadez, etc. Most of these women are sensitive and expert: they like to drape their heads with woollen shawls, and they love *los cajeritos de la Monterilla*.³ Not one of them talks about anything to do with cooking or domestic aptitude, because it is obligatory to neglect everything that has no relation to *sol-fa*.

Notes: *there are many and orders are in for more.*⁴

Tonistas:⁵ this article has been restored to the market by soirées, some high-end parties, the imitation of all things foreign, and operas... The low cost of marabou

¹ *El Álbum Mexicano, Periódico de literatura, artes y bellas letras* I (1849), 86-87. The article was also printed in *El Siglo XIX* (28 Jan. 1849), an influential newspaper published by the *Álbum*’s editor Ignacio Cumplido.

² The most prolific music publisher in the city at the time.

³ Calle de la Monterilla, a commercial street where printing and other shops were located. What ‘cajerito,’ literally little box, stands for, we do not know.

⁴ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 86.

⁵ Unlike the other entries there is no definition here. It most likely refers to amateur singers.

feathers⁶ and gold braid, as well as the abundance of seamstresses and tailors, have lent them a temporary surge in popularity. Due to kisses and other antics, they can be found only among makeshift decent folk. [...]

Notes: This article is scarce: no market, rarely requested. (1.1, p. 307)⁷

On the one hand, the article's level of detail reflects careful observation of women's behaviour and habits, displaying an intense interest in them. On the other, the light-hearted and nonsensical tone indicates that women should not be taken too seriously. Nonetheless, the anonymous author dwells on what he sees as the more common defects of women from the upper classes: an independent will, which was associated with an excessive fondness for theatre-going, music-making and reading Romantic literature. The writer felt that these types of behaviour could produce decay in women's morals and reprehensible attachments to luxury goods.

The journal is illustrated with the magnificent *Les fleurs animées*—coloured illustrations of women metamorphosed into flowers by illustrator and cartoonist Jean Jacques Grandville, and first published in France two years earlier.⁸ Each woman-flower—cornflower and poppy, lily, pansy, tobacco, tulip, rose, daffodil, violet, etc.—represents a different type of woman. Women and flowers were a favourite Romantic literary association. They brought to mind the passing beauty of young women while displaying them as frail objects to look at.

⁶ Used to decorate ladies' dresses.

⁷ See 'Appendix B. Original Spanish quotes'. Hereafter the translated Spanish quotes will have in parentheses the reference to the quote number followed by the page number as they appear in Appendix B.

⁸ Paris, Martinon, 1847.



Figure 1. Jean Jacques Grandville, *Pensée (Pansy)*,
Les fleurs animées (1847)

In the Mexican publication, the editor Ignacio Cumplido decided to keep the illustrations but to remove the original text by Taxile Delord. Instead, he requested appropriate accompanying texts from some of the main writers of the Romantic literary school in Mexico: the Academia de Letrán. These writers were involved in the construction of ‘Mexican-ness’, and French sources were a favourite model to naturalise by adaptation to Mexican reality.

Within the boundaries of a male-dominated society, and far from striving for gender equality, nineteenth-century Mexican women experimented with attitudes that opened up new intellectual and emotional options, beyond, or at least parallel to, their traditional roles. The anxiety these changes provoked in contemporary men is clearly reflected in the profusion of ‘advice’ articles, poems, short stories, novels and plays that continuously reminded women of their ‘proper’ role as housewives and mothers and predicted dim prospects for those who let their emotions rule their lives. The position taken by the *Álbum* is representative of how men described women in Mexican publications: an idealization through drawings and poems accompanied by ruthless criticism formulated in sarcastic and derogatory tones, as well as prescriptive, often paternalistic, advice about their behaviour. A tension existed between the traditional roles of women, associated with the recently extinguished condition of Mexico’s colonised past under Spanish rule, and the newer and less

familiar ideas emanating from post-revolutionary Europe as disseminated in the Mexican press. These contradictory ideas occupied the same printed space.

Within the prevailing value system, music was closely and positively associated with women, especially of the upper classes, so long as it did not interfere with their traditional roles. While one can find similarities between the Anglo-American Victorian world and Mexico regarding the defining features and role of upper-class women in relation to music, there are some differences. In both cases music, unless regulated by men, became a negative influence on women's lives. In Mexico, however, the emphasis was placed on women neglecting their roles as housewives rather than on music's morally dubious role and its power to pervert them, although the latter aspect was not altogether absent.

Educating girls in independent Mexico: between the 'superficial arts' and a 'solid and extensive instruction'

In 1782, during the last decades of colonial rule in Mexico, the city council opened its first free primary schools for boys and girls (taught separately). Hitherto, royal schools and church-run educational institutions had educated Mexican children and youth. The royal schools were for the Spanish and Indian elite, while the church, although mainly geared toward the upper classes, ran schools for poorer segments of society. Nevertheless, until the 1830s, lessons would take place in all kind of locales, including churches, private rooms and abandoned hospitals, and it was not yet deemed essential to have appropriate fittings such as light, ventilation or toilets. During the course of the century, as the institution of the family became more important and involved itself in school life, things began to change. Also, after independence, a myriad of private schools offered their services in the newspapers for girls, boys or coeducational.

Differentiated education for boys and girls continued until 1889 when at the First Pedagogical Conference the national curriculum was unified for both sexes. According to Aguirre Loera, until then girls were especially deprived of studying subjects such as law, science and calculus.⁹ In addition, rural families offered strong resistance to sending their children, of either sex, to school, for children were

⁹ See María Esther Aguirre Loera, 'Una invención del siglo XIX. La escuela primaria (1780-1890)' in *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. Luz Elena Galván Lafarga (Mexico: UNAM, 2002) Accessed 15 01 2011, <http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_16.htm>.

necessary helping hands at home and in the fields. Several proposals and laws relating to public instruction decreed in 1842, 1867 and as late as 1888 respectively, were unsuccessful in solidly establishing primary school as compulsory.¹⁰

That municipal authorities of Mexico City were taking an interest in the education of girls is evident from the issue of a Decree on Primary Schools published by the Federal District First Constitutional Mayor, Manuel Reyes Veramendi, in 1848. Music was an important part of the primary curriculum, which specified that ‘vocal and instrumental’ music should be included. It seems that the government was trying to catch up with what private schools were already doing: in the section concerning the ‘Education of girls’, public officials claimed that from then on:

No effort shall be spared in order for it to become even more complete than that provided in Europe’s best schools, since it will encompass a great number of mechanical crafts that are as pleasant as they are lucrative.

The teaching of French language, drawing and vocal and instrumental music shall form a specific part of the girls’ education plan.¹¹ (1.2, p. 307)

Although education became a prime State interest, the extent to which the government could offer it was limited, mainly due to financial problems.

With the arrival of French teachers after the 1830s, according to Valentina Torres Septién, more private schools aimed at the upper classes began to open.¹² The mid-1840s saw a boom in advertisements for girls’ private schools, many of them announcing themselves as ‘French’. The label ‘French’, liberally applied in private school advertisements should probably not be taken too literally: sometimes it was merely an indication of the provenance of the school’s Principal or of the teaching of French language, rather than an indication that a broader French model was being adopted. More generally, however, it can be read as a statement of superiority and cachet offered by the school as an additional incentive to the Mexican elite, which used their cultural proximity to Europe as a way of distinguishing themselves from the lower classes.

The governing elite in Mexico believed that a ‘formal attachment’ to the normal ways of doing things in the capitals of Europe, especially Paris, would assist

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 28 Jan. 1848.

¹² Valentina Torres Septién, ‘Educación privada en México’ in *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. by Luz Elena Galván Lafarga, México, UNAM, 2002. Accessed 15 01 2011, <http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_20.htm>.

in bringing civilisation to Mexico. If science and technology lagged behind in the newly-independent countries, manners could be more easily matched. To be 'well-bred' was synonymous with being 'civilised'. Novels also played a civilising role by educating via positive role models and condemning negative characters. There was a social dimension to educational novels and etiquette books whereby the *criollos* could legitimate their newly-acquired power by a way of behaving that differentiated them from the lower classes.¹³

The Mexican novelist, journalist and political writer, Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, a Europhile and one of the first to write about education in independent Mexico, insisted he was writing 'with the hope of correcting some of the foolish and superstitious practices connected with the rearing of young children'. In his 1818 picaresque novel, *La Quijotita y su prima*, where he deals specifically with the education of girls, he argues in favour of educating them at home, since at school the association with undesirable people of doubtful morals could be unfortunate.¹⁴

Fernández de Lizardi was clearly influenced by Rousseau's *Emile*.¹⁵ He is especially opposed to those private primary schools called *amigas* (literally 'female friends') that were set up in private homes and catered for up to 40 or 50 children. They were the most common type of institution where, if at all, girls would be sent.¹⁶ Fernández de Lizardi believed girls had nothing to learn in the *amigas* because all that teachers did there was to scold them, hit them or mete out other forms of corporal punishment; they 'did not teach at all, because either they [the teachers] were never taught themselves, or they did not have the right disposition, method or commitment

¹³ A thorough discussion of etiquette manuals in nineteenth-century Latin America is found in: María Fernanda 'El *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* de Manuel Antonio Carreño: reglas para la construcción del ciudadano ideal,' *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 6 (2002): 83-96. Popular etiquette manuals during the nineteenth century were written in Mexico and Venezuela and some reprinted from Spanish manuals.

¹⁴ El Pensador Mexicano [Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi], *La educación de las mugeres, o la Quijotita y su prima. Historia muy cierta con apariencias de novela* (Mexico: Librería de Recio y Altamirano, 1842). Originally published in 1818, it was extremely popular and underwent numerous reprints during the first decades of the century.

¹⁵ Jefferson R. Spell, 'The Educational Views of Fernández de Lizardi,' *Hispania* IX, No. 5, (1926): 263. Spell cites as the main sources for the educational theories current in the first decades of independent Mexico, Spanish and French authors of the time, all translated and known in Mexico. They include Montegón's *Eudoxia, o hija de Belisario* (Madrid, 1793), Jean Jacques Rousseau's, *Emile, ou l'éducation* (1762), Jeanne M. Leprince de Beaumont, *Lettres, Fénelon, Education de filles* (Paris, 1687). And also Buchan's *Domestic medicine* (Edinburgh, 1769) and Ballexerd's *Dissertation sur l'éducation physique des enfants depuis leur naissance jusqu'à l'âge de puberté* (Paris, 1762). Particularly influential was Blanchard's *L'Ecole de Mœurs* (Lyon, 1782).

¹⁶ Primary school became compulsory for girls and boys in Mexico on 5 February 1917 with the issuing of the Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico, which is still in operation.

to do it properly'.¹⁷ He was one of the first to advocate a more modern type of education that he believed should aid in diminishing poverty and crime. He especially condemned the prevalent neglect of women's education: girls from the upper classes should learn how to read, write, and work with numbers properly, and poor girls should learn a trade.¹⁸

His only mention in the novel of girls learning music appears in the context of a warning: girls' education was important because in times of war women were vulnerable if they became widows with unmarried daughters who had no trade. The lack of resources provided 'incentives that lead to prostitution with such vehemence that to resist them is necessarily the power of the divine grace'.¹⁹ Thus he recommends that 'to prevent such fatal consequences', women, especially poor ones, learn an 'art or trade'. He specifically suggests that women could become seamstresses, musicians, silversmiths, watch-makers, painters and printers. However, their domestic chores as wives and mothers should always be their first priority.²⁰

An example of the type of education received by young ladies in the *amigas* is portrayed in a short story published as late as 1843 in *El Museo Mexicano*. It confirms many of Fernández de Lizardi's concerns. The main character of the eponymous and anonymous story, Mariquita Castañuela, acquires her bad manners and dubious behaviour at school:

In the *amiga* she learned a thousand delights, whether scandals which the pen resists writing about, whether uttering words in a low voice which are not to be found in any dictionary or mixing irreligious prayers parodying the popular Ripalda [...] Once out of the *amiga*, reading badly, writing badly, and with her heart and intelligence corrupted at the side of servants and teachers, Mariquita plunged headlong into the novelistic life of youth.²¹ (1.3, p. 307)

She was a beautiful young woman who had many suitors and who knew how to sing, and she played the *vihuela*—associated with low class—in social gatherings. The moral of the story is that because of neglect and inadequate parenting, Mariquita ended up poor, lonely—she never married—and miserable in her older days. Music

¹⁷ *La Quijotita y su prima* as quoted in Spell, 'The Educational,' 266.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 270-1.

¹⁹ *El Pensador Mexicano*, 'La educación de las mugeres,' 182.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 182-3. As we shall see, other instances of the threats of prostitution for young women are mentioned in Chapter Three regarding professional young singers who, in this fashion, avoided it, and in Chapter Four, the threat of prostitution appears in regard to theatre closures and the consequent absence of a decent spectacle for young women.

²¹ 'Mariquita Castañuela. Costumbres,' *El Museo Mexicano* II (1843), 28.

is mentioned as one of the activities she undertook while wasting away her life in useless endeavours. In this case no positive value is ascribed to music: since she practiced it outside the permitted boundaries, it is associated with Mariquita's debasement.

In an open letter of 1841 from Paris, sent by a Mexican father to his son, the writer agreed with Fernández de Lizardi in that the best possible education for women is the one provided by 'the good educated mother', who by means of her good example instructs her daughter in the principles of Christianity and morality.²² In what is more a set of moral prescriptions than part of a travelogue, the father presents his conservative views through an almost certainly hypothetical conversation with the Principal of a Parisian women's Academy who, in response to his questioning, admits the drawbacks of the current French model of women's education:

what we end up producing, what we achieve, what fills that extraordinary majority of individuals who do not think with admiration, is actually [one of] those pretty living-room furnishings (*jolies meubles de salon*) that play the harp or the piano, who sing, paint, speak and understand everything except the business of running their household, making their husbands happy, bringing up their children properly, instilling in them the healthy principles of religious morality.²³ (1.4, pp. 307-8)

As in the *Balanza amorosa* article, musical knowledge and practice is recognised as being widespread among young women while its moral educational value is placed in a negative light.

With women's education having passed from the church to the municipality and especially to private enterprise, advertisements announcing educational options became common. Here, 'piano' and/or 'singing' classes addressed to female customers are ubiquitous. It is significant, for instance, that in 1840 an *amiga* publicised as 'for decent girls' and run by 'a lady' offered exclusively 'French language and to play the piano with diligence and efficacy',²⁴ probably the two essential skills for well-bred girls according to their upper-class parents. The girls' schools also provided a clear emphasis on language and the humanities, including

²² 'A letter from an American father to his son, written in Paris. Drawbacks of the education and instruction of the youth, as it is practiced nowadays,' *El Mosaico Mexicano* V (1841), 471-480.

²³ *Ibid.*, 476.

²⁴ *El Cosmopolita*, 11 July 1840.

writing, reading, grammar and history. In an 1844 advertisement for the ‘French House for the Education of Girls’, the headmistress Doña Isaura de San Vital, proudly announcing her recent return from New York, offered a much more ambitious programme including Christian doctrine, reading, English writing, arithmetic, Spanish, English and French languages, grammar, grammatical analysis, syntaxes, logical analysis, religious, ancient and modern history, mythology, geography, drawing, literature, sewing and embroidery, and, of course, piano, singing and dance. School hours ran from nine in the morning to four in the afternoon, which points to a rather serious curriculum that would have kept girls busy, away from home, studying practically all day.²⁵

A similar case is that of the ‘French School for Girls’ opened by Mrs. Gen and her husband. They advertised that in their school:

Girls shall be attended to with painstaking care, and the directors will spare no effort to develop their physical, intellectual and moral faculties, infusing them with knowledge that brightens and adorns their sex, giving lustre to their congenial affability which contributes so powerfully to families’ happiness and prosperity.²⁶
(1.5, p. 308)

The variety and extensiveness of the curriculum is certainly impressive. The director, whom we can presume to have been of French origin, was establishing in Mexico an innovative, highly competitive institution for girls that would have vied with its European counterparts. The programme of studies was arranged in three divisions or grades: the first included reading, writing, Christian doctrine, French lessons *viva voce* and principles of sewing; the second included in addition Spanish grammar, French dialogues, the first four rules of arithmetic; the third added Spanish elocution, French and English language, arithmetic in general, history, geography, logical and grammatical analysis in Spanish and French, drawing, sewing and embroidery (including whitework). Music and dance could be learnt at every stage and were to be paid for additionally. The timetable was demanding, with classes starting at 7am and lasting until 5pm during springtime and from 8 am to 5 pm in wintertime.²⁷

²⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 14 Nov. 1844. My emphasis.

²⁶ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 Jan. 1845.

²⁷ The timetable is telling of the European origin of the headmistress, since due to the relatively modest variation in daylight or temperature Mexico did not, and still does not carry a different schedule for spring or wintertime.

At the end of the year the school would conduct public examinations and distribution of prizes and would periodically organize ‘concerts so that the parents can appreciate the progress their daughters have achieved at the piano’.²⁸ Piano was the only instrument mentioned in this school’s curriculum. In addition, these concerts were surely also a shop window for the school, to attract new parents. For the end of the year 1845 public examinations and awards ceremony, the school’s Principal invited major politicians, Lucas Alamán and José María Tornel, to preside over the prize giving. Such public visibility within the high circles of politics was probably an incentive for fathers to pay for their daughters’ music lessons. The repertoire played is far from elevated, but certainly flashy enough to impress a non-specialized public.

Piano and singing.

First prize granted to Mlle Luisa Gen: *Grand variations* on the *Elisir d’Amore*, by Herz.

Second prize granted to Mlle Teresa Pradel: Invitation [to the Waltz] by Weber, by Hüntten.²⁹ (1.6, p. 308)

It is frequent, as in an advertisement for an ‘English Academy’ for boys, to be offered geometry, algebra and trigonometry, which were not deemed feminine matters.³⁰ Boys would additionally sometimes learn gymnastics or Latin. In contrast with girls, reference to the ‘English’, rather than the ‘French’, educational model seems to be most attractive for the parents.³¹

For poor girls, the church was still the main provider of education, including convents that provided room and board. That of Las Vizcaínas was vividly portrayed by Scottish-born Frances Erskin Inglis Calderón de la Barca, who lived in Mexico from 1838 to 1841.³² An acute observer of Mexican life, Calderón de la Barca described in detail the different social levels and landscapes of Mexico; she was, in

²⁸ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 Jan. 1845.

²⁹ Was Luisa Gen the principal’s daughter? *El Siglo XIX*, 19 Dec. 1845. There was no prize for singing, despite the announcement.

³⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 4 Mar. 1845.

³¹ ‘English’ as manly and ‘French’ as womanly is a tempting idea to embrace, although it certainly would require a not-yet undertaken detailed study of all elementary educational options of the time and opinions around them in mid nineteenth-century Mexico.

³² Fanny married Ángel Calderón de La Barca, Spain’s minister plenipotentiary to the United States, who in 1838, the year they married, received the appointment as Spain’s first envoy to independent Mexico. About Calderón de la Barca, see, for instance: June J. Hahner, ‘3. Fanny Calderón de la Barca. Women’s Lives in Midnineteenth-Century Mexico’ in *Women through Women’s Eyes. Latin-American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts*, ed. by June H. Hahner (Los Angeles: SR Books, 1998), 43-68.

addition, a cultivated woman with a strong penchant for music. She told how girls learnt ‘sewing, writing, reading, embroidering, or casting up accounts’, noting that in addition they ‘are taught to cook and iron, and make themselves generally useful, thus being fitted to become excellent wives to respectable men in their own rank of life’. Nevertheless, she, too, was treated to music while in the convent:

The Señora G---o sang an Italian air beautifully. She is evidently a scientific musician. The Señorita H—s played one of Herz’s most difficult *combinations* with great execution, and a pretty girl, who is living in a convent, having been placed there by her *novio*, to keep her out of harm’s way till he is prepared to give her his hand, sang a duet with another young lady, which I accompanied.³³

Music was taught not only at schools, but also through private music instructors who offered their services in the local papers. Of eleven advertisements for music lessons identified between the years 1842 and 1851, nine were from men and two from women; nine were for piano or piano and singing and the rudiments of music, and one for guitar.³⁴ Five were anonymous, which deserves an attempt at explanation. It is possible that the role of music teacher was perceived as a rather lowly job not to be announced proudly in a public forum, especially if the tutor was in a state of genteel poverty. Such reserve is perhaps supported by the fact that all of the instructors proposed to go to their pupils’ homes, and only a few offered lessons in their own residences. Three of them specifically offered their services to ‘girls’ or ‘young ladies’ while the rest advertised in more general terms, although, according to a chronicle by Manuel del Vilar, it was mainly girls who signed up.³⁵ Only one of the women, Doña Guadalupe Ruiz and one man, Dionisio Montiel, whom I suspect is foreign, stated the price of the lessons: both charged four pesos a month. Others only stated their prices as ‘fair’.³⁶ If four pesos was an average monthly rate, a music teacher would have made around 48 pesos per student a year if students paid during the whole year, which is unlikely. To live from teaching and earn a decent income of

³³ Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* [1839-1842], Letter the Eleventh [1840]. London: Chapman and Hall, 1843. Accessed 08 01 2008, <<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/calderon/mexico/mexico.html>>.

³⁴ *El Cosmopolita*, 1 Jan.1842; *El Siglo XIX*, 19 June 1843, 22 Sep.1844, 23 Oct. 1845 and 5 July 1851; *El Monitor Republicano*, 26 Oct., 24 and 25 Nov. 1847, 9 Jan., 7 May and 4 July1848.

³⁵ Manuel Vilar, letter to his brother José Vilar, Mexico City, 2 Oct. 1857, Salvador Moreno, *El escultor Manuel Vilar* (Mexico: UNAM/IIIE, 1969), 175.

³⁶ According to José María Pérez Hernández, *Estadística de la república mexicana* (Guadalajara: Tipografía del gobierno, 1862) salaries fluctuated between 250 to 3000 pesos a year in the 1860s. Ten years earlier salaries would have been significantly lower considering wartime inflation.

around 1000 pesos a year, a teacher would therefore have had to have over twenty permanent students paying a monthly/yearly fee, which suggests there was a profusion of available students—mostly women, as we know.

From a slightly later period, we can gain another glimpse of practices in private teaching via the Spanish sculptor and painter Manuel Vilar, who arrived in Mexico in 1846 to teach sculpture at the San Carlos Academy, and who wrote in 1857 to his brother, who planned to go to Mexico to teach music. Vilar told his brother that classes lasted one hour for piano, singing or both, and typically took place every other day. A student would pay 8 to 16 pesos a month, ‘depending on the merits and reputation of the teacher’.³⁷ It is worth noting that the fees Vilar mentioned by the end of the 1850s were twice to four times those of a few years earlier; inflation and an increasing value of the music teaching profession—the merits of the instructors are invoked—are plausible explanations for the increase in prices. In an Old World / New World tension we shall encounter in other guises later in this thesis, the situation was not, however, without its exploitative side. Calderón de la Barca observed that local musical talent was squandered due to lack of good instruction, and pointed out the greed of European instructors on the make.

There are a few good foreign masters, most of whom have come to Mexico for the purpose of making their fortune, by teaching, or marriage, or both, and whose object, naturally, is to make the most money in the shortest possible time, that they may return home and enjoy it. The [Mexican] children generally appear to have an extraordinary disposition for music and drawing, yet there are few girls who are proficient in either.³⁸

Amid the hotchpotch of educational offers for women and despite the prevalence of traditional ideas, new opinions began to filter into the conservative Mexican environment after independence. Articles containing such ideas came invariably from French journals, and their radicalism sharply contrasted with the prevailing conservative opinions as evidenced in the articles written in Mexico. Significant examples feature in the *Panorama de las Señoritas. Periódico pintoresco, científico y literario*, published in 1842. The *Panorama* is unique within the Mexican print spectrum in its determined advocacy for better education and equality of opportunities for women. Within the *Panorama*, the many translations from French

³⁷ Manuel Vilar letter to José Vilar, 175.

³⁸ Calderón de la Barca, ‘Letter the Twenty-Third’ (1840).

magazines as well as its quasi-feminist tone are apparently attributable to Marie Deriaz, the Swiss wife of the magazine's publisher Vicente García Torres.³⁹ It was certainly unusual for a wife to have so much influence in a periodical. Deriaz's agenda seems to be disguised in a woman's magazine devoted to amusement and in the fact that the periodical also published conservative, even misogynist articles. In the prospectus, García Torres claimed that he wanted only to entertain young ladies, that there would be nothing scientific or philosophical, and that he appealed to women as mothers, lovers and wives, friends and those who comfort others. The magazine, however, published two letters on the education of women by Joséphine Bachellery, written to a woman friend. Bachellery was a Parisian school teacher who spoke openly and published about women rights and emancipation, and who embraced socialist ideas. Her description of the former traditional environment of upper-class girls in France could have been aptly applied to the Mexican society of the 1840s.

Bachellery claimed that times had changed at such a pace that women urgently required a new kind of education. The author was probably also calling attention to the downward social mobility of French upper classes during France's constant crisis.

Formerly, the great art in educating women was to keep them in private life in a preventive situation which forbade them to move or think, and everything was reduced to infinite precautions and an excessive vigilance. Before anything else, grandparents were shown the pure name of the family, without any stain. Women had no other function to exercise other than being a wife and mother, and without intelligence, she should never leave her domestic hearth. Today, owing to necessity or luck, one must dispose oneself to rival the instruction of men.⁴⁰ (1.7, p. 308)

For Mexicans, despite the church–state separation by the mid-nineteenth century, religion remained at the heart of education, especially for women. However, according to Bachellery, only 'a solid and extensive' instruction could guide women to make better judgements and decisions in a difficult world, and reason and consciousness should always accompany religious feeling as the pillars of

³⁹ This idea is advanced by Montserrat Galí Boadella, *Historias del bello sexo. La introducción del Romanticismo en México* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002), 160, fn17.

⁴⁰ Josefina Bachellery, 'Sobre la educación de las mujeres. Carta primera,' *Panorama de las Señoritas* (1842), 179-180. The letters were originally published in France in 1838. It is interesting to note that most of the sources that Bachellery quotes on women's education are by other women: Madames Necker, Campan, de Rémusat, Jacotot and Guizot. She also quotes Fénelon and Fourier.

education.⁴¹ She believed religious education alone was not apt for modern women, and since public education remained flawed, it fell to mothers to convey to their daughters the principle ‘that their intellectual value is equal to that of men’.⁴²

Another article in the magazine, entitled ‘On the influence of women on politics’, went so far as to support women’s involvement in political affairs, and sternly criticised the prevailing ways of educating women, and the superficiality it caused. The article proposed that young men should educate women in the world’s affairs in order to make women their companions ‘and not their slaves’.⁴³ Such secular principles and the open expression of ideas of equality between the sexes were certainly new in Mexican publications, and unusual. The likelihood is that they aroused disgust in the elite of the male population, and probably in an important section of the female population too. A propos the men, the same magazine also published ‘De la influencia del bello sexo’ (On the fair sex’s influence), written by a man, presumably Mexican, who on the one hand recognized women’s squandered talents and the need for a more structured and modern education for them while, on the other, he repeated all the romantic clichés according to which woman’s main role was to be man’s inspiration: the influence of women is, and should be, through her love as mother and wife. Certainly, the author found no grounds for equality between men and women, declaring that ‘the essential cause that drives the fair sex to servitude should be sought in their intellectual faculties: [for] their imagination [is] more ardent than ours, more apt to find temporary resources; but passive, without a creative faculty, little fecund in ideas and of a limited sphere’.⁴⁴ Ultimately, the author concludes, the situation is insurmountable due to the woman’s physical weakness.⁴⁵

Panorama de las señoritas died a natural death after a year of publication, which was a common lifespan for magazines at the time. The publishers had the opportunity to write and publish a closing notice, which indicates that its

⁴¹ Bachellery, ‘Sobre la educación de las mujeres. Carta segunda,’ 218.

⁴² Bachellery, ‘Sobre la educación de las mujeres. Carta quinta,’ 525.

⁴³ ‘De la influencia de las mujeres en la política’, *Panorama de las Señoritas*, 101. The journal of origin is quoted as ‘Diario de las mujeres’. I presume this is a French journal that might have been a *Journal des femmes* published in France between 1832-1836, whose editors were Mme Émile Souvestre and Nanine Papot. Reference from Catalogue Bn-Opale plus from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Accessed 28 08 2008.

⁴⁴ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 86-87. The article was also printed in *El Siglo XIX*, 28 Jan. 1849.

⁴⁵ ‘De la influencia del bello sexo,’ *Panorama*, 36.

disappearance was not forced by its radicalism.⁴⁶ Why, one may ask, did the editors not feel the need to explain the uncomfortable cohabitation of opposing views within *Panorama*? The answer may lay in the fact that if at a theoretical level they reflected on matters of equality and the rights of women, these magazines were not considered as guides to action. In addition, as mentioned before, in general terms women were not taken seriously. Bachellery's radical ideas probably remained isolated and, according to the slow-changing Mexican panorama on women's matters, they fell on a barren soil of views opposing them.

The aspirations for a more active and educated position for women in the country's new society were not immediately realized. Despite all the initiatives I have presented here, women in Mexico did not have generalized access to formal education until the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Girls were educated with dissimilar methods, focus and results. Their supposed sensibility and empathy remained the virtues most appreciated in women, while these also served as exclusionary devices. As proved frequently to be the case after revolutions, Mexican independence did not bring a place for women in the new political configuration; during the first decades of independent life, the new country became entangled in liberal versus conservative political debates where women's status was only marginally discussed. The participation of educated women in public life remained mainly limited to religious and philanthropic activities, and although the virtues of giving girls a more thorough education were recognized, the educational progress that came as result was kept fundamentally as a private achievement.

In 1840, Calderón de la Barca highlighted the traditional feminine talents of Mexican women as compensation for their lack of formal education. This neo-colonial view draws a clear differentiating, and uncrossable, line between European and Mexican women:

But if a Mexican girl is ignorant, she rarely shows it. They have generally the greatest possible tact; never by any chance wandering out of their depth, or betraying by word or sign that they are not well informed of the subject under discussion.

⁴⁶ 'Despedida', *Panorama*, 538.

⁴⁷ Access to professional education for women in Mexico did not open up until the 1880s. Before that the only professional activity supported by education for women was as primary school teachers. María de Lourdes Alvarado, 'Mujeres y educación superior en el México del siglo XIX,' *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. Luz Elena Galván Lafarga, México, UNAM, 2002. Accessed 15 01 2011, < http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_10.htm>. Women's suffrage in Mexico was only obtained in 1953.

Though seldom graceful, they are never awkward, and always self-possessed. They have plenty of natural talent, and where it has been thoroughly cultivated, no woman can surpass them.⁴⁸

We can compare such testimony with that of another witness, J. F. Elton, an Englishman who joined the French in their Mexican invasion during the 1860s, and who had been in India as part of the Raj, orientalist Mexican women. Though dating from a couple of decades after Calderón de la Barca, his description yields complementary results. The difference is that Calderón is not seduced by Mexican women's exoticism, whereas Elton is. His description additionally highlights the traditional objectified image of women and finally betrays his unease with the Spanish-Indian racial mix, which actually constitutes the basis for the Mexican nation.

Without an exception the fair sex walk magnificently, and have that thorough-bred air which so generally characterizes women of Spanish race; they dress, besides, with exquisite taste, and their black eyes and long eyelashes go far to compensate for the slovenliness and dirt of the Indian maidens, who appear to be born with a natural antipathy to water and cleanliness.⁴⁹

The evidence against effectively-educated women grows if we take on board a modern study on nineteenth-century Mexican women by historian Montserrat Galí, whose analysis, based on a literal, and selective reading of contemporary sources, grants no space whatever for women's intellectual growth at the time:

With the demise of the *Ancien Régime* [...], it seemed that woman would occupy the place that the theories of Enlightenment had been proposing for her. The discourse, however, was not accompanied by liberalizing measures; on the contrary, woman was enclosed in the new privatized domestic space. In order to convince those who were reticent about this process, a discourse based on weakness, sweetness, charity, piety and other natural and innate characteristics of women was forged.⁵⁰ (1.8, p. 308)

Yet this reading, which is supported by nineteenth-century public discourse, falls short of accounting for the changes that, however slowly, were indeed taking place in women's status. It would be misleading to believe that women were confined to their

⁴⁸ Calderón de la Barca, 'Letter the Twenty-Third' (1840).

⁴⁹ J. F. Elton, *With the French in Mexico* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867).

⁵⁰ Galí Boadella, *Historias*, 174.

homes in total submissiveness, and that they subscribed to the restricted and restrictive views the frequent conservative articles in magazines wanted readers to believe. The frequency and insistence of prescriptive, threatening, articles aimed at women's containment, speaks volumes of the need to remind women of duties with which they were not fully compliant. Moreover, although there is little testimony from Mexican women themselves, from the scatterings of available evidence the least we can imagine is the existence of lettered, cultivated women who were avid and knowledgeable readers of the profuse amounts of poetry, novels and journals being published at the time. Musically speaking, as we shall see in Chapter Three, women managed to cross the boundaries and forge an incipient place for themselves not only in semi-professional environments but in the professional world.

Women, men and Romantic literature

Contemporary texts were obsessed with defining women. The texts sang woman's praises, while prescribing her behaviour and condemning her for not following the rules implicit in the ideal womanly image.⁵¹ These definitions are built upon an important Romantic tenet: the dichotomy between man and woman, where sensibility is woman's ultimate domain while reason is man's territory. As early as 1826, Claudio Linatti, the Italian publisher and founder of the first illustrated journal in Mexico, published his views on woman's main characteristics in his *El Iris*: 'The flexibility that man has in his spirit, woman has in her heart, and while the former attends matters with more penetration, the latter probes the effects with a greater sensibility'.⁵² In short:

A creature full of imagination and truth, able to ignite the flame of all that is noble, sensitive to the beauties of creation, to the charms of harmony, so fertile in texts for tender souls and the illusions of that divine art known as *poetry*; in short, a being who disdains adulation and tumultuous applause, let her be content with liking the sweetness of domestic life.⁵³ (1.9, p. 308)

Similarly, in the *Album Mexicano*'s story 'Mariquita Castañuela', woman is described in relation to a man's feelings. Woman was 'idealised by imagination,

⁵¹ No announcements of Georges Sand's translation are found at this time in the Mexican newspapers.

⁵² *El Iris. Periódico crítico y literario*, by Linati, Galli and Heredia, Vol. I, (Mexico, 1826) Facsimile, (Mexico: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas, 1988), 61-62.

⁵³ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 109.

debased by Positivism, a prisoner to passionate irony or sarcasm, whether it be the angel who shelters and accompanies us in the desert of life or the domestic executioner who mistreats and makes our heart wither like the child who damages the flower he plays with'.⁵⁴ The Manichean construction of woman as angel or demon/whore is a constant in many of the contemporary definitions. There was an irresolvable abyss between courtship and marriage, even more pronounced when in the latter woman became sexually available to her husband, prompting a loss of interest in her. From that point it was, according to the texts, her responsibility alone to keep her husband by her side, by remaining beautiful and attractive. But together with marriage came the decay of her beauty and the end of her youth, which according to Romantic literary idealization were some of women's most appreciated assets.

These characterizations were not new: they bear clear traces of Rousseau, who was widely known and read in Mexico from the end of the eighteenth century, whose political ideas formed the basis of Latin-American independence movements, and who in his *Emile* delineates similar differences between men and women.⁵⁵ This prescriptive characterization, given that its main aim was educational, can be found at the base of much of what is written in the nineteenth-century Mexican press and literature. In Book V of *Emile*, Rousseau states that men should be active and strong while women should be passive and weak. Woman was made to please man according to the law of nature. Woman has to make herself pleasing by charming the man, and man should use his strength in relation to woman whenever he deems it necessary.⁵⁶ A Mexican article titled 'A warning to the beautiful sex', reminded woman that the only weapons she needed in order to get what she wanted from men were 'virtue and beauty, her graces, talent and kindness', because 'as soon as she tries to make use of other weapons, she exposes herself to mockery and she will be brought down and she will always lose'.⁵⁷

What place can music have in such a scheme? Within Victorian fiction the angel/demon equation was recurrent. For Richard Leppert: 'Bourgeois patriarchy, which defined women by principles governing domesticity, constructed two

⁵⁴ 'Mariquita Castañuela,' 27.

⁵⁵ See for instance, Luis Villoro, 'Rousseau en la Independencia de México', *Casa del Tiempo* III, 8 (2005), 55-61.

⁵⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, ou l'éducation*, Fifth Book. Accessed 18 04 2008, <<http://www.ilt.columbia.edu/pedagogies/rousseau/Contents2.html>>.

⁵⁷ 'Un consejo al sexo hermoso', *El Mosaico Mexicano* III (1840), 521.

contradictory categories of woman: the privatized angel of the house, not subject to the pleased gaze, and her radical public opposite, the prostitute'.⁵⁸ Interestingly, music could contribute either to elevate women to an angelic or—to debase her to—devilish condition: 'The culprit, as always is female deviousness—in metaphoric terms, woman's instability as sign: angel in the house or whore of Babylon. The culprit is also music'.⁵⁹ Phyllis Weliver went one step further by finding agency in women's roles in Victorian fiction: '[t]he coexistence of seraph and demon within a woman reflected contemporary fears. During the last half of the century, gender ideals and traditional female roles were questioned, and sensation fiction suggests that a woman's use of music is one indication of how she positions herself'.⁶⁰

In Mexico too, according to contemporary texts, the Romantic woman escaped the narrow man/woman dichotomy by using her imagination, her reason and a sense of freedom. She was condemned because by being engrossed in Romantic activities, pleasing a man within the domestic sphere fell outside her immediate interest. Unlike women's sanctioned tasks such as sewing, cooking or even painting, music-making and reading novels could, and frequently did, become an activity whose social and moral value was ambiguous. Women could enter a world of their own whose signifiers escaped an easy reading by those who were in charge of them and who did not share their intellectual and sentimental universe.

The expansion of Romantic thought, sensibility and cultural practices within the Mexican bourgeoisie in the form of literary texts, music and fashion, played an important role in fuelling women's imagination. According to Galí, this phenomenon had an impact on all aspects of cultural life. The author includes 'both material production (magazines, musical scores, engravings), and cultural practices (attendance at theatre, social gatherings or evening parties, outings, dances) and of course—and perhaps most importantly—sensibility, attitudes, gestures and tastes'.⁶¹ Romanticism was closer to women because 'it privileged emotion and intuition above reason, which, as a consequence, elevated the feminine to a level never reached before'.⁶² However, Galí fails to mention that while women expanded their

⁵⁸ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 155.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁶⁰ Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900. Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 114.

⁶¹ Galí Boadella, *Historias*, 15.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 26.

intellectual horizons at home, they were also condemned for indulging in activities that alienated them from their obligations.

Women were incorporated into the 'lettered contingent' in the nineteenth century, and more and more publications included them as a potential reading public.⁶³ Romantic novels, poems and short stories disseminated through ladies' journals and literary magazines were popular reading-matter among Mexican women, and men, of the upper-classes during the 1830s and 1840s, and used music both as an arbiter of value and as a means of escape for fictional heroines. Romantic texts, which began being published in translation in the late 1820s, also contributed to the construction of national identity. These ideas found local rooting in the 'Academia de Letrán', the main hub for the Mexican Romantic movement founded in 1836 by literature instructor José María Lacunza. Its aim was furthering a worthy national literary expression. The Academia spearheaded an early nationalist movement in literature, influenced by the *costumbrista* movement. Mexican authors began writing stories with a local colour, including reference to a Mexican landscape of pre-Hispanic ruins, colonial buildings, orientalisised cactuses or luscious vegetation. Thus Romanticism as an ideology that took a part in the fashioning of a national identity which looked toward the past in order to construct a national mythology, but also toward the future in its goal of integrating the new country into the concert of nations.⁶⁴ When the first Mexican historical novels emerged, during the 1830s, these short novels dealt mostly with the recent or Colonial past. Authors such as José María Lafragua, Mariano Meléndez y Muñoz, José Joaquín Pesado, J. R. Pacheco and Ignacio Ramírez Galván explored this genre; some of them were members of the Academia de Letrán. According to Alejandro Araujo, this was an incipient stage of historical novel, whose golden age is during the late 1860s. For my purposes they are important because they were moralizing in the sense that they aimed to inculcate 'good taste' and 'good mores' in their public. The past was used to extract models for action.⁶⁵ The sources of such Romantic flowering were not what one would expect in northern Europe. Practically no signs of German Romanticism are to be

⁶³ Carlos Illades, *Nación, sociedad y utopía en el romanticismo mexicano*, Sello Bermejo (Mexico: Conaculta, 2005), 69-70.

⁶⁴ It included divergent schools of thought including liberals and conservatives. In 1849 it was transformed into the Liceo Hidalgo and by 1856 it was dissolved due to internal dissension, at a time when Romanticism was being superseded by other currents in Mexican literature.

⁶⁵ Alejandro Araujo Pardo, *Novela, historia y lecturas. Usos de la novela histórica del siglo XIX mexicano: una lectura historiográfica* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Claustro de Sor Juana, 2009), 49-51, 167-211.

found in the journals before the 1850s. Instead, the most popular and the less familiar French and English authors of Romantic literature are at the forefront of all magazines, in Spanish translations. In an advertisement of 1844, the Librería Mexicana offered the complete works of Byron, Walter Scott and Lamartine, all translated into Spanish.⁶⁶ Judging by comments published by the editors of these magazines,⁶⁷ these Romantic novels were extremely popular with the Mexican readership, and we know that this type of publication was aimed at a feminine readership, as it is clearly stated in their introductory texts.⁶⁸

According to critics, the fact that women were reading not only religious but also secular texts was one of the potential dangers brought about by Romanticism. Manuel Payno was one of the Mexican intellectuals who drew attention to the potential dangers of unregulated reading. Besides giving recommendations to women on how to preserve their marriages, in his 1843 text 'Reflections on Marriage', Payno dwelt upon what constituted good and bad literature for them.⁶⁹ His tone was didactic and paternalistic, and, probably following Rousseau, he considered women were similar to children, who lacked discernment and needed advice on how to act properly. Implicit is the power of literature on people's minds.

There are women for whom the sight of a book is a cause of ennui—this is not good—. There are others who devour every novel and worthless piece of paper that falls into their hands—that is even worse. There is a proposition that claims the virtue lies in between, and that is the point to be achieved.⁷⁰ (1.10, p. 308)

If the social usefulness of reading is amply recognised in the article—'understanding is fertilised, imagination is awakened, the heart is delighted in it, and boredom runs away in the presence of a book'—matters are different when dealing with women.

⁶⁶ *El Siglo XIX*, 22 Feb. 1844. Although these authors were known in Mexico earlier. Walter Scott's *Waverley*, for instance, was translated and published in Mexico in 1833, by the Cuban writer José María Heredia.

⁶⁷ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 86-87. The article was also printed in Cumplido's *El Siglo XIX*, 28 Jan. 1849.

⁶⁸ Galí Boadella claims that a sentimental vein of Romanticism was introduced in Mexico mainly through literature and music and it was primarily directed toward women. She situates its presence in the country between 1821 and 1855, Galí Boadella, *Historias*, 14. Surveying different periodisations, historian Carlos Illades has found that Mexican literary romanticism took place in Mexico between the years 1836-1867. This chronology shows that Romanticism in Mexico was rather a successor than a contemporary to the European movement. Illades, *Nación*, 21-22. This chronology extends Romanticism by a decade compared to Galí Boadella's. Feminine Romanticism as Romantic sensibility, in Galí's chronology, started and finished earlier than literary Romanticism.

⁶⁹ Yo [Manuel Payno], 'Memorias sobre el matrimonio', *El Museo Mexicano II* (1843), 49-52. Payno admitted his text was inspired by his reading of Balzac's *Physiologie du mariage*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

Men can read anything they please if their judgement and taste have been educated; a woman should never be exposed ‘to pervert her heart, to deviate her soul from [the] ideas of religion and piety [...]. Neither shall a febrile exaltation of feelings that would make her lose contentment and tranquillity of domestic life, and to look at her husband as a slothful and insufferable Classic’.⁷¹ The reference to a ‘classic’ is an allusion to the Classic–Romantic antagonism that frequently comes up in the contemporary Mexican press, where women are described as Romantic and men as Classic. The gendered division of Classic/Romantic can be traced as back as *La Querelle des Anciens et des Moderns* in France at the end of the seventeenth century. According to Danielle Haase-Duboc:

This *Querelle* (quarrel) was not purely literary; on the contrary, it was intimately associated with the debates of political and social values of the moment: the criteria of classicism are masculine and noble, those of the novel (mainly feminine) promulgated bourgeois and effeminate values.⁷²

The advice Payno gives his female readership is, in effect, an attempt to be in control of the unfettered reading space:

As a general rule, each time you hear of a work that is Romantic, do not read it; and this goes against my literary ideas and my opinion with regard to these writings; but what is generally called Romantic shall not be read by young or married women, because there are always in these writings treacherous husbands, tyrant fathers, treacherous friends, horrendous incests, patricides, adulteries, murders and crimes, mixed up in a slimy mix of blood and mud.⁷³ (1.11, p. 308)

The object of reading is, instead, ‘to alleviate life’s weight’ and not to ‘compress the heart’. Payno tells his female reader that she can safely read *Don Quixote* by Miguel Cervantes and that she can spend ‘countless hours of delight reading Walter Scott [...] whose works can be read by tender girls, chaste maidens and virtuous married women’. Scott’s works portray the ideals of mind and body and they are lessons in history of Scotland and England ‘that shall fertilize your understanding without harming it and shall give you matter for, without presumption and garrulousness,

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Danielle Haase-Dubosc, , ‘Intellectuelles, femmes d’esprit et femmes savants au XVIIe siècle,’ *Clio*, No. 13 (2001), Accessed 23 08 2008, <<http://clio.revues.org/document133.html>>.

⁷³ Yo, ‘Memorias’, 51.

making pleasant conversation with your acquaintances and those of your husband'.⁷⁴ Apparently, the didactic benefits posed by the pseudo-historical characterisations of Walter Scott's novels meant that they escaped Payno's adverse characterization of Romantic novels. The texts that Payno censured exalted Romantic imagination, sensibility and love in extreme forms, including the inescapable suffering associated with it (Rousseau's *Julie* and the letters of Heloise and Abelard) and religious tolerance (Volney's *Ruins*).⁷⁵ If, in Mexico like in Central Europe, the bourgeois home was to serve 'as sanctuary, a place which a man could retire for a reward principally invested in his woman',⁷⁶ this type of reading went clearly against the ideals of women's education. 'De la influencia del bello sexo' emphatically supports the literary instruction of women, but exclusively centred on moral readings with the telling argument that: 'We must strengthen women's spirit for them to vigorously resist the future seductions of imagination'.⁷⁷ The double standard could hardly be clearer: those men writing, translating and/or publishing these literary texts are telling women they should not read them. Market considerations, not least the fact that women were excellent customers, apparently allowed them to overcome their scruples.

Female identity-building in independent Mexico had to work within this adverse climate. The exposure of women to foreign ideas that contributed to their independent thinking was simultaneous to the repetitive direction of remaining in the traditional roles of daughters and wives. Amid these contradictory messages, women slowly found spaces to develop their creativity and become writers, and for musicians to express themselves. Within limits they were praised, investing them with a national pride on account of their creations and trajectories, which were incorporated into the building of a national profile. As we shall see, given the urgent agenda of national building, patriotic manifestations came before other considerations.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁵ The call for imagination and the special intellectual effort of intertextuality required in the reading of *Julie, or the New Heloise*, together with the moral ambiguity implicit in rescuing the fallen lovers present in the novel, made it a dangerous reading for women, while literary Mexican men embraced Rousseau's descriptive/prescriptive texts on women behaviour without trouble.

⁷⁶ Leon Botstein, 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience', *19th Century Music* 16, No. 2 (1992), 136.

⁷⁷ 'De la influencia del bello sexo', *Panorama*, 39.

Making music at home: virtues and dangers

Women's reading of Romantic literature was associated with another pervasive domestic activity: music-making, especially piano playing and singing. In Mexico, as in a considerable part of the Western world, 'the piano-girl was ubiquitous'.⁷⁸ As early as 1807, we find reference to the fondness of young women of the upper classes for the *clave*, generic for keyboard, and a praise of its practice. 'What could I say about the enchanting skill with which several distinguished young ladies and children perform the *clave*; they are dedicating themselves to this fine art of the Gods in perfect accordance with their sex, their age, their education and their enlightened principles.'⁷⁹

Whether in the Victorian world or in the sphere of influence of the Spanish empire, the charm that a woman exuded when making music is reiterated in different texts of the time. In a quasi-formulaic manner women were recommended to play the piano, as it was implicitly considered to increase their attractiveness. For instance, in an annual woman's album entitled *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas*—an exquisite booklet whose diminutive pages and illustrations were designed as a present to please young women—the publisher Ignacio Cumplido states:

With how many attractions does a young woman adorn herself when her white hand runs down the sonorous piano and inundates the ear with tender melodies! It seems that then the aristocratic salon is peopled with invisible genies that come to applaud her with their divine voices, for being the queen of loveliness!⁸⁰ (1.12, p. 308-9)

In a similar vein, a passage from an early literary magazine, *El Iris*, finds music 'one of the most beautiful adornments of a young lady's education. She polishes and perfects that sweetness of personality, good taste and sensibility that characterizes her, and that first forms the consolation of the parental home and then the delight of a husband'.⁸¹ In very similar terms but heightened by Romantic rhetoric, a decade later

⁷⁸ Ruth Solie, 'Chapter 3. "Girling" at the Parlor Piano', *Music in Other Words. Victorian Conversations*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 89.

⁷⁹ *Diario de México*, 27 Oct. 1807, 257, quoted in Jesús Herrera, 'El Quaderno Mayner, 'Master's Thesis, (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2007), 17.

⁸⁰ *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas* (1852), 376.

⁸¹ *El Iris*, 32.

El Mosaico Mexicano declares that: ‘If besides good breeding, refinement and talent, a young woman adds the seduction of singing with the soul, and the spell of celestial eyes, to try to resist her is a foolish or an insane enterprise’.⁸²

The association between women and music, pianos in this case, was expanded so as to make the instrument a prolongation of their being linked to moments of joy. The link was so strong that the absence of a woman meant the silencing of music and celebration. In an obituary of the young girl Paz Reyes, the Mexican Romantic writer José María Roa Bárcena stated: ‘her piano is now mute; instead of merry singing there are shouts of pain; instead of laughing, prayer’.⁸³ Music, by extension, becomes a feminine realm, as described in the introductory words to a score published in a literary magazine: ‘We are especially delighted to publish music, since we are giving back to the ladies what belongs to them’.⁸⁴ Music published in magazines thus implicitly identified domestic music with women in a positive light. Music-making at home signified a feminine realm contained within sanctioned boundaries.

Not only periodicals and literature but also travellers’ testimonies portray music-making at home as a pervasive phenomenon in Mexico. Calderón de la Barca, being a serious amateur musician herself—she had her harp and her Erard piano delivered to Mexico from the U.S.—, became involved in music-making in Mexico both in her own home and in public settings. On her arrival in 1838, only days after she disembarked in the city of Veracruz, she commented: ‘I imagine that there must be a great deal of musical taste thrown away here. There are pianos in almost every house...’⁸⁵ A year later, her impression of Mexican musicality was to be confirmed, although she repeated her image of a rather superficial endeavour:

There is evidently a great deal of musical taste among them [the Mexicans], and, as in every part of Mexico, town or country, there is a piano *tal cual* in every house; but most of those who play are self-taught, and naturally abandon it very soon, for want of instruction or encouragement.⁸⁶

Manuel Vilar, like Calderón de la Barca, was also apparently an amateur musician, who was delighted to find fondness for music-making widespread in

⁸² ‘Mujeres’, *El Mosaico Mexicano*, (1837), 139.

⁸³ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 78.

⁸⁴ *El Iris*, 16.

⁸⁵ Calderón de la Barca, ‘Letter the Fourth’ (1839).

⁸⁶ Calderón de la Barca., ‘Letter the Thirty-fifth’ (1841). ‘Tal cual’ (exactly like that) in Spanish in the original.

Mexican society. In the letters to relatives and friends back in Spain, he narrated that the daughter of the house where he was living, aged 22, was an excellent pianist with whom ‘I have good times singing’ during times of tedium.⁸⁷ Vilar is truly convinced of Mexicans’ disposition for music-making. His testimony is particularly valuable, for he was invited to many homes in his reputable role as an Academy professor, and had the opportunity to listen to and practice music, singing as a baritone. Vilar thought highly of the Mexicans’ musicianship: he found music-making ‘in a great number of other houses [than the one where he was a tenant] since there is almost not a family that does not sing or play, and you would be amazed at the amount of musical enthusiasm and good disposition there is, and as much musical ability as anywhere in Europe’.⁸⁸

This panorama needs to be nuanced both with regard to the somewhat repressive aspect of women making music in the home and with the negative connotations to which even a society advocating music-making subscribed when women performed music in unrestrained contexts or with uninhibited passion. In the face of an ‘excessive fondness’ for domestic music-making, condemnation came from authors of very different dispositions. In Mexico, foreign writings including liberal ones such as those of Joséphine Bachellery referred to the waste of time and even banality found in the innumerable hours that young women devoted to the piano. Their Mexican counterparts insisted that music carried with it a neglect of domestic responsibilities. In addition, both Mexican and European texts argued that due to women’s alleged lack of judgement, as with their reading, they could easily fall prey to immoral and seductive men through music-making.

Within the ‘Scales of Love’ with which this chapter began the *filarmónica* was understood as a woman whose fondness of music was so great—by playing or singing, going to the theatre or talking about it—that her affection became what defined her. Music resembled an open door through which the few men with musical knowledge easily entered into women’s hearts *and* bodies. Richard Leppert has described a situation in the Victorian world that is not far from that in Mexico: ‘The scandal of female musical performance, the binding of the physical to the cognitive, produces pleasure, toward which Victorians were pointedly antagonistic precisely because it implicitly privileged the otherwise devalorised body and because it was

⁸⁷ Manuel Vilar to José Vilar, México, 26 Apr. 1846, 136.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

immanently shameless—erotic’.⁸⁹ The protagonist of the Mexican story *Mariquita Castañuela*, for instance, compromises her decency by letting herself be effortlessly seduced by the *filarmónico*. He takes advantage of the sentiments, and closeness including physical closeness, implicit in music-making, to make his advances. Implicitly it is the woman’s job to stop him.

More tame [than the soldier suitor] but no less feared was the Philharmonic, whether in conversation, recitative or aria for tenor or soprano *obligato*, they warbled in a duo *Il Sospiro, La Cenerentola, Il Pirata* and other things after he presented Mariquita with sweets and marshmallows. He placed himself before her with his guitar and played with her knees with impunity; taking advantage of his voice and touch during the breaks in which they tuned up or discussed what they ought to sing at the *tertulia*.⁹⁰ (1.13, p. 309)

A literary example

To illustrate how the Romantic literary and musical cultures intersected, this section examines the musical portions of the play *A ninguna de las tres* (*None of the Three*) by playwright Fernando Calderón. It is a case that displays instances of the containment necessary for women amateur music-making to work within the established rules of propriety, and an example of how the notions of women and what were considered Romantic practices were displayed, interlocked, in a Mexican literary work. As a moral tale, they agree on the deleterious effects upon women that an unfettered musical practice can bring about.

According to Ernano Caldera, the first generation of Romantic writers such as Lord Byron, George Sand or Mariano José de Larra, whose tragic lives paralleled those of their literary subjects, crafted a veritable ‘existential Romanticism’, whereas later generations adopted a Romanticism of irony that concentrated on form: gestures and words with little artistic depth.⁹¹ *Costumbrismo*, within this later trend, was a literary current that became quite successful in Spain and Latin America, and employed irony to make fun of those who sought to live a Romantic life in exaggerated ways. According to Mercedes Comellas the favourite topics in the *costumbristas’* satires involved the juxtaposition of *Romantic* and *Classic* characters,

⁸⁹ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 215.

⁹⁰ ‘Mariquita Castañuela’, 28-9.

⁹¹ Ernano Caldera, *Los románticos se burlan de sí mismos. Algunos apuntes sobre el Romanticismo existencial* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel Cervantes, 2003).

including women poets and Romantic men with stereotypically long hair, tight breeches, and eyeglasses.⁹² In Mexico, Carlos Illades has found that the first generation of the Academia de Letrán, to which Fernando Calderón belonged, sowed the seeds for Mexican nationalism by recovering the indigenous world in an anachronistic and idealised fashion. These authors considered Independence as a new liberating era. *Costumbrismo* was popular with this group of writers.

Calderón's play 'None of the Three' [ca.1837-1840] is an early example in Mexican literature where the parlour becomes a site for the social life of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of matchmaking.⁹³ It takes place in the bourgeois house of Don Timoteo, in Mexico City during the 1830s. The action never leaves the house, its dialogues taking place in an uneventful and unhurried manner as part of domestic intercourse. A flirtatious young man, with the telling name of Don Juan, must decide which of the three daughters of Don Timoteo to marry, and he has for some time, with the father's permission, got to know them all. The play begins on the day when his time is up and he must make his decision known.

Don Timoteo's three daughters—Leonor, María and Clara—incarnate three different types of woman. María (Mariquita) is a light-hearted young woman who enjoys herself singing, dancing, going to parties and flirting with men; Clara is an intellectual completely uninterested in matters of the heart and submerged in the current political situation she devours newspapers and pamphlets; Leonor is a Romantic soul lost in chivalric novels, sobbing for her heroines and out of touch with reality. The characterizations of the women are schematic and cartoonish. Despite the obvious incompatibilities, if we were to fuse the three of them in one, we would have a picture of the Romantic woman, complete with those alleged excesses that Romanticism caused: too much singing and dancing, and too much thinking and daydreaming (these latter two characteristics being associated with the dangers of unregulated reading). In the end, Don Juan, a paradoxical name given his nature,

⁹² Mercedes Comellas, "'¡Yo quiero ser caribe! ¡Yo quiero ser antiromántico!'" del buen humor del anti-romanticismo,' *Del Romanticismo al Realismo*. Actas del I Coloquio de la S. L. E. S. XIX, Barcelona, 24-26 October 1996, ed. by Luis F. Díaz Larios and Enrique Miralles (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2005), 357-370. Accessed 28 09 2007, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/12604511990154841865846/p0000005.htm#I_39>.

⁹³ Calderón, *A ninguna de las tres*, 192-286. According to José Emilio Pacheco in his chronology included in the book *Poesía Mexicana I. 1810-1914* (Mexico: Promexa Editores, 1979), the play is from 1843. Neither Contreras Soto, writer of the prologue to the edition I used, nor Pacheco, gives a source for the date provided. All the operas mentioned in the play were first performed in Mexico in 1836, thus most likely the play was written after that; I situate it between 1837 and 1840.

decides not to marry any of Don Timoteo's daughters, and the title of the play becomes clear. The culprit is Romantic behaviour.

Inevitably, the conversation revolves around the education of women. As a loving and kind father, Don Timoteo wants his daughters to be happy in their own ways, and these include reading, enjoying music, painting and dancing, and not being confined to the traditional domestic roles. His friend Don Antonio, however, takes a different view and reminds Don Timoteo of the need for their containment. The key word is 'excess', for it marks the limit of women's suitable amusements or artistic aspirations.

Don Timoteo: According to that view
 You want me to suffocate
 The talents of my daughters?
 So they wash, sew or iron,
 So they are always at the hearth,
 Laying out food,
 And, so in the end, they
 Are employed like servants?

Don Antonio: No sir;
 But they should at least know
 Those duties
 Which are proper to their sex.
 Music, painting,
 And dance are all very well,
 And serve a young lady
 As attraction and recreation;
 But, friend, everything is bad
 When taken to excess.⁹⁴ (1.14, 309)

Calderón also takes issue with the uncritical admiration for all things foreign—in this case Parisian—which became so common among the Mexican upper classes. It was a decisive moment of definition of national identity, and the author condemned the servile emulation of European models.⁹⁵ In the 'Scales of Love' we saw this type of attitude represented by the 'impious', whereby the author associates foreign influence with an estrangement from Mexico's universal religion of Catholicism, but also with ideas considered subversive, such as socialism or the equality of women. In

⁹⁴ Calderón, *A ninguna de las tres*, 202.

⁹⁵ The ambivalence, to say the least, which the learned group publishing journals and newspapers began to hold toward foreign things, versus the generalised unconditional love for all things foreign is manifest in theatre matters too, regarding, for instance, mediocre performances by Italian opera companies, as we explore in Chapter Four.

Mexico, Catholicism stood side by side with the independence movement. The first symbol the insurgents used was the Virgin of Guadalupe. One can say Catholicism was, and is to this day, regarded as a national-cultural good, beyond its religious content.

Impías (Impious) (maidens from 25 to 40). This merchandise was previously nonexistent on the market. There are various reasons for the appearance of this article: contact with foreigners who were mere locksmiths in their own country but become personages here, Romantic dramas and novels such as *The Wandering Jew*⁹⁶ that these women have read without proper basis.⁹⁷ (1.15, p. 309)

In ‘None of the Three’, the author ridicules these attitudes, embodied in this case not by a woman but by a man. Don Juan’s fatuous friend, Don Carlos, has only just returned from Paris and he is without rhyme or reason quoting French phrases such as *comme il faut* or *très méchant*, and repeatedly declaring how everything in France is superior to Mexico.⁹⁸ Don Carlos defends his admiration for France because for him Mexico is definitely backward in comparison. For instance, the boring ‘classical’ plays that are offered in the ugly theatre contrast badly with the magnificent *soirées* in France. These examples were likely to be of special interest to women readers, who were avid attendees of plays and who were the main organizers of *tertulias*.

Unexpectedly, however, María, apparently the most superficial of the three daughters, who likes music, dancing and partying, engages in a strong defence of her country. When Don Carlos tries to seduce her by telling her she looks like ‘a Parisian sparkling jewel’, ‘a nymph of the Seine’, she replies: ‘I am just a Mexican woman’, which he, apparently, refuses to believe.

Don Carlos: Are you Venus or are you Flora?
 Or rather an angel from heaven?
María: I'm just a Mexican [woman]
Don Carlos: Impossible! It's not true!
 You're French, Italian,
 Or at least from La Havana;
 But not from this City.
María: Well, actually...
Don Carlos: Don't speak to me in Castilian [Spanish],

⁹⁶ Socialist novel by Eugène Sue published as a *feuilleton* in 1844-5. It is over a 1000 pages and deals mainly with the world’s injustices. It caused scandal because of its being a veritable manifesto on women’s rights, and on the worker communes. It is notable for its anticlerical tone. *El Álbum Mexicano* came out in 1849, only four years after the novel was released in France.

⁹⁷ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 86.

⁹⁸ Calderón, *A ninguna*, 210.

Destroying the illusion;
Of that sovereign face,
It cannot be Mexican,
My heart tells me so

María: (Annoyed) A good way of making love,
 Despising my homeland so!

Don Carlos: (Submissive) Deign to pardon:
 It's so difficult to find
 A single good thing here!

María: Well, the door is open for you,
 How annoying and how stubborn!
 Fulfil your high destiny
 Go back to where you came from.
 Leave us alone
 If you don't feel comfortable
 On the soil of your birth
 Go somewhere else,
 For a honeyed suitor
 Is not much of a loss, no.⁹⁹ (1.16, pp. 309-10)

How can we explain the virtuous signs of patriotism displayed by María in a play where women were generally condemned due to their superficial or irresponsible attitudes? As we mentioned earlier, among the Romantic ideas adopted at the time patriotism was a characteristic that was highly acceptable for women to adopt. Romanticism brought with it an appreciation for all things national, including nature, landscape, art and history, which are hailed in articles published in those same magazines containing Romantic literature. The wars with the U.S.A. and France were part of everyday life for women as much as they were for civilian men, and the exaltation of patriotic feelings through pamphlets, newspapers and literature left an imprint on women's consciousness and positioning even if they did not have active political participation. Patriotism, less militant in nature than more aggressive nationalism, was perhaps not only an accepted but commended feminine Romantic trait in early nineteenth-century Mexico.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Ibid., 228.

¹⁰⁰ Women did participate in wars by aiding the national or foreign soldiers with food or shelter. During the French intervention, for instance, women were on both camps: some marrying French officers; others boycotting the foreign invasion. This fascinating subject exceeds the limits of this thesis.

Conclusion

Men of Mexico's post-independence elite awakened to the fact that women were part of the new nation and that their place in the shifting Mexican reality had to be addressed. More attention had to be paid to their education; women needed new knowledge in accordance with the modern world Mexicans aspired to become part of. Now that Spain's iron grip of the country had been loosened, Mexico formed part of a wider European sphere of influence including France and England, whose ideas were translated and printed on everyday basis in the Mexican press. Ideas about women's education, their position in society, the activities most suitable or readings most appropriate for them were all coming from Europe, but at the same time were being discussed, mainly by men, in Mexican publications. Romanticism, which took the cultivated elite by storm in the 1830s, played a perhaps unexpected role in opening up spaces for women developing their intellectual and artistic abilities and competences. Mexican women embraced the sentimental world of feminine Romanticism through the practices of music-making, reading and writing literature.

There are gendered paradoxes that need to be addressed when dealing with Romanticism as a nineteenth-century way of life. Literary Romanticism was as imaginative as it was edifying, while at the same time it was an essentially masculine endeavour, for most of its architects were men. In Mexico, a feminised version of Romanticism was deemed superficial, a waste of time and capable of inducing loose morals. This was women's territory. If, indeed, a considerable amount of the readership of Romantic literature was women, by reading these texts provided by men they would unleash the imagination and would be estranged from their traditional womanly roles. The tension was insoluble and reinforced by marketing strategies that directed those literary, and musical, products to women. There was one exception: when the patriotic factor was mixed in, women were granted spaces otherwise unacceptable for them. Contributing to the consolidating of the new country took precedence over other considerations.

The dénouement of 'None of the Three' summarizes the obsessive moral lesson most mid-nineteenth-century literature was trying to convey to women: read, and play music, but not in excess; be sensitive but do not indulge in an overriding sensibility; be sweet not temperamental and love your country above all others. The countervailing forces of Romantic sensibility unleashed hard-to-control devils in

Mexican women. As Chapter Three will demonstrate, women gradually began to open spaces for action within the new country.

In the next chapter we delve further into the musical world Mexican women developed in their homes, with the participation of men. In order to acquire music and instruments, in order to learn how to play and dance, and to play and dance with, women and men needed each other. The domestic music world was a crucial social intersection for the Mexican upper classes and women were in charge of creating, recreating as well as sometimes challenging and expanding it within the boundaries of a developing secular society.

Chapter 2

Albums for Young Mexican Women: Music, Dance and Iconography

Hear me with eyes alone,
Since ears are out of hearing's farthest reach,
Hear how my pen, with moans,
Echoes separation's bitterest pangs
And, since you cannot catch my rancorous tune,
hear me unhearing, hear a pain gone mute

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz¹

Josefa Zúñiga decided she had enough pieces to complete an album, probably one among many, and that she should bind it and preserve it from the ravages of time. The result, her 'Colección de puestas [sic] de música para peano[sic] / Josefa Zúñiga', comprises 24 piano pieces probably assembled in the late 1840s in Mexico City. It is now in the hands of a private collector. It is quarter-bound, with the owner's inscription on the spine in gold tooling. The covers are decorated with green marbled paper with purple and gold veins, and elegance still emanates from its worn-out cover. It was probably Josefa's father who took her scores to a Mexico City music shop where the book was made up to the young lady's specifications. Her selection includes 6 waltzes, 5 polkas, 2 polka-mazurkas, a redowa, a Varsovienne and 6 opera selections: a fantasia (*I puritani*, Bellini), a march (*La donna del lago*, Rossini), a duo (*Norma*, Bellini), a rondo (*Il pirata*, Bellini), variations brillantes (*La Violette*, Carafa), variations concertantes (*Le philtre*, Auber) and an overture (*La Cenerentola*, Rossini).² Josefa also included compositions by Mexican composers whom she might have known personally. The finished album was unique, a luxury she and her family were willing to pay for since the Zuñigas felt it a worthwhile and praiseworthy enterprise for a young woman to engage in.

¹ *A Sor Juana Anthology*, trans. Alan S. Trueblood, foreword by Octavio Paz. (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 71.

*Óyeme con los ojos,
Ya que están tan distantes los oídos,
Y de ausentes enojos
En ecos de mi pluma mis gemidos;
Y ya que a ti no llega mi voz ruda,
Óyeme sordo, pues me quejo muda.*

² Album 'Josefa Zúñiga', private collection of Guillermo Contreras, Mexico City.

As in many parts of the Western hemisphere, Mexican women assembled these albums for home music-making.³ There are hundreds of them, scattered in libraries, and especially in private collections. In Mexican music libraries they are sadly neglected: for the most part they lie abandoned; the thousands of pieces they contain are not deemed worthy of cataloguing. The composers contained within them are mostly now forgotten, their music considered of little or no value, and as if this were not enough, their format—too bulky to place on a piano desk—hardly makes them an asset for a lending library.⁴ In private collections, their fate is hardly better. They either become part of a decorative setting on a lavish bookshelf or, as in the case of Josefa Zúñigas’s album, lie in boxes for want of a better place.

Through the sheet music contained in thirteen Mexican music albums compiled between the 1830s to the 1860s,⁵ this chapter explores practices and imagines music and dance scenarios in the home. These albums represent a narrow entrance for a researcher to step into an elusive, little-known, and generally ignored, musical world—that of the nineteenth-century Mexican upper-class home. Ten of the albums were compilations made by amateurs. Eight of them are today in private hands; two are in the library of the National Conservatory and two more are from a music journal, José Antonio Gómez’s *El Instructor Filarmónico*, (1843). These latter are now housed in the library of the School of Music of the National University. Number thirteen is not properly an album but rather a compilation of pieces that appeared in women’s magazines between 1826 and 1853. They contain a multiplicity of genres and composers, although certain names and genres are clearly more popular than others. The majority of composers are foreign, although there is a significant number of native-born Mexicans. An overwhelming majority of the pieces are for piano solo, followed by voice and piano duos and then other combinations, including the accompaniment of guitar, violin or flute.

³ Bindings could be made to order, or albums could be bought off the shelf. In addition, some music periodicals, such as *El Instructor Filarmónico*, or *Museo Filarmónico*, offered to bind the collection of sheet music for which their subscribers had paid, turning weekly deliveries into a full *Tomo* (volume).

⁴ Jeanice Brooks has also pointed out their eclecticism and the lack of a table of contents as additional factors for their impracticability. Jeanice Brooks, ‘Les collections féminines d’albums de partitions dans l’Angleterre du début du XIXe siècle,’ *La la la... Maître Henri, Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, eds., C. Ballman, V. Dufour (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 381. I thank the author for generously sending me a copy of her article.

⁵ Dating of the albums was mostly inferred from the Hofmeister XIX database, to identify European publication dates for the individual pieces and then to correlate them with announcements in the Mexican press.

The albums can be taken as a representative sample of music within Mexican nineteenth-century upper-class homes. What is more, they reflect the musical tastes of properly brought up young women and say something of their abilities to meet national and international musical challenges. Their repertoire came mostly from a variety of imported and locally printed music available for retail sale. Other material came via subscription to music publications such as the two albums of the *Instructor Filarmónico* included here, or from music supplements to women's magazines. The musical assortment was aimed at embracing beginner, intermediate and advanced pianists, as well as offering other piano and voice pieces. We also investigate annuals which, although not specialised in music, were a parallel kind of publication that women cherished and looked forward to each year. These formed part of the intellectual universe of these amateur performers. This section is followed by a general description of the repertoire contained in the 13 albums and looks at Josefa Zúñiga's album in depth. We examine one of nineteenth-century Mexicans' favourite pastimes—dancing—including the protocol and pleasures of dance lessons, especially according to local dance-master Domingo Ibarra's manual. In relation to the repertoire contained in the albums, we explore the technical demands and levels of proficiency that women needed to tackle the repertoire, and we explain how moral standards of propriety for women were squared with the repertoire at hand.

Parallel to the private stories, the musical scores contained in these albums are part of a complex public narrative of the incipient construction of a Mexican national culture. In a newly defined and quickly evolving Mexican profile, which included a vast literal and metaphorical Mexican landscape, women played a more important role than has previously been acknowledged, with their love and adaptation of European musical fashions and ideas through music and the engravings depicted on sheet music. In an era before the ubiquity of audiovisual or electronic media, print materials were a force of their own, and influenced the ideas and lives of Mexico's inhabitants. The cover-art for scores can be equated, *mutatis mutandis*, with those formerly highly collectible and eagerly-anticipated LP covers of the 1970s where a concept comprised music illustration associated with a certain sound in a combination that became recognisable for various generations of consumers.

Music-sellers were undoubtedly keen to increase their sales by making an eye-catching product for their customers, and images of women were crucial in appealing to female customers or their fathers, brothers, admirers and husbands. We

advance the hypothesis that the illustrations that accompanied the music, most of them made *ad hoc* by Mexican lithographers, captured the imagination of Mexican contemporary inhabitants in a variety of ways, including idealised portraits of them, Romantic reconstruction of themselves and their country's landscape, and the portrayal of ideas about what their nation was or was called to be. Given that it was a time of defining 'Mexicanness', spaces for imagining a national being were opened in many fronts.

In musical terms, a clear-cut national language distinctive to Mexico is still far away except perhaps in the conception of a sense of national pride manifest in short salon pieces quoting local tunes. The most recognisable forms comprise dance music for the salon, opera in domestic format and other more or less elaborate piano pieces for the virtuoso performance of an individual pianist. We can, however, subscribe to the notion of 'musical nationalism' as stated by Thomas Turino: 'music used to create, sustain, or change an identity unit that conceives of itself as a nation in relation to having its own state' and one which 'emphasizes use and effects, rather than necessarily being connected to style or motivations among the original music makers'.⁶ Musically speaking we see the 'inclusion of vernacular references within elite art music compositions... [C]osmopolitan art music genres are seasoned with local elements (e.g., pentatonicism), or indigenous instruments, or popular melodies and rhythms'.⁷ This was not unusual: indeed, the adoption of 'native' dances by the upper classes in salon formats was a pervasive phenomenon in both central and peripheral Europe and Latin America alike.⁸ Visiting artists of the 1840s and 1850s were keen to compose 'Mexican' pieces for self-interested reasons; the Mexican public generally received their works in a positive light and they were regarded as

⁶ Thomas Turino, 'Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,' *Latin American Music Review* 24, 2 (2003), 175.

⁷Ibid., 176.

⁸The studies of Halina Goldberg, in Poland, and Haiganus Preda-Schimeck in the South-Eastern European area, particularly the Moldo-Wallachian region support this idea. An exploration by Tom Moore of Brazil's music libraries in Rio de Janeiro also corroborates the fact that Brazilian composers were interested in including the local sounds into the salon repertoire. Halina Goldberg, 'Chopin in Warsaw's Salons,' *Polish Music Journal* 2, Nos. 1-2, (1999). Accessed 27 06 2006, <http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/> *Music in Chopin's Warsaw* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Haiganus Preda-Schimeck, 'Music in the salons of central and south-eastern Europe: Preliminary considerations for cross-regional research' in Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Lina Navickaitė (ed.), *Poetics and Politics of Place in Music*, Proceedings from the 40. Baltic Musicological Conference (Vilnius, 17-20 Oct. 2007), Lithuanian Composers' Union (Helsinki: Unweb Publications, 2009). Tom Moore, 'A visit to Pianopolis. Brazilian Music for Piano at the Biblioteca Alberto Nepomuceno,' *Notes, Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 57, 1 (2000), 59-87.

objects of national pride. These compositions played a role in making Mexicans aware of picking up musical cues in their immediate surroundings.

‘Uses and effects’ is a key concept for the music under discussion in this chapter, for most of the salon music we are dealing with was composed with a specific, amateur, performer in mind. Music was an attractive means to cultivate women in the traditional arts, as well as an ideal way to pass the time, socialise and enable dance.

Home-made Piano Albums

Home-made music albums represented a cherished object of personal property that reflected each owner’s unique taste and style. Such albums remained close to women’s hearts, and fingers, and attest to their personal, inalienable, relationship with music. Once married, in general women had to sacrifice their leading role in soirées and at the centre of sociability to less exciting roles. A newly married hostess was now to conduct the musical entertainment by inviting guests to play, sing and dance. Although she could of course also participate—so long as she took a secondary position in these activities as the etiquette manuals advised—to some it must have been a difficult transition. Her albums, however, were independent of her social status, and they could come to life and provide a private pleasure, acting as a companion to hours of loneliness and an outlet for her emotions. Albums could additionally provide a way to cling to a bygone youth and to the relative musical and emotional freedoms it brought with it.

There is also an economic dimension to albums, for they are tangible examples of material affluence. Jeanice Brooks has summarised the main elements, associated with the proliferation of albums that led to the flourishing of music in England at the end of the eighteenth century: technical innovation in printing, increased manufacturing of pianos, improvement in transportation systems and a wealthy urban population which stimulated the expansion of the music market.⁹ Mexico benefited from this economic boom via the receipt of more musical merchandise at lower cost. At the same time, the Mexican *criollos*, the upper-classes of Spanish descent, owing their richness to commerce, mining and agriculture,

⁹ Brooks, ‘Les collections féminines d’albums,’ 372.

increased their cash-flow after independence, since the high taxes they were paying to the Spanish crown in order to preserve their benefits during Colonial times were abolished. The new order maintained a considerable portion of their economic privileges with the added benefit of increased freedom of movement.¹⁰ The *criollos* were willing to invest money in a bourgeois pursuit that not only delighted them but also educated their women. Leisure, and the means to afford lessons and provide salon settings in which women performed, was a form of cultural capital, while the importation of European salon music and its performance contexts ‘were a means of maintaining the cultural prestige of the *criollo* elites and means of marking distinction from others *within* the state’, in the Mexican case, the Indians and *mestizos*: combinations of White and Indian.¹¹ Women, supported by men, assembled these albums when they were single but brought as part of their dowry to their married home, and they could eventually become an inheritance for their daughters, thus reinforcing the ‘patrilineal superstructure’.¹² Accordingly, while *criollo* men were busy constructing a national identity and infrastructure in the public, political realm, their women were processing the influence of European music and literature in order to create their version of a national, gentrified self ‘at home’.

¹⁰ During Colonial times the elites amassed immense fortunes, albeit always dependent on royal benevolence in the form of permits and special benefits that came at high cost for the upper classes. These fortunes, however, went through ups and downs according to the financial vicissitudes such as success or failure in mining exploration, a change of government or the ever-changing rules of the game regarding retail merchandise that arrived from Spain. Composed of a handful of inter-related families, the elites flourished under the Colonial regime and especially through the Church’s generous credit system. Once the Spanish empire underwent its decisive crisis due to the French invasion, and demanded the amounts due on debts in cash, the rich elite joined the generalized social unrest. To pay the Crown their debts via the Church would have been tantamount to the elite’s economic ruin, and thus they resisted it. See Doris M. Ladd, *La nobleza mexicana en la época de la Independencia, 1780-1826*, trans. by Marita Martínez del Río de Redo (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984).

¹¹ Turino, ‘Nationalism and Latin-American Music,’ 179. This ‘exclusionary attitude,’ to employ Turino’s term, has made salon music and by extension all concert music, a domain removed from the lower classes in Mexico and probably throughout Latin America to this day, despite governmental attempts, since 1920, to close the gap. In Mexico, since the 1920s, the government has tried to close this gap through free concerts with ample dissemination—and with mixed results. The lack of a good music education in schools still makes music the interest of an elite, now more cultural than economic, which invests time and money for its children to learn music. The fact that the best music schools, which are state-supported, grant access to all classes of society has played down the economic factor but has not managed to overcome the cultural gap.

¹² Jeanice Brooks indicates that a woman could inherit books from her own family, her husband’s family or even the first wife of her husband or non-married women. Brooks, ‘*Les collections féminines*,’ 381-382. Unfortunately the situation in Mexico, as far as I have been able to establish, is that these collections have been sold to booksellers and private collectors. It has not been possible to trace the genealogy of the albums consulted. Even in the National Conservatoire there is little clarity as to their origin.

The proliferation of albums beginning in the 1840s can be situated within a general renewal of the Mexican musical community.¹³ With the reactivation of the economy and of the musical market it was not only the upper classes who now had access to musical publications and lessons: more private lessons were offered, schools were opened, opera and visiting virtuosi toured the country and an industry of printing and importing sheet music began to develop. A parallel can be drawn with Poland in the 1820s when, after the Congress of Vienna, Poland achieved relative autonomy through the Congress Kingdom. As Goldberg writes:

[T]he growth of music publishing was beneficial as a function of the new socio-economic environment that resulted in increased musical literacy, as well as greater participation in music making and musical patronage among larger segments of Polish society.¹⁴

Women who assembled their music albums had a relative freedom in selecting their music and arranging it to their taste. Their sphere of choice was, of course, mediated by the music available on sale. Albums were an example of do-it-yourself whose parts were pre-set but whose final detail, such as the order of pieces, the type and colour of binding, the words and of the gilded tooling were left to the assembler. New repertoire constantly arrived from Europe or was published in Mexico according to changing fashion, to publishers' projects or to composers' success in disseminating their music. Musical tastes and the music available accordingly were passing affairs in the home market, but their products, the albums, were long-lived. As we see from James Davies's study on musical annuals, these compilations 'offered something to hang on to, a sense of what had been current, "of the moment"'.¹⁵

The musical life of the nineteenth-century Mexican home was eminently social. It was a way of communicating, expressing oneself, watching and being seen

¹³ Musicologist Jesús Herrera has written insightful studies on two Mexican women's albums of earlier decades. One, the *Quaderno Mayner*, c. 1808-1814, and *Manuscrito de Mariana Vasques*, between 1820 and 1840, which attest to the incipient practice that would become common in later decades. These manuscripts are mainly hand-written. Jesús Herrera, 'El Quaderno Mayner,' Master's Thesis (Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2007) and 'El *Manuscrito de Mariana Vasques*: música para tocar, bailar y cantar de principios del México independiente,' *Heterofonía* 132-133, (2005), 9-24.

¹⁴ Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, 55. This affluence was part of the Victorian world, which also invested the music-making of the upper women in their gentrification. Authors such as Nicholas Temperley, Richard Leppert or Ruth Solie have made this point.

¹⁵ James Davies, 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, 2 (2006), 291.

enacting music, experiencing and providing pleasure. Generating the music to dance to, to identify with, helped validate one's own knowledge or expertise in piano playing or singing, and could also serve to recognise the abilities of a fellow musician. Women were instrumental in these processes. They were not only the most frequent players and singers during social reunions, but they were also the explicit or implicit dedicatees of many salon pieces: music was created expressly with them in mind, and they knew it. They could rightfully take that music and make it their own.¹⁶ These albums, whose owners such as Josefa Zúñiga or Matilde Zamora are all but forgotten, keep secret stories of the relationships they sustained with their loving owners. These stories are silenced forever, as most private life stories are. It is the multilayered analysis of their contents, including the social, the musical, the pictorial and the material aspects, that can provide the substance for an imagined reconstruction. Furthermore, the abundant material proof of this music carefully kept in albums attests to the love professed for these works—in ways that beg our attention.

Repertoire

The 13 albums chosen contain nearly 400 works. Most of the composers were standard in European albums. Among them are Henri Herz (15 items), Ferdinand Beyer (14), Joseph Ascher (9), François Hünten (8), Louis-Moreau Gottschalk (5), Brinley Richards (5), Henri Rosellen (4), Carl Faust (4), Frédéric Burgmüller (4), Albert Jungman (4), Gustav Lange (4), Jules Schulhoff (4) and Émile Prudent (4).¹⁷ Unless we include the women's magazines, only four women composers are explicitly listed in the albums: Señorita Doña L. Lares, Ángela Guillen, Camila Schubert and Marie Darjou, with one piece each (See Table I, p. 279). Mexican composers represent roughly a third of all the composers (110 out of 312 identified). Perhaps at least some of the unidentified pieces published in the compilations could have been by women who had hidden their identity due to prejudice, among

¹⁶ Dedication of works to the ladies or the fair sex amounted to almost nothing, as Matthew Head has rightly pointed out. Dedications worked as marketing devices because finally: 'Much music not explicitly dedicated to women was nonetheless understood to be suited to their particular practice.' Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 208.

¹⁷ The names are transcribed from the scores.

publishers and women alike. But in any event the unidentified pieces represent less than 5% of the total: women, in Mexico, the U.S.A. or Europe did not feature prominently as composers in publications of the mid-nineteenth century. The proportion changes radically, however, when one looks at women's magazines, where out of 17 pieces, 7 are incontrovertibly and explicitly by women. This is an extremely high number of women's compositions compared to the USA, for instance. However, statistics are not robust because the sample size is small.¹⁸

By far the most popular musical genre in the albums is the waltz: 64 of them attest to its popularity, which continued for the rest of the century. Opera transcriptions and arrangements of almost every possible kind form the second most popular type of music. Put together these latter arrangements actually outnumber the amount of waltzes, achieving a total of 109 (including five waltzes based on opera themes). The operatic genres include, among others: fantasies, overtures, duets, *cavatinas*, marches, *mélodies*, *paraphrases de concert*, polkas, polka-mazurkas, potpourris, *transcriptions brilliants*, *quartetos*, polonaises and variations on a theme. Operatic fantasies alone, the most popular opera-based genre in home formats, number 23. In third place on the generic list are 32 polkas, not associated with opera.¹⁹ Mexican albums coincide with what Brooks has found in the English albums: their repertoire is eclectic and they privilege novelty (See Table II, p. 283).²⁰

Most of the music contained in these albums can be grouped into three broad categories: firstly, music to dance to (approximately 189 pieces, almost one half of the total); secondly, music to listen to and interact and participate with, such as opera selections people probably knew already; and thirdly, music to listen to in a more concentrated way and/or for the pianist to showcase her/his talents (mostly, but not exclusively, showy or virtuosic). This last category includes pieces such as etudes, *Concert-Stücke*, *pensées poetiques*, or *Lieder ohne Worte*, some longer than usual, or

¹⁸ In her article 'Ladies' Companion, Ladies' Canon? Women composers in American Magazines from *Godey's* to the *Ladies' Home Journal*', *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. by Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994). Bonny H. Miller selected fifteen women magazines published in the USA, in order to compare the music published in them, from the years 1830 to 1930. In this massive study (of over 3500 music pieces) Miller found that approximately ten percent of the compositions were by women. My study found a staggering 40% of pieces by women, but only between 1826 and 1853, of 17 pieces that were all I could find. Music in magazines proliferated in Mexico in the second half of the century, but this body of music only tangentially forms part of this work.

¹⁹ The operatic repertoire and the circulation between home and theatre is further explored in Chapter Four.

²⁰ Brooks, 'Les collections féminines,' 380.

withholding from the audience immediate satisfaction in terms of recognising tunes. During the period under consideration and within the albums discussed in this study, these pieces were in the minority.²¹ There is virtually no ‘serious music’ in the form of sonata-form chamber music or music by composers that are today in the Western canon.²²

In Warsaw, according to Goldberg, in the first decades of the nineteenth century there was ‘great demand for small compositions for the piano or for voice accompanied by piano, mostly dances, songs and opera arrangements. To a lesser degree, the public was interested in music for flute, guitar, harp, violin and organ’.²³ Polonaises, mazurkas and waltzes were the most popular danced genres. Polonaises amounted to 96% of published piano dance repertory.²⁴ This was an indication of a mature national sentiment pervading the Polish upper-classes and that was reflected in music, a phenomenon that Mexico would see only in the late nineteenth century. Candace Bailey, who studied the ‘piano girl’ in the Antebellum American South, found that the most common genres for home consumption in that area of the United States was in the first place polkas and schottisches, and in the second, ‘adaptations of popular songs and opera arias. [...] made fashionable by touring pianists. In particular, Henri (Heinrich) Herz’s works appear regularly in collections owned by young women and in other references’.²⁵ This was also the case in Mexico and in the U.S. South, where there was a general absence of ‘serious’ piano music as well. Bailey considers that: ‘It is essentially a popular music culture, not an overly sophisticated one’.²⁶ Bonny H. Miller’s assertion concurs with Bailey’s findings: ‘The selections published in magazines in the United States during the nineteenth century reflect the evolution of taste in popular music with striking clarity’.²⁷

²¹ Miller found the same was the case in the U. S. A.: almost no famous composers or concert pieces published in women magazines and an abundance of dance music. Bonny H. Miller, ‘A Mirror of Ages Past: The Publication of Music in Domestic Periodicals,’ *Notes. Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 50, 3 (1994), 883-901.

²² Mazurkas numbers 1 to 4 by Chopin are contained in album OM60 from the National Conservatory. But as Halina Goldberg has stated that ‘German scholars included Chopin in the great tradition only reluctantly because of the French and Italian contexts for his music as well as his Polish origin,’ including the fact that his output was predominantly salon music. ‘Chopin in Warsaw’s salons,’ 1.

²³ Goldberg, *Music in Chopin’s Warsaw*, 61-62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁵ Candace Bailey, ‘The Antebellum “Piano Girl” in the American South,’ *Performance Practice Review* 13 (2008), Claremont Graduate University, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁷ Miller, ‘A Mirror of Ages Past,’ 890-1.

In Mexico, the ‘popular’ was considered the music people of the lower classes, danced and played to the accompaniment of guitar or other string instruments in popular settings. A strong sense of social class permeated salon music, which was definitely a space for the upper classes. Only in properly ‘dressed-up’ form did ‘popular’, Mexican or Spanish songs enter the homes of well-heeled Mexicans through piano, guitar and piano, and voice arrangements. In that regard, the ‘popular’ progressively obtained credentials to become salon repertoire, and in the process stopped being popular. Such gentrification of popular materials formed the substance of the nationalistic music movement that in Mexico took place in earnest at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Album of Josefa Zúñiga

Returning to Josefa Zúñiga’s album one could suggest that the order of pieces possibly mirrors the progress of a typical soirée and that Josefa had her pieces bound from a performer’s point of view and with a performing intention (see Table III, p. 286). The album can be divided in three sections: one for dancing, which was clearly the main aim of this album; a second composed of operatic themes adapted for solo piano and then a third, which returns to dancing. Fifteen dance pieces open the album, in the following order: a waltz, a redowa, four polkas (one of them a polka mazurka), a Varsovienne, four more polkas and two waltzes. After the second section of the album, two more waltzes close it. The first piece *La flor del bosque* (The flower of the woods) is an animated waltz by Mexican composer José María Aguilar, which opens akin to a fanfare or call to attention, possibly signalling the beginning of the dancing. Half the pieces in this album are by Mexican composers, composers living in Mexico, or are anonymous pieces published in Mexico (presumably by Mexican composers). This makes it the album with highest number of Mexican pieces among all the examples studied here.²⁸

²⁸ Excluding those published by José Antonio Gómez, which were clearly a shop window for his and his son’s and friends’ compositions.



Example 2. José María Aguilar, *La flor del bosque*. Waltz. (Mexico, Murguía)

After the initial waltz, the album's varied dance programme, which included alternating genres and rhythms, would keep the dancers and the performer entertained for a considerable time, after which the dancers would be ready to take their seats and share in the next musical segment of the evening. All but one of pieces 14 to 21 are operatic fragments (the exception is *La Polonaise. Motif favori de L. Sphor* [sic], arranged by Louis Messemaeckers, for four hands). While the dance pieces are short, averaging between 2 and 6 pages, the operatic variations can be as long as 16 pages. Notwithstanding the repetitions that would have made them longer, dance pieces were short, active, varied entertainment, while pieces for listening demanded more sustained attention from those present, also affording the pleasure of recognising themes and passages from current operatic favourites, while the pianist had a captive audience to appreciate her musical and technical skills. Opera-based pieces in Josefa's album include a fantasia, a march, a duo, a rondo, an overture and variations on a cavatina and a march. The variety of genres was mirrored by a variety of operas, alternating ones which would have been very familiar to that Mexican audience, such as *La Cenerentola* (Mexican premiere 1827) by Rossini, *I puritani* (Mexican premiere 1843), *Norma* (Mexican premiere 1836) or *Il pirata* (Mexican premiere 1836) by Bellini, with others still to reach Mexican theatres, such as Rossini's *La donna del lago* or Carafa's *La violette*.

The album contains four pieces for piano four-hands (one in the first section and three in the second)—another way of involving the soirée's attendees. One is a waltz by Franz Hünten entitled 'La Cerrito' and based on Donizetti. Fanny Cerrito was an Italian dancer whose fame extended to Vienna and other parts of Europe.²⁹ This carefully printed edition was produced by the important Mexican publisher Murguía, and attests to the speed with which news arrived there from Europe. J.

²⁹ She was *prima ballerina* at La Scala, Milan, between 1838-1840. From 1840 to 1848, she was an acclaimed dancer at Her Majesty's Theatre in London, where Jules Perrot created several works for her. She was an innovator in dance technique and became famous world-wide.

Valadés, an obscure Mexican composer, made the four-hand piano arrangement. The depictions of the ethereal Cerrito performing dance steps have survived in numerous prints to this day. The Mexican lithography that decorates the score's cover provides a beautiful local reinterpretation of this ballerina's feats.³⁰ In the album 'Museo Filarmónico' we find another piece celebrating ballet. The French ballet company Monplaisir, which arrived at the end of 1849 and stayed in Mexico for several years, was referenced with a 'Polka de Monplaisir' printed in Mexico by Murguía, including a detailed portrayal of the main couple of the company, Adèle and Hippolyte Monplaisir.³¹ They founded a dance school in Mexico that trained famous local dancers such as María de Jesús Moctezuma, who danced in their teachers' company and also achieved success as a soloist. Among other things, the Monplaisir company put on a very successful show together with Dutch violinist Franz Coenen.

Overall, Josefa Zúñiga's album is significant because it demonstrates the ways in which amateur music stimulated general musical activity, and that of the market. Domestic music-making became a showcase, and a source of income, for Mexican composers through editions of their music made especially for home consumption. Seventeen out of the twenty-four pieces in this album were printed in Mexico. It also, and especially, produced dividends for music editors and publishers, which printed not only Mexican but European music. The album also indicates how music published in collections that were sold by subscription made its way into this more permanent form: ten of the pieces included are of this provenance. Lastly, the organization of the pieces described above, together with worn-out leather covers, are signs of the effective and frequent use of these albums in their own times.

³⁰ I suspect this Mexican edition was pirated from an American edition: *La Cerrito: grande valse: sur des motifs fashionables de Donizetti* (Baltimore, F.D.Benteen. <1839?>), for which I have as yet been able to find only an internet reference: <<http://microformguides.gale.com/BrowseGuide.asp?colldocid=3049000&Item=&Page=221>>. The Mexican cover announces the sale of a two-hand version as well.

³¹ This piece is included in the *Museo Filarmónico* album.

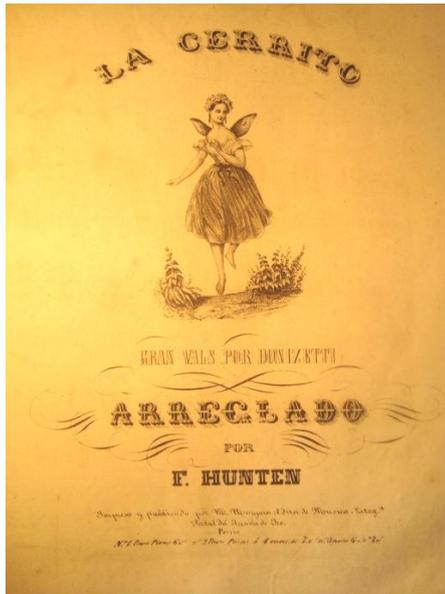


Figure 2. F. Hünten, *La Cerrito*.
Gran vals por Donizetti,
four-hand piano arr. by J. Valadés
(México, Murguía,)



Figure 3. F. Sauvinet, *Polka de Montplaisir*
(México, Murguía)

Annuals

Annuals were a popular collectable object for young women in the first half of the nineteenth century. They are comparable to musical albums in the sense that they gather together cherished literary and musical pieces and by the fact that they were passed between women of different generations. They are different in the fact that someone put them together on behalf of someone else. James Davies has investigated the social, musical and commercial importance of musical annuals during the 1820s and 1830s, a popular nineteenth-century format in England, given to young ladies by their parents to play and to leaf through. Such annuals contained a selection of favourite pieces for piano put together by editors. Beside the music, they included poems, short stories, famous phrases and other amusing inserts. According to Davies, by making the choice for the ladies and putting everything together in a bound volume, ‘individuals no longer made memories for themselves; memories were formed on their behalf. [What these albums] heralded, in the critical view, was a moment when the commodity infiltrated to the deepest level of personal reflection’.³²

³² Davies, ‘Julia’s Gift,’ 292.

Davies underscores the commodification of the personal experience they represent. ‘The seller asked: “Why expend effort memorializing one’s life experience, when that can be done for you?” To invest in these compilations was to buy into a collective vision of the moment, to feel as though you had gathered every thought together to hold close and cherish’.³³ Collecting things was now regarded as a feminine trait that young women should practice assiduously. ‘Why beautify themselves with so many ribbons, gems, ornaments, trinkets, music books? By placing themselves in the vicinity of these objects, by gift-wrapping themselves, by hoarding presents, they prepared socially for being handed over themselves’.³⁴ Davies’ annuals were ‘gifts that prepared the beneficiary, on the cusp of adolescence, for familial separation and wedlock. Scores were given, in this sense, to put in place, to guide moral formation by recommending tender hands to the gentle mores of the keyboard’.³⁵

Although not with such frequency as in England, Mexico created its own versions of ladies’ annuals, the most notable in the 1840s and 1850s being those of the publisher Ignacio Cumplido. He was the editor of Mexico’s leading and enduring nineteenth-century newspaper *El Siglo XIX*, and also a frequent publisher of scores including some by Henri Herz during his Mexican tour. Cumplido was in addition a regular publisher of women magazines including *El Álbum Mexicano* and a young ladies’ annual in small format entitled *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas*, first published in 1847 and appearing again in 1851 and 1852.³⁶ Davies’ definition of albums as ‘miscellanies, compilations gathered together into fetching, saleable formats’,³⁷ applies perfectly to Cumplido’s annuals. Women were to be instructed in an entertaining fashion; the reminder of a European genealogy was an additional marketing strategy: ‘These publications, so frequent in Europe, are intended to offer recreation for the mind, to disseminate instructional matters in an agreeable fashion and to present the public with recent trends in literature and the typographical arts’.³⁸

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 297.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ The war with the United States cast a shadow over the cultural life of Mexico during the years 1847-1848. Cumplido was not able to take up the project again until 1851.

³⁷ Davies, ‘Julia’s Gift,’ 291.

³⁸ *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas por I.[gnacio] Cumplido* (Mexico, 1851), II.

The 1851 edition contained more than 90 short articles, including poetry, short stories, simplified scientific explanations, moral advice and many other genres. The cover is truly remarkable on account of the use of the technique of chromolithography. Its artwork included floral trimmings with the most common women's names of the time on ribbons above the flowers. At the bottom of the image, two cherubs frame the name of Cumplido's lithographic business. This cover embodies the iconicity of the feminine: flowers, beauty, community and lavishness associated with the upper-class women to whom the publication is addressed.



Figure 4. *Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas* (1851)

Together with pleasurable and instructive literary works, the inclusion of advice articles was customary. A prescriptive tone disguised as advice is the main characteristic of '*Consejos a las Señoritas*' (Advice for the young ladies), where Cumplido summarises the current ideas on the perfect young lady's behaviour. Music was part of the sentimental world of a woman and it was her domain over a man's heart. She shall form her moral character with

religion and virtue and shall adorn her understanding with some knowledge, which in spite of not being deep, shall be useful. She shall turn her back on two equally disagreeable extremes: one of a coarse ignorance and the other of a conceited

ostentation of her knowledge. [...] When she puts on airs or acts arrogantly, it does not suit her at all.³⁹ (2.1, p. 310)

According to Cumplido music was ‘one of the most precious adornments of the beautiful sex...How expressive are the piano's accents when it is a woman who makes it evoke its harmonies! It is then that the music exerts its reign over the hearts of those who listen to it’.⁴⁰ Since it is the feelings that are in play, the need to regulate women’s music performance with codes of proper conduct becomes imperative. This sort of manual of good manners for the woman pianist implicitly recognises the attraction generated by a female musician on stage, even the domestic stage. The recipe is to avoid all pretentiousness and act with ‘supreme simplicity, and play with clarity, neatness and expression’. Music is valuable for the impressions it makes upon our soul and not for its ‘boisterous sounds or the complication of its execution’.⁴¹ Displays of virtuosity, or even intensity of sound, were ruled out as going against feminine nature.

The 1847 annual contains one score, the *romanza*, ‘*La mirada de tu amor*’ (The Gaze of Your Love).⁴² Señora Doña Ignacia Elizaliturri de Caballero composed the piece for voice and piano. Elizaliturri was a singer who is mainly known through her famous husbands. First in 1826, at age 18, she married Joaquín Beristáin, principal cello both in the *Colegiata de Guadalupe* (an orchestra associated with the Cathedral) and in the *Teatro Principal*, where he became opera director. In 1838, he and Agustín Caballero joined forces to establish their famous music school. In 1839 Elizaliturri was a student at her husband’s school, where she sang the title role in Bellini’s opera *La sonnambula*.⁴³ That same year Beristáin died and she was left with a young child, who was to become, in his turn, the celebrated composer Lauro Beristáin. Caballero took Elizaliturri and her child under his protection, marrying her in 1841, after which we hear no more of her biography until her death in 1851.⁴⁴

³⁹ Ibid., 18-19.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁴¹ Ibid., 19.

⁴² The 1851 and 1852 editions contain no music.

⁴³ Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música, III. La música en el periodo independiente* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes/Departamento de Música/Sección de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 416. *La sonnambula* was sung for the first time in Mexico in 1836.

⁴⁴ I found the newspaper announcement (*El Siglo XIX*, 28 July 1851) of a commemoration and prayer for Ignacia Ilizaliturri de Caballero’s soul at the Church of La Profesa. Members of Caballero’s Academy, together with ‘the most notable musicians of the capital’, took part in this ceremony,

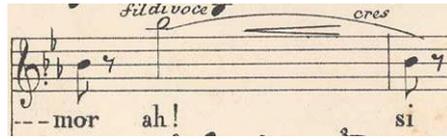
Nevertheless, the publication of this score ‘for soprano or tenor voice’ in 1847 indicates that Elizaliturri de Caballero continued to be musically active despite her duties as mother and wife. In ‘The Gaze of Your Love’ the author’s familiarity with operatic vocal rhetoric is obvious in her inclusion of coloratura sustained by a majestic piano accompaniment (Example 2) in an otherwise fairly standard composition. Noticeable too is the emphasis on romantic love in this song, where the phrase that gives the song its title takes up three out of five sung pages. A respectable woman, married to the director of the most prestigious music school of the time, speaks ardently through music, relishing the passion contained in an eroticised love gaze. The effect is highlighted by performance directions such as *abandonandosi molto* and *fil di voce*, as in the languid high B flat, the highest note in the piece (Example 3).

Elizaliturri’s piece is a solo aria of 38 bars, through-composed but centring on its virtuoso middle section and, with a subordinated piano accompaniment, replete with expressive markings—not only the verbal indications, but also musical ones, including dynamic markings, accents, slurs and staccatos. The poem, written by ‘M.’, is also published in the annual. It is a Romantic medieval revival poem that tells the story of a troubadour singing outside his lady’s castle with a harp, narrating his heroic journey to Palestine after which he has returned to aspire to the lady’s love. The composer only takes a fraction of the poem for her song, illuminating the repetitive lyrics with expressive musical nuances.



Example 2. *La mirada de tu amor*, bars 22-23

traditionally held shortly after a death. While Gabriel Pareyón provides the wrong date of 1856, in his *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México*, vol. 2, 592 (Zapopan, Jal., Mexico: Universidad Panamericana, 2007), Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster rightly considers that her death occurred between 1851 and 1852. Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia*, 428.



Example 3. *La mirada de tu amor*, bar 28

If we believe the editors' words, Elizaturri is said to have shown a certain reticence—'modesty and shyness'—which she had to overcome in order to publish the work. The editors also characterize the composition as a 'beautiful and melancholic musical piece... which is perhaps the finest adornment of our book'. Such expressions frame the *romanza* in the acceptable manner, for the expected timidity of a proper lady is in sharp contrast with the self-assuredness the composer displays in her piece. Elizaturri, who was a public figure by the fact of being the wife of the headmaster of the most important music school in Mexico City, had to present an example for the school's female music students.

The editors proudly highlight Elizaturri's national origins, naming her 'a very worthy Mexican woman'. A double discourse is again at work in this publication, where advice articles emphasize moderation as a praiseworthy attitude in women while a well-finished example of a woman's creative mastery is nevertheless published and recognised. The national pride factor is key in this phenomenon, for it was personified in women creators who found a space to express themselves 'in parallel to' the conventional rules of conduct.

Mexican Women, Technical Demands and Proficiency

A closer look at the contents of these albums offers clues to the general level and proficiency of Mexican domestic pianists. They serve as road maps not only for the collective psyche and shared outlook of the newly-minted Mexican nation of the late nineteenth century but also offer a possible practical measure of the level of women dilettantes' prowess at the keyboard. Like many of their European or American counterparts, the majority of those who practised and performed in Mexican homes can best be described as amateurs. The level of the pieces in these albums ranges from easy to medium-difficult. Although the main aim of this repertoire was to entertain in social gatherings, there are, however, more challenging pieces sprinkled throughout, which offered more talented and ambitious players the opportunity to

shine. Shining, however, frequently meant adopting postures not normally sanctioned in polite circles.

José Antonio Gómez devotes a whole section of his piano manual, the *Instructor Filarmónico* on 'how to sit at the piano'. Nevertheless, as a professional musician and music teacher who spent a great deal of his time and energy teaching women, he did not seem to find a moral conflict in publishing pieces that were in open contradiction to moral conventions of propriety for women of the upper classes, and did not find the need to caution women about proper demeanour in performance. The instructions below are strictly descriptive, with the aim of achieving the best playing posture. The lovely engraving portrays a young woman sitting at the piano. The portray is taken from the advantage point of the viewer, thus making the pianist's posture unlikely opened to her right-hand side.

1. The body must be erect.
2. The distance between the stool and the piano ought to be of one foot.
3. The elbow ought to fold naturally in such a way that one can draw a horizontal line from the tip of the elbow to the surface of the keys, accordingly adjusting the height of the seat.
4. The wrists ought to be slightly higher than the elbows in order for them to dominate/have control over the keyboard.
5. The fingers will be lifted in such a way that the shape of the hand be round.
6. The thumb ought never to leave the keyboard.
7. The fingers will be counted started by the thumb: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th.⁴⁵ (2.2, p. 310)

⁴⁵ José Antonio Gómez, *Instructor Filarmónico. Nuevo método para piano* (Mexico: Propiedad de los editores, 1843).

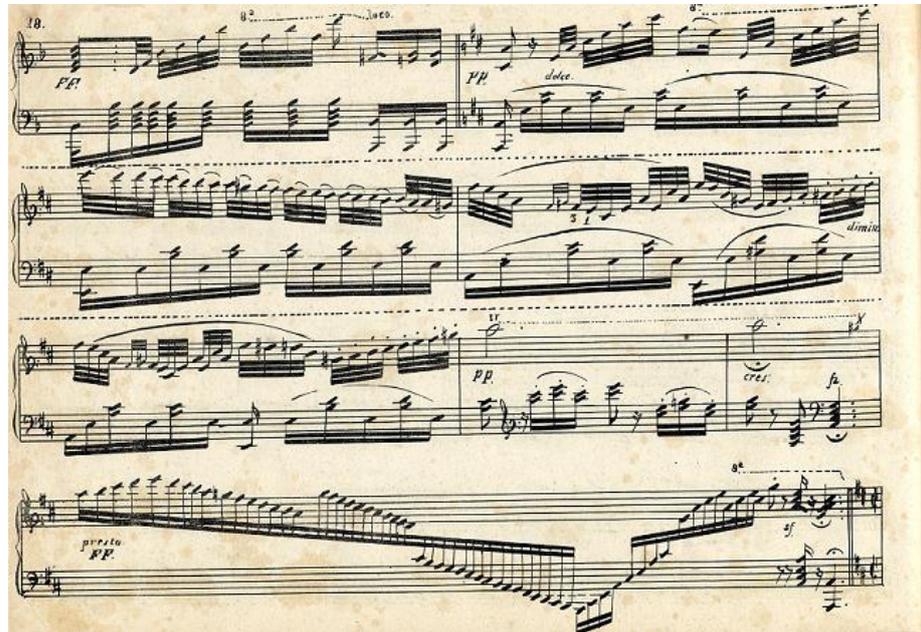


Figure 5. *Instructor Filarmónico*. Vol. 1, Part 1, p.3.

Posture at the piano was illustrated in this manual by a picture of a woman, which points to the fact that women were its prospective customers. That much is also corroborated in that many pieces had women's names in their titles, and that women were frequent dedicatees—including those that did not conform to the norms of etiquette. Girls were playing passionate and energetic pieces with a physical energy that went beyond what was considered appropriate demeanour. Candace Bailey has found that the technical demands of certain pieces of salon music in the American South on a female pianist were, however, 'hardly ladylike', including wide leaps, dynamic levels of *ff*, and hand-crossing. If the pianists were to adopt the advice in etiquette books, they would not have been able to accomplish certain passages in the piano pieces they played.⁴⁶ The same observations hold true for pieces in the Mexican albums. Many of the extreme demands of the music they contained came from works by Mexican authors as well as by European composers represented in Mexican editions. Carl Czerny's *Fantasia para forte piano sobre temas de Lucrecia Borgia* (*Fantaisie on themes from Donizetti's opera 'Lucrezia Borgia'*), which Gómez published as the first piece of the second volume of *Instructor Filarmónico*, offers an example of imported unladylike composition. This 28-page piece includes scales and arpeggios in hemidemisiquavers traversing most of the extent of the keyboard—thus forcing the pianist to break advice number 1 of Gómez's list—

⁴⁶ Bailey, 'The Antebellum "'Piano Girl"', 21.

passages in *Presto ff*, among other demands, also have in mind a skilful player who has gone beyond the merely amateur.

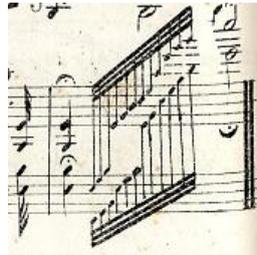


Example 4. Carl Czerny, *Fantaisie on themes from Donizetti's opera 'Lucrezia Borgia'*, p. 18

Another virtuoso work in the album is published as *El Ángel. Variaciones brillantes*, by Henri Jérôme Bertini, which includes sudden changes in dynamics and hand-crossing, as well as rapid arpeggios stretching over four octaves as a final flourish (Examples 5 and 6). There is no doubt that the liberating qualities of mastering musical pieces (at any level) but particularly at the higher levels of challenge, gave women a sense of their power in a broader sense, even if their performance was strictly in a domestic setting.



Example 5. Henri Jérôme Bertini, *El Ángel. Variaciones brillantes*, page 3



Example 6. Henri Jérôme Bertini, *El Ángel. Variaciones brillantes*, final bar.

Bailey concludes that, in the U. S. A.: ‘The gentle, sweet, correct, and unpretending piano girl would almost never have displayed her abilities, even if she possessed a virtuoso talent. To play the piano with serious physical exertion (‘ostentatious’ and ‘conspicuous’ display) would be to transgress upon masculine territory, which southern women were extremely reluctant to do’.⁴⁷ This conclusion, however, begs the question of how would women would actually have played the pieces that contained requirements beyond the norm. Did they skip ‘dangerous’ passages? Did they bypass pieces altogether? Since pieces that demanded energetic playing and physical exertion alternated with other pieces in the albums, one finds those options hard to believe.

One can consequently presume that there was a certain suspension of the rules of femininity, or piano-seating rules, when a young woman was playing. The passionate artistic temperament necessary to convey feelings to others, which was a

⁴⁷ Ibid., 43.

common idea associated with music, allowed performers including women of the upper classes to demonstrate in public a force denied to them in other areas, during a brief moment of performance. This idea of a double discourse is supported by the conclusions of Montserrat Galí Boadella, who studied the lives of Mexican upper-class women during the introduction and flourishing of sentimental Romanticism in Mexico. She concluded that two discourses coexisted: the didactic, moralistic and *costumbrista* which emphasized women's role as self-denying mother and housewife, and the other literature—novels, short stories or poetry—where women were portrayed in a freer, dreamier and novelistic manner, living in leisure and interested in romantic love.⁴⁸ We can add that the 'romantic self' of these women performing music in the salon entered a space of temporary suspension, comparable to a theatrical event where performers are allowed to take roles that will last only as long as the drama lasts. In the *tertulias*, the moment women leave the piano they must return to their domesticated selves. As we have seen, the process was not without its dangers.

-A Mexican battle piece: José M. Pérez de León's *La batalla de Puebla*

One can hardly think of a less feminine piece than a battle piece, yet we know they were found on young women's piano stands in much of the Western world. *La batalla de Puebla* (The Battle of Puebla) it is an interesting piece that commemorates a battle of 1856 between different Mexican factions fighting over liberal reforms that threatened the Church's interests and property. One side was led by Ignacio Comonfort, Commander in Chief of the government army, whose task was to defend the so-called 'Juárez Law' which directly affected the Church's interests and property, proclaimed by Benito Juárez in 1855; the other was the conservative self-denominated army of the 'Secret Legion', led by Antonio Haro y Tamariz, whose defence of the Church had been instigated by Puebla's bishop Pelagio Antonio Labastida y Dávalos. The better organised and armed federal army won the battle,

⁴⁸ Montserrat Galí Boadella, *Historias del bello sexo. La introducción del Romanticismo en México* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002), 97.

and Comonfort received pleas from the bishop and the local female population to accept the city's surrender.⁴⁹ This work is included in Matilde Zamora's album.

La batalla de Puebla, for piano, by José M. Pérez de León, enacts General Comonfort's victory and is dedicated to him. It is similar to Franz Kotzwara's *The Battle of Prague* [c. 1788] for piano, probably the most famous salon battle piece in its cues for bugle calls and other sounds of battle. It enjoyed immense success in Europe and it might well have reached Mexican lands before *La batalla de Puebla* was composed. The Mexican piece is seven pages long, longer than average for salon pieces, and boasts a truly remarkable illustration on the front page. The piece clearly subscribes to the liberal side of the liberal-conservative civil war that was taking place at the time. The beautiful lithography shows the gallant-looking Mexican liberal army, complete with elegant uniforms and well-groomed and fully-equipped horses entering battle. Puebla's picturesque landscape, famous for its many churches, also displays the imposing volcano Popocatepetl in the background. The landscape, architecture and people, proudly exhibited here, are a patriotic testimony and an enticement to buy the piece.

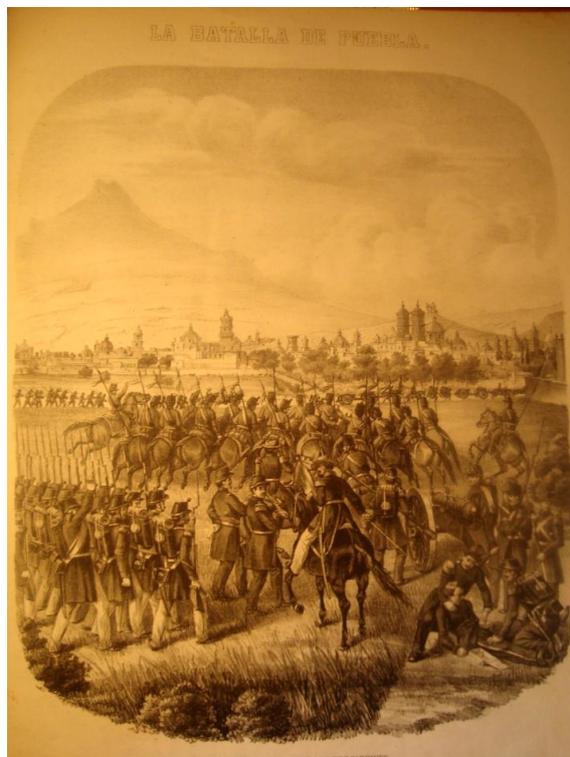
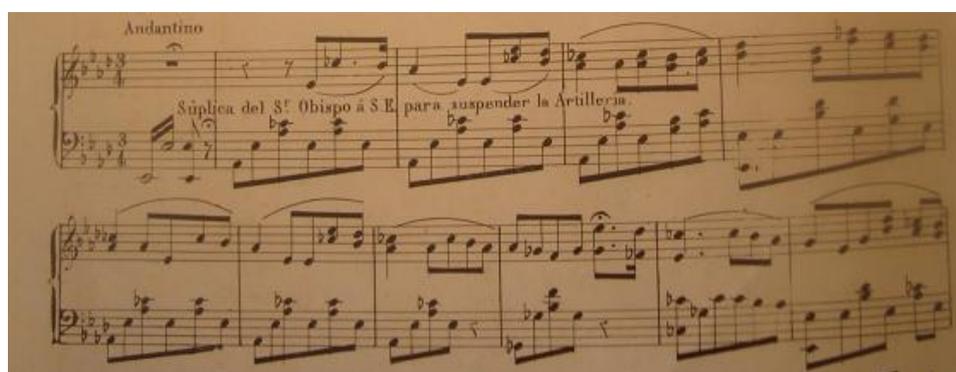


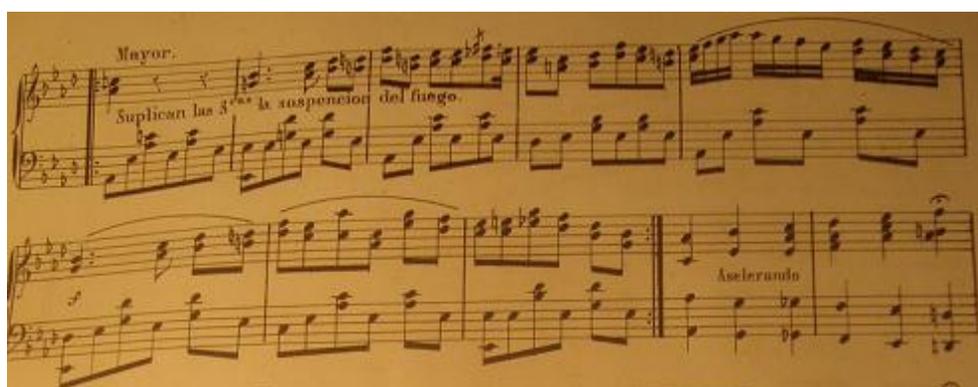
Figure 6. José M. Pérez de León, 'La Batalla de Puebla' (México, Murguía)

⁴⁹ R[icardo] M[iranda], '2. La Batalla de Puebla. José María Pérez de León,' *Artes de México*, 'Música de la Independencia a la Revolución', 97 (March, 2010), 48-49.

The music is brilliant, with dynamic contrasts from *pp* to *ff*, and of an unremitting simplicity around the keys of E-flat and A-flat major but with a bright result based on simple technical effects. As is customary, the score includes explicit instructions, with the musical descriptions to be performed by the piano player including reference to the armies marching, the sighting of the armies, the approach of the opposing troops, the preparation of the attack, the confusion of the besieged, the attack, cannon fire, and shells falling. Contrasting sections add a dramatic quality to the staged battle and its result. Two cantabile melodies at the end of the piece depict iterated pleas to put an end to the fighting: the first, the Bishop's plea to Comonfort's army to stop the artillery fire, and second, the women's appeal to bring the fighting to an end. The first is in the minor mode with a solemn quasi-recitative tone to it (Example 7). The second melody is a more coquettish, almost danceable, feminine cantabile, stressing the women's communal appeal with parallel thirds (Example 8). Music can symbolically provide national reconciliation by demonstrating how to harmonise different political notions within the country.



Example 7. *La batalla de Puebla*, bars 182-192



Example 8. *La batalla de Puebla*, bars 198-207

‘With Grace and Nimbleness.’ Salon Dancing

The fact that the overwhelming majority of pieces in the albums surveyed here were danceable offers but one indication of dance’s popularity. In order to be well received, and to be a frequent guest in *tertulias*, learning to dance became a social skill of the utmost importance. Men and women without dancing knowledge would have been relegated to the passive role of observers. For the columnist ‘Tío Nonilla’ this voyeuristic stance was not without its charms; but it was not the social point of a gathering. ‘Tío Nonilla’ claimed that since he ‘does not dance, does not make love, and, in short, does nothing that the lovers do during dances, he observes everything that takes place, not because he is nosy, God forbid!, he can solely dedicate himself to have something to report to his beautiful female readers’.⁵⁰

For most, dance classes were a necessity in order to cut a fashionable figure in the gatherings and formal balls that punctuated the social season. From the 1820s there were newspaper announcements inviting people to balls either of general or restricted admission. For instance, in 1826 the Institute of Literature and Commerce announced one on Saturday 8 April for its subscribers, ‘at the usual time’.⁵¹ The same year, the *chargé d’affaires* of the British Crown extended an invitation to a very exclusive ball where he ‘requests that those persons whom he had the distinction to invite to the dance on the honour of his Majesty [...] present the letters of invitation to the indicated person at the legation’s entrance’.⁵²

Since the end of colonial times, dance was popular both as *entr’acte* in theatres and as part of private social gatherings. Popular and domestic balls were also common. Dance historian Maya Ramos Smith claims that during the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries there was an intensification in the process of adoption of popular dances in the salon of the upper classes.⁵³ Indeed, Baroque dances common during the Spanish dominion such as minuets, *contradanzas* and *boleras* survived in Mexico into independent times and coexisted with modern dances. The waltz was one of the first modern dances to become popular in Mexico

⁵⁰ ‘Soirées de Mr. Levasseur,’ *El Tío Nonilla. Periódico Político, Enredador, Chismográfico y de Trueno* 4, 9 Sept. 1849.

⁵¹ *El Sol*, 3 Apr. 1826.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 22 Apr. 1826.

⁵³ Maya Ramos Smith, “‘Baila con gusto y aprovechamiento’: los bailes de salón I,” 4, unpublished text quoted with permission from the author.

in the first decade of the century, followed by redowas, mazurkas, polkas, gallops, etc. By the mid-nineteenth century Baroque dances had been superseded in a process that ran parallel to the progressive adoption and adaptations of popular dances into the salon.⁵⁴

Around the 1840s, we find a proliferation of advertisements for dance instruction and dance tutors for Mexican youth. Advertisements emphasized its social and educational importance as one more way of integrating with European culture and values. For the leisured upper classes, Europeanization was equivalent to gentrification and it implied polishing one's manners in order to be accepted in society. According to that period's records, 'decent' and 'honourable' dance is 'the most useful gymnastic exercise; it enhanced strength and agility', and 'in addition to bringing about pleasure, fortifies health'.⁵⁵ The social value of music and dance was heightened for salon gatherings, which continued through wars and internal political unrest, while theatres by contrast had extremely irregular seasons and sometimes remained closed for long periods.⁵⁶

The presumably Spanish dance instructor Don Ángel Martínez considered that by highlighting his knowledge of the European dance scene he could market his classes more effectively. In an advertisement he wrote that: 'Recently arrived in this capital from the main European capitals, [he] offers his services to the ladies and gentlemen who would like to honour him with their fondness for the following dances: mazurkas, gallops with figurations, rigodons, *greca*, etc. etc.' He announced the opening of his academy every day from 7 to 9 pm or, alternatively, private lessons at a client's own home.⁵⁷ Another prestigious dance master, Domingo Ibarra, included mention of local dances in his advertisement. He offered to teach 'the basics of dance, *rigodon* steps, *gragouillade*, *batiman*, *gambols*, etc. All kinds of dances including *boleros*, *sonecillos del país*, quadrille figures, mazurkas, gallops with figures, and *contradanza*.'⁵⁸ The level of specialization within such announcements speaks of a developed dance culture in the salons, for it was now necessary to know several styles and steps, including local ones, in order to show versatility at social events.

⁵⁴ Ramos Smith, "'Baila con gusto y aprovechamiento",' *passim*.

⁵⁵ 'El baile,' *El Mosaico Mexicano* III, (1840): 261.

⁵⁶ The closure of theatres was a matter of concern regarding its impact on social mores, as we shall see in Chapter Four.

⁵⁷ *Diario del Gobierno*, 13 July 1839.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 July 1839.

Ibarra additionally published a lavishly illustrated dance tutor entitled *Collection of ballroom dances and method to learn them without the help of an instructor*.⁵⁹ This manual not only provides detailed instructions on how to dance the most popular genres, but also carries illustrations and a musical piece to represent each one. Couple dances, accounting for most of them, included: waltz, *contradanza*, *danza habanera*, *polka elegante*, schottish, varsovienne, polka mazurka, *camelina*, and polka *camelina*. There were also a few ensemble dances, ‘with four or more couples’: *mazurka de tertulia*, quadrilles, and historic quadrilles. According to Ramos Smith, ‘the new century’s spirit, republican, bourgeois, romantic and industrialised, was manifested in two main ways: the communal or collective, as dance-play-representation exemplified by *contradanzas*/quadrilles and the couple dance, withdrawn into itself, represented by the waltz’.⁶⁰

In the introduction to his dance manual, Ibarra explains the many reasons why youth—men and women alike—should learn how to dance properly. Dancing provided the body ‘with grace and nimbleness’, as well as being youth’s favourite entertainment. Nevertheless, instruction in dance, in the form of a do-it-yourself manual such as this one, was also an educational device that would provide youth ‘at least with the ballroom dances in use, so they can exercise well-bred manners, indispensable to shine in society.’⁶¹ Ibarra was probably trying to overcome certain young men’s resistance to dance, or at least to being educated in dancing, by reminding them that by not knowing the right steps, they could become the laughing-stock of a group, looking socially inept, or remaining isolated in company. All this could be avoided by knowing the proper steps to the dance and by ‘politely hold[ing] the lady who deigned to accompany him to dance, never forgetting that a refined man fears, at all times, to touch a hair of a lady’s head.’⁶²

⁵⁹ Domingo Ibarra, *Colección de bailes de sala, y método para aprenderlos sin auxilio de maestro* (Mexico: Nabor Chávez, 1860). The *Colección* must have sold well since Nabor Chávez issued a reprint in 1862, which he proudly identified as the second edition on the title page.

⁶⁰ Ramos Smith, “‘Baila con gusto y aprovechamiento,’” 3.

⁶¹ Ibarra, *Colección*, 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7.

-Camelina

The *camelina* was a local dance devised by instructors Eduardo Gavira and Domingo Ibarra himself.⁶³ This dance, which the authors claimed had acquired enormous popularity within Mexican society, was a proud original Mexican invention with European roots, and very different from popular Mexican dances. It was truly a Mexican contribution of international inspiration. Ibarra explained that the *camelina* was:

...the daughter of the Lady of the camellias, because its music contains part of the opera *Traviata* and, notwithstanding that the *camelina* was born in Mexico, it does not resemble the *Jarabe* or the *Palomo* or even less a theatre *padedú* [...] but it is in the style of the fashionable current dances according to the system Mr. Laborde [sic] established for *tertulias del gran tono* (genteel soirées).⁶⁴ (2.3, p. 310)

Ibarra provided a detailed explanation of the *contradanza camelina*, which was a couples dance where pairs arranged themselves around the room with men's backs turned toward the centre of the room and women on the outside. The couples held each other's right hand while with the other hand women held their dresses and men placed their left hands at their backs, palms up (see plate below). Since the book is a self-tutoring manual, the dance master provides a very detailed, specialized, and to our lay eyes equally complicated account, of how the couples should proceed, which includes taking steps such as *balancés*, *pamarchés*, *asamblés* and *ambotés* among others (all of which he explained at the beginning of the book).⁶⁵

⁶³ Dance instructions are provided for the *camelina*, and also for hybrid genres such as polka *camelina* and *contradanza camelina*, *Ibid.*, 26-30.

⁶⁴ *Padedú* is the Spanish form for *Pas de deux*. *Ibid.*, 26. Monsieur Laborde printed his dance tutor *Le Cotillon* in Paris in 1853. It is almost certain that this publication served as Ibarra's model. Laborde's edition contains 15 tinted lithograph plates. The *cotillon* was a social dance similar to the quadrille also with ensemble figures for which Laborde provided detailed instruction. Ibarra's manual, however, is much more ambitious and extensive: 74 pages with detailed instruction for 10 dances versus the approximate 25 pages and one dance of Laborde's edition.

⁶⁵ Manuals were not a substitute for teachers; they frequently served as a teaching aid for those who developed them. Cristina Mendoza, 'Entre maestros y manuales, la tradición de la enseñanza de la danza,' *Casa del Tiempo* VIII, 90-91 (2001), 56.



Figure 7. 'Polka *Camelina*,' plate 3
Colección de Bailes de Sala

The *Camelina* was, then, a Mexican concoction made from mainly European ingredients. The form is ternary, common for dances, in duple rhythm. The use of guitar accompaniment as alternative to the piano in the *Camelina* can be taken as both Mexican and popular: the *Camelina* is the only work with guitar accompaniment in Ibarra's *Collection*. The flexibility that such an accompaniment would have provided leads us to believe its authors were hoping that the dance would be popularised beyond the upper-class salon. The accompaniment is for seven-string guitar, also known as Mexican guitar and the most popular guitar in Mexico at the time. The subscript ₇ indicated the use of the lower, seventh string, which usually doubled the octave. The piece, especially in its first section, requires an advanced guitarist, most likely a male guitarist, for women of the upper classes rarely played the instrument.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The seven-string guitar coexisted with the Spanish six-string guitar, during most of the century, finally falling into disuse. The *guitarra séptima*, a Mexican variant of the seven-string guitar, has double strings, totalling 14. I thank guitarist and musicologist José Luis Segura Maldonado for his insights in this matter.



Example 9. E[duardo] Gavira, *La Camelina*,
for piano or guitar, first page
Colección de Bailes de Sala

-The *Jarabe*

Musical popular pieces with local colour such as *jarabes* and *soncillos* made their way into upper-class salons as an incipient form of Mexican musical profiling more or less consciously undertaken by the Mexican elite. Here, the profiling is accomplished through the ‘feminine’ formats of short salon pieces. This phenomenon was, of course, common in the Old World too. For instance, Goldberg’s findings support this fact in the adoption of ‘native’ dances by the Polish upper classes in Chopin’s time. The *krakowiak* and the *mazurka*, for instance, were recognised as ‘markers of ethnic nationality’.⁶⁷ In Mexico, although pre-existent from the latter part of the Spanish rule, this occurrence became intensified after Independence as part of the Romantic interest in the local: folkloric dances made a parallel entrance into the salon and within ballet at the theatre.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Goldberg, *Music in Chopin’s Warsaw*, 63.

⁶⁸ Regarding the Romantic ballet and practices in the theatre, Mexico followed European trends. Maya Ramos Smith, *El ballet en México en el Siglo XIX. De la independencia al segundo imperio (1825-1867)*, Los Noventa, 62 (Mexico: Alianza/Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, c1991), 126, 153.

One of these identity markers in Mexico was the *jarabe*. *Jarabe*, literally syrup, was a popular dance composed of one or more *sones*: popular melodies with or without lyrics that included local variations.⁶⁹ Musically speaking, the *jarabe* is a popular and flexible dance genre. For instance, the chain *jarabe* (*jarabe encadenado*) is a succession of *sones* with infinite variations according to regional tunes, time and occasion. Accompanying instruments could include *jaranitas*, psaltery, harp, *bandolón*, mandolin, marimba and/or *guitarrón*. Contrapuntal improvisation around the *sones* was, and still is, the norm in this kind of performance, which saw its heyday in the second half of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth.

This ternary dance was popularized by the insurgents against the Spanish rule in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, at which point it gained a symbolic nationalistic value. Its origins have been traced to the Spanish *danzas zapateadas*, such as the *seguidilla* or the *fandango*. Ruben M. Campos, a pioneer researcher on Mexico's folklore, ascribed a clearly nationalistic value to *jarabe* stating that: 'The jubilant joy of the Mexican people is the national *jarabe*'. In his opinion, it was a prerogative of the new race, mixed from different Indian groups and white descendants. It was the most popular genre and it is a loose, couple dance that was performed in open and closed spaces to celebrate the freedom that came with Mexican independence.⁷⁰

The *jarabe* was popular even before the war of independence. Several accusations against it are recorded in the Tribunal of the Inquisition. In 1752, 'El Jarro' (The Jug) was denounced to the Tribunal by the clergy, which had prohibited any song or dance that was offensive to religion and decorum, on threat of excommunication, a large fine and a public whipping. From then on repeated accusations about *jarabes* traverse the second half of the eighteenth century, either for its erotic connotations or because of the subversive content of the lyrics. According to Gabriel Saldívar, who performed in-depth research into *jarabes* from different epochs and parts of the country, Inquisitors in charge of prohibiting and abolishing the *sones* asked 'all kind of perverse details about the wiggles, shaking,

⁶⁹ It is probable that the *Jarabe* was so common and its forms so loose that Domingo Ibarra did not consider it warranted inclusion in his book, despite its being a salon staple. Despite its gentrification in the form of salon dance, the *Jarabe* has retained its mainly popular, low-class, rebellious character in the Mexican mind to this day.

⁷⁰ Rubén M. Campos, *El folklore musical de las ciudades. Investigación acerca de la música mexicana para bailar y cantar*, [1930], Facsimile (Mexico: Cenidim, 1995), 53-64. Henri Herz played a *jarabe* during his concerts (see Chapter Five).

touching up, gestures and actions within the dances, which were against decorum, rather with impudent desire than with the charitable aid of saving souls'.⁷¹ The sexual allusions of the lyrics, frequently involving monks or nuns, probably made the *jarabe* alluring but forbidden and off limits for the upper-class respectable salon versions. Not only local dances such as the *jarabe* but also specific *sones* such as the *chuchumbé*, *pan de jarabe*, *el animal*, and others including the waltz, received admonitions and prohibitions from the authorities of New Spain at the end of the colonial period.⁷² As John Chasteen has demonstrated, prohibitions of popular dances, and of folk dances particularly, were also common in Argentina at this time. Chasteen argues that prohibitions were prompted not only by moral reasons but by fears that races and social classes would intermix: 'New patterns of social intercourse surrounding dance, with its accompanying conflicts, were occurring in many parts of Spanish America during the later eighteenth century'.⁷³ Chasteen also demonstrates, however, that in practice these dances were tolerated and that there was no particular zeal among those in charge of enforcing the ban.⁷⁴

The *jarabe* required the transformative powers of time and the maturation of the newly-minted Mexican society to gain acceptance in all strata of society. Album 60 from the National Conservatory includes *El cariño. Jarabe tapatío*. It was published by M. Murguía as part of the musical series *El Repertorio*. In this case, the inclusion of the guitar as an alternative accompanying instrument reminds the salon player of the *jarabe*'s popular origin, and the simplicity of the accompaniment compared to that of *Camelina* makes it easy to picture this piece being played in a *pulquería*⁷⁵ or any other popular dance hall, by any available player. In this case, the lyrics are interspersed between the instrumental parts. This is a short piece of remarkable simplicity in C Major, with 4 eight-bar periods with repetitions, which is reminiscent of its festive popular origin (Example 10). The distinguished-looking

⁷¹ Gabriel Saldívar, 'El jarabe. Baile popular mexicano,' *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 2, (1935), 305-326. The picaresque aspect of *jarabe* still delights Mexicans of all classes It is still sung in informal reunions, on bus rides, outings, etc.

⁷² Herrera, 'Quaderno Mayner,' 99-101.

⁷³ John Chasteen, 'Patriotic Footwork: Social Dance and the Watershed of Independence in Buenos Aires.' In *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution*, ed. By Victor M. Uribe-Uran, 177.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 179-80.

⁷⁵ Bars where *pulque*, a traditional alcoholic drink brewed from the *agave* (a type of cactus) since pre-Hispanic times, was, and still is, sold. During Colonial times and the nineteenth century these locals served as gathering points for men and women of the lower classes. Dance was not uncommonly part of the entertainment.

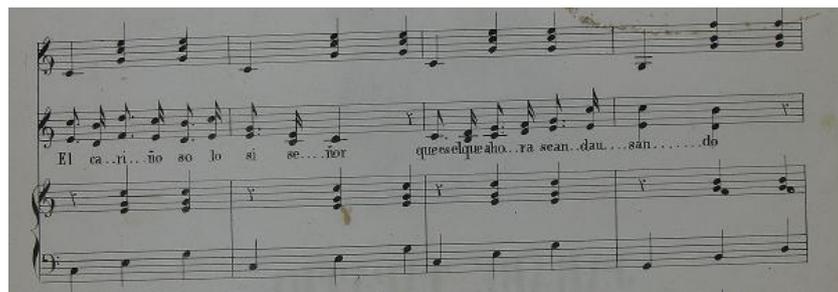
lady on the cover (Figure 8) and the publication of this piece in a music series that included for the most part European composers for home consumption attest to the fact that this is, nonetheless, an example of a gentrified salon *jarabe*.⁷⁶ Once the *jarabe* was accepted into the salon, according to Ruben M. Campos, young and older ladies from the upper classes would dance it, and it was common for a couple to change into traditional costume and then do a demonstration before the public at the soirées.⁷⁷



Figure 8. ‘El Cariño’, jarabe tapatío. (Mexico, M. Murguía, 1850s)



Figure 9. ‘Colección de 24 Canciones y Jarabes’ (Hamburg, J.A. Böhme, 1834)



Example 10. ‘El Cariño’, jarabe tapatío, bars 9-11

⁷⁶ Fanny Calderón de la Barca narrates several instances when she witnessed *jarabes* being played and danced. She clearly enjoyed these occasions and her testimony is valuable because she observed *jarabes* in different circumstances and, although, mainly in popular events, she got to see the lady of the house playing *jarabes* at the piano for her servants to dance to. She even transcribed and translated some of the lyrics for her sister. Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* (1839-1842) (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843). Accessed 08 01 2008, <<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/calderon/mexico/mexico.html>>

⁷⁷ Campos, *El folklore musical de las ciudades*, 185.

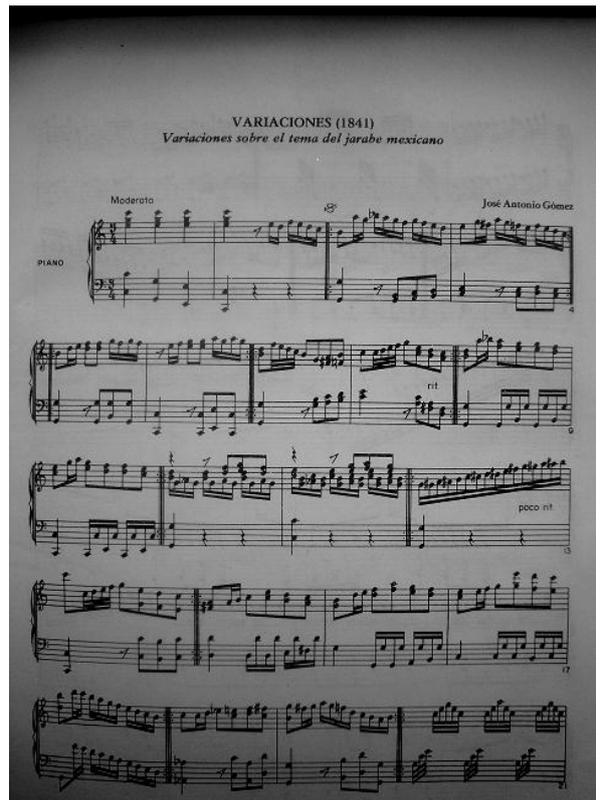
The vogue of the *jarabe* reached Europe fairly quickly, for already in 1834 publisher J. A. Böhme printed a collection of them in Hamburg, whose cover is reproduced here (Figure 9). *El Cariño* was probably printed later, around 1850, but the dancers' pose and attire are practically identical to that of *El Cariño*. The standardization of this costume in images apparently started to take place at an early stage and it displays signs of a case of 'auto-ethnography', to use Mary Louise Pratt's term.⁷⁸ More precisely in this case, what is at work is the construction of an 'export product' that would sell as 'Mexican' in Europe and, in a game of mirrors, would produce an image that would return from Europe to Mexico and that Mexicans could call their own.

The earlier versions of the *jarabe*, like the ones illustrated here, were published anonymously, probably as an acknowledgement of its popular collective origin. Later in the century, *jarabes* became standard compositions in more elaborated forms by well-known composers such as piano virtuosos and composers Tomás León and Julio Ituarte, among others.⁷⁹ As in other areas of musical development in Mexico, Gómez was a pioneer. He composed a *jarabe* for the salon in the form of Variations, in 1841.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 7.

⁷⁹ John Koegel found a remarkable example of a *jarabe* of the 1820s or later for two guitars with instructions for tuning the seven string guitar, in manuscript SMMS M2 from the Sutro Library in San Francisco, John Koegel, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España,' trans. by Yael Bitrán, *Heterofonía* 116-117 (1997), 22.

⁸⁰ For a detailed appraisal of this piece, see Chapter Three.



Example 11. José Antonio Gómez, *Variaciones sobre el tema del jarabe mexicano*, page 1

Popular music and dances undoubtedly played a role in the construction of national identity in many Spanish-American nations after independence. In the Argentinian case, Chasteen has claimed that ‘Romantic notions of national identity, based on the idea of a deeply rooted folk culture, contributed to the valorization of a supposedly representative and generic “common people” whose presumably distinctive aesthetic sense found expression in dance.’⁸¹ A similar situation took place in Mexico, although the *jarabe* presents an early case of shared national pride by different classes and races through the Mexican social ladder.

-European dances

Mexican dances are more significant for the theme of this study, but the majority of the dances contained in the albums were European and had great success in Mexican salons. Waltzes, schottisches, gallops, polkas, mazurkas, danzas, contradanzas, jotas aragonesas, among others, came as imports and were sold in Mexico or were

⁸¹ Chasteen, ‘Patriotic Footwork: Social Dance,’ 182.

composed by more or less knowledgeable local composers and printed and sold there. The formulaic nature of dances made them an easy compositional opportunity for an inexperienced composer or arranger, and their popularity was undoubtedly alluring, practically guaranteeing them almost instantaneous execution on the dance floor. In many of these dances, the pianist turns into the then nonexistent automatic music player for the others to dance—a kind of designated driver for the rest to have fun, with the advantage that, given the usually low technical demands on the player, she or he could be easily released of her or his duties by a fellow pianist. As we mentioned earlier, these European dances were taught by local dance masters and were given detailed instructions in manuals. Knowing how to dance them was a requisite in soirées.

Of the European dances, the waltz was the most popular in Mexico. To waltz was as risky as it was enticing a business for the upper classes. Not only did the dance have popular origins but, according to Ramos Smith, it symbolised ‘democracy and the new order: the Republic and the bourgeoisie, and proposed a new, and until then extraordinary link between the dancing couple’.⁸² It embodied a ‘new couple on an equal footing, which not only kept a closeness of sensual and erotic charge but that could be concentrated within itself’.⁸³ And nineteenth-century Mexicans loved to waltz. Not for nothing does Ibarra open his manual with waltz instructions, including an introduction where he traces the history of the dance and its evolution. Nevertheless, Ibarra emphasises propriety and decency at all times. His detailed instructions for the man on how to handle the woman in order to protect her are an indirect reminder of the moral perils (and delights) implicit in the alluring proximity the dance fostered: ‘remember that a flower withers when it is touched.’ The following, rather cryptic, plate accompanies the instructions.⁸⁴

⁸² Ramos Smith, ‘Baila con gusto y provechamiento,’ 1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁴ Ibarra reminds his readers that the waltz was forbidden by the Inquisition.

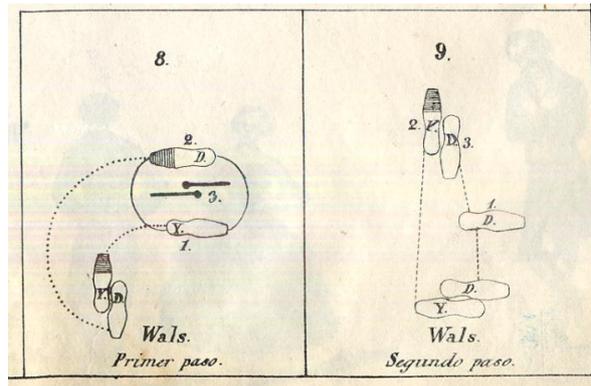


Figure 10. Plate 2, fragment,
Colección de Bailes de Sala

The polka too was very popular, although we do not have to take too seriously the opening sentence of the published introduction to pianist virtuoso Henri Herz's *La Polka del Siglo Diez y Nueve* [*The Polka of 'El Siglo XIX'*] published during his visit of 1849-1850 to Mexico: 'Among musical compositions over several years to this point, none has caused a greater sensation than the polka'. But the dance did indeed cause a furore in Mexico and the rest of the Western world. Although introduced earlier, apparently the polka was popularised during the Mexican-American war in 1847 with the American soldiers, shortly after that Herz published his dance in Mexico City; and during the following decades, it became a salon staple.⁸⁵ Herz's polka was dedicated to Mexican ladies. He distributed it in sheet-music form at a private concert and then granted the rights to the Mexican publisher Ignacio Cumplido, who announced it in his newspaper *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, which gave the piece its title. Cumplido then published it in his ladies' magazine *El Álbum Mexicano*. According to Domingo Ibarra, the polka's seductive movements are difficult to execute with the required naturalness. He takes care to explain in detail the steps of this immensely popular dance.⁸⁶ The schottische gained wide popularity in Mexico too, described by Ibarra as a country-dance from climes of extreme cold, and intended to raise the dancers' temperature.⁸⁷ It, too, was introduced to Mexico by American soldiers, this time via the ports of Tampico and Matamoros after 1850,

⁸⁵ In the border Mexican states with the U.S.A. a local forms of polka still enjoys a healthy popularity. The 'polka norteña', with accordion, is danced in a similar fashion on both sides of the border with cowboy-like attire for men and full skirts and short boots for women.

⁸⁶ Ibarra, *Colección*, 19-20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

and in Ibarra's words it 'invaded the capital's salons, causing an unremitting enthusiasm to this day'.⁸⁸



Figure 11. 'Baile de la polca', *Calendario de Abraham López para 1846*

Iconographical and musical meanings in Mexican sheet music

Linking sound and sight together provides an effective way to understand music in social and cultural contexts, as Richard Leppert has demonstrated in his celebrated book *The Sight of Sound*.⁸⁹ In the nineteenth century, images are associated with music in at least two ways. The more conspicuous are musical images *in* paintings, drawings or prints (the focal point of Leppert's research); the second concerns images *associated with* music, as in sheet-music covers, which form the main object of this section. The difference is important because while studies in musical iconography routinely cover the former, they are for the most part silent on the latter. Thus, the studying of these not intrinsically musical images merits special theorization. Peter Burke provides compelling arguments for undertaking the task of using images as historical sources, since they illuminate the past in specific ways complementary to the use of texts.

[I]mages allow us to 'imagine' the past more vividly. [...] The uses of images in different periods as objects of devotion or means or persuasion, of conveying information or giving pleasure, allows them to bear witness to past forms of religion,

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

knowledge, belief, delight and so on. Although texts also offer valuable clues, images themselves are the best guide to the power of visual representations in the religious and political life of past cultures.⁹⁰

Burke warns about the untranslatability of images, and advocates for a knowledge of the cultural keys that are needed to situate them in their context. In addition, The specific paradox involved in the analysis of a silent material support when studying music has rightly been noted by Leppert, for interpreting the images is made ‘at the ironic expense of musical sonority as such’.⁹¹ Although culturally difficult to decipher, images have a declarative power, which reflects cultural markers intentionally put together with the music they are carrying. Or to extend Clifford Geertz’s metaphor, images can be used as sources of symbols from which to unpick the meanings within webs of significance.⁹² In this case, images provide an additional source to place with all other fragmentary evidence which assists in the intricate construction of a socio-cultural history of music in nineteenth-century Mexico.

The value of cover images derives in the first instance from the fact they were the initial impressions a potential buyer received when looking for sheet music. Since lithography became widespread in Mexico at the end of the 1830s, a good amount of the music printed in the country took advantage of the innovation in order to display designed covers with an attractive visual message to buyers. At this point, when specialization on music was incipient by the press, more printers’ attention was lavished on covers than on content. In this concluding section of the chapter, we explore these images, brought together in musical albums, through the issues of a Mexican imagery within Romantic iconography: the construction of iconic images of a Mexican landscape and historical continuity imbued with ideals of order and progress; and of Mexican women, and the double, or multivalent, discourse attached to their images, including matters of contention and idealization. The orientalisation of self and other in some of the landscapes and the images of women attests to Mexico’s incorporation of this widespread European trend, while the images of

⁹⁰ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 13.

⁹¹ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 70.

⁹² Clifford Geertz, ‘Description: Toward and Interpretive Theory of Culture,’ *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30.

upper-class men and women dressed in fashionable attire speak of the construction and the search for a national self through popular models.

Much of what occurs here is closely related to the idea of ‘transculturation’, coined by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz as a way of undermining ‘the homogenizing impact implicit in the term “acculturation,”’ a view which obfuscated the true dynamics of a two-way ‘*toma y daca*’ (give and take) process.⁹³ In a critique of Ortiz, Silvia Spitta warns that in order to be useful the concept should be set in specific contexts. In the process of adopting and adapting images and music to the Mexican context, Mexicans put forward their own concerns and agenda. While most of the music genres and pieces are standardized, it is by unpicking the role played by the ‘local’ that enables the pieces to render specific, historically-significant meanings.

-The Mexican Landscape

The creation of a national image was an important component of the new Mexico. The writing of a national history, the establishment of national symbols, the invention of a symbolic national landscape and national types of persons were, among many other activities, those that the governing elite was to undertake during the first decades of independent life. In like vein, Mexican or naturalized European landscapes commonly illustrate sheet-music covers. The landscape is frequently a forest or a rustic countryside image. An urban landscape, with neo-classical buildings or picturesque parks and urban promenades were also favourite subjects. The portrayals are idealized and there is a clear relationship to Romantic depictions of European forests and landscapes that arrived in Mexico on sheet-music covers or literature. J.M. Pérez de León’s *El Pensil Delicioso* (The lovely garden), in the album belonging to Matilde Zamora (Figure 12), shows a recreation of the magnificence of nature in contrast to man. The anonymous song *Un A Dios* (A good-bye) (Figure 13), in the same album, does similarly. Here there is a conscious effort to portray ‘the Mexican’ in the landscape: a prominent palm tree, rugged bleak mountains, a

⁹³ Silvia Spitta, ‘Transculturation and the Ambiguity of Signs in Latin America’ in *Between Two Waters. Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America*, (Houston, TX: Rice University Press, 1995), 4.

muleteer and his mule. The vastness of landscape versus the insignificance of man was, after all, a motto of Romantic painting to which Mexicans were not indifferent.

The stately country house with arches, perhaps a *hacienda*, depicts a civilizing response to nature. In both images, humans are insignificant compared to nature, a common trait in Romantic imagery of the time. *Un A Dios*, however, is a Spanish song that makes reference to the Alhambra, the walled Moorish pleasure palace situated in the Andalusian city of Granada. In addition, the inclusion of guitar in the accompaniment functions as a Spanish identity marker. The song's main theme is a lovers' farewell witnessed by the window of the Alhambra's magnificent building. The Arabic origin of the city, taken over by Catholic monarchs in the 15th century, bestows upon the song an exotic tinge present in the reference to a '*morisca ventana*' (Moorish window). The music, nevertheless, is a dramatic aria of the bel-canto operatic style for high voice; there are no specific 'Spanish' or 'Mexican' elements. This frequent cohabitation of disparate and even contradictory elements in the sheet-music published in Mexico mirrors the incipient jigsaw puzzle of national profiling at the time.



Figure 12. *El Pensil Delicioso* (The lovely garden), waltz , J. M. Pérez de León (M. Murguía)

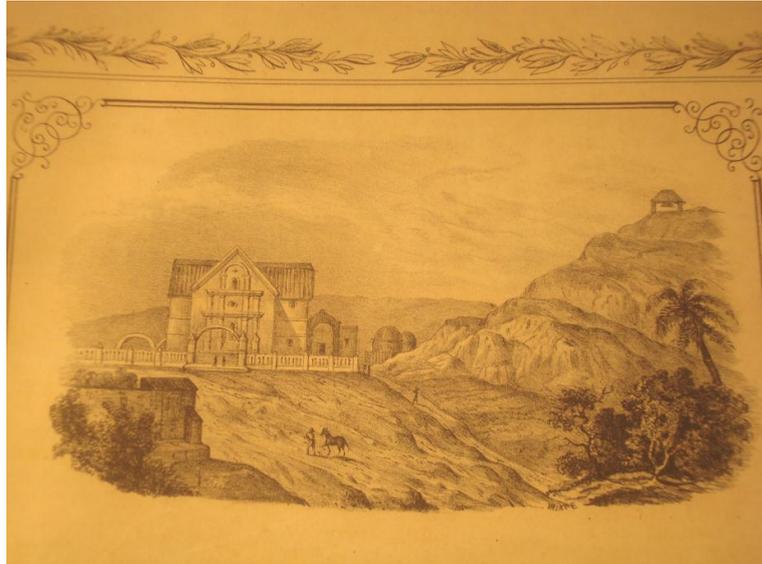


Figure 13. *Un A Dios*, unidentified composer, for guitar, voice and piano, (M. Murguía y Ca.)

When the depiction was supposedly of a European landscape, the scarcity of information or models available sometimes made for an inaccurate, caricature-like, image, although the information implicit in the painter's gaze perhaps tells a story of its own. A hodge-podge of elements and perspectives prevail in the cover art for Franz Hünten's *Los Bordes del Rhin, Gran Vals* (The Banks of the Rhine. Grand Waltz) (Figure 14). Drawn by Campillo, one of Mexico's foremost illustrators, it depicts lush vegetation in the foreground, and in the background sits an improbable castle—after all, there is only one castle in Mexico to use as a model!—facing a cliff on the Rhine. On the river itself the steam-boats look more like children's toys than ships capable of sailing. The viewpoint of the person looking at the painting is clear from the trees and plants, which look like Mexican rather than European species, depicted in great detail and clarity in contrast to the vagueness of the background river scene. It is as if the painter, alongside us, as viewers, is looking from Mexico towards Europe. In this 'give and take', it is the viewers' Mexican perspective that colonizes the European *other*. Murguía's pirated version of the piece, which preserves no trace of its original source, converted it into a local staple. Implicit in this edition is the idea that the player could have played Hünten's waltz from a Mexican perspective, with no remorse for lack of fidelity to a (European) original.

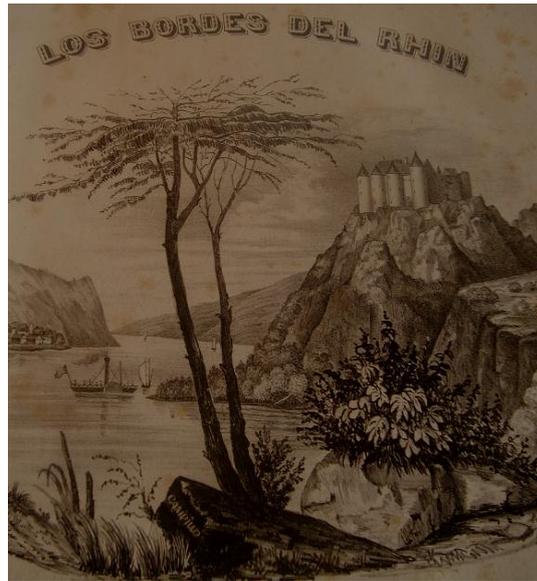


Figure 14. *Los bordes del Rhin. Gran Vals* by Franz Hünten, printed by M. Murguía.

-Women

Women featured prominently on title-page illustrations of sheet music; their images appear more frequently than those of men. They were in the foreground of the construction of the national landscape not only for the locals but also for foreigners. These covers not only added value to the music; they were also statements of pride in national beauty. Therefore it is hardly surprising that in these portrayals idealization is the general rule. This approach to women is very distant from the satirical, sometimes frankly contemptuous, characterizations of *La Balanza Amorosa*, discussed in Chapter One, where women's weaknesses and defects were highlighted. In the title-page images, illustrators could portray women the way they imagined or wanted them to be, without having to preach to them about their morals and conduct.⁹⁴

The 'Scales of Love' article contained one positive mention of music-making at home in its description of 'Good women for motherhood as well for a polka or tending to the sick. Tender without affectation', but this reference stays within the domestic context.⁹⁵ But the women featured in cover pages are far from the prototype of a 'good mother'. Most of them are young, beautiful and flirtatious, with

⁹⁴ At this point none of these sheet-music covers have elements of caricature. That phenomenon will begin to appear as political critique only from the 1880s.

⁹⁵ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 86.

fashionable, smart or more conservative dress and no child or suggestion of domestic entourage in view. The covers were indeed what men liked to see: (young), nubile attractive women, and not (married) women surrounded by children, representing domestic responsibility and a duty of care. It was doubtless a publicity device for men, the main buyers of the scores. Moreover, women also served as inspiration to (mainly) male composers. In this capacity, their role was the passive one of muse. Thus, although home music was, as we have suggested, mainly a women's affair, many signs surrounding it involved men's interests and ideals. This is a case where as Matthew Head has demonstrated: 'this was music for women in only the most fragile sense. In the larger picture, it served masculine needs, desires, and (to some problematic extent) power.'⁹⁶

The frequency and standardization of images that deliberately combine innocence and mischief, prudishness and flirtatiousness, encourages speculation that they were taken as socially accepted eroticized images to delight and to fantasize upon. An oblique look, with profile on display, and enticingly showing more skin than was acceptable in public circumstances, are some of the features of the women portrayed.



Figure 15. 'La Caprichosa,' polka.
Detail of front page.



Figure 16. 'Dolores,' *Presente Amistoso* (1851), p.198.

⁹⁶ Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch,'" 243.

By contrast, there were also the images a man looking for a wife could take as inspiration: young and beautiful women with proper and demure attitudes and attitudes. In these cases, the woman's gaze is bashfully turned to one side. 'Emilia' is holding a book, probably the Bible, while the girl on the cover of Araujo's waltz *La trenza de sus cabellos* (Her hair's braid) is modestly dressed, her braided hair being a signal of good education and upbringing. The double standard regarding women we have inferred from manuals and literary texts in Chapter One returns here as iconographical evidence. The virginal appearance of these young women stands in sharp contrast with the more daringly enticing image of 'La Caprichosa', the capricious and wilful female.



Figure 17. 'Emilia,' *Presente amistoso* (1851), p.156.



Figure 18. 'La trenza de sus cabellos,' waltz by Teófilo Araujo

For women too, illustrations were an additional bonus to the music they were purchasing. Scores became beautiful objects to collect and treasure, but a single image could also serve as a veritable fashion engraving and a form of inspiration: they provided models of hairstyles, jewellery or dresses ready for emulation by their upper-class users. Such models existed in the musical world outside the home: female opera singers visiting the country were models of fashion for their followers, and plates replicated the fashions they wore. Leppert claims that music fashion plates 'are to be visually consumed in an act producing desire, which precedes another,

more material, act of consumption, buying.’ Women are implicated visually and *sonorically* in this act of consumption.⁹⁷



Figure 19. *La Esmeralda*, Varsoviana, by Ph. Jourdan.

Among the examples of sheet music in albums we also find women dressed exotically as a handsome, Spanish, flirtatious or orientalized. ‘Beautiful Anita’ is holding a tambourine in a reference that Mexicans would identify with Spanish popular music (Figure 20). Exotic also was the image of a blonde woman, Clementina, dressed in Mexican attire and drawn against a Mexican landscape (Figure 21). Disseminating this type of imagery, where diverse models inhabited Mexican settings or contexts, was a way of satisfying Romantic fantasies of exoticism widespread in nineteenth-century arts. It also represented one more way, parallel to the music contained in the sheet music, to underscore Mexican cosmopolitanism by integrating European models to Mexico while putting Mexico on the map as a veritable world of its own for Europeans. Within this framework, the blonde and the Spanish-looking women are ultimately as Mexican as the (standardized) dark-skinned, Indian-looking, Mexican woman.

⁹⁷ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 11.



Figure 20. 'La hermosa Anita,'
Polka Mazurka



Figure 21. 'Clementina,'
Presente amistoso (1851), p.161

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century music albums put together lovingly by women amateurs anticipating moments of enjoyment, on their own or with family and friends, lie today in pitiful abandonment. These albums are a treasure trove for the student of music and especially one interested in the lives of nineteenth-century women. These dust-covered albums are an analogous image to the composers and genres contained therein that are past their heyday and are no longer part of the mainstream music history of professional performers in public spaces and 'great' composers and their texts. In this case, the albums' main performers were women amateurs and their main aim was social interaction within their homes. The main characters in the life of these albums fall outside the musical historiographical canon.

These albums were catalysts which performed an important function in their owners' and their acquaintances' quotidian lives; they are a genre closely tied into the social mores and private sphere of entire generations of women.⁹⁸ In the Mexican case a closer look at these albums helps to establish their place in the wider picture of

⁹⁸ The revealing and insightful texts by Jeanice Brooks, James Davies, Matthew Head and Candace Bailey are palpable proofs that this neglect is beginning to be tackled. Bonny H. Miller's 1994 works on music in women magazines in the U.S.A. were pioneering in the ways that they looked closely at this repertoire with a social historian's eyes.

the formation of Mexican nationhood, the role of women in this undertaking, and a little-studied cultural umbilical cord between Europe and America.

The profusion of albums, their geographical ubiquity and consistency of repertoire, however, begs additional attention and explanation. Assembled everywhere from Warsaw to London and from Charlotte to Mexico City, nineteenth-century music albums evince strikingly similar characteristics: they predominantly contain dance music and operatic repertoire; they were feminine objects, bound and engraved in similar ways. The popularity and consistency of these objects across continents is, at least, a confirmation of the successful popularization of a certain kind of musical taste and repertoire of the European upper-classes inside and outside its geographical borders. Albums are also ‘witnesses of a personal and collective construction of memory and of its social transmission’, in Jeanice Brooks’ words.⁹⁹ And, with local variations, they represent the assimilation of a Romantic sentimental culture, which together with artistic, economic and professional interests played a role in the culture of composing, printing, buying and binding music.

In this chapter, albums served as a means to reconstruct and imagine part of the world of amateur women Mexican musicians. We have found that although the relationship between women and music is tightly intertwined, it is also difficult to decipher, as there are contradictory or ambiguous discourses present in articles and stories as well as in the scores themselves and in the images that grace their covers. We are in agreement with what Richard Leppert has found in the nineteenth century Victorian world, that:

the semiotics of music, ... became radically unstable, especially, when music was employed to establish and legitimate several crucial binaries on which the society largely framed itself: man/woman, public/private, good/evil, center/periphery, self/other. The trouble was that in binaries such as these, inevitably marked positive and negative, music’s place could not be guaranteed.¹⁰⁰

In the Mexican case, we have found that among the musical opposites and binaries there was almost always some kind of gender component, and that women participated in these binaries and found ways to negotiate them. As Matthew Head has pointed out, they did so by playing music written for them, mostly by men to

⁹⁹ Brooks, ‘Les collections féminines d’albums,’ 381.

¹⁰⁰ Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 153.

ultimately satisfy men's desires, in different performance contexts—in solitude or in the company of friends where they could impress their own expressivity on the music, or by exercising agency when leading the dance at the piano. Similarly, they did so when they wrote their own music and, within expected genres and formats, managed also to express their personal fantasy and artistic creativity, thus demonstrating an acquaintance not only with compositional language, but also exhibiting their familiarity with literary texts to use for song-setting. And they managed to do so without openly contravening the frame of what was considered 'womanly' music. For music was indeed an approved space for women's expression, albeit one whose limits were always elusive for those trying to enforce them, one whose discourses, coming from different—mainly male—voices trying to define the right practice for women, were often contradictory, and one whose subversive power was ultimately not taken too seriously so long as it remained within the domestic realm. When we add all those musical qualities to the local pride factor, then perhaps we can understand the difficulty, for Mexicans, of balancing the two parts of the binary 'Mexican woman' at a time when there was a real need to find reasons to revel in national production and activity.

We now turn to those Mexican musicians who were main participants of that musical world: male and female musicians about whom, especially the latter, little has been said so far in music histories. The next chapter contributes to expand the knowledge of their lives and their significance in their times.

Chapter 3

Women Musicians and their Teachers in Independent Mexico

Chords, cadences, counterpoint, harmony, composition, musical notes and solfeggio—all these elements present abundant subject matter for both the education and the diversion of our young Mexican ladies, who happily and meticulously dedicate their spare time to the considerable tasks associated with the magical art of music.

El Mosaico Mexicano (1840)¹ (3.1, p. 310)

In the spaces left by the disappearance of the Spanish monopolies and the shrinking power of the Church over the musical Mexican world, men and women musicians actively participated in forging Mexico's musical new outlook. These individuals, whose love and dedication to music was a driving force in their lives, began music enterprises including publishing businesses and schools, wrote manuals and compositions, expanded their teaching activities, sought and found new performing opportunities. Some of these opportunities were pre-existing gaps; others, notably for women, meant that pioneering teachers had to carve out new paths in order to help them achieve professional status. Their belief in the importance of education and their steadfast efforts within the schools they founded to bring young men and women closer to a solid music training in theoretical and practical areas was a crucial step in the construction of a secular musical education in the first half of the nineteenth century in Mexico, not least as an element of identity formation for the younger generations. Mariano Elízaga, José Antonio Gómez and Agustín Caballero are, in their own right, indispensable elements to understand the formation of that first group of post-independence Mexican musicians who, in their turn, made the project of the public music education of later decades feasible.

Mariano Elízaga

One of the pioneers in local musical printing and a driving musical force in early independent Mexico was Mariano Elízaga (1786-1842). Originally a Church musician, he was a recognised Mexican composer, teacher, theorist and later a music

¹ L. G., 'Música,' *El Mosaico Mexicano* (1840) III, 366.

publisher. In 1823, Elízaga gave a bleak diagnosis of the Mexican musical situation but was optimistic regarding its potential. He declared that:

We possess the right disposition to reproduce in America the Jomelis [Nicolo Jomelli (1714-74)], the Tartinis, the Ducecs [Jan Ladislav Dussek 1760-1812] and the Aydms [sic for Haydn], and many others who have been the admiration of Italy and the other states of Europe[.We have]: the sweetness of weather, the national character, the flexibility of language, all which present the most happy advantages so that music would not lie in the unfortunate abandonment where it is today in all areas: *a capella* singing, chamber or theatre music.² (3.2, p. 310)

According to Elízaga: ‘In order to overcome so many obstacles opposed to the prosperity of the arts in America, an avidity of knowledge and an extraordinary effort is needed: [one requires as musician] to expose oneself to the reversals of fortune, to beg for knowledge here and there and to confront all kinds of disadvantages’.³ The lack of support for musicians was coupled with a want of artistic education.

Elízaga faced hardship and consciously and concretely contributed to the construction of the musical world of independent Mexico. In 1823, the musician published his own music manual, *Elementos de música ordenados por Don Mariano Elízaga*, [Music elements as arranged by Don Mariano Elízaga] where he offered to put the basic knowledge of music theory within the reach of professional musicians and music lovers alike. He also published his *Principios de la armonía y de la melodía, o sea fundamentos de la composición musical* [Principles of harmony and of melody, that is, the basis of musical composition] and he founded the first Philharmonic Society in 1824, which taught music and organised concerts. The Philharmonic Society held subscription concerts, a new practice in the country. Elízaga’s tenacity was expanded to a publishing business, also run by subscription, which he carried out from his own house.⁴

In the prospectus of Elízaga’s publishing enterprise published in the newspaper *Águila Mexicana*, there is a clear emphasis on the ‘Mexicanness’ of the project. Elízaga specifically addresses the Mexican citizens and he not only underscores the high quality of the music to be printed but also emphasizes the fact

² *Elementos de música ordenados por Don Mariano Elízaga* [1823]. Quoted in Gabriel Saldívar, *Bibliografía Mexicana de Musicología y Musicografía* (Mexico: INBA/Cenidim, 1991), 129.

³ *Elementos de música*, 129.

⁴ *El Águila Mexicana*, 2 Feb. and 3 Mar. 1826. See also Jesús C. Romero, *José Mariano Elízaga* (Mexico: Ediciones del Palacio de Bellas Artes, 1934) and the prologue by Ricardo Miranda to the facsimile of Mariano Elízaga’s *Últimas variaciones* (Mexico: INBA/Cenidim, 1994).

that, in the first mailing, ‘everything is Mexican’: the composition—six waltzes for guitar by Elízaga himself—, the press and the paper.⁵ Elízaga and his business partner Manuel Rionda stated that ‘this printing shop is the only [such] establishment in the republic and the first of its class’. Although hyperbolic, there is truth to this claim. According to John Koegel, several factors meant that music printing, from the sixteenth century to independence, was almost nonexistent: ‘the cost of engraving and printing music, the constant dissemination of music copied by hand, the commercial and printing regulations Spain held over its American colonies and the availability of printed music from Spain and Europe through the Spanish intermediaries’.⁶ As a matter of fact, most of the printed music consumed by professionals and amateurs at the time came from European printing-shops and was merely sold by Mexican merchants. Thus Elízaga and Rionda centred their hopes of success in the patriotic pride they were confident to raise by establishing a *local* music print shop where music by Mexicans would take precedence. The editors emphasized the improved quality of their sheet-music’s appearance in their offer of ‘greater neatness, clarity and accuracy in the execution’, together with a reasonable price.⁷ In terms of repertoire, Elízaga was not only educating his public by selling music by Mexican authors but also in other ways, such as expanding his domestic music beyond that for piano and voice. The editors found it necessary ‘to warn’ the public of this fact: ‘to avoid monotony [...] we will not provide vocal music in every delivery’.⁸ In addition to the much-loved duets, arias, cavatinas and the like, he promised music for piano, guitar and flute with accompaniment as well. Elízaga’s ventures were a first step in widening the spectrum of scoring for home consumption and improving the quality of editions, while participating in the gradual process of secularization and the promotion of music by local composers. In his footsteps followed one of the greatest Mexican musicians of the time, José Antonio Gómez.

⁵ Although before risking publishing his piece, Elízaga tested the market with a ‘Waltz’ by Rossini. Once he saw the reception was favourable, he published these pieces. *Águila Mexicana*, 2 Feb. and 3 Mar. 1826.

⁶ John Koegel, ‘Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España,’ *Heterofonía* 116-117 (1997), 25.

⁷ *El Águila Mexicana*, 2 Feb. 1826. In that same year lithographic press was introduced in Mexico by Italian Claudio Linatti. After that the quality of publications in the country significantly improved.

⁸ *El Águila Mexicana*, 2 Mar. 1826.

José Antonio Gómez

In Chapter Two we looked briefly at José Antonio Gómez's relation to women's education. It is useful now to expand upon his extraordinary and multifaceted trajectory in the Mexican musical world of the time. Music historians have overlooked his importance. Since his first biography appeared in 1884, only a few minor variations or additions have been added to what we know about him.⁹ Gómez was stereotyped as a third-rate composer, not especially worthy of study owing to the derivative Italianate nature of his compositions. Like the music he loved and composed, he did not find a place in the Mexican canon of great musicians, and as will become clear that of Gómez fell between various cracks.¹⁰ Yet in many ways, he was ahead of his times and this is especially notable for his interest in music education, particularly concerning women, where he contributed by founding a school and teaching a large number of pupils, together with his publications of music including pedagogical manuals and compositions.

José Antonio Gómez y Olguín (1805-1876) found new ways of moving about, musically speaking, between Mexico's miscellaneous musical circles, between the private and the public, the sacred and the profane and between European and Mexican music. We think that his life and work represent a unique lens through which to look at the disparate elements that constitute urban music life in Mexico City and to better understand the vitality of music in private and public settings and the interaction of these spaces in which Gómez proved to be a key pioneer. It is of especial interest to note his interest in music education and the ease with which he assigned women a leading position in music.

Gómez served as Mexico City's Cathedral organist for over forty years (1824-1865),¹¹ a position that offered him not only prestige, but also a thorough

⁹ John Lazos' recent PhD thesis on Gómez's religious music and his trajectory within Mexico City cathedral is a great first step towards rescuing Gómez from oblivion. While Lazos concentrates on Gómez's work at the Cathedral, I devote this section to his secular, educational, activity. John Lazos, 'José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio, Himno y 8 Responsorios: Historical Context and Music Analysis of a Manuscript,' PhD diss. (Université de Montréal, 2009). Other sources consulted were Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos* (Mexico: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1884), and Hugo De Grial, *Músicos mexicanos* (Mexico: Diana, 1978), as well as contemporary biographies recorded later in this section.

¹⁰ Lazos, 'José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio,' 27-30.

¹¹ First as 'third organist' and in 1835 as 'first organist.'

grounding in the art of composition. Although most of his religious works are almost completely forgotten today, during his lifetime they offered him both status and distinction.¹² For his work in the cathedral, Gómez was well-known; as an organist, his improvisatory talents were legendary and his compositions were popular with the Mexican public. According to John Lazos, his *Miserere* (1832) was so liked that the Ecclesiastical Chapter awarded him a gratuity of one hundred pesos and decided that the work should replace the old *Miserere*.¹³ Beside his assignments in the cathedral, he was able to straddle various duties as a teacher, publisher and editor, writer of music manuals, orchestra conductor, pianist, and juror in music competitions. Owing to his multifaceted musical talents, as well as his pride in his new nation, Gómez was the president of the jury in charge of selecting the music for the national anthem in 1854. This honour reflects the high esteem in which he was held and constitutes a public acknowledgement of his long musical career in Mexico.¹⁴

-El Instructor Filarmónico

El Instructor Filarmónico, Periódico Semanario Musical (1843) [*The Philharmonic Instructor, Weekly Musical Journal*] was an ambitious project principally aimed at teaching young women music, the didactic goal being stated in its title.¹⁵ Gómez felt that music education had not received enough attention, despite the high level of interest music raised in citizens all over the country. The journal not only provided self-taught music lessons but also included the publication of musical scores, and tutorials for music teachers. Another obvious reason for publishing the *Instructor*, though not explicitly stated by the composer, was to disseminate his own music. In fact, the publication served as an outlet for Gómez's original compositions and

¹²The year 1838 marked the Ecclesiastical Chapter determines to terminate the position of 'chapel master' in Mexico City's cathedral. The impact this decision had on Gómez was significant: he now also conducts the orchestra conductor in addition to his appointment as organist. Lazos, 'José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio,' 72-73.

¹³Ibid., 71. We do not know who was the author of the previous *Miserere* used during services. Gómez's work became so popular that an author writing in 1965 recalled having heard it over a century later during special occasions at the Cathedral. De Grial, *Músicos mexicanos*, 12.

¹⁴The other two members were younger but also prestigious professional musicians: Agustín Balderas and Tomás León. Molina Álvarez, Daniel and Karl Bellinghausen, *Más si osare un extraño enemigo...CL aniversario del Himno Nacional Mexicano. Antología conmemorativa. 1854-2004* (Mexico: Secretaría de Cultura de la Ciudad de México/Editorial Océano, 2004), 60.

¹⁵*Instructor Filarmónico. Nuevo Método para Piano. Simplificado y Extractado por José Antonio Gómez y Socios* (Mexico: Litografía de Amado Santa Cruz y de Francisco Cabrera, [1843]), and, *Instructor Filarmónico, Periódico Semanario Musical. Dirigido por José Antonio Gómez y Socios* (Mexico: propiedad de los editores, 1843).

arrangements, as well as promotion for other Mexican colleagues such as Luis Baca or his son Alejandro.¹⁶ Gómez sustained his enterprise by selling subscriptions, as did many publishers of the time. He started publishing in the early 1830s and went on for two decades.¹⁷

When promoting *El Instructor Filarmónico* in the press, Gómez specified that ‘painting, sculpture and music, which since time immemorial have been the delight of civilised people, and that at different moments played an active role in public morals’ are essential for the modernization of Mexican society. He felt, however, that among the other fine arts music had been neglected and that it was time to rectify the situation.¹⁸ Part of the problem lay in ensuring that music education reached beyond the major cities. Here Gómez combined a keen advertising strategy with his firm belief that music had to be extended to the remote corners of the country, in order to sustain the moral artistic education he so cherished. Gómez had three distribution points in the capital and delivered his publications elsewhere by contracting with local distributors.¹⁹

Other publications such as *El Mosaico Mexicano*, edited by Ignacio Cumplido and where Gómez published a musical piece, also aimed to expand the Mexicans’ musical universe. The journal significantly announced not only the fact they were ready to publish ‘modern’ compositions of merit, as judged by the specialists, but also that their printing characters would ensure high quality. This fact signals the newly acquired importance that layout and design had for sheet- music consumers.

¹⁶ *Prospecto y Reglamento de la Gran Sociedad Filarmónica y Conservatorio Mexicano de Ciencias y Bellas Artes, dirigida por José Antonio Gómez* (Mexico: Imprenta del Iris, 1839).

¹⁷ In the 1850s, after Gómez’s publishing impetus had faded, two music publishing houses, created by German immigrants, Enrique (Heinrich) Nagel and the Levien brothers, continued to exploit the market successfully. Nagel opened his Mexico City store in 1849 selling instruments and sheet music, and soon branched out into the printing business. His house survived until 1921 when its assets were sold to Wagner & Levien. August Wagner and Wilhelm Levien, who collaborated to establish a music store in 1851 in Mexico City, eventually successfully expanded their business to several Mexican towns. It took them some time to become established in Mexico and to compete with the few established Mexican firms such as Murguía or Rivera and son, but with the Mexican Second Empire of Maximilian of Habsburg (1863-1867), Wagner & Levien became the most productive and influential music publishing and selling business in the country. Once established, they remained well-entrenched and survived well into the twentieth century. See Gabriel Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México*, 2 vols. (Mexico: Universidad Panamericana, 2007); about Nagel: II, 723; about Wagner y Levien: II, 1103-6.

¹⁸ ‘Prospecto de un periódico musical titulado *El Instructor Filarmónico* dirigido por José Antonio Gómez y socios,’ *El Siglo XIX*, 7 Oct. 1842.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The improvement will also consist in the possible insertion [in the journal] of some modern pieces of music, for *clave*²⁰ or guitar given that the *Mosaico* print shop owns some very good printing characters in this field. Thus the new compositions, if their merit in terms of the judgment by intelligent people holds, will be covered by the journal. If they are singable, verses will be added, in order to spread the good taste for one or another genre as widely as possible.²¹ (3.3, p. 311)

If in Europe every respectable, or not so respectable, piano teacher was publishing a piano ‘method’, there was no reason why Gómez should not issue his own.²² He claimed that his ‘new’ piano-learning manual took the best ‘from several authors’ and condensed it for the use of the Mexican population. Without specifying whose methods he was using, he mentioned Thalberg, Döhler, Liszt and Henri Bertini as outstanding contemporary pianists.²³ Furthermore, and as I shall discuss presently, Gómez had his own ideas about how best to tackle the specific needs of the Mexican musical community, drawn from his unique strengths as a local composer, organist and music educator. As to his intended audience: there are no surprises here. The *Instructor*’s frontispiece shows an elegant gentleman instructing a young lady, presumably through Gómez’s own manual. Women of the upper classes, the only ones who would be musically literate, were his main addressees.

²⁰ The word *clave* during the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth century meant diverse instruments with keys including harpsichord, fortepiano and piano.

²¹ *El Mosaico Mexicano* (1840), III, 4. Mariano Elízaga was a pioneer in his preoccupation of printing neat and beautiful sheet-music for Mexican consumption, as we shall see in Chapter Three.

²² From C. P. E. Bach on, according to Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos. A Social History*, with a new foreword by Edward Rothstein and a preface by Jacques Barzun (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 381. This practice was also common in Europe; for instance, Fétis and Moscheles published a *Méthode des méthodes* based on the best authors to date. *Méthode des méthodes de piano, ou Traité de l’art de jouer de cet instrument basé sur l’analyse des meilleurs ouvrages qui ont été faits à ce sujet... par F.-J. Fétis... et J. Moscheles* (Paris: M. Schlesinger, 1840). The Fétis/Moscheles method was published only three years before Gómez’s own, which is an indicator of his ability to keep abreast of professional developments.

²³ Henri Jérôme Bertini (1798-1876), born in London but raised in Paris, was a virtuoso pianist who studied with Muzio Clementi. On 20 April 1828, Bertini gave a concert with Franz Liszt in the Salons Pape where they played, among other works, a transcription by Bertini of Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony for eight hands (the other pianists were Sowinsky and Schunke). He was widely known as concert pianist and especially well-known as teacher, which is perhaps the reason Gómez mentions him. We can infer that Gómez had access to Bertini’s piano methods; the best known is *Le Rudiment du pianiste*, op. 84 (Chez les fils de B. Schott, 1830) but he also composed hundreds of piano studies. Accessed 18 09 2011 <<http://pascal.beyls.pagespersoorange.fr/bertini/bertini.html>>

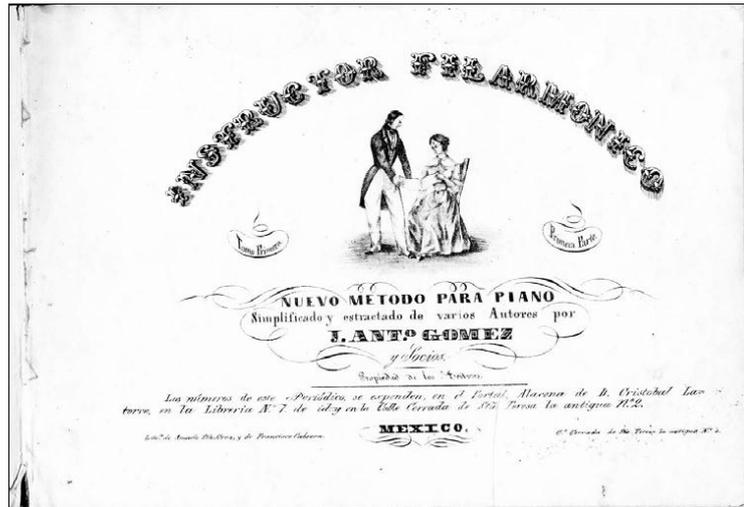


Figure 22. José Antonio Gómez, *Instrutor Filarmónico. Nuevo método para piano* (Mexico, 1843) Front page

The *Instrutor* included a piano method and a collection of piano and piano and vocal scores. The piano method was a veritable ‘do-it-yourself’ treatise that Gómez delivered by subscription in 32 instalments. The method was subdivided into two parts that provided what Gómez considered to be all the basic elements of musical art. The first part of Part One includes an explanation of the rudiments of music and clarified elementary aspects of piano playing, including posture. It contains keys, scales, major and minor modes, note values, key signatures, adornments, slurs, Italian names of movements and their significance. The second part of Part One consists of a method for piano accompaniment, and examines in depth the notions studied in the first. It includes figured bass, modulations and transitions, the fifths circle, and harmony on the piano, including how to modulate. Eight practical exercises are included for the student to practise these concepts. Part Two is devoted to composition, beginning with harmony and analysis, then counterpoint and finally composition. This last part was aimed at high-level amateurs but was probably also useful for semi-professional and professional musicians. This ambitious publication by Gómez is a sort of musical vademecum for the mid-nineteenth-century Mexican musician.

In the two music volumes that Gómez published in weekly instalments to accompany the theoretical treatises, he offered a notable number of his arrangements from Italian opera favourites by Donizetti, Bellini or Rossini as well as other popular pieces by fashionable contemporary European composers of the time, such as Henri Bertini, Philippe Musard, Henri Herz, and William Vincent Wallace. As for Gómez’s

own compositions and arrangements, these range from easy to medium levels of difficulty. His periodical advertisements promised pieces for the usual solo piano or piano and voice, although in fact he also issued pieces for piano and flute, and piano and guitar. Furthermore, Gómez included his own arrangements of arias by Bellini, Donizetti, Manuel García and Saverio Mercadante (See Tables IV, p. 291 and V, p. 294). While his treatise might suggest a rather academic approach to piano-playing, his connection with opera was strong.²⁴ One of the early stories in the mythology of Gómez, which confirms his early involvement with opera, was that of his participation, at the age of 22, as director of Manuel García's orchestra when he visited Mexico in 1826.²⁵ According to the story, Gómez was able to read fluently at sight from a poor copy of the orchestral score of *El Amante Astuto*, whereupon García immediately decided he was the right man to conduct the orchestra.²⁶ Gómez's own idol was Vincenzo Bellini, to whom he pays tribute in a front-matter illustration to the repertoire albums of the *Instructor Filarmónico*: Bellini's bust is surrounded by numerous ribbons listing the Swan of Catania's main operas.

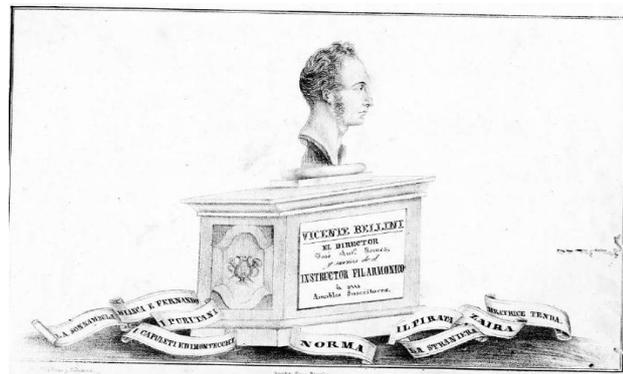


Figure 23. *Instructor Filarmónico. Periódico Semanario Musical*,
First volume of musical pieces.
Second page (unnumbered) (Mexico, 1843)

Gómez's arrangements of well-known arias not only demonstrate his knowledge of Italian opera, but also his talent as transcriber in appealing and suitable formats for conveying his didactic ideas to a domestic public. These hinged on his belief that beginning students should have access to an attractive repertoire, in order

²⁴ John Lazos, *José Antonio Gómez's Ynvitatorio*, 129.

²⁵ A full account of the Spanish tenor's tour in the country is provided in Chapter Four.

²⁶ Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música, III. La música en el periodo independiente* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes/Departamento de Música/Sección de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 121.

for them to enjoy music making with fellow student musicians or with their teachers. There are piano, piano and voice(s), piano, guitar and voice(s), and piano four hands arrangements. In the second part of his piano method, Gómez already introduces a simplified *Andante* extracted from Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia*. Gómez knew how to attract piano and music students in pragmatic terms by providing them with what they knew and loved, without giving up on the idea of teaching them the foundations of music. His enterprise was perfectly in tune with Mexicans' widespread appetite for Italian opera.

The untiring Gómez published *La Aurora. Gran miscelánea musical redactada*. [*The Aurora. Large compiled musical miscellany*] in 1848. The prospectus announces the publication of 'modern pieces' chosen with 'good taste for 'those already learned' in the musical art'.²⁷ He claimed his main aim was to print in Mexico European and Mexican pieces, at affordable prices. He offered, again, to distribute his magazine in the capital and in the provinces in the offices of newspaper *El Siglo XIX*. We here see, again, an alliance between Ignacio Cumplido and Gómez in their musical affairs.



Figure 24. José Antonio Gómez, after page 52 of *El Instructor Filarmónico*, vol. II.

²⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 17 June 1848.

-Gómez's Mexican compositions: *Wals de las gorditas de horno calientes* (1840) and *Variaciones sobre el tema de jarabe mexicano* (1841)

Although Gómez's work was disseminated through his own publications, he also made sure to promote his compositions by other means. In 1840, a particularly interesting piece was published in *El Mosaico Mexicano*. It was entitled the *Wals[sic] de las gorditas de horno calientes* (The Waltz of the Warm Rolls). A title full of humour, it reflects Gómez's remarkable gift for integrating reference to local flavours, smells and sounds into the format of a salon piece. In this waltz Gómez conjures up the cry of a street vendor as she offers her wares, in this case a local brand of bread known as '*gorditas*' or 'stuffed (fat) ones', still warm, fresh out of the oven. This short piece is an early example of the integration or enclosing of a local sound-world within a European genre in a domestic format for amateur consumption. Gómez domesticates, i.e. gentrifies, the vendor's cry, in order to allow its entrance into the parlour (Example 12).

This waltz in F, tonic-bound with just a brief modulation to the subdominant, has the classic four sections of eight bars, each one repeated, thus inviting dance. Its first two sections recall an Italian introduction and cavatina. In the first part, the melody played by the right hand is a descending line full of adornments, which accelerates at the end of each descent to finish in demisemiquavers; the melody of the second section, in semiquaver triplets, has a distinctive vocal quality to it, which accelerates the melodic rhythm of the introduction while changing the harmonic pace. When sung, the ascending and descending figures would have required a certain degree of virtuosity. It is in the third section that everything changes. We have arrived here at the subdominant instead of the more common dominant, but this fact comes as no surprise, as the composer has been preparing it throughout the second section where he transformed the F major of the first part into the dominant of the new key. This section feels like a transition in more than one way from the European world to the Mexican world: it not only introduces the new key, but also brings in parallel sixths, which constitute a recognised, albeit ambiguous, sign of the 'Mexican', for these parallel progressions were typical in popular songs, Spanish or Mexican, while also being a feature of *bel canto*, with its emphatic forte and dotted rhythm. The meanings are actually complementary, for all this was the background culture contemporary Mexicans would have recognised as their own. In addition, this

section is itself the prelude to the last part, where we finally hear the street vendor uttering her cry: ‘*Gorditas de horno calientes*’, written between staves. At this point the character of the piece radically changes to assume a simplicity that echoes that of the vendor whose voice dominates everything else. The *da capo al fine* returns the vendor to the cosmopolitan world of Italian opera where the piece started, enclosing the Mexican sound-world within the European one.



Example 12. José Antonio Gómez, ‘Wals de las gorditas de horno calientes’ (1840)

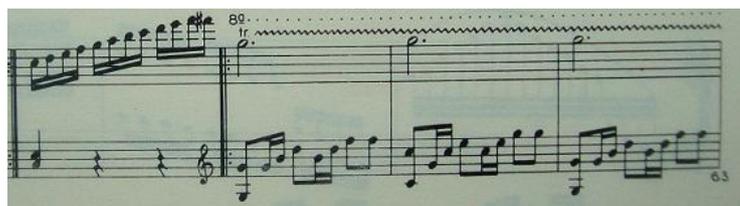
The whole piece can be taken as a metaphor for Mexico’s unique voice being integrated into the Western world by means of the country’s simplest and most authentic inhabitants, albeit via a gentrified form of musical expression. In Gómez’s time, it showed how Mexico and Mexican composers could adapt to and adopt the forms and sounds of European music and produce their own expression by incorporating native voices, while at the same time respecting established musical canons. Although the form in which Gómez achieves this is rather basic—more a juxtaposition of elements than the creation of a new form, much in the same way that foreign visitors composed ‘Mexican’ pieces to please the public—it nonetheless ought to be considered a pioneer effort. An amateur lady pianist would have recognised the sound of the street vendor’s cry from her own experience; Gómez would surely have hoped that this familiarity pleased her and that she played the piece with pride

A year later, in 1841, Gómez went beyond this picturesque exercise with a longer Mexican piano piece based on the *jarabe*, a genre we explored in Chapter

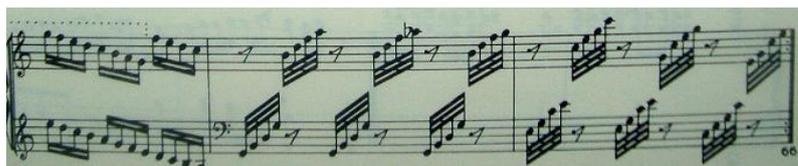
Two. Gómez composed a set of *Variaciones sobre el tema del jarabe* (*Variations on a jarabe theme*). It is a ‘chain jarabe’ that unites a series of *sones* with all the sections repeated. This, then, is an academic elaboration of the popular *jarabe* created by a music professor. An eminently danceable piece in $\frac{3}{4}$ and C Major, it displays, as John Lazos has described it, ‘a basic tonic-dominant harmonic structure and the brief passages of virtuosic chromatic scales passages’ and alternating sections of four, eight or sixteen measures.²⁸ (Example 13) In it we can hear the *zapateado*—a way of swinging and dragging the feet on the floor—following the arpeggios and scales up and down the keyboard. Or rather, the piece follows the movement of the dancers’ feet (Example 14). There are two middle sections of a lyrical character that contain the *sones*’ lyrics interwoven with the piano music. These sections were probably recognised by the audience who might even have sung along when they heard it. The participatory character of the piece, not only for dancing but for singing as well, underlines the eminently sociable aspect music playing brought into the salon.



Example 13. First six bars of José Antonio Gómez, ‘Variaciones sobre el tema del jarabe mexicano’ (1841)



²⁸ Lazos, *José Antonio Gómez’s Ynvitatorio*, 129.



Example 14. José Antonio Gómez, ‘Variaciones sobre el jarabe mexicano’ (1841), bars 60-66.

In John Lazos’s appreciation: ‘With a lively tempo and constant short repeated motifs, mostly of two measures, each return demands of the performer the opportunity to ornament. This is ornamentation in proportion with the technical ability of the pianist, the more proficient the performer, the more demanding Gómez’s *Variaciones* becomes’.²⁹ Gómez painstakingly wrote down the irregular rhythms and *ad lib* repetitions in the crystallised form of a salon piano piece of ideal length, around four and a half minutes.³⁰ The virtuoso imprint of the figure that we know was an extraordinary pianist and organist is present in this piece.

-An early national musical contribution: *Pieza histórica sobre la independencia de la nación mexicana* (1823?)

Many more questions than answers surround Gómez’s single openly political musical act: the composition of a piece dedicated to ‘all the liberators of his beloved fatherland’.³¹ The work follows the progress of Agustín de Iturbide, a *criollo* officer of the Spanish army, who led a short-lived Mexican empire that lasted less than a year: from 21 July 1822 to 19 March 1823. Iturbide rode on the coat-tails of the euphoria that followed the definitive declaration of independence from Spain in August 1821. His imperial aspirations appealed to some and raised him to high levels of popularity, which momentarily gave him the illusion of new political power and horizons. Republican ideals, which had pushed the independence movement forward, conspired against Iturbide’s reign and brought about his resignation and exile.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 45-6.

³⁰ In pianist Cyprien Katsaris’ recording this piece lasts 4’31’’. The length makes it ideal for salon reunion performances. Its charming character comes out in the glowing improvisatory manner of Katsaris, who allows us to hear a possible rendering of a piece whose score is a guide to interpretation rather than an exact instruction.

³¹ With the exception of his 1835 *Te Deum* to commemorate the general Antonio López de Santa Anna’s military victory, which took the latter to his country’s presidency.

This piece was most likely written around 1823, when Gómez was only 18 years old.³² At this point, his maternal last name, Olgúin, which he dropped later in his career, was still present. More significant is the fact that he describes himself as a ‘young American professor of music’. ‘Americans’ was the appellation the insurgents in Spanish America conferred upon themselves to differentiate their origins from the Spaniards; the denomination provided a sense of continental unity against the oppressor. This piece is an early Mexican example of the battle piece tradition.³³

We do not know the vicissitudes of the publication of Gómez’s *Pieza histórica*, which is divided into 52 small sections and whose only extant copy is housed not in Mexico’s National Library but, ironically, in Madrid’s Real Biblioteca. However, despite its musical simplicity, its format and ambitions are truly remarkable. It is set for piano ‘accompanied by’ violin, flute and cello. There is additionally a narrator’s voice to explain the historical content. The detailed narrative of the feats of Iturbide before, during and after achieving independence, are written between the staves, guiding the music throughout the whole piece. The main course of the action is dictated by the written programme, which in turns complements the musical descriptions. The composition requires short singing parts in two voices that are occasionally simultaneous with the narration, such as the beginning of section 12, an *Andante con mucha expresión* (Andante with great expression). While the narrator says: ‘Fervorosas súplicas que en público y secreto hacían los Patriotas pidiendo auxilios al Héroe’ (The Patriots prayed fervently in public and private, seeking the Hero’s succour), the voices sing ‘Eterna Providencia que desde el alto cielo difundes el consuelo a los tristes mortales...’ (Eternal Providence who from on high offers solace to unhappy mortals...).

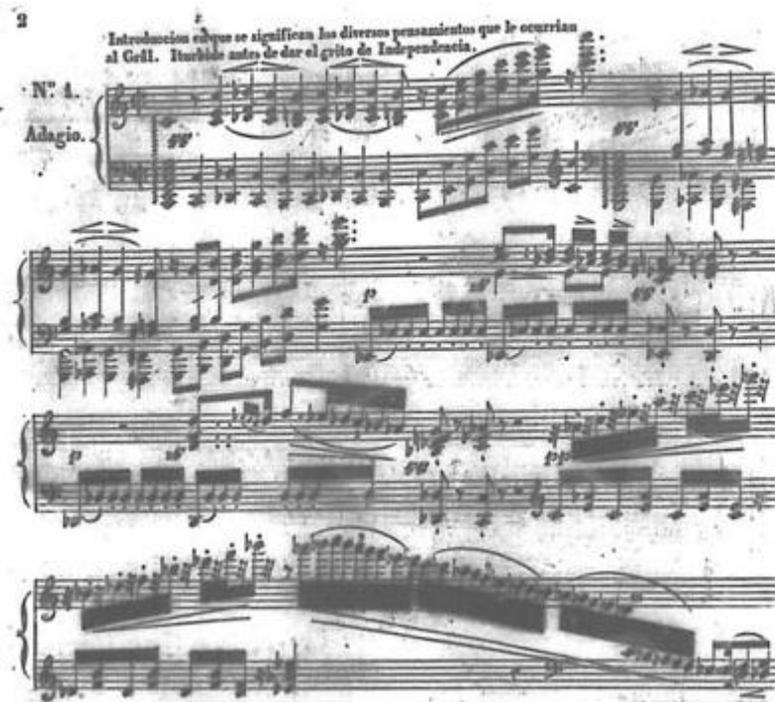
³² Lazos, *José Antonio Gómez’s*, 265.

³³ In Chapter Two we examined a Mexican battle-piece from the 1860s; these and other extant pieces prove that the genre had followers in Mexico. This is still an unexplored subject in Mexican music history.



Example 15. José Antonio Gómez, *Pieza histórica sobre la independencia de la nación mexicana* (1823?), beginning of section 12.

The text that precedes the introductory unmeasured section describes ‘the diverse thoughts that came to General Iturbide’s mind before proclaiming independence’, which despite the absence of barlines has an *alla breve* time signature: C . Iturbide’s turbulent thoughts are represented first by emphatic crotchet chords that give way to demisemiquavers and hemidemisemiquavers as following the ramblings of a mind forced to contemplate the crucial step he is about to take not only for himself but for a whole nation. The variations of speed mirror the dynamics that constantly veer from *p* or *pp* to *ff*, with hairpins marking crescendos and diminuendos.



Example 16. José Antonio Gómez, ‘Pieza histórica sobre la independencia de la nación mexicana,’ first section.

The work offers a musical attempt to describe the succession of frantic military movements and skirmishes between loyalists and troops seeking independence from the Spanish Crown. Gómez uses the spoken word as an extra element, in order to clarify and describe the ups and downs of the battles General Iturbide participated in and led around the country. The sporadic interventions of individual voices complement this original suite of war pieces where this fledgling composer, inflamed with patriotism, found a theme to express his still inexperienced talent. In any event, Gómez tried to circulate the piece again at the end of 1843, but apparently only a part of it saw the light. It is likely that once more the piece's unfortunate timing played adversely against its publication.³⁴

This early piece is consistent with Gómez's life-long interest in the sounds of his country and his attempts to give them a recognisable form as concert music whether for home or concert consumption. Reading it from a contemporary viewpoint, these pioneer attempts clearly indicate the direction Gómez wished Mexican music to follow: to build on European models, in order to construct a national sound. In these, as in later pieces, Gómez's own ideas and musical personality were embodied in previously established forms such as the waltz or the battle piece. His quest to arrive at his own voice as a composer drew upon the ingredients at his disposal as well as his personal likings and interests: Italian opera, in particular, and the search for a Mexican sound. His exploration went hand in hand with his multi-tasking in publishing, playing and teaching.

To describe Mexico's nationalistic movement in the early twentieth century, we can adapt Melanie Plesch's notions regarding nationalist academic music in Argentina. In her view, the Argentinian nationalist academic music movement constructed 'a rhetoric-conceptual system in which references to *criollo* music constituted a topic net' which, for an urban inhabitant, brought back 'a certain rural imaginary' that was part of a national essence.³⁵ However, that movement took place more than half a century later in Mexico. Gómez, had as yet no intent or desire to 'dress up' the melodies, like later paradigmatic Mexican nationalist composer

³⁴ There are two versions of this piece. One of 1823, which we use here, and the one that was published by subscription between 1843 and 1844, but which perhaps Gómez did not finish publishing. There is no library with a full collection of the 1843-4 publication. I thank John Lazos for providing me a digital copy of the 1823 edition. The score lacks the violin, flute and cello parts. The original is located in the Real Biblioteca in Madrid.

³⁵ Melanie Plesch, 'La música en la construcción de la identidad cultural argentina: el topos de la guitarra en la producción del primer nacionalismo,' *Revista Argentina de Musicología* I (1995): 61.

Manuel M. Ponce. Rather, he revels in their straightforwardness and simplicity. There was not yet the ideological weight in Gómez's patriotic rather than nationalistic endeavours. In many ways, Gómez's own musical career and development mirrored his nation's initial search for definition and identity as well as a broader insertion onto the world's stage.

-Gómez's educational enterprise and students

As mentioned earlier, Gómez devoted an important part of his professional life to teaching. One of his most famous students, Melesio Morales (1838-1908), referred to his teacher as 'el maestro de los maestros' ('the professor of professors' or perhaps 'the master of masters'), a title that stuck. In 1839, Gómez published a prospectus for a co-educational school named the Conservatorio Mexicano de Ciencias y Bellas Artes [Mexican Conservatory of Science and Fine Arts]. His justification for the project reveals his conviction that music was already an essential civilising force in Mexico:

Throughout this capital city a liking for music has spread with surprising speed, whereby taste has reached a level of refinement that proves admirable: the grand concerts and operas by amateurs that have been presented to the public are testimony to my assessment. Amidst the civil strife that has torn deeply into the very entrails of our fatherland, Providence has brought us an art form in progress that is capable of appeasing the character of nations and individuals.³⁶ (3.4, p. 311)

Gómez acknowledged the value of private music lessons but emphatically defended public education, which furnished students with necessary ensemble playing and frequent public presentations, which private education hardly ever did. In his school were taught all the instruments commonly played at the time, together with *sol-fa*, voice training, plainchant, accompaniment and composition. Furthermore, his Conservatory offered Spanish grammar, geography, writing and languages (English and French), among other subjects.³⁷ The emphasis Gómez placed upon the professional study of music for girls and young women is notable, to the point that in his Conservatory programmes they acquired similar musical expertise to the boys.

³⁶ *Prospecto y Reglamento*, 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5. The establishment of Gómez's school was financed through a Philharmonic Society and bi-weekly concerts or balls and membership fees. Lazos, *Ynventario*, 80.

The charge for being a student at his Conservatory was eight pesos monthly and that for being a member of the Philharmonic Society that supported the Conservatory, and with rights of attending the concerts, was five pesos a month.

Gomez's own musical education handbooks were used at his institution, which opened only in 1843. They consisted of his *Gramática Razonada Musical* [*Reasoned Musical Grammar*] (1832) and *El Inspirador Permanente. Método de Música Vocal* [*The Permanent Inspirer. Vocal Music Method*] (1844) (Figure 26). The *Reasoned Musical Grammar* was one of Gómez first educational publications. It takes the form of a dialogue between the 'Master' and the 'Disciple' and is specifically aimed at 'beginners'. Gómez uses this classical educational format to explain the basics of music theory. In a Socratic fashion, or perhaps more like a catechism, the Master asks and the Disciple replies. Catechisms were a highly popular method for teaching the Catholic religion to Indians during the Spanish dominion, but, as Eugenia Roldán Vera has demonstrated, they were also a fashionable genre used more generally in education in nineteenth-century Spanish America. Catechisms were in part popularised by Rudolph Ackerman who in the 1820s translated and published nearly 100 didactic catechisms on secular matters of arts, science and politics, translated from English with the aid of Spanish-American and Spanish exiles established in London.³⁸ It is not unlikely that Gómez knew these models. *Gramática Razonada* is illustrated by drop-down tables, including a chart of major and minor modes, a table of musical values and their equivalences, time signatures, tones, intervals, chords, and modulations. The tenor of the manual is dryly didactic and its size portable, with 87 pages and 9 plates.³⁹

³⁸ Eugenia Roldán Vera, 'Reading in Questions and Answers: The Catechism as an Educational Genre in Early Independent Spanish America,' *Book History* 4 (2001), 17-48

³⁹ According to Lazos this manual was still being used in Mexico at the beginning of the twentieth century. Lazos, *Ynvitatorio*, 82.

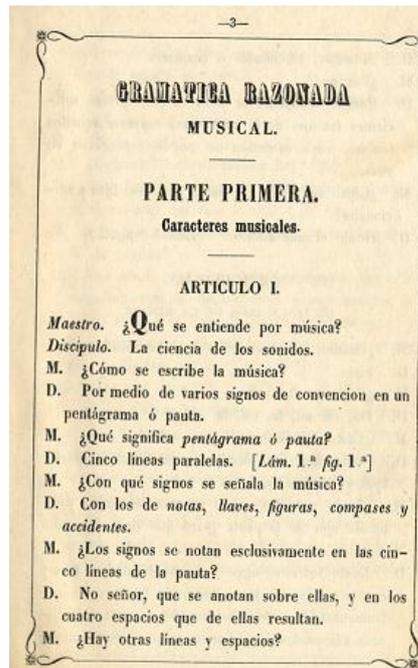


Figure 25. José Antonio Gómez, *Gramática Razonada Musical* (1832), p. 3.

Over a decade after his *Musical Grammar*, Gómez published a specialized singing method, *The Permanent Inspirer*, which was sold in weekly instalments and featured guitar accompaniments as well as those for piano. In this case, Gómez himself explains the convenience of having the guitar as well, because ‘it might suit different circumstances.’ Gómez was interested that his publications reach the widest public and he knew that guitars were present in homes of lower classes where a piano was not affordable. As options for the singer, he set the lyrics in Italian and Spanish, not as mere translations but set to the music. Here too, he was probably thinking on those with less education and without Italian language skills.

The manual starts with a brief review of the foundations of music, and immediately gives away Gómez’s main interest: the voice. He describes the position of the body, throat, teeth and lips, and finishes this section with breathing technique. It is a man in this case, probably the instructor, who exemplifies the proper standing position when singing (Figure 26).



POSICION DEL CUERPO.

Figure 26. José Antonio Gómez, *El Inspirador Permanente. Método de música vocal* (1844), p.8.

Although presented as a self-help book, the manual is hardly of use for a beginner singer; it was probably thought of as an aid to accompany singing lessons. Here too Gómez provides the music rudiments: the note-names, clefs, keys, tempo indications, note values and expression marks. And then proceeds with the singing part, where he interspersed exercises with explanations. Gómez includes a guide to performing appoggiaturas and ornamenting melodies, as in the following example:

Me à parecido mas conveniente poner el ejemplo siguiente en el que se verá escrita la apoyatura y en la Leccion 13 el modo como se deve ejecutar.

EJEMPLO.

LECCION 13.

PIANO

CUI:

VOZ

Sen za l'a ma bi le Dio di ci te... ra i... di non
Andante. Es que vi... re en dul ce cal ma fe liz el

tor na no di... pri ma ve... ra non spi ra un ze fi ro non
al... ma que hu go dea mo... an gustias i nu tiles no ha

Example 17. Gómez, *El Inspirador Permanente*, pp. 25-6

The manual ends with singing exercises by Marco Bordogni, an Italian tenor and singing teacher who composed many sets of vocalises, popular during the nineteenth century and still used today in their original vocal form and in transcriptions for other instruments. Gómez claims he based his exercises on the Bordogni's vocalises in order to teach students how to read in bass, treble, tenor and alto clefs as well as other C clefs. In his manual, Gómez demonstrates his expertise and familiarity with *bel canto* singing methods and techniques. Since Gómez was almost simultaneously publishing *El Instructor Filarmónico*, he could not only benefit from a rounded business profile for himself, but also bring benefits to his students, who could complement this singing method with actual Italian operatic repertoire stemming from the most fashionable Italian composers.

-Gómez's prominent female students

As a result of Gómez's belief in the educational and civilising power of music in the new society, and his emphasis on encouraging girls and women in the music profession, outstanding female students came out of his educational enterprise. The *Calendario de las Señoritas Mexicanas, para el año bisiesto de 1840* [*Mexican Young Ladies' Annual for the Leap Year of 1840*] by Mariano Galván, published Gómez's biography and the biographies of two of his pupils, Doña Fernanda Andrade, a singer, and Doña María Dorotea Losada, a pianist. The Annual opened with a customary dedication to young Mexican ladies, which reinforced their traditional position and desired characteristics.

To the young ladies of Mexico,
Whose virtues form the honour of their sex:
Their tenderness, man's consolation;
And their beauty, the most brilliant ornament
Of their homeland,
Mariano Galan Rivera
Offers this delicate present. (3.5, p. 311)

Apart from a calendar, the Annual included short entertaining articles on diverse cultural and historical, scientific subjects as well as advisory articles for housewives. Among them the three biographies were included. No sheet music or other music-related articles appeared. However, Galván's shop published plenty of sheet music and he thus he might have been interested in disseminating musical matters. The

short biographies of Andrade and Losada are valuable sources for understanding how a musically-inclined female student was educated by local and foreign musicians and how the day-to-day dynamics of such training could permeate a broader realm. They demonstrate that there were spaces where women could pursue their musical interests, which were defended by Gómez's unusual stand on this issue.

Fernanda Andrade, born in 1815—she was only ten years younger than Gómez—was, according to the biography—a musician worth listening to. Her musical talents were recognized by her uncles, who from an early age oversaw her education. Andrade began with piano lessons from José Antonio Gómez, but when her talent for singing became apparent to her tutors she was put under the tutelage of the Italian soprano, Carolina Pellegrini, for a few months.⁴⁰ According to the anonymous biographer, Andrade continued her studies with singer Ludovico Sirleti. Soon 'she succeeded in mastering the most difficult pieces of famous operas by Rossini, Bellini, and others, singing them with piano solo or orchestra'.⁴¹ This is a crucial reference to the fact that music in the homes was sung, on certain occasions at least, with instrumental groups that provided the opportunity for women singers to exercise their talents in a semi-professional manner. The text is also interesting because it attests to the fact that the musical career of Fernanda Andrade continued after her marriage in 1834: she still sang in private events, including some attended by illustrious Italian singers such as Napoleona Albini or Filippo Galli, who were said to have praised her in the highest terms.⁴² Nevertheless, Andrade's *comme il faut* lack of vanity is underlined via mention of her 'mellowness and modesty. Those who see her singing, shall certainly not detect satisfaction in her inner self, nor pride when she reads these words'.⁴³

The other female student of note is Doña María Dorotea Losada, who was only sixteen when her biography was published. Her case is remarkable because she lost her mother when she was a seventeen-month-old baby, and her father chose to

⁴⁰ Carolina Pellegrini was the wife of Cayetano Paris, an impresario from Barcelona who settled in Mexico and was commissioned by the Mexican government in 1831 to bring an Italian opera company from Europe. Pellegrini premiered several Italian operas in Mexico and her long stay in the country had an influence on Mexican singers which deserves future research. See Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México 1538-1911*, Vol. 1, prolog. by Salvador Novo (Mexico: Porrúa, 1961), chapters X to XIII; I found in Mexico City archives a complaint Pellegrini filed against the company's management for back wages: AHDF, Diversiones Públicas, File 53, 1833.

⁴¹ *Calendario de las Señoritas Meticanas, para el año bisiesto de 1840* (Mexico: Mariano Galván, 1840), 123-124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 126.

dedicate himself to educating her. He first placed his daughter in an educational institution before withdrawing her and placing her (at age 10) under the tutelage of José María Oviedo, a ‘disciple of the celebrated don José Antonio Gómez’. Losada remained his student for almost four years and then began to give public presentations in churches and private concerts. Under Gómez’s supervision, Oviedo taught her accompaniment and transposition. According to the article, Gómez provided a [figured] bass line by Arcangelo Corelli for Losada to construct the harmonies. Here we see the practical results of Gómez’s theoretical publications, confirming that women, such as María Dorotea, learnt contrapuntal procedures and figured bass realisation. The fact is remarkable given that, as we have seen in Chapter Two, women were not taught abstract knowledge such as mathematics in schools at the time. It then come as no surprise that, as the article claims, Losada was able to sight-read fluently and to transpose melodies into any key asked of her. The girl had been giving public and private presentations since the age of twelve, playing alone or as a soloist with orchestra.⁴⁴ The article recounts a remarkable occasion when Losada played ‘a most difficult concert at Gómez’s house, with an *obbligato* part for two pianos and six hands’. This scenario portrays the lively musical scene of professors and high-level students interacting in a musical feast for the delight of others and themselves. The article finally proclaims her as nothing less than ‘the most skilful Mexican woman musician in the art of playing piano’.⁴⁵

Another fascinating reference to Losada, which is absent from the *Calendario*’s biography, is the one in a keyboard work by Mariano Elízaga. The work was published as ‘Últimas variaciones del Profesor Michoacano D. Mariano Elízaga que compuso y consagró a la tierna memoria de la señorita Da G. G. G. Tocadas a primera vista por la joven señorita Da. Dorotea Losada’.[‘The latest variations composed by the teacher from Michoacan D. Mariano Elízaga, in beloved memory of Miss Da G. G. G. Performed at first sight by the young Miss Da. Dorotea Losada.’] The fact that Elízaga, a musical notability in Mexico, made none other than the young Losada premiere his work, can be taken as an indication of the high technical level the pianist had already reached. The piece, in the form of theme and

⁴⁴ Ibid., 270.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 271.

variations in a classical fashion, is of long duration and includes considerable technical demands.⁴⁶

It is to our dismay to find that no matter how thoroughly we look into the contemporary press, we find no other reference to concerts given or musical feats achieved by either Fernanda Andrade or María Dorotea Losada.⁴⁷ Their musical accomplishments remained in the minds of those who heard them and of the women themselves. Their musical achievement can only be imagined through the echoes the music rendered amidst the all too scarce pages of the *Calendario de las Señoritas*; through their lovingly crafted images, their demure look and interrogating gaze face us and beg us for at least some recognition, if not understanding, of their existence.



Figure 27. Fernanda Andrade
Calendario de las Señoritas (1840)



Figure 28. María Dorotea Losada
Calendario de las Señoritas (1840)

Besides the presumably advertising intention of Gómez in publishing these biographies in Murguía's annual, the musician certainly was convinced of women's importance, and worked towards equal musical education for them. He firmly believed in their capabilities as musicians and rejected the commonly-held belief in their inability to become professional. He seems to be preparing women not to be virtuoso pianists or soloist singers but rather as high-level musicians who could earn

⁴⁶ According to Miranda this work was probably composed between 1825-1830, when Elízaga's printing shop was active. Ricardo Miranda, '*Tempo di variazioni: la música de Mariano Elízaga y su tiempo*,' pref. to Mariano Elízaga, *Últimas variaciones para teclado* (Mexico: INBA/Cenidim, 1994), 14. As stated in the *Calendario*, however, the 'young lady' was born in 1824, a fact that would push the date of publication of the 'Últimas variaciones' somewhat later than that.

⁴⁷ The only other reference I have found for Fernanda Andrade is in Guillermo Prieto, *Memoria de mis tiempos, Obras Completas I*, Sepan Cuantos (Mexico: Porrúa, 2004), 229-230, where he narrates having heard Andrade in home concerts.

a living as teachers or accompanists. This intention was practical, in that some of these women eventually needed an income to keep their families, and music could be, as we demonstrate in the next section, an honourable way to do it. Gómez' aims were not far from those in many European music schools, like the Paris Conservatoire, the Royal Academy of Music in London, the Weimar Conservatory or the Frankfurt Hoch'sche Konservatorium, where especially in the case of women piano students, as Katharine Ellis has indicated, the goal was to produce piano teachers and accompanists.⁴⁸

In addition, Gómez believed that music education, for men and women, was a fundamental national value which played a role in the advancement of the country. Spaces were just beginning to open for Mexican women to participate in a wider musical arena than the home, Gómez's enterprises and results offer a precious window onto such activity.

Agustín Caballero's musical school

Parallel to Gómez another important Mexican musician, Agustín Caballero (1815-1886), devoted his life to teaching music to the Mexican youth. In 1838 Caballero founded a musical academy with his colleague Joaquín Beristáin (1817-1839). Caballero continued by himself this academy after the untimely death of Beristáin and renamed it 'Academia Agustín Caballero'. This academy gave special impulse to opera singing and piano playing and produced the first generations of professional men and women musicians after independence. Caballero's generosity and enthusiasm was recognised and praised by his students and the musical community. Caballero was widowed in 1851 when his young wife Ignacia Ilizaliturri died, as we have explained in Chapter Two, leaving a bereaved husband who perhaps partly due to this loss became a priest some years later but continued actively working in music and in his school.

In a letter that accompanied the program of a concert of Caballero's Academy that he presented as a benefit for the 'Junta de Fomento de Artesanos de México' [Board for the Advancement of Mexico's Artisans], Caballero explicitly declared his

⁴⁸ See Katharine Ellis, '13. The structures of musical life' in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 360-1.

teaching principles. He wanted to make evident to everyone, he claimed, that ‘Mexicans have an aptitude for music, and that they have perseverance and dedication’. He declared that he taught many young men and women without charge, that he raised funds from willing people, that he conducted his classes without enough music instruments and despite political unrests. The generation of musicians who founded the National Conservatory in 1866, of which Caballero was the first director, was educated in his academy.

Gómez and Caballero were founding presences of Mexico’s nineteenth-century musical life. Both believed in the value of an extended musical education in national formation. While Gómez retired to a private life relatively early, although he continued to be influential as writer and publisher, Caballero continued in teaching throughout his life and attracted acclaim.

Mexican women singers in the theatre

While performing in amateur settings was not only an accepted but also a commendable pursuit for upper-class women, singing or playing in the theatre was not. Taking the next step to a professional life meant abandoning the female roles of daughter, wife and mother in their accepted and acceptable forms. In addition, the idea that for a woman to participate in a public performance equalled the practice of loose morals was as long-standing as it was generalised. Since colonial times, Mexican women had been outstanding participants in music as amateurs in salons, as nuns in church chapels and as semi-professionals in charitable events, but not as professional musicians. The social condemnation associated with performing publicly probably kept many a talented woman at home, not daring to try her luck in the public arena. Men had none of these constraints when facing a professional career in music. While men formed part of the private and semi-public scenarios as well, public performance was one of the career options open to them. ‘The female music realm was not fundamentally different from the male’—as Matthew Head has found for eighteenth-century Germany—‘but represented a segment in a masculine universe of possibilities’. Men were accorded a ‘mobility’ denied to women.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Matthew Head, “‘If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch’”: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 209. Men of the upper classes, however, hardly took music as a professional option; despite being a recognised and honourable trade, was mainly in the hands of working classes.

There was no easy step from private to public, amateur to professional, for women performers during the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there were women who, against all odds, did become professional musicians in Mexico. Women secured contracted, paid work over a significant period of time and despite inequalities and occasional breakages of contracts, they were professional. They could share their views in the newspapers, something difficult for a woman to do at a time. The world of Italian opera opened up new places for women on stage. Women singers of well-to-do families, from an amateur background, were the first to venture on theatre stages. Mexican women singers on stage became national representatives and standard-bearers of national pride of sorts, whom men felt they ought to endorse and, if needed, to defend from foreign mistreatment, as we shall see. Although there was a patriotic pride taken in talented male musicians, with women the national factor was a constant element that was brought up in relation to their performances and it was a factor that helped women overcome moral prejudices and to pursue careers. Their artistic trajectories, filled with obstacles, were linked to that of the struggling country; and, implicitly and metaphorically, the idea of supporting their careers, as long as they stayed within unwritten patriarchal rules, became equated to that of helping sustain and define a still unsteady homeland. According to contemporary testimonies, Mexican professional women were not divas, and their treatment differed sharply from that bestowed on visiting foreign singers. Moreover, and perhaps because of their exceptional nature, the careers of Mexican women were treated in a patronising tone that ensured that whatever the praise heaped on them they were to remain within the confinements of this specific patriotic frame.

-María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío and María de Jesús Mosqueira

One of the few professional women musicians who appears with certain frequency in contemporary Mexican sources is María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío (1823-1856).⁵⁰ She

⁵⁰ Her name is spelled Cepeda or Zepeda. Later in her career, the Cepeda seems to fade and she becomes only Cosío. There is little written on her after her lifetime: Wright de Kleinhans, *Mujeres Notables Mexicanas, Mujeres notables mexicanas* (Mexico: Tip. Económica, 1910); the entry 'Zepeda y Cosío, María de Jesús'; in Pareyón, *Diccionario Enciclopédico*, 1128; a couple of mentions in Esperanza Pulido, *La mujer mexicana en la música* (Mexico: Ediciones de la Revista Bellas Artes, 1958) and short sections in Montserrat Galí Boadella, *Historias del bello sexo. La introducción del Romanticismo en México* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002), 190-191, 323-326, 389.

was a singer, and author of a few salon musical compositions for pianoforte.⁵¹ One of her first public presentations was at the age of 17 with orchestra and choir in the Lent religious services in Mexico City Cathedral in 1840. Her performance must have been impressive enough to prompt the Italian contralto Adela Cesari, who at that time was singing in Mexico with an opera company, to offer to take her as a student, an offer she accepted.⁵²

On 20 September 1845 Cepeda y Cosío made her official debut with the role of Lucrezia in *Lucrezia Borgia*, and a few days later she sang Imogene in *Il Pirata* and Beatrice in *Beatrice di Tenda*. At that time, the journal *El Museo* published a biography of the singer which provides a clear example of how national pride and the albeit uncomfortable presence of a professional Mexican woman singer managed to go together and reinforce each other. Cepeda y Cosío was already a renowned singer and author of musical compositions; the magazine proudly called her the ‘*prima donna*’ of the opera company.⁵³ We learn that before studying with Cesari, she was trained at Agustín Caballero’s Music Academy and that after her time with Cesari she was further tutored by the famous soprano Anaide Castellan de Giampietro.⁵⁴ Cepeda y Cosío had often sung in salons and in religious performances, but her first public professional debut surely needed additional justification; and this is where the national factor came in.

It is always a pleasure to praise merit regardless of one’s homeland, if the pen runs easily for those tributes and praises, of all those persons who somehow surpass in the midst of the society in which we live and who contribute to our well-being. This is much more satisfactory when the object of our applause unites us with the bonds that tie us to our fatherland, and therein opens a career until now unknown. Is there then perhaps not something of *amour propre* and pride in our admiration, in which we feel like active participants of the triumph of our fellow citizens, and associate

⁵¹ We have traced four compositions by Cepeda y Cosío: ‘*Wals de los lamentos*’ for piano, published in the *Semanario de las Señoritas II* (1841); ‘*Valse*’ for piano, dedicated ‘to my dear friend and mentor Adela Cesari de Roca,’ published in *Panorama de las Señoritas. Periódico pintoresco, científico y literario* (1842); ‘Un recuerdo de Antonia Aduna,’ a ‘prayer’ dedicated to the untimely death of Cosío’s fellow Mexican singer, published by Murguía (1849); and, ‘La Carmelita,’ polka for piano, dedicated to Miss Carmen Dosamantes; published by *Daguerrotipo*, 1 (1850). We have had access to all these compositions except the one dedicated to Antonia Aduna, for which only a reference seems to exist. It is worth mentioning that Cepeda y Cosío, a singer, published, as far as we know, only pieces for solo piano.

⁵² Wright de Kleinhans, *Mujeres Notables*, 356. Adela Cesari had premiered Vaccai’s most successful opera, *Giuletta e Romeo*, in the Teatro alla Canobbiana in Milan on 30 October 1825.

⁵³ L. V., ‘La señorita Doña María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío. *Prima Donna* de la compañía de ópera italiana del Teatro Nacional de México,’ *El Museo Mexicano* (1845), 254-257. In his *Dictionary*, Gabriel Pareyón mentions Cepeda y Cosío’s début in 1842 with Anaida Castellan’s company, but I have not been able to find any evidence on this fact.

⁵⁴ Castellan stayed in Mexico from 1840 through 1844 with her husband Enrico Giampietro’s opera company.

ourselves with their glory? This is what just occurred to the Mexicans connected with that youth whose portrait adorns the page that is at the beginning of the article.⁵⁵ (3.6, p. 311)

The journal editors further complimented Cepeda y Cosío for daring to sing ‘the sweet accents of Italian music’, despite not being born and raised in Italy. ‘She has shown us that the sweet voice of the Mexicans can express the sad or festive, frivolous or sentimental, passionate or raving accents of Beatrice, Lucrecia, Antonina and Norma’. She was indeed a Mexican woman publicly stepping into European singing territory. Furthermore, where Cepeda y Cosío’s performances are concerned, *El Museo Mexicano* seems to subscribe to Gómez’s principle of extending professional music education to women, for it advocated that women step into the musical professional arena and not remain only in salons and churches; significantly, it labelled as ‘darkness’ the times when professional practice was considered ‘degrading’ to women.⁵⁶ The publication’s triumphant and optimistic tone heralds a new era whose fruits were still far away for women. María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío was a pioneer whose brief professional trajectory illustrated the uneven road ahead.

Her life story contained dramatic ingredients that made her a tragic hero in the public’s eyes. Cepeda y Cosío’s father suffered a tragic accident that left him incapable of working when María de Jesús was a child. As a result, her mother, Doña Mariana, devoted herself exclusively to her daughter, including providing her voice lessons with outstanding instructors. The article’s anonymous author constructs Cepeda y Cosío’s career as a meteoric trajectory projected in her mother’s claim that ‘It was far from the thoughts of a loving mother that the weak girl, whose voice consoled her hours of sadness, was growing to be Mexico’s first artist’.⁵⁷

Once she started singing publicly, it is likely that she began bringing money to the impoverished home; economic need proved thus the main justification, according to the singer, to embark on her professional career. We see not only the announcement of her concerts but sporadically her own testimony published in the press. On 8 December 1845, *El Siglo XIX* announced a benefit concert for the young singer where she and friends would present *La sonnambula*. The appeal to attend, which was more like an exhortation for the public to contribute generously to a

⁵⁵ *El Museo Mexicano* (1845), 255.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

patriotic cause, was based not only on the prestigious artists who would accompany her, Eufrosia Borghese⁵⁸ and piano professor Vicente Blanco, but also, and more emphatically, on the fact that she was a ‘distinguished fellow countrywoman’. Mexicans’ taste for music, their appreciation of the true merit and ‘the native soil on which Miss Cepeda’s cradle rocked’, were ‘enough to ensure her a copious public in her benefit function’. Cepeda y Cosío herself published a declaration about singing the role of *prima donna* in *La sonnambula* with the Italian opera company. Her tone is rather apologetic and far from auto-celebratory. It was the loss of the family’s wealth and the ‘disgraceful situation’ in which she found herself that impelled her to attempt that feat. Despite admitting that it was extremely difficult for her to sing the role, she made it clear that it was because of the reiterated insistence of friends and support of the impresario, that she dared taking this step. Above all, she expressed gratitude for ‘the public’s indulgence’.⁵⁹ A few years later, the singer repaid in a patriotic act the benevolence of her public: the newspaper *El Monitor Republicano* reminded its readers that during the American invasion of Mexico in the War of 1847-8, Cepeda y Cosío refused to sing for the Americans, despite having received a courteous invitation.⁶⁰

In 1848, the Mexican singer went on to sing *Norma*, and part of *I puritani* and *Lucrezia Borgia* in 1849. She was highly praised in an overjoyed report, filled with national pride, for her participation in *Lucrezia Borgia*. Her singing, however, was not described in terms of professional music criticism, but rather in the rhetoric used for amateurs, and it focused on sensibilities associated with women: ‘Our distinguished singer, Doña María de Jesús Cosío [sic] has seldom sung as well as that night: her harmonious voice expressed the sweetest colours of tenderness that penetrated our hearts, filling them with that indefinite pleasure produced by music’.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Eufrosia Borghese, a renowned Italian coloratura soprano successful in Europe with her performances of *La sonnambula* (Roma, 1835) and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Napoli, 1838). She came to Mexico after successful seasons in the U.S. with New York’s Palmo Opera Company, preceded by work in Havana. See Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road. Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001). According to *El Museo Mexicano* (1845), 232-234, Eufrosia Borghese, like Cesari and Castellan, trained Cepeda y Cosío for the operatic stage.

⁵⁹ *El Siglo XIX*, 8 Dec. 1845.

⁶⁰ *El Monitor Republicano.*, 27 Sept. 1848.

⁶¹ My italics. *El Siglo XIX*, 12 Feb. 1849. During the first half of the nineteenth century opera singers all over the Western world were moving audiences and producing intense feelings in them. Susan Rutherford has pointed out that Guditto Pasta was talked about not only for her voice but for her agency—the ‘affective power’ her voice had on her listeners. Rutherford explains they were the new ‘Romantic actors’ who based their acting on their real-life experiences. In that sense, Cosío was also

In addition, when she sang in *Il pirata* the following month, the chronicler picked his words to phrase a compliment to the singer: ‘In her performance, Miss Cossio [sic] made such an effort such that she was able to hold the interest and pleasure of the public’.⁶² These words were aimed at encouraging her despite still finding ‘defects’ in her singing, and constitute a very different critical rhetoric from that used for foreign women singers performing at the same time. For instance, her company comrade and teacher, Eufrosia Borghese, when singing *Lucia di Lammermoor*, was praised for her famous part not only for her sublime singing, but also for the verisimilitude of her acting:

Is it possible to paint with greater veracity the enamoured delirium of the final act when Lucia, before her brother, with the same distraction of a mental alienation, sets her gaze and plays with the tassels of her outfit and appears to us to be herself truly demented, not the actress who has understood the character she is playing, and that she has studied even in its most imperceptible and delicate details?⁶³ (3.7, p. 311)

In similar vein, Anna Bishop, in whose company Cepeda y Cosío also sang, was the object of several critiques in which writers delighted in her singing and took the opportunity to display their specialized knowledge in opera. It was not Bishop’s life and efforts that were the centre of the criticism, as in Cepeda y Cosío’s case, but her superiority as singer. Reference to patriotism is absent and the critic’s rhetoric invokes international standards when referring to Bishop’s performance.

Referring now to the charming Anna Bishop, what can we say about her when for the space of three hours she has been able to take up the public’s attention, attracting everyone’s sympathies in the act? Should we speak of the true voice of a *soprano sfogato*, of such a pure and expressive voice that it seems to recall the nightingale as well as the sweet sounds of the flute? Should we talk of the amazing ease with which she knows how to present herself in a single performance in the guise of three or four characters of different genres and a different school? Should we pay tribute to her brilliant vocalization and the precision of her intonations? ... Anna Bishop’s manner of dressing is so unique, that it completely fulfils the illusion and so deeply penetrates into the role she is performing that it is not la Bishop whom we see but rather the very same priestess, Norma, who forgetting what she was, gives herself to her love for Polion, or else to the genteel Linda di Chamounix, under the clothing of a beautiful Parisian lady.⁶⁴ (3.8, p. 311-2)

exercising that new Romantic acting in the display of her emotional states and in singing that ensured that the Mexican public went through an emotional experience. However, written commentary on her is pervaded by a patronising tone. She never reached the emotional heights described in relation to foreign female singers.

⁶² Ibid., 17 Mar. 1849.

⁶³ *El Monitor Constitucional*, 11 Sept. 1845, quoted in Galí Boadella, *Historias del bello sexo*, 341.

⁶⁴ *El Monitor Republicano*, 17 July 1849.

Mexican singers were not, then, judged on the same basis as their peers: the more lenient tone of the criticisms when referring to them, and the status of perennial student which writers tacitly assigned to them, were occupational hazards accepted by these pioneer professional women singers. It was the price they had to pay for creating new spaces for women musicians.

From 1849, Cepeda y Cosío's brief career started to decline. That August, Bernard Ullman, Henri Herz's pianist agent, hired her to sing as a guest in a couple of concerts. According to the papers, during the second concert she was singing the famous difficult cabaletta from the 'mad scene' in Act II of *I puritani*: 'Vien diletto è in ciel la luna', when her voice failed. The public encouraged her to restart, which she did without success, finally bursting into tears. The bass, Mr. Zanini, escorted her from the stage, but the audience, applauding frantically, made her come back just to give her a good-bye ovation.⁶⁵ The paper *El Siglo XIX* wrote off the episode by explaining that she had a severe sore throat. Cepeda y Cosío once again explained herself in an open letter published the following day in *El Siglo XIX*. She also avoided a professional stance when she thanked the generous public for their 'gentlemanliness and polite protection'. She recounted having sung this cabaletta on previous occasions to the Mexican public's delight, but she confessed having failed this time 'due to my state of health, which had an impact on my throat and prevented me from finishing it'. She concluded by thanking the audience for its indulgence.⁶⁶

The newspaper *El Tío Nonilla* presented its version of the next episode in this story: Herz's agent, Bernard Ullman, dismissed Cosío after her aborted concert without compensating her, since he considered she had broken the contract unilaterally; he then hired another Mexican singer, Miss Mosqueira, to sing as soloist. This substitution turned out to be permanent.⁶⁷ The reporter was indignant at Ullman for breaking Cepeda y Cosío's contract; but he was equally so with Charles Bochsa, the harpist and manager of the Anna Bishop's rival tour, who was present at the concert and who had smiled slyly at the singer's failure. *El Tío Nonilla* took the opportunity to pointedly remind Bochsa that 'he should have been more considerate,

⁶⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 Aug. 1849.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 Aug. 1849.

⁶⁷ Cepeda y Cosío and Mosqueira had sung together before the Herz's incident, as we will see later, which made the latter a natural substitute to the former. Mosqueira also sang with Anna Bishop during her tour and she had sung the role of Adalgisa in *Norma* early that same August. *El Siglo XIX*, 27 Aug. 1849.

not least because she [Cepeda y Cosío] was the daughter of a people who had so warmly welcomed him and who had filled his pockets with money'.⁶⁸ It is clear that the writer was not only concerned about the artist, but also about the 'daughter' of Mexico; this was a chivalrous and patriotic defence of the *woman* variable in the equation. Moreover, in this case Cepeda y Cosío had the additional misfortune of being caught in the crossfire of the competing tours of Herz and Bochsa.

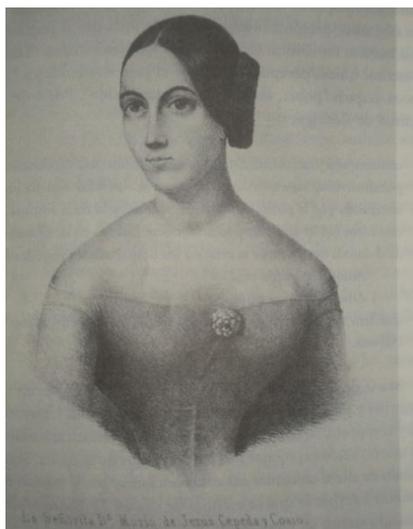


Figure 29. María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío, *El Museo Mexicano* (1845)

Cepeda y Cosío's contemporary, María de Jesús Mosqueira, also embarked on a prolific singing career. However, although we repeatedly see her mentioned in concert programmes for these years, we know little of her. Both singers sang together before the arrival of Bishop, Bochsa and Herz. Mosqueira was singing in the late 1840s and 1850s. She, too, was a student at Agustín Caballero's Academy. On 16 September 1848 professor Caballero presented his advanced students, including Mosqueira, in the opera *Lucrezia Borgia*, to commemorate Mexican independence. Mosqueira sang the main role, of whose performance the critic for *El Monitor Republicano* gave a detailed and balanced commentary, much in contrast with the patronising treatment Cepeda y Cosío had received by the press.

Miss Mosqueira in the role of Lucrezia, showed as always the enviable flexibility of her throat which distinguishes her, and a sweetness and a feeling, perhaps slightly dissonant with her character, but to magnificent effect. Nonetheless, her voice did not have the extension of other occasions nor the necessary confidence at the

⁶⁸ *El Tío Nonilla*, 26 Aug. 1849, I, 2.

beginning of the opera; defects that are essential to attribute to the fear such an audience is sure to inspire. She was, as the French really call it: *genée, mal a son aise*.⁶⁹ (3.9, p. 312)

When Mosqueira sang *Casta Diva* in an actor's benefit the critic, from a different paper, was positively thrilled with her singing and in the description the patriotic element is present for he described her as 'an artist who honours the country who saw her birth' and reiterates the fact that she has 'a sweet and melodious timbre with a great extension that moves, delights, speaking with the heart, one is led away with passion and raises one's soul to heaven'.⁷⁰

Cepeda y Cosío and Mosqueira became natural objects of comparison. Contrasting singers, preferably *prima donnas*, and choosing one over the other was a favourite sport of the opera public and critics alike. Although this practice has been noted in respect of foreign singers, for the first time in Mexico's short history of opera it was applied to two Mexicans.⁷¹ Apparently, Cepeda y Cosío and Mosqueira began to perform together on 27 September 1848 when they sang in *Norma*, which was Mexicans' favourite opera at the time. They repeated the opera several times over the following days. In one performance—a similar event to the one that later took place during Herz's visit—Cepeda y Cosío, who was singing the title role, was unable to finish because of ill health and Mosqueira had to conclude the opera by singing the main role albeit cutting certain arias.⁷² In January of the following year, they both participated in an actress's benefit and it was for first time they were publicly compared in the press. Mosqueira sang an aria from Donizetti's *Betty*, probably 'In questo semplice', and Cepeda y Cosío apparently sang an aria from *I puritani*. This time the writer politely described both different singing styles without taking sides and, after praising them, patronisingly ended his description by advising them to continue their studies.

⁶⁹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 20 Sept. 1848. Soon thereafter Mosqueira sang the aria 'Allor che i forti corrono' from Verdi's *Attila* in an extraordinary concert including orchestral pieces, a comedy, operatic arias and dance quartet. *Ibid.*, 18 Sept. 1848. The opera was premiered at La Fenice in Venice, only two years earlier: 17 Mar. 1846. The opera was premiered in Mexico only in December 1852. I explore the reception of Verdi's operas in Mexico in Chapter Four.

⁷⁰ *El Universal*, 6 Jan. 1849.

⁷¹ An episode of two foreign singers, Marietta Albinetti and Adela Cesari, being the object of the passion of the Mexican amateur is explored in Chapter Four.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 29 Sept. and 12 Oct. 1848. She went on to sing parts of this opera for which was enthusiastically praised. On January she sang *Casta Diva* in a benefit function at the theatre to the absolute delight of public and critic. *El Monitor Republicano*, 5 Jan. 1849.

To try to form a parallel between the Misses Mosqueira and Cosío is absurd: as the voice of the first is sweet, soft, modulated, it is the trill of the nightingale, the harmony of the lark, the cooing of the turtledove, while Miss Cosío's voice is lively, vast, clear, nervous, full of majesty; it is the genius that fills the desert with her accent. The voice of the first charms and softens the listener, while the voice of the second, dominates. Which of the two is the lovelier? One cannot say: both have received a gift from the heavens which they must cultivate, and I advise them to not abandon their studies for a moment.⁷³ (3.10, p. 312)

Over time, however, Cepeda y Cosío's repeated failures put her inevitably in a weaker position compared to the presumably younger Mosqueira. When they repeated *Norma* in February, the chronicler praised Cepeda y Cosío for her 'Casta Diva' 'but could not help noticing' some instances where 'she was a little out of tune'; while Mosqueira, 'as usual, shone through her neatness in performance and her coloratura'.⁷⁴ Mosqueira was invited to participate, alone, in important concerts such as the operatic gala of 20 June 1849 that took place in the Teatro Principal in the presence of the president of the Republic. She sang an aria from Verdi's *Nabucodonosor*, the *terzetto* from *Ernani* and the famous quartet from Donizetti's *I puritani*.⁷⁵ During the rest of 1849, Mosqueira had a prominent place in Anna Bishop's tour, and received invariably positive criticism in the press. To the public's delight she repeated several times her role as Adalgisa, with Anna Bishop as Norma. At the same time, she took the leading singing role in Herz's performances due, as we said, to the failing health of Cepeda y Cosío, whose name the press periodically mentioned, lamenting the fact that she could not perform. The fame acquired during Herz's tour served Mosqueira to take part in performances by Adela Monplaisir ballet's company singing operatic arias during the *entr'actes* of her shows in 1850. Yet the last we see of her is an announcement as early as 5 July 1851 that she offers piano and singing lessons in her lodgings, near Santo Domingo no. 12, or in pupils' homes.⁷⁶ It is truly puzzling that such an ascendant career seems to have vanished into thin air. Perhaps marriage prompted the singer to retire into a more private sphere of action.⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid., 26 Jan. 1849

⁷⁴ Ibid., 27 Feb. 1849.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 20 June 1849. Mosqueira also sang with a different program and the same musicians on 3 July. Musicians Eusebio Delgado and José María Aguilar organised these concerts shortly before Herz's and Bishop's tours.

⁷⁶ *El Siglo XIX*, 5 July 1851.

⁷⁷ The *Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Música en México* by Gabriel Pareyón is the only secondary source that provides, if only exiguous, information about María de Jesús Mosqueira. It does not include dates of birth and death or whether she married or not.

With regard Cepeda y Cosío, despite the chagrin she suffered during Henri Herz's tour and the irregular quality of her performances, she managed to recover her public presence and to form a part of Spanish guitarist Narciso Bassols' tour in 1852, when she sang new repertoire: a solo and duet from Verdi's *Attila*.⁷⁸ By the end of that year, we read of her participation in the role of Maffio Orsini in *Lucrezia Borgia*, whose performance received the typical, mixed, patronizing and critical appraisal. Those are the last notices that appear in the press.⁷⁹ María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío died in 1856, at the young age of 31.

Another Mexican singer, contralto Eufrosia Amat, rose to fame by being hired by Max Maretzek during his company's Mexican tour. The fact that Amat was born a decade later than Cepeda y Cosío made for differences between the two in their professional development. Whereas Cepeda y Cosío was positively humiliated by Herz's agent Bernard Ullman, Amat, as we shall see, negotiated and joined Maretzek's company on a firmer footing, being supported not only by the public but also by her own agency. In addition Amat was granted a magnificent reception in her own right in the Gran Teatro Nacional, previously called Teatro Nacional or Teatro Santa Anna, which Cepeda y Cosío, despite the honours conceded to her, never obtained.

-Eufrosia Amat

Eufrosia Amat (1832-1882) was the daughter of Juana Moya, a Spaniard and of the Mexican general Juan Amat, who perished in 1836 in the war with Texas. The profile of a girl deprived of her father, being raised by a widow and subject to material hardships is similar to that of Cepeda y Cosío. Amat also received singing lessons at Agustín Caballero's Academy in the late 1840s. In 1849, she sang an aria from Verdi's *I Lombardi* in a concert at the Academy, for which she received positive commentaries and was named 'The Mexican Goldfinch'. She then participated in small productions of *Lucrezia Borgia*, Rossini's *Semiramide* and *Mahometto*, and also sang various arias in private concerts, such as the awards

⁷⁸ Ibid., 16 June 1852.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 16 and 20 Dec. 1852

ceremony of a women's school, attended by the President of the Republic.⁸⁰ Her path took an altogether different turn when Max Maretzek's opera company came to Mexico City in 1852.

The two different versions of how Amat came to sing with Maretzek's company are told by the impresario himself and by the Mexican press, which included the singer's own testimony. Although these accounts are complementary, their differences are telling. The one by Max Maretzek is contained in his polemical book *Revelations of an Opera Manager in 19th Century America*, the majority of which relates to the manager's adventures in the United States, but which also includes a short section on his tours in Mexico and Havana. In its Mexican section, this self-aggrandising and rather conceited account is transparent regarding the way Maretzek operated as a modern colonizer of sorts, who spent as little money as he could while taking home vast earnings.⁸¹ His self-appointment as a civilizing envoy and his disdain for Mexicans, whom he clearly considered inferior, is apparent. This circumstance, if no other, should warn us against taking his words as honest truth. At the same time, his points of view could be regarded, in their crudeness, as a kind of counterweight to the at times partial and nationalistic perspective of nineteenth-century Mexicans.

It was a friend of Maretzek's, the son of ex-emperor Agustín de Iturbide, who asked the entrepreneur to audition Amat. Maretzek acceded, not without some resistance, and commented: 'She was both young and good-looking; but although her voice was a tolerable *contralto*, let me own that I was by no means satisfied with her singing'.⁸² At the request of Iturbide, Maretzek agreed to write her a letter of recommendation that she could use on other occasions. 'But', Maretzek continues, 'while occupied the next day in writing this epistle, the idea struck me that it might be possible to turn her vocalism to far better account for *her* necessities, while it proves of no small advantage to *myself*'.⁸³ He then set off to visit the mother and

⁸⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 12 Nov. 1850. As with Mosqueira, almost no information exists on Eufrosia Amat in secondary sources. Gabriel Pareyón has one paragraph about the singer in his *Diccionario Enciclopédico*, I, 61. But in this case, primary sources are richer in information.

⁸¹ We delve in depth into pianist and composer Henri Herz's tour (1849-1850) in Chapter Five. His practices are the direct antecedent of Maretzek's tour, who was inspired by Herz's financial success and who had a personal rivalry with Bernard Ullman, Herz's agent.

⁸² Max Maretzek, *Revelations of an Opera Manager in 19th-Century America: Crotchets and Quavers and Sharps and Flats* [1855, 1st volume 1890, 2nd volume], with a new intro. by Charles Haywood, Two volumes bound as one (New York: Dover, 1968), 260-1.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: 261. Italics in the original.

daughter, and offered the latter an engagement in his company. According to the opera manager, the mother at first resisted on moral grounds but quickly gave way once Maretzek offered her 400 pesos. By contracting Amat, Maretzek felt reassured for his third season, for he had perceived a growing indifference on the part of the public at the end of the second season. He knew he was manipulating Mexicans' patriotic feelings by engaging a local singer; for he requested that the announcements of Amat's integration to the company be distributed during opera intermissions 'in a manner sufficient to make every Mexican heart beat with patriotism'.⁸⁴

In the Mexican version of this event, which can be followed in the papers, the background to Amat's contract is rather different. Maretzek's casting of his operas apparently left a great deal to be desired, with the acting sometimes being so ridiculous as to appear parodic. For instance, critics complained that his Figaro in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Beneventano) was 'tedious, dull and sometimes extremely exaggerated'; that Rosina (Bertucca), despite singing well, 'did not grasp the spirit of the character', that Almaviva (Salvi) 'participated in the general exaggeration', and that the choruses were inappropriately presented in modern costumes which contrasted sharply with an Almaviva dressed 'in the old Spanish fashion'. The fact that Maretzek's company lacked an alto was also a matter for comment. In this same article, the writer was anxious about how *Maria di Rohan*, the next announced opera, would turn out, and the changes Maretzek would arbitrarily make, again, using the lack of a contralto in his company as an excuse.

It must be said that we are in a bad way, and what is worse is, that at the moment we see no prospects for improvement. For today we see announced the *Maria di Rohan*, in which the role of *Armando de Gondi* has been given to Mrs. Costini. This role calls for a contralto, and it is absolutely impossible for Mrs. Costini to, even transposed, unless significant changes are made to it.[...] We are very familiar with the *Maria di Rohan* and Mr. Maretzek will not find us very indulgent with the alteration he arbitrarily wants to make, only because a lack of a contralto. We do not deem it impossible for him to hire Miss. Amat[...]

If this gentleman [Maretzek] does not try to fix the defects that are increasingly becoming evident in almost every opera, he may regret it before he arrives at the middle of his season. [...] The Mexican public [...] knows how to punish with its indifference those who misinterpret its generosity, or do not know how to respond to it'.⁸⁵ (3.11, p. 312)

In this context, the press began a veritable campaign in favour of the hiring of Eufrosia Amat in Maretzek's company, not only because she was a contralto, but also

⁸⁴ Ibid.: 265.

⁸⁵ *El Universal*, 5 June 1852.

because she was an excellent singer. A detailed biography of the twenty-year old published in the papers also coincided with Marezek's account on one point—her beauty—although it was much more positive in its assessment of her voice.⁸⁶ She possessed a 'slender and delicate form', a 'slim waist', 'small feet' and 'beautiful eyes'; after looking at her, the papers declared it was hard to believe that such a delicate creature would emit such a powerful, low and rounded singing voice.⁸⁷

In the end, the public and Marezek were pleased with the hiring of Amat, each for their own reasons. What were the reasons the singer was persuaded to take this step in her life? Amat's eloquent appeal was published in the newspaper *El Siglo XIX*. While admitting 'the limited nature of my talents' regarding the gruelling career she was about to enter, Eufrosia Amat based her decision on 'powerful elements without which this humble songstress could not achieve a thing'. These elements were: the public favour and its indulgence towards her, and what she termed 'the benevolent disposition of all distinguished artists whom I have the pleasure of calling my colleagues and who, in addition, are in charge of guiding my steps'. Finally, and crucially, the more evident reason that drove Amat to this decision was the poor economic situation of her mother and herself: 'I have chosen a profession in which honour and glory can be easily united with the purpose of fulfilling my filial duties'.⁸⁸ These words bring to mind again Cepeda y Cosío's pledge. Without doubting their sincerity, they begin to ring as a standard justification—a form of special pleading—for women to step into the professional field. Both singers were especially concerned to clear their names in advance for assuming the risky position of women on stage.

The fact was that the Mexican public saluted Amat as a true heroine. The Gran Teatro Nacional building itself was decorated to celebrate the rise of the contralto to the position of leading artist with a foreign opera company. It was probably the first time a Mexican woman artist had received such honours in the theatre. All the apparatus devoted to her formed part of a 'patriotic encouragement', as Marezek was quick to note:

⁸⁶ These promotional blurbs, as in the case of Cepeda y Cosío mentioned earlier, were needed to refashion the amateur singers heard in salon concerts into future opera stars.

⁸⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 24 June 1852. In this regard, the description of foreign and Mexican singers were similar: physical characteristics were often brought to fore. It was a gender rather than a local vs. foreign matter.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 July 1852.

No sooner had this announcement gone forth, than Don Augustino [sic for Agustín] Iturbide and his friends took it upon themselves to see that a purely patriotic encouragement was not wanting the Mexican contralto. On the evening of her debut, military bands, playing the national hymn and other Mexican airs, were stationed outside of the Teatro di Santa Anna [sic]. The exterior of the building was brilliantly illuminated; while the audience-portion of the house was decorated with garlands of flowers, and a plentiful supply of bouquets and poetry was provided.⁸⁹

Eufrosia Amat sang numerous times the role of Arsace in Rossini's *Semiramide* with Max Maretzek's company. Amat was labelled a 'modest artist' in a positive way, and the critic considered that: 'She sang perfectly, despite her timidity; [and] she was greeted by enthusiastic applause; the public was happy and proud of the merit of such an excellent contralto'.⁹⁰ Performing the role of Arsace again a couple of months later, the critic noted the sympathy with which she was received, but found that 'our respectable countrywoman' is still prey to 'excessive shyness' and a 'rather stilted way of acting'. There is an optimistic but condescending tone in the article, expressing confidence that she will, with time and with experience, overcome these obstacles; but the writer admitted that at that moment these elements were weakening the singer's performance.⁹¹ Indeed, the question of shyness in Amat's singing was frequently mentioned in the press. Bashfulness was a characteristic associated with young women in a positive way. A timid young woman was synonymous with discretion and with an appropriate yielding to men as leaders of conversation and business. When it came to singing with an orchestra in a large and full hall, however, timidity was no longer a favourable feature. Young women from the upper classes were not supposed to participate in professional artistic settings where outward performance was required. Thus, asking Amat to leave her shyness behind and to act in a more outgoing, confident, way when performing opera implied an enormous step for the salon singer to take.

Facing these circumstances, Amat sang in many performances and in different roles. She reprised Arsace on numerous occasions, and sang solo arias such as an aria of Rossini's *Maometto* in mixed concerts,⁹² Maffio Orsini, in the opera *Lucrezia Borgia*,⁹³ and in a concert celebrating Mexican Independence she sang an

⁸⁹ Maretzek, 266.

⁹⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 30 July 1852.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 10 Sept. 1852.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 2 Aug. 1852.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 13 Sept. 1852.

aria from Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*.⁹⁴ Amat also participated alongside Maretzek's main cast in a performance of Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, which included the leading singers of Maretzek's company: soprano *prima donnas* Balbina Steffenone and Sidonia Costini, as well as baritones G. F. Beneventano, bass Settimo Rossi, and tenors Giuseppe Forti, Quinto and Lorenzo Salvi. In 1854 Amat participated again with Balbina Steffenone, now with Pedro Carbajal's company, and sang in *Lucrezia Borgia*, and as Adalgisa in *Norma*. Eufrosia Amat's career fades out in the early 1860s.⁹⁵

These Mexican women singers succeeded in publicly demonstrating their art in ways that were previously rare in Mexican society. They were fostered to perform publicly on a theatre stage and they were flattered for doing so; but it took resolve and courage to accomplish it. Before doing so, they were recognised amateur singers who sang in salons, churches, and semi-public settings and for charitable purposes with no professional perspectives. The model of foreign women singers of pre-eminence, who arrived in the country and taught them, was a factor that contributed to their decision: the example of these respected women in performance began to have an impact on Mexicans' perceptions and beliefs. National pride played an additional part in the support Mexican women singers obtained.

It is hard to express a substantiated opinion on the singing capabilities and qualities of this first generation of Mexican women singers; they were encouraged to do their best and were not judged stringently or by professional standards. It is likely that, though talented, they did not reach the highest performative level, for they had not received systematic education. None of them managed an international career. It still took more than a decade to accept women fully as professional musicians, coinciding with the founding of the National Conservatory in 1866, which from the beginning provided women with a rounded musical education.

Conclusion

In July 1866, the Conservatory of the Philharmonic Society, later renamed the National Conservatory, opened its doors. In his inaugural speech as director, Agustín

⁹⁴ Ibid., 16 Sept. 1852.

⁹⁵ Gabriel Pareyón, based on an article by Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster ('Eufrosia Amat, notable contralto mexicana olvidada,' *El Nacional*, 31 Mar. 1957) gives 1882 as the year of her death. Pareyón, *Diccionario*, I, 61.

Caballero duly gave credit to earlier music educators: ‘At this moment, let us remember, with the appreciation they deserve, those Mexicans who before us, tried to carry forth the thoughts which we now see accomplished: Messrs. Elízaga, D. José Antonio Gómez, D. Joaquin Beristáin and D. Cenobio Paniagua, who have in different epochs devoted themselves to establishing a Mexican Conservatory’.⁹⁶ Although only ten years Gómez’s junior, Caballero regarded the latter as an illustrious character from the nation’s past, inscribing Gómez into Mexico’s first generation of music education.⁹⁷ Indeed, the foundation of a National Conservatory in 1866 can be partly seen as the successful culmination of the work of Elízaga, Gómez and Caballero together. The new school provided the nation with a modern springboard for professional music education, for both men and women, through which to train new generations of native-born musicians, performers and composers.⁹⁸ By this time, José Antonio Gómez had left his post of organist in the Mexico City Cathedral, which he had held for almost forty years, and had moved to the city of Tulancingo, where he would spend quiet last years, isolated from the lively musical community of the capital.⁹⁹ Gómez, like many nineteenth-century musicians, ended his life in poverty.¹⁰⁰

A new generation of musicians, students of Gómez and Caballero, or students of their students, were founding a modern musical Mexican education. The establishment of a professional secular music education ran parallel to the consolidation of the country as a nation. As we have seen, in this process, women gradually gained entrance to the music profession through a long and uneven road.

Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, writing in 1910, still recalled María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío’s final years in bleak terms. Not unlike José Antonio Gómez, and

⁹⁶ *La Armonía* I, 2, 15 Nov. 1866, 10.

⁹⁷ His name was included in the list together with other famous founders of music schools: Joaquín Beristáin, who had died in 1839 and José Mariano Elízaga, who died in 1842.

⁹⁸ In 1854, the year he was juror for the national anthem composition, Gómez was almost named director of a state music school, his old dream, with the support of dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna. The project was thwarted due to political circumstances, Lazos, *Gómez*, 36-7.

⁹⁹ According to John Lazos, it was a tired and unwell Gómez who presented his resignation in 1865, and not the Church who expelled him from his life-long position at the Mexican capital’s cathedral. Lazos, *José Antonio Gómez’s Ynvitatorio*, 72. According to an article I found in the *Calendario Filarmónico para 1866. Arreglado al Meridiano de México* (1865), 58, Gómez had to leave his position in Mexico City’s cathedral due to the drastic reduction of salaries of all the cathedral’s personnel after the confiscation of ecclesiastical goods, ‘in order to avoid falling into poverty.’

¹⁰⁰ After Gómez’s death on 7 July 1876, several announcements in the press underline the difficult situation in which the ‘numerous members of his family’ were left. Unnamed musicians raised an appeal for a benefit concert in his honour to help the family and the Philharmonic Society convened a meeting to this end. However I could find no further information. *El Siglo XIX*, 18 July 1876, *El Bien Público*, 26 Aug. 1876, *La Colonia Española*, 28 Aug. 1876 and *El Pájaro Verde*, 30 Aug. 1876.

like many nineteenth-century artists, the outstanding trajectory of this singer did not prevent for her the grim fate of dying in poverty:

There being no artistic emulation, no national companies in which to be able to work, isolation, abandonment and poverty were the last companions of that notable singer, whose genius was not enough even to give her the necessary (sum) to cover the necessities of her modest existence, coming to die poor and burdened by the greatest disdain.¹⁰¹ (3.12, p. 312)

The hardships of these Mexican women's lives seem to continue for those interested in researching their existence, for there is little documentation about them and a lack of published biographical research. Yet these absences are also an indication of the limited importance music history has granted these kinds of women musicians occupying a liminal space within a still fragile professional community. The woman who plays music was, in the first decades of the nineteenth century in Mexico, an image that belonged largely in the house and whose stories are easier to find in literary texts than in historical ones. Her public presence fleetingly appears when their musical acts are invested with patriotic colours, either to defend them from unfair treatment by abusing foreigners, or to name their artistic successes as worthy representations of 'the Mexican'. Nevertheless, women musicians were on stage, and despite the hardships they did not intend to leave it. The institutionalised exceptionalism of these women, the financial hardships that justified their enterprise, and the playing down of professional status by these women, together with their apologies, were progressively left behind in the following decades.

While 'women' and 'piano' constituted the dominating binary of domestic music, 'women' and 'singing' became the entrance door to women's professional performances. As we have seen, the example of internationally renowned women singers and the shelter of an opera company, together with the support of these Mexicans in their quality as nationals, were factors that contributed to breaking down the resistance to the presence of Mexican women musicians on professional stages. It is to the somewhat problematic presence of women, not only as performers onstage, but even as spectators in the theatre stalls, that we now turn our attention.

¹⁰¹ Wright de Kleinhans, *Mujeres notables*, 358.

Chapter 4

The Operatic World of the New Nation

Despite the many praises that can be made concerning the previous pieces, none of these caused so much effect as the aria from Tancredo [sic]. It has been known in Mexico for over fifteen years, and today it is so common, so trivial, that the nursemaids sing it to children to make them sleep; in the popular dances it is repeated, accompanied by the *vihuela*, in a word: there is no young girl nor old man who doesn't know it by heart.

El Siglo XIX, 16 July 1849 (4.1, p. 312)

My object was to carry that portion of the company which had remained faithful to my fortunes, to Mexico, where I felt confident that it must make money. My confidence was based on the fact that the land of the *Caciques* was literally untrodden ground. In fact, Mexico was an almost purely virgin soil for Opera.

Max Maretzek, *Revelations of an Opera Manager in 19th Century America*, 1852

After Independence, the Mexico City elite became busy with domestic music-making and theatre-going—particularly opera-going—with a fervour comparable to that in large European cities. Theatres were polyvalent spaces where, in addition to witnessing an artistic performance, and perhaps in a more significant way, men and women of the Mexican elite mounted a parallel performance to that on the stage: they negotiated business deals, political and personal affairs. While such activity also characterized European opera-going of the period, this chapter demonstrates that, within the theatrical framework, Mexicans were also debating pressing issues such as the moral and education of youth, and questions relating to the role of citizenship and authority in the construction of a national identity. Discussions of the changing roles of women, as performers as well as part of an opera-going public, were important matters complicated by these moral and patriotic questions.

Soon after independence, opera became the most popular spectacle in the Mexican theatres. Although opera had acquired a certain popularity in previous decades, it was foreign companies flowing into the country that brought with them the world of European opera experience: a mostly Italian repertoire, the cult of divas, performing practices, and ideas about how to behave in the theatre and home. As the 1849 epigraph from *El Siglo XIX* shows, opera could be found almost everywhere: nannies hummed arias to babies, people sang and danced to operatic music in salons and went to see opera companies in the theatres. Furthermore, opera was seen to play

a clear educative role indispensable to the new country plagued with crime and lacking in moral fibre.

Europe became the natural and constant model with which Mexicans compared their theatrical world, usually as an example to emulate. In most of Latin America there was an idealized, generalized and stagnant image of what the great cultural European centres were and of their standards. Unexpected forms of cultural translation took place when the Mexican elite set these 'European' values as standard prototypes of civility and good mores that were projected onto Mexican theatrical culture. In addition, sometimes the 'European' model also served as a counterpoint against which the elite could form their own, autochthonous, Mexican, dramatic world, in ways that differentiated it from Europe. On those occasions, a patriotic drive made differences between Mexico and 'Europe', a cause of pride and added richness. Operatic repertoire, performance practices and behaviour in Mexico and 'Europe' were among the most compared subjects. Differences emerged in the conclusion these comparisons rendered: while a European colonialist view, such as the one expressed in the Max Maretzek epigraph, regarded Mexico as a land barren of opera, native Mexicans felt the opposite was true. In fact, at least since the visit of Manuel García in 1827, Mexicans had felt and were, despite innumerable difficulties, deeply immersed in operatic culture, as the earlier Mexican newspaper epigraph shows.

Regarding behaviour inside theatres there were some real differences between Mexico City and some of the European capitals such as London or Paris, for instance in a matter that became increasingly important: audiences falling silent during performances. While European audiences of those cities were ever more subject to a strong pressure to remain silent, Mexicans happily continued to chat in the theatre throughout most of the nineteenth century. However, the repeated clauses about attentiveness in theatre regulations, as we shall see, were a proof that this was an issue of concern for the Mexican authorities in their role as responsible for the education and civilisation of the Mexican audience. In this respect, the main tendency in educational matters was to follow what was regarded, but not necessarily followed, as civilised in the major European centres. A more pronounced difference was the habit of smoking in the theatre, which also prevailed for the rest of the century.

In the reconstruction of Mexican theatrical life in the 1820s to 1850s we are faced with the absence of theatre archives or accessible private archives with manuscript materials. Therefore we have to rely on the extant documents at the city archives and printed materials in newspapers, periodical publications, ephemera and accounts by foreigners and locals of their daily life. The fragmentary images provided by these documents register the dynamic musical life of Mexico City at the time and reflect many issues in performance, reception, repertoire and behaviour inside theatres that we portray here as part of a larger argument about the edification of a civil, national society. Some of the specific questions regarding the musical materials at hand, including the concrete adaptations of the Italian operas for the Mexican stage, the nature of the negotiations and contracts between impresarios and musicians, the status of the orchestra musicians, are of necessity left unanswered. With the materials at hand, nonetheless, the musical operatic world of the 1820s to 1850s comes to life in hitherto unexplored ways while illuminating certain key areas of conflict and change in Mexican musical culture by unpicking meanings in Geertzian ‘webs of significance’ composed of social, political, artistic and cultural matters.¹ The picture is further elucidated by parallel European studies that provide keys, and contrasts, to operatic matters taking place in Mexico.

This chapter begins by outlining a panorama of the operatic repertoire in the home and the way patterns in the provision of sheet music enabled it to circulate between theatre and home. It then illustrates the different spaces where the opera took place, the way their inhabitants experienced opera, and how this genre became the most popular to Mexican taste. The Mexican tour of the Spanish tenor Manuel García in 1827-9, which sparked Mexican passion for Italian opera, is the object of a section followed by one on how Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti took hold of the Mexican imagination and taste in the theatre and at home. The passion of the Mexican musical community for this *bel canto* repertoire shaped Mexican taste and created a resistance, against ‘new’ repertoire such as operas by Verdi or Mozart. Building on the Rossini-Beethoven comparison that was replicated in Mexico from European sources, in this chapter I also propose an explanation for the irregular entrance of German repertoire into Mexico in the nineteenth century, its performance in domestic environments and the delayed matter of a musical canon in Mexico. The

¹ Clifford Geertz, ‘Chapter One. Description: Toward and Interpretive Theory of Culture,’ *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3-30.

last section, which is a case study of a conflict between two sopranos and their followers, is offered as an example of the involvement of Mexican civil society which, taking opera as a starting point, questions the role of authorities, impresarios and artists in the theatrical world and brings us back to the interaction of private and public in musical matters.

The Ubiquity of Opera: between stage and home

Opera's by-products became the main staple consumed by music amateurs at home from the 1830s.² Home repertoire became directly influenced not only by European trends and fashions, reflected in the music imported or printed in Mexico, but with the increase of European visiting musicians and opera companies.

From the closing stages of the Spanish dominion, music shops offered a generous range of classical music. As we have mentioned earlier, the situation seemed to have changed little during the first years of independent life. There is a relatively early advertisement for Mozart operas for voice and piano in an 1823 announcement, where the music merchants of El Águila offered to import them directly from Maurice Schlesinger's shop in Paris.³ In 1824, a music dealer announced the sale of music by Beethoven [sic] and violin music by Viotti, Laffonz [sic]⁴ and Rietzer as well as music for clarinet by Gebauer.⁵ The same can be found in an 1826 supplement to the newspaper *El Sol*. The detailed announcement of the new bookstore 'Bossange padre y compañía'⁶ is divided into music for pianoforte, for orchestra, military music, music for violin, flute, clarinet, cello, bassoon, horn, oboe, viola, flageolet, guitar, and voice. The works of composers such as Rossini, Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Cherubini, Ries, Pleyel, among others was regularly featured and sold. The presence of Rossini was the novelty in this list, where a

² Zarzuela only became popular, and extremely so, in Mexico in the second part of the 1850s and well into the twentieth century. Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música, III. La música en el periodo independiente* (Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes/Departamento de Música/Sección de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 304-358.

³ *La Águila Mexicana* II, 25 Apr. 1823. Quoted in Luisa del Rosario Aguilar Ruz, 'La imprenta musical profana en la ciudad de México (1826-1860),' Master's thesis (Mexico: UNAM, 2011), 38.

⁴ Probably Charles Philippe Lafont (1781-1839), French violinist who was raised with the Viotti school and participated in a competition with Niccolò Paganini.

⁵ François René Gebauer (1773- 1845), French composer and bassoonist who composed prolifically for wind instruments. *El Sol*, 19 May 1824.

⁶ They were probably related to the famous family of prestigious French printers and booksellers who, during the first half of the nineteenth century, extended their business from France to Canada. Martin was the father and Hector was the son.

heavily classical-instrumental repertoire still dominated.⁷ At the end of that same year, another store advertised ‘a good assortment of instrumental and vocal music by the best Italian masters, particularly overtures, complete operas and vocal music by the celebrated Rossini’.

This turn towards opera is apparent in the second half of the 1820s, when arrangements of opera selections for piano and voice assumed an absolute first place among the offerings in newspaper advertisements. Piano pieces in various genres, which seldom figured during previous years, held a close second place. We can deduce from these advertisements not only the growing popularity of opera, but also the fact that Mexicans usually familiarised themselves with and enjoyed operas in home formats prior to their premieres at the theatre. This fact, which is supported by the repertoire in the albums analysed in Chapter Two, is a crucial phenomenon of ‘lesser’ operatic centres such as nineteenth-century Mexico City, where people’s first experience of opera was, in the main, fragmentary, by way of favourite arias which they performed themselves.⁸ When going to the opera, the public asked the singers to repeat those arias they knew and cherished from their home practice. Among many reports of this occurrence, for instance in 1852 with Max Maretzek’s company the *prima donna* Bertucca had to repeat ‘Una voce poco fa’ from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*,⁹ and 1854 the public insisted that Balbina Steffenone repeated the aria ‘Son vergin vezzosa’ from *I puritani* and that Henriette Sontag repeated arias from her role of Maria in *La fille du regiment*.¹⁰ As early as 1828, the important music publisher Galván offered the music and lyrics, ‘luxuriously bound’, of the following operas: *Mosè in Egitto* [1833], *Maometto secondo* [1832], *La cenerentola* [1827], *Il turco in Italia* by Rossini and *Il crociato in Egitto* [1837] by Meyerbeer.¹¹ But while the

⁷ Supplement to *El Sol*, 21 Sept. 1826. We delve further into this repertoire in a section about reception of German music in Mexico later in the chapter.

⁸ The fact that salons were places that presented music in advance to theatres is a phenomenon that can be found in other parts of the Western world. See for instance Halina Goldberg, ‘Chopin in Warsaw’s Salons’, *Polish Music Journal*, Vol.2, Nos. 1-2, 1999. Accessed 27.06.2006, <http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/> Candace Bailey encountered a similar phenomenon in the United States regarding the fact that visiting pianists disseminated operatic repertoire in homes. See Candace Bailey, ‘The Antebellum “Piano Girl” in the American South,’ *Performance Practice Review* 13 (2008), Claremont Graduate University, 12, and see also my Chapter Five for Henri Herz’s visit to Mexico and the musical publications he released while in the country.

⁹ *El Siglo XIX*, 16 June 1852.

¹⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 20 Apr. and 13 May 1854 respectively.

¹¹ Dates in parenthesis are of the Mexican premieres. *El Sol*, 30 June 1828. We do not have the date of the first performance of *Il turco in Italia*, but we found a reference of Carolina Pellegrini singing parts of this opera in the theatre: a cavatina and a duet, according to an announcement in *El Sol* of 12 Jan. 1830, a couple of years after the previous advertisement. There is an even earlier announcement of

announcement of 1828 sold these lavish, and probably imported, opera reductions for voice and piano, for the very expensive price of 10 pesos, in the 1840s there are already advertisements that indicate the popularization of these arrangements, presumably made and printed in Mexico, with a consequent significant lowering of price. For instance, Saverio Mercadante's *Il Giuramento* was sold by subscription, in 28 weekly deliveries inside and outside Mexico City.¹² It cost one *real* a week in the capital and two *reales* in the rest of the country, an undoubtedly affordable price for the public. If sold in its totality for 28 *reales* in the capital (that is three pesos and four *reales*) it would have been unaffordable for most people, but a weekly expense of one *real* was something most families interested in music would have been able to pay for. The least expensive ticket to the theatre cost four *reales*.

It is worthwhile to comment here on the centralising force of the Mexican capital, where most music printing shops were located and where most of the best performances took place. This meant that a sort of 'outsiders' tax' for those living in the provinces came into play, since as we have seen above, they often had to pay more in order to buy musical subscriptions, and it would have been the same with their having to travel to the Mexican capital (find lodging, etc.) in order to attend most of these live performances.

Evidence of the mounting popularity of the piano in Mexico can be found in the increasingly frequent advertisements of these instruments for sale in the papers. In a revision of the most representative papers in order to examine piano sales at this time, we found 20 advertisements for the 1820s, 52 for the 1830s and 86 for the 1840s. Even taking into account that there was a significant growth of papers, and access to publications by a greater segment of the population, the numbers are a clear indication of the increase in the piano market. This is reinforced by the frequent advertisements of music for two, four or eight hands, printed and/or sold in the country for this instrument, as per the advertisements, and the large quantity of extant sheet music of these characteristics. Etudes and methods for learning the piano by well-known pianists, such as Czerny, Cramer, Herz, Hünten, Schmidt, among others,

four of Rossini's operas for sale in piano and voice format in 1823: *L'italiana in Algeri*, *Otello*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *Mosè in Egitto*, *La Águila Mexicana*, Vol. II, 22 Aug. 1823. Quoted in Aguilar Ruz, 'La imprenta musical profana,' 39.

¹² *El Siglo XIX*, 13 Feb, 1844. In the same newspaper, on 2 August 1844, there is an announcement for the subscribers of the voice and piano subscription of Bellini's *I puritani*, asking them to contact the shop in order to get missing parts, or to 'reactivate' their subscription. The new editors offer 'to solve these problems immediately.' This, of course, was only feasible for those living in Mexico City.

are regularly featured. The popularity of the piano was an additional factor that played a fundamental role in the dissemination of operatic repertoire in the home, in which this instrument played the orchestral role when accompanying the singer, or condensed in itself, in the format of operatic fantasies and variations to feed the Mexicans' passion for opera. The repertoire ranges between relatively easy arrangements for piano and voice of the most popular arias, to multi-hand piano arrangements of overtures of medium difficulty, to more challenging works such as the fantasies and variations mentioned above. More generally speaking, this new wealth of pianos in the Mexican society was part and parcel, cause and consequence, of this flourishing of music among Mexico's upper classes.

Unsurprisingly, with the sole exception of operatic arrangements, the sale of instrumental music other than for the piano diminished compared with previous decades. As mentioned earlier, the guitar acquired new importance as accompaniment for singing. John Koegel has found virtuosic arrangements for two guitars of *Tancredi*, *L'italiana in Algeri* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, which he dates as early as the first part of the 1820s. These are found in manuscript SMMS M2, in the Sutro Library in San Francisco.¹³ The rise of the guitar is related also to the sale of Spanish pieces such as *Zapateado de Cádiz*, *La Manola*, *La Pepita* or *Jaleo de Jerez*.¹⁴ This is another instance of the direct relationship between theatre and home music repertoire, for these Spanish dances were often presented at the theatre during the intermissions and the end of a concert, opera or play, as an expected bonus for the audience.¹⁵ According to dance historian Maya Ramos Smith, Spanish, Mexican and salon dances, such as waltzes, quadrilles and *contradanzas*, were danced in the *entr'actes* at the theatre.¹⁶

The market also expanded for local composers who sold arrangements of operas and other compositions. José Antonio Gómez was not the only one to publish his arrangements of opera in the *Instructor Filarmónico*: but Agustín Balderas also

¹³ John Koegel, 'Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España,' *Heterofonía* 116-117 (1997), 22.

¹⁴ See for instance *El Siglo XIX*, 24 Apr. and 15 June 1844 or 5 Jan. 1849.

¹⁵ Furthermore, these pieces were taught in dance lessons for the young bourgeoisie. Don Francisco Pavia, presumably a Spanish dance master, offer to teach 'national and foreign dance genres' and among the latter he offered: '*Boleros* and *Fandango*, *Cachucha*, *Zapateado de Cádiz*, *Jaleo de Jerez*, *Gavota*, *Jota aragonesa* and *Baile inglés*', *El Siglo XIX*, 6 July 1843.

¹⁶ At the end of the opera veritable ballets were offered and dances were also present within spoken drama and opera when required. Maya Ramos Smith, *El ballet en México en el Siglo XIX. De la independencia al segundo imperio (1825-1867)*, Los Noventa, 62 (Mexico: Alianza/Conaculta, c1991), 18.

arranged a waltz based on themes of the opera *Don Pasquale* by Donizetti and sold it through ‘Repertorio de Música’ in Mexico City.¹⁷ Among these local musical productions, there is even an occasional space for women composers. The Music Repertory of Calle de la Monterilla No. 3 pompously declares that: ‘Young ladies and gentlemen who would like to bring to light philharmonic productions will be gladly accepted, and the owner will rejoice to have the honour of publishing the beautiful compositions of his beloved fellow citizens’.¹⁸ A remarkable convergence of a woman musician, a renowned painter, a professor at the San Carlos Academy, and one of Mexico’s foremost lithographers took place with María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío’s composition ‘Prayer’ for piano and voice, written as homage to the deceased fellow singer, Antonia Aduna. The vignette was painted by Pelegrín Clavé and lithographed by Hesiquio Yriarte. *Un recuerdo de Antonia Adunia*, as the piece was named in honour of Aduna, was printed by well-known publisher Murgía.¹⁹

Operatic troupes and visiting musicians were savvy enough to make extra money by selling home formats of their music. Cellist Maximilian Bohrer, pianist and violinist William Vincent Wallace, harpist Charles Bochsa and soprano Anna Bishop, pianist Henri Herz and violinist Franz Coenen, all published and sold works in Mexico, including fantasias or variations on opera themes.

When visiting Mexico in 1854, the celebrated Henrietta Sontag published *El álbum lírico de Enriqueta Sontag. Condesa de Rossi*, [*The Lyric Album of Henrietta Sontag, Countess of Rossi*] for piano solo, including pieces from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Norma*, *I puritani*, *La sonnambula*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *La fille du régiment*, *Don Giovanni*, *Robert le diable* and *Hernani*.²⁰ It is intriguing that a singing celebrity should release a piano solo album.²¹ The title of the album remains ambiguous and there is no clear way of proving whether Sontag actually put this album together herself for additional profit or whether it was simply a clever marketing ploy by a third party to appeal to possible buyers by using the lure of her celebrity.

¹⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 14 Apr. 1846.

¹⁸ *El Monitor Republicano*, 5 May 1849.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 June 1849. Cepeda y Cosío’s trajectory was analysed in Chapter Three.

²⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 7 May 1854. The album contained 50 pieces. The day the advertisement was published, Sontag’s company was performing *Ernani*, and the rival company was performing *Il barbiere*.

²¹ I have found no further references for similar piano solo publications by major singers, although there are numerous fantasias, dances, variations and the like published by *other* composers *honouring* these singers and their talents.

As travelling celebrities, many singers were in constant demand on and off-stage. This was especially true for the principal singers of any opera company, who in addition to tutoring students of voice, were often invited to the homes of the *crème de la crème* in order to perform at their *soirées*. Their presence undoubtedly added prestige and status to native Mexicans who wanted to show off their wealth and general cosmopolitanism. It was also yet another, and glamorous, way that the operatic repertoire naturally circulated from theatre to the home. Madame Fanny Calderón de la Barca, gave a detailed account of one such occasion where she described the interaction between members of a visiting opera troupe and the Mexican elite. Calderón de la Barca also specified the repertoire she heard performed that night.

Her account also raises interesting matters regarding less well known aspects of the opera business *outside* the theatre, such as the further enterprise of pleasing patrons and thus ensuring future visits to Mexico, among other things. In this case the (clerical) father and host who organised the gathering had to request permission from the troupe's manager in order for the leading soprano, Miss Anaide Castellan, to perform at his home.

Yesterday we went to a *soirée* at the — minister's. Madame Castellan and her tenor were there, and had come from a dinner given by a rich curate to the whole *corps opératique*, from the *prima donna* down to the *joueur du fagote*, and even to the tailor who makes the opera dresses, and his wife. This rich *padre*, it is said, spends a great part of his fortune in entertaining actors and singers. La Castellan (permission to that effect having been obtained from the manager, for it is against their agreement to perform in private houses) sang several airs to the piano, with much expression, especially from *Robert le Diable*; and *Nina Pazza per Amore* [by Giovanni Paisiello]; but I prefer her voice in the theatre. She is not at all beautiful, but has a charming face with a very musical expression.²²

The proliferation of weekly or bi-weekly musical periodicals by subscription was also a way Mexican music publishers acquired a captive clientele for their products, and another way of getting, mainly operatic, repertoire into the Mexican home. A subscription assured, at least in theory, a long-term relationship between customer and publisher. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the music publishing business was fundamentally oriented toward amateur and semi-professional women who became

²² Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* [1839-1842], London: Chapman and Hall, 1843, > Letter the Forty-Second, 1841. Accessed 08 01 2008, <<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/calderon/mexico/mexico.html>>.

the best customers of these enterprises. Women were, as well, assiduous opera-goers and greatly influenced by operatic fashion such as the wardrobe and hairdos of the opera singers, making opera profitable not only for those directly involved in music production.

We shall now address the public music realm and enter the theatres where the musical drama—spoken, sung, and performed by artists, and the public—took place.

Theatres in Mexico City

Despite Mexicans' fondness for theatre, it took several decades after independence for the inhabitants of Mexico's capital to develop a regular theatrical life. Political instability, together with the lack of funds related to the complexities of implementing a national existence, were factors in this delay. Fires, wars, and disease also contributed to keep theatres closed for significant periods of time. Yet, once established, theatres became favoured spaces where Mexicans and foreigners alike displayed and took note of society's behaviour and evaluated the construction of a civil society and issues of identity from their respective viewpoints.

The oldest locale adapted for theatre in New Spain was the Real Hospital de Naturales (Royal Hospital of Natives), which opened in 1672. Spanish comedies were the main fare and theatre performances were scheduled during the day given that artificial lighting was so poor, that, under the cover of darkness, all kinds of 'immoralities' allegedly took place inside the hall. In 1722, a fire signalled its death sentence and, despite all attempts, it could never regain the preferences of Mexico City theatregoers. In 1752, the viceroy Count of Revillagigedo ordered the construction of a New Coliseum, as it was named, that was modelled on Spanish theatres and whose doors opened on 23 December 1753. The new theatre underwent several misfortunes, including a fire, but survived into independent times when it was renamed Teatro de México or Teatro Principal.²³ It remained intermittently closed due to political instability or the ruinous state of the facilities. After the opening of the Teatro Nacional in 1844, the Principal fell, ironically, into a definite second place.²⁴

²³ Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música*, 20-36.

²⁴ In 1885, the Principal underwent a complete redesign and was mainly dedicated, from then on, to zarzuela, thanks to which genre it enjoyed a revival until 1931, when it was definitively consumed by

Two years after independence, in 1823, a new theatre, 'El Teatro de los Gallos' opened; it was named after the cock-fights it originally had housed, also known as 'Teatro Nuevo', 'Teatro Provisional', or 'Teatro de la Ópera'. It was a humble locale and poorly lit. In 1841, the whole theatre was painted, 90 oil lamps and a new curtain were installed, and the stage enlarged. It was short-lived but its importance lay in the diversification of spectacles it encouraged within the city.²⁵

That same year, entrepreneur Francisco Arbeau conceived the project of an 'elegant and sumptuous' theatre, superior in every sense to the Teatro Principal. He requested a couple of architectural projects, of which he selected the one by Spanish architect, Lorenzo de la Hidalga. Arbeau bought a plot of land in the central business district of the city, close to the Teatro Principal. He committed himself to build the theatre in a two-year period, for which he had to seek support from the city council. The city council lent him the money under harsh conditions, which Arbeau had to accept. The cornerstone was laid by Arbeau, Lorenzo de la Hidalga and President Santa Anna together with his ministers, and on 10 February 1844, the Teatro Nacional was opened. It had a total of 2,248 seats. The Teatro Nacional, also called Teatro Santa Anna, was Mexico City's main theatre until its demise in 1900. It was here where most of the opera companies, ballet spectacles, visiting musicians, and generally, all the main artistic theatrical activity took place.²⁶

fire. María Eugenia Aragón, *El Teatro Nacional en la ciudad de México. 1841-1901*, Premios Rodolfo Usigli, 1992 (Mexico: INBA/CITRU, 1995), 41-3. Aragón's book is a detailed account of the construction and distribution of the Teatro Nacional and it includes brief sections on the other theatres.

²⁵ On 2 November 1844, this hall was the victim of a fire that completely destroyed it. Ramos-Smith, *El ballet en México*, 129.

²⁶ Aragón, *El Teatro Nacional*, 67-75. Ramos Smith, *El ballet en México*, 129-130.



Figure 30. Casimiro Castro, 'Teatro Nacional de México', lithograph in the álbum *México y sus alrededores, siglo XIX* (1855-6)

Whereas in Italy, boxes were owned, sold and mortgaged, in Mexico they were rented by yearly subscription and occasionally by the season; nonetheless people regarded them as their personal property, a fact that could cause problems when the impresario sublet a box that had been left unoccupied but then faced the returning 'owner's' rage. Boxes were the domain of the upper classes and functioned as veritable receiving rooms, while stalls were the spaces favoured by the middle classes, and the gallery, named '*cazuela*' (saucepan), housed the working classes, less affluent but all the same keen on opera. There was no standing room at the theatre.²⁷

European travellers wrote their impressions of the Mexican halls, inevitably comparing them to the European theatres they knew. The Englishman W. Bullock, who visited Mexico in 1824, was favourably impressed by Mexico's New Coliseum and especially liked the low boxes as, unlike those in English theatres, they allowed him to see the 'whole-length figure of the ladies'. Unfortunately for him, however, in the performances he attended few ladies were present.²⁸ *Travels in Mexico*, which gives an account of Anna Bishop's tour, also reports on the advantages of the low balconies, and provides further details about the boxes:

The balustrade of the boxes, being exceedingly low, a fair opportunity is afforded for an advantageous view of the ladies and their display of toilette. Behind each box is a small private room (as in the Opéra Comique in Paris) where they retire to take ices

²⁷ *El Apuntador* (1840), 42.

²⁸ W. Bullock, *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (London: John Murray, 1824), 170-2.

or chocolate by way of *entr'actes*, and usually furnished with a carpet, mirror, arm-chairs and a small table, at the expense, and according to the taste, of the subscribers. It is very seldom that a lady comes to the theatre without her bouquet, which is always a most choice and expensive article, frequently costing fifteen or twenty dollars.²⁹

The writer considered the theatre 'a fine building' although 'not to be compared with the Tacón Theatre of Havana, La Scala of Milan or the San Carlo of Naples'.³⁰



Figure 31. Pietro (Pedro) Gualdi, 'Interior del Teatro Santa Anna' (c. 1844-1847), oil on canvas, Banamex Collection, Mexico City.

A rather uncommon instance of a comment about the Mexican theatre was published in the French *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* that deals with the numbering of seats in Mexican theatres, which, for European standards, was an unusual feature. The writer 'X.X.X.' (François-Henri-Joseph Blaze, known as Castil-Blaze) applauded this fact: 'In the Mexican theatre, all seats are numbered, and they are only to be released to the amateurs, *dilettanti*, consumers, who present their ticket. In this fashion, there are never crowds at the door; everyone arrives as early or as late as they wish or as they are required by their own businesses'. The ironic, somewhat colonialist, tone of the remark that follows emphasizes the *otherness* of Mexicans, identifying them as 'Indians' and, more than a criticism of the French

²⁹ *Travels of Anna Bishop in Mexico. 1849* (Philadelphia: Charles Deal, 1852), 81-2. John Koegel's hypothesis of a French writer is supported by the constant interspersions of French words in the text.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 78. This high-class, refined ambience is contrasted, in the same account, by the 'barbarous' custom of smoking in the theatre, as we see later in the chapter.

system, constitutes a praise of a society otherwise regarded as primitive: ‘Those Indians, which no long ago were considered barbarians, these subjects of Montezuma...; these Mexicans are now more advanced than us regarding theatrical civilisation’.³¹ Certainly, the misunderstandings in cultural translation worked in both directions between Europe and Mexico.

Civilising the Mexican public: morality, order and authority inside the theatre

By virtue of music, and especially opera, the theatre was considered a cultivated space where the horrors of crime, war, and illnesses were largely kept at bay. It indirectly meant an affirmation of the possibility of existence of the new, civilised, country Mexico was trying to be—an image it was trying to project to the rest of the world. As one commentator put it, ‘in all enlightened countries, there is no closure of theatres, because spectacles of this kind always evoke the idea of civilization and one always attempts to preserve them, if possible, even if this incurs expenses to the public treasury’.³² Several issues such as lighting the theatre, having it open regularly, having a resident opera company, regulating behaviour and educating the public inside the theatre, were debated throughout the period concerned. These issues exemplify the negotiations over the nature of public spaces and the construction of citizenship in the new Mexican republic, which included negotiating what Mexicans considered to be the European paradigm.

If dressing properly and behaving decently were requirements of the new cultivated elite who were establishing the basis of the Mexican civility, appropriate lighting in the theatre was necessary to perform, in more than one sense, the duties of their group. Gas-illuminated theatres arrived in Mexico more than two decades after those of the main European centres.³³ Mexico’s first, but failed, attempt to introduce gas lighting to the National Theatre was only in 1846 and the second, more successful one dates from 11 September 1849, during one of Henri Herz’s concerts.³⁴

³¹ *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, 12 Nov. 1829.

³² AHDF, Teatros, file 54, number 92, 1853 (2 July 1853). The undersigned ask that the Minister of Internal Affairs (*Gobernación*) take the measures needed for the reopening of theatres.

³³ The first experiments with gas lighting at King’s Theatre in London were as early as 1818. From then on, the expansion of lighting inside the theatre was gradual and constant in Europe. At the Paris Opéra, gas lighting was introduced in 1822.

³⁴ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts. Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007), 27-8, and James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris. A*

Before that, oil lamps illuminated Mexico's theatres and under their flickering and sombre lights, performances and social interaction took place, to the constant grievances of the public. Since morality and civilisation were constant issues in the minds of the Mexican elite after independence, the issue of lighting inside the theatre acquired a particular importance. Mexico's tardiness in developing an effective way of illuminating the theatres caused not only concerns about morality but also about the side-effects of the oil-lamps in use—oil stains on theatregoers' dresses.³⁵

Moreover, the oil in the lamps frequently ran out before the performance was over. In 1840, *El Apuntador* described the lighting of the theatre as comprising a single large oil lamp in the middle of the hall, two old small lamps close to the stage, and one between each of the boxes; the writer comments that already by the second act, six or eight oil lamps were already out, and long before the end, the hall was practically in the dark, and, in addition the dirty oil gave off an unpleasant smell.³⁶ If that were not enough, shortage of oil or stinginess on the part of the theatre management forced the public to leave the theatre in the dark, staircases included. Reinforcing the idea of lighting as a condition for proper behaviour, and not without irony, the *Apuntador* described the 'positive' effect poor lighting had on (unsanctioned) amorous affairs: 'jealous husbands, acting suspiciously as prisoner guards of their women, curse it, while the lovers of the stalls celebrate it'.³⁷ What seems to be clear is that the main purpose of lighting related to all kinds of social interaction—'to see and to be seen', rather than as a way of highlighting the performance.³⁸

Nevertheless, music was considered of paramount importance as a means of educating the Mexican people. One writer considered that music, generally, had the capacity 'to temper the people's mores'. The author wished that 'we could hear in Mexico, as in Germany, an instrument played in every house and full orchestras in public places.'³⁹ One of the main arguments in favour of having a permanent opera company, and having theatres open, was that it would make Mexicans more civilised and bring them closer to Europe: objectives always held dear by the Mexican elite.

Cultural History (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995), 189. For Mexico, see *El Siglo XIX*, 13 Sept. 1849 and onwards.

³⁵ *El Apuntador* (1840), 36.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁸ In a similar fashion, Hall-Witt, *op. cit.* regarding the King's Theatre in London found that:

'Commentators on the lighting, in fact, regularly focused on the social purpose of the lights,' 28.

³⁹ *El Siglo XIX*, 18 Feb. 1842.

The fear of a public falling into vicious conduct because of an absence of theatrical entertainment was even used to demand theatre performances during Lent, when theatres remained closed during Colonial times.

A progressively pragmatic drive is seen on the part of the authorities when granting permits for performances during Lent from the 1840s onwards. In 1842, the opera impresario Joaquín Roca asked the government's permission to continue to offer performances during Lent. The Comisión de Diversiones Públicas [Committee of Public Recreational Activities] agreed to Roca's request with the modest restriction that 'he presents nothing damaging to the upcoming Lent, [or] upright morals'. Roca's request was based on the need for funds to cover the high expenses he was incurring by hiring foreign artists whose salaries and travels he needed to pay.⁴⁰

In another application from a private association, the Society of *La Bella Unión*, to put on 'instrumental and vocal concerts' during Lent in their premises, there is also no mention of religious or moral issues. The reply from the authorities comes in the form of an authorisation that sets at one peso the fees for each of the 26 concerts that the said Society will have to pay to the municipal treasury.⁴¹ From 1845 different kinds of performances are authorised during Lent, including dolls dancing to music, aerostatic balloon ascents and stunt shows. In 1849, a delighted opera fan relished the thought of witnessing the forthcoming *Norma* performance at the theatre, writing 'How long and arduous the days of Lent, when there is no entertainment for the public, nor places for reunion! How sweet then it is to attend a beautiful theatre to enrapture ourselves in those emotions only music can make one feel!'⁴² That same year, the writer *Genio* argues in favour of leaving the theatres open during Lent from a moral point of view: 'it is perhaps more damaging to leave the youth without a harmless pastime that prevents them stepping out of line, than to allow an entertainment that in no way contradicts the holy time [of Lent]'.⁴³ These performances are a telling example of the weakening, or at least a necessary flexibility, of the religious moral and political authority of the Church versus local government, which despite being in dire economic difficulties and still politically

⁴⁰ Historical Archives of the Federal District (AHDF), file 98, Teatros 6, 1842.

⁴¹ AHDF, file 123, Diversiones Públicas 43, 'Conciertos de cuaresma en la Sociedad de la Bellas Unión,' 1843.

⁴² *El Monitor Republicano*, 27 Feb. 1849.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 10 Feb. 1849.

unstable, was increasingly exercising control over citizens' activities, including tax and fee collection.

Accordingly to the more repressive times of Antonio López de Santa Anna's dictatorship (1853-1855), in 1853 the arguments for keeping theatres open at all times assumed a more controlling tone, arguing that the youth could be 'kept closely watched by the authorities and are thus being prevented from visiting other houses in which they are exposed to dangers of great consequence.' In addition, there was the omnipresent fear of not complying with international standards by reminding the authorities that it was a 'disgraceful sight to foreigners' to see the theatres closed.⁴⁴ Even a decade later a composer pleading for state support for founding a music conservatory employed a similar rhetoric and went as far as to claim that music could keep young women away from prostitution and young men away from vices.⁴⁵

Another instance of civil society putting pressure on the authorities to grant support for theatrical activities were the proposals sent to the City Council to establish permanent opera companies. Their proponents constantly argued in the name of the 'public good' and stressed the character of opera as a civilised and civilising entertainment. The government had sometimes financed the formation of an opera company, such as that of Filippo Galli in 1831, when an envoy was sent to Europe to recruit the company, which he brought back to Mexico. However, wavering municipal support brought the enterprise periods of non-payment and eventually to bankruptcy and disbandment in 1837. During the period under study, opera companies in Mexico were privately financed, survived briefly and in precarious conditions.

An 1840 proposal to the formation of an opera company mentioned 'the agreeable sensations, full of sweetness' produced by opera, and we read again of the argument that opera softens society's mores.⁴⁶ Similar arguments were employed in 1842 when a new 'Project to establish Italian Opera in Mexico' claimed that music was 'one of the main ingredients of a good education', whose 'social advantages' were manifold, including a direct influence on the city's reduction of crime, for it was 'an indirect means by which to prevent delinquency and to address, if only partially, the insecurity of the life of Mexico's residents, whose welfare always ought

⁴⁴ AHDF, Teatros, file 54, number 92, 1853. (2 July 1853). The undersigned ask that the Minister of Internal Affairs (*Gobernación*) take the measures needed for the reopening of theatres.

⁴⁵ AHDF, Instrucción Pública en General, Vol. 2481, file 625, number 145, 1863. (4 Sept. 1863).

⁴⁶ *La Hesperia*, 24 Oct. 1840.

to be of prime concern to all at City Hall'. The project proposed that music and opera be financed by municipal support.⁴⁷ The proposal sought to demonstrate to the authorities that opera could actually help them in some of their basic tasks: to improve public order and behaviour. Other equally general arguments are the Mexicans' great fondness for music, which they apparently considered 'one of the foremost subjects in a good education'. The clear objective was not only to obtain authorisation but also financial support which, as proven by the breakdown of previous opera enterprises doomed to failure without the council's support. Of course, the proponents were seeking to save or boost their own businesses with self-serving arguments to obtain public funds; but the repeated applications for financial resources for the opera during these critically difficult decades in political and economic terms, are also a sign of the interest, and the need, important sectors of the elite felt towards a still non-existent, permanent opera company.⁴⁸

There were some who grew suspicious of opera because of its foreignness, and despite their being a minority, their arguments are telling of a patriotic drive which considered spoken theatre, *in Spanish*, a much more valuable theatrical and educational entertainment than Italianate opera. Mexican theatre chronicler Pascual Almazán disliked the 'philharmonic mania' that had gripped Mexican society and that was eclipsing spoken drama. He dared to suggest that the suspension of the opera company, a possibility that was real in 1838 due to lack of funds, would benefit traditional theatre. He considered theatre a *national* enterprise in contrast to opera which loomed as an imported product and was backed by Europhile fans. No sooner had he posted this opinion than an offended opera fan responded that despite never having been to Europe nor seen *Robert le diable*—facts Almazán ascribed to opera lovers—he, like most Mexican people, loved opera and would not let the foolish opinions of someone like Almazán deprive him of it.⁴⁹

European opinions of and discussions about opera brought back by Mexicans who travelled there, constituted an additional element in the conversations about opera. The elite of privileged Mexicans who had the opportunity to travel to Europe were sometimes lampooned for their snobbery when they returned, and part of the

⁴⁷ AHDF, *Diversiones públicas*, file 121, number 19, 1843.

⁴⁸ There is another 1843 request for permission and financial support, including tax exemptions, from the authorities to sustain an opera company by subscribers in order to avoid at all costs the suspension of opera seasons. AHDF, *Diversiones públicas*, letter from 23 Jan. 1843, signed by Luis Gonzaga Vieyra, Gabriel Valencia and A. Adoue.

⁴⁹ *El Recreo* 7 (1 Feb. 1838), 280 and 9 (1 Mar. 1838), 360.

subject for ridicule were their continuous comparisons of all things Mexican to European models, and their love for opera. In the play by Mexican playwright Fernando Calderón, *A ninguna de las tres* (To None of the Three), on returning from France and Italy the character Don Carlos not only describes the beautiful streets of Paris and the soirées he attended but also the music he witnessed, which is, unsurprisingly, opera:

Don Carlos: Bravo! And that the language
of music is universal.
Rossini pleases me so much!
But Bellini is more tender,
More 'touching': I saw in Rome,
No, not in Rome, it was in Milan,
I saw *Il pirata*, I saw *La straniera*:
Oh, how gorgeous they were! I think
It was around the feast day of Saint John.
Exactly! But, nothing
Like Norma, what beauty!
Nature speaks therein.⁵⁰ (4.2, p. 313)

Don Carlos is not a likable character in the play and his snobbery makes him unsuitable in the eyes of the traditional Don Juan, father of three young ladies, as a candidate to marry one of his daughters. The position represented by Don Juan in the play was present in the Mexican society in a minority and conservative section of the dominant elite. These literary discussions support the idea of a division within the Mexican elite, which we will further explore in relation to Manuel García's visit, between conservative groups closer to the Spanish culture and values, and those 'liberal party' supporters who were looking to the U.S.A. and France, and were more open to new political ideas and cultural influences, including opera.⁵¹ In any event, the discussions that from time to time sparked around these matters served to ignite further interest for opera rather than to discredit it.

⁵⁰ Fernando Calderón, 'A ninguna de las tres' [ca.1837-1840], in *Teatro mexicano decimonónico*, selection of texts and prol. by Eduardo Contreras Soto (Mexico: Ediciones Cal y Arena, 2006), 211.

⁵¹ However, during the conservative government of President Anastasio Bustamante (1830-1832), Lucas Alamán, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, commanded Colonel Manuel de la Barrera to create three companies of theatre, opera and dance. De la Barrera announced in the newspapers that despite the government being practically bankrupt it was ready to support this enterprise with sufficient funds. The company that de la Barrera brought to Mexico was that of Filippino Galli. See Joel Almazán Orihuela, 'La recepción musical de las óperas de Gioachino Rossini en la ciudad de México (1821-1831),' *Heterofonía* 129 (July-Dec. 2003): 60-64.

Another reason to dislike theatre-going, also from a conservative point of view but this time from an American, was on moral grounds and applied to the fair sex. Brantz Mayer found Mexican women's penchant for theatre harmful:

I cannot but think this habitual domestication at the theatre, is injurious to the habits of the Mexicans. It makes their women live too much abroad, and cultivates a love of admiration. The dull, dawdling morning at home, is succeeded by an evening drive; and that, again by the customary seat at the Opera or Play house, where they listen to repetitions of the same pieces, flirt with the same cavaliers, or play the graceful with their fans.⁵²

Concerns for women's decency came also from the Mexican side in the form of a reprimand to the impresario of the Teatro Principal from the municipal authorities for installing blinds, something similar to *grilles* in the French fashion, in the balcony boxes and asking him to remove them. The government commission eloquently argued that 'it is a must for all nations to imitate the good of others. By this it does not wish to say that all uses and customs of other nations must be adapted without good judgment or prudence, however advanced these habits may be situated along the path of civilisation'.⁵³ According to the commission, to adopt this practice was threatening Mexicans' morality because it made surveillance difficult. This is an interesting case where the project of educating Mexican society in the theatre became critical of imitating the European, French in this case, whose mores the commission found unfit for the Mexican mores.

Behaviour in the theatre I: smoking and seating

During the eighteenth century, smoking developed sexual connotations for women on stage or those of loose morals, and became unacceptable in the high European society; other women continued to smoke as a challenge to patriarchal society.⁵⁴ In the antebellum U.S.A. smoking tobacco and hand-rolled cigarettes was hardly a practiced habit, because it was seen as a foreign and strange custom, while chewing tobacco was ubiquitous in all public places including theatres well into the second

⁵² Brantz Mayer, *Mexico as It Was and as It Is*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Company, 1844), 288.

⁵³ AHDF, Teatros, file 43, number 45, 1845.

⁵⁴ Although privately it seems that the practice was resilient and there were ladies' smoking clubs. Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, 'Smoking in opera', *Smoke: a global history of smoking*, eds. Sander L. Gilman and Xun Zhou (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 230.

half of the century, to the revulsion of foreigners.⁵⁵ In Mexico, however, men and women continued to smoke, and smoking carried on in soirées, cafés and inside theatres well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Smoking was a deep-rooted custom in Mexican territory since pre-Hispanic times. After the conquest tobacco became a valuable asset for Spain. Since tobacco was considered one of the major riches of New Spain, the Spanish Crown held a monopoly on it during colonial times. In the first decades of existence of the new country tobacco still was a major source of governmental income, and governments went back and forth between centralising and liberalising measures regarding tobacco production and trading. The fact was that tobacco manufacturing gave employment to a considerable portion of the working classes of Mexico City.⁵⁶ According to contemporary descriptions, theatres were filled with smoke during performances. Foreign visitors to the Mexican theatres did not fail to comment on the annoying experience of extended smoking in the theatre. Smoking emerged for some of them as a marker of exoticism or barbaric behaviour of a people in dire need of being civilised. In the visitors' view, smoking had to be eradicated and overcome in due time, with civilisation. A 'logic of Coloniality' implied the idea of Mexicans as second class Europeans, at an earlier stage of development.⁵⁷

This is the case with Englishman W. Bullock, who during his visit in 1824, was especially overawed by the sight of women smokers and who described the smoke-filled hall in this manner: 'With very few exceptions, all present, of either sex, pursued their favourite habit of smoking; the ladies even in the boxes, with a fan in one hand and a cigar in the other, enveloped in a smoke that rendered it difficult to see from one side of the house to the other'.⁵⁸ 25 years later, visiting English singer Anna Bishop associated the custom with lower classes and savagery: 'The atmosphere of the theatre is, in consequence [of the extended smoking], much the same as that of a large and popular tavern, which is a source of excessive discomfort

⁵⁵ The situation changed once cigarettes began to be mass-produced in the 1880s. 'Cigarettes: Women. Coffin Nails; The Tobacco Controversy in the 19th Century.' Accessed 21 07 2011, <<http://tobacco.harpreweek.com/HubPages/CommentaryPage.asp?Commentary=Women>> U.S. soldiers when in Mexico during the 1847-8 war became keen on smoking cigarettes and brought back with them to their country this habit, which was regarded as low class and condemned in etiquette manuals.

⁵⁶ Enrique Canudas Sandoval, *Las venas de plata en la historia de México. Síntesis de historia económica. Siglo XIX, Vol. III* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Tabasco, 2005).

⁵⁷ Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Blackwell Manifestos (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), xi-xvii.

⁵⁸ Bullock, *Six Months' Residence*, 171-2.

to foreigners. The daily increasing influx, however, of Europeans will, it is hoped, at a not very distant period, have considerably lessened, if not totally abolished, this barbarous custom'.⁵⁹ Slowly, however, the place of smoking began to be reconsidered in Spanish America, both in the old empire and in the ex colonies, probably in the light of foreign negative ideas about it.

Not only Bishop was annoyed at the smoky theatre but an 1849 Mexican article also expressed its author's annoyance at 'the uncivilised smoke from the thousand Havana cigars burning in the theatre's pit'.⁶⁰ The arguments indeed moved closer to those expressed by foreign visitors. An 1852 remark reminds Mexicans that: 'only in Mexico is there smoking in the theatres'.⁶¹ Other changes placed women outside the smoking group and resulted in anti-smoking arguments that this habit caused nuisance for the ladies.⁶² Furthermore, for the first time concerns were raised that singers' voices were affected by the smoke. The quest to stop smokers went as far as veiled threats of publicly denouncing the smokers, who now were more easily identifiable as few of them were left in the theatre.⁶³

Although bans on smoking in theatres existed earlier, the stringent Santa-Anna's 1853 Theatre Regulations issued by the Federal District's governor Miguel María de Azcárate were particularly radical: 'Article 35. It is absolutely prohibited to smoke in the auditorium, balconies and galleries during the performance, the entr'actes and even prior to the commencement of the overture or symphony'.⁶⁴ Despite all this, smokers persisted in their habit inside the theatre, and apparently the government had more pressing issues on which to display its authority. Notwithstanding recriminations by foreigners and sectors of the Mexican public about smoking in the theatre, the habit persisted in the Mexican halls. This entrenched Mexican habit proved resilient to the comments and rulings against it as a native practice and despite concerns of the anti-civilised image it projected to visitors, and measures taken by authorities.

Another idiosyncratic characteristic of the Mexican theatre was the rental of cushions for the seats in the pit, a custom inherited from Colonial times. Since the

⁵⁹ *The Travels of Anna Bishop*, 82.

⁶⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 4 Sept. 1849.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 5 Apr. and 16 May 1852.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 22 Sept. 1850.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1852.

⁶⁴ AHDF, Bandos, box 21, file 32, Teatros, Reglamento de Teatro, 185, Presidente Santa Anna, Miguel María de Azcárate, Gobernador del Distrito.

theatre seats were made of bare wood, boys specially appointed for the task walked around with high piles of cushions prior to the performance or during its early stages, and delivered a cushion after collecting the rental fee of one *real*. Already in 1831, a comment published in the papers suggested a logical solution to this annoyance: that the seats on the theatre should have cushions ‘even if they [the impresarios] need to charge more for the tickets’.⁶⁵ Foreigners did not fail to describe and comment on the curious matter. Anna Bishop’s diary of 1849 did not find the matter poetically or aesthetically inspiring but quite plainly annoying: ‘As stall and pit *cushions* are not included in the price of the seat, they are never to be found there on the arrival of the spectator; but are brought round in piles on the heads of boys who follow the gentlemen to their respective places to speculate upon the luxury. This business goes on during the greater part of the evening, whereat both audience and performer are very much distressed’.⁶⁶ Perhaps one reason why it proved so hard to get rid of the cushions had to do with an additional function they held inside the theatre: ‘At any disappointment on the part of the performance, they [the public] instantly seize upon their cushions and, with singular dexterity, shy them at the offending actor!’.⁶⁷ Unlike the smoking problem, this matter was resolved in 1852 with the definitive placement of cushions on the seats.⁶⁸

These negotiations taking place in public spaces, in this case the theatre, by authorities, public and artists, locals and foreigners, are indications of the process of constructing a public sphere with a free exchange of opinions. The implicitly shared aim was to have a new national, civilised, polity, whose precise definition was far from shared by all actors and whose achievement was still not in sight. Despite rules, rhetoric and an outspoken desire of the Mexican upper-classes, Mexican idiosyncrasy and customs rooted in an ancient culture proved resistant to a straightforward assimilation of ideas of (European) civilisation.

⁶⁵ *El Sol*, 3 Oct. 1831.

⁶⁶ *Travels of Anna Bishop*, 82.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁶⁸ *El Siglo XIX*, 17 May 1852. The rental of cushions was not totally abolished, for in 1854 a group of ‘aficionados a la música’ published a request in the paper that the impresarios of the Teatro de Oriente follow the practice of the Teatro Santa Anna in placing the cushions on the seats in advance. *El Siglo XIX*, 26 Apr. 1854.

Behaviour in the Theatre II. The performing public

Defying the civilised role of educated passive listeners, Mexican audiences insisted on expressing themselves in numerous ways, sometimes even violently, while attending a performance. Displaying oneself publicly was undoubtedly one important reason to attend the theatre, including arriving late or leaving early according to the person's needs or purpose. This was not unlike what was going on in the theatres of many European centres, despite the idealised notions to the contrary that Mexicans held.

However, there is a clear time delay in Mexican theatres with respect to Europe, not only of a technological nature such as lighting inside the theatres but also in regard to other aspects of theatrical life—such as the behaviour of the public, the musical repertoire, and public taste and performance practices. For instance, Hall-Witt writes of London that 'Changes in the operatic and elite culture from the mid-1820s to the 1850s can account for the rise of quiet listening'.⁶⁹ In Paris there was a distinctive change of focus from audience to stage performance: 'Opera audiences of the 1830s and 1840s came more to watch the spectacle on the stage than the spectacle of the boxes'.⁷⁰ As we shall see, in Mexico, the calls for orderly behaviour inside and outside the theatres, as well as the issue of silent listening, became an issue only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Taking into account this time lag, Mexicans, like Georgian Londoners, 'regarded themselves as performers in the spectacle, eschewing the clear demarcation between the stage and the auditorium that seems natural to us'.⁷¹ Audiences chatted among themselves, they strove to see and to be seen, walk around, visit neighbours in other boxes, and smoke; and they actively manifested their favourable or critical opinions of the performance. Loud expressions of discontent aimed at performers, scuffles among the public for diverse reasons and even riots including damage to the theatre, were relatively common occurrences. The theatre was constructed as an idealised space of order and civility but the reality was much less refined. This can also be seen as a metaphor for the regulations the Mexican authorities were issuing versus everyday behaviour not only in theatres but also in the form of various political and public disorders. The theatre was not an entity separate from society as

⁶⁹ Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 227.

⁷⁰ Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 245.

⁷¹ Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 24.

a whole, and it participated in the creation of a public arena for discussion. The frontiers between performers and audience, between stage and gallery, were not as definite as we are used to today, as the element of performance extended naturally on to the pit and boxes.

According to Johnson, in Old Regime Paris ‘attentiveness was a social *faux-pas*. [...] Circulating, conversing, arriving late, and leaving early were an accepted part of eighteenth-century musical experience, grudgingly tolerated by some and positively encouraged by others’. It was also not fashionable to stay for the whole opera.⁷² Although, perhaps more akin to the newly-aspirational Mexican middle-class than the aristocratic Parisian elite’s case is what John Rosselli found in the Italian public’s attitude, which he describes as a ‘relationship with the performers that has since vanished from the western world’. Rosselli emphasized that the audience did indeed listen to the solos, and knew when to concentrate their attention onstage for the passages or arias that interested them. They also showed their opposition to what they disliked: ‘Audiences listened (when they listened) phrase by phrase and note by note: a tragic moment brought tears, a well-turned phrase ‘a murmur of satisfaction, or a short sharp *bravo*, very encouraging to the performer, but prolonged enough to interrupt. [...] When the work of the performers really displeased, the audience hissed, screamed, yelled, hooted, and shouted ‘*basta! basta!...*’.⁷³ As we explained earlier, Mexican audiences, like those of opera houses around the globe, were in fact specialised in a few pieces that they knew practically by heart as a result of their previous knowledge of sheet music performed at their homes, a knowledge that entitled them to publicly criticise or praise the music performers while they socialised in the theatre. In all likelihood, the best known arias were the ones more frequently reproduced in home formats, and the panorama was not far from that at the King’s Theatre in London a few decades earlier, where ‘opera-goers who gossiped with friends and peered at the audience through their opera glasses also hissed weak performances, listened to their favourite arias and ensemble pieces, and appreciated singers’ artistry in singing the arias in new ways during encore performances’.⁷⁴

⁷² Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 31.

⁷³ According to Rosselli a season consisted in two new operas that, if successful, would be repeated some 20 times. John Rosselli, *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth Century Italy* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1991), 60-62.

⁷⁴ Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, 56.

It is '*comm'il faut*', commented the Mexican theatre magazine *El Apuntador*, to get up three or four scenes before the performance is over. There were two main reasons for doing this, the first being that men enjoyed putting up a 'palisade' to examine the '*beau*' on their way out from the boxes, and the second was men exiting the theatre with 'the holy end' of allowing their servants to go to bed earlier.⁷⁵ This was what the public was doing during performances inside Mexico City's main theatre in 1840 –notice that there is no mention of the performance on stage:

Some listen attentively, others sleep, while others neither listen, nor sleep, nor let others listen; I cherish the first group, say 'good night' to the second and shall enjoy myself with the third one. Some of these indulge so prosaically in mercantile affairs that it seems they wish to convert the theatre into the public exchange; they speak of the price of chilli or cocoa, of the rise and fall of public funds, of the fifteenth percentile and rating of copper, such that the neighbour wishing to pay attention to the actors on stage, invariably and despite his many implorations, will find his ear gifted just the same with a beautiful verse of Bretón as with the news of a bankruptcy or the purchase of thirty thirds of chilli *pasilla*.⁷⁶ (4.3, p. 313)

Not only was silence not achieved inside the hall, but also different degrees of noisy behaviour in the stalls and boxes, even rioting, produced a racket that frequently exceeded by a wide margin the orchestrated sounds onstage. The implicit concept of a shared spectacle taking place all over the theatre is evident in these manifestations. In the 1830s, for instance, an entertainment for the public in the stalls was to mock and imitate what was being said or sung on stage right after, or even simultaneously to, what was performed. This was for some a source of amusement and for others one of irritation.⁷⁷ In this case, citizens demanded a more active stance on the part of the authorities, which were required to act in order to achieve the necessary 'decorum and morals' inside the theatre. The public expected the authorities to punish uncivilised conduct such as shouting or making vociferous protests. The governor of the Federal District, José Gómez de la Cortina, duly responded that he was determined to use all means available to him to stop 'the disagreeable spectacle of turbulent outcry and tumultuous bellowing'; thus, from then on, performances should

⁷⁵ *El Apuntador* (1840), 44. *Beau* in the original in Spanish.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 42-3. Spanish playwright and poet Manuel Bretón de los Herreros was probably the most popular author of spoken drama during the 1830s and good part of the 1840s, and the most frequently performed in Mexico. His comedies with a strong *costumbrista* inclination portrayed the miseries of politics, human beings, and society in general in Spain, which were easily translatable to the Mexican society of the time.

⁷⁷ *El Sol*, 17 Feb. 1832.

stick to the previously published programme and it was prohibited for theatregoers to ask actors to perform anything not previously announced.⁷⁸ The authorities' position, with varying degrees of success, was to try to seek more effective regulation of theatrical events, in order to produce a civilised and regulated entertainment, at least in principle.⁷⁹ However, the display of authority seemed half-hearted and the general, and unremitting, perception of the public was that authorities did not display a strong enough presence.

Disturbances inside the theatre reached a climax in 1848, when riots broke out in the National Theatre, causing not only damage to the theatre but public outrage. Young men of means accompanied by the military and men of lower classes played the lead in these riots, which included shouting, blows and hisses. The men yelled asking to see a certain actress and then they left at mid-performance not before making fun of the theatre's judge—a professional specifically assigned to resolve disputes within the theatre—and the police and 'offending the ladies' virtue by shouting crude words 'only heard in taverns'. The roar escalated to such a height that the performance had to be cancelled.⁸⁰ The reporter admitted that the piece chosen and the performance were particularly bad, but found that the way men acted was nonetheless reprehensible and illustrated 'the Mexicans' civilisation and culture that without any consideration nor respect for the young ladies that attend the theatre, make this recreational space a bullfighting arena, thus failing to follow the elemental rules of good education'.⁸¹ Issues of class and gender are brought into this affair: on the one hand riotous conduct is connected with a low-class space—which by implication is not the theatre—and on the other, the presence of women is cited as something that should cause men to regulate their behaviour. Women had been in theatres before; but now they were made to symbolise the new moral paradigm required of the civilised society that Mexico was aspiring to be.

Rioting exploded for different reasons. For instance, performers giving concerts on the same day at different theatres, as in the case of Charles Bochsa and Henri Herz in 1849, sent followers to whistle at their competitor's theatre. This practice likely paralleled an Italian one where, according to John Rosselli, rival

⁷⁸ AHDF, Bandos, box 8, file 80, year 1836.

⁷⁹ In an earlier regulation authorities prohibited hissing, mocking, insulting both of actors and public. Strong fines were imposed. AHDF, Diversiones públicas, file 29, 1819.

⁸⁰ AHDF, Diversiones públicas, file 157, Teatro, number 39, 8 Apr. 1845 and *El Monitor Republicano*, 7 Nov. 1848.

⁸¹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 7 Nov. 1848.

managers sometimes ‘planted troublemakers’.⁸² Discontent over the way a performance was going could and often did result in raucous public disapproval. Less frequent but more notorious, an additional reason for arguments and even fights inside the theatre centred on the rivalry between factions supporting different female singers, as we shall see below in the case of ‘*Albinistas*’ and ‘*Cesaristas*’. It is important to indicate, as Rosselli does for the Italian case during at least the 1860s, that it is difficult to establish with certitude whether these riots were organised in advance or were a sincere demonstration of dissatisfaction. Even in the case of factions supporting rival prima donnas, it is hard to say whether their rivalry was pre-existent and represented antagonistic groups within the local elite.⁸³ In any event, unrest inside theatres was a common occurrence, which despite complaints by the public and attempts to regulate and control on the part of the authorities, kept coming back and was an integral part of the musical-theatrical experience.

From 1852 on we notice subtle signs of change in the perception of the behaviour inside theatres started to appear. For instance, a member of the public wrote about the arrival and departure of carriages, which formed such a traffic jam at the entrance of the theatre that wait time became excessively long. The reporter suggested that carriages should drive round the building as many times as necessary until their patrons were ready to board. A stronger presence of the authorities, he insisted, was the only solution to this matter.⁸⁴ In addition, it becomes apparent that for at least a section of the audience, the main object of theatre going was becoming to listen to the performance of works. This process gradually turned the performing public into a devoted audience. As a consequence the previously almost resigned, picaresque and colourful tone used when describing the conversations, or disturbances, in the theatre, disappeared, and was sometimes replaced by acrimonious recriminations. The unwanted sounds were now named ‘noise’ and arriving late did not seem to be fashionable any longer. In this subtle new transformation, women played an active role and became more than simply beautiful beings to gawk at; and they began to become accountable for their demeanour. A

⁸² John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: the role of the impresario*, (Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 160.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 160-1. The *claqueurs* phenomenon so common in France, and cause of many disturbances inside theatres, does not seem to exist in Mexico. For *claqueurs* see Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 246-7, and Mark Everist, ‘*Les chevaliers de lustre*’ in *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon: 1825-1828*, (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002), 129-133.

⁸⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 28 May 1852.

writer in *El Siglo XIX* ‘begs the ladies who arrive at the performance when it has already started, to try to make less noise when they enter’. It is also women who annoyed spectators with the use of their fans made of shells. The writer suggested they ought to use fans made of batiste or feathers in order to minimise noise.⁸⁵

Another writer proposed that women should stop making noise with their armchairs and fans, while in exchange men should stop walking around and not bother the ladies with ‘mouthfuls of tobacco’.⁸⁶

The need to be silent is also associated with the concept of the ‘divine nature’ of music. To talk during the *Semiramide* overture, for instance, was now named a ‘profanation’, and, according to the critic, it was with ‘silent absorption [and] concentrated admiration’ that one should listen to it. The performance itself was no longer an appropriate time for socialising; moreover, ‘it would be good for those who are much inclined to converse that they do so in their homes or in a café, but not in the theatre’.⁸⁷ James Johnson found that at the end of the Old Regime in France: ‘A new way of listening was emerging [...], one more attuned to sentiments and emotions in the music and more engaged aesthetically than mid-century audiences had described’.⁸⁸ Old ways of listening become inadequate. Crying and sobbing were part of this heightened experience in late eighteenth-century France. ‘A listener more engaged emotionally was a listener less distracted socially’.⁸⁹ More than fifty years later, one can begin to detect similar phenomena in Mexico. In 1852, a Mexican commentator described his emotional state when he heard the singing of the celebrated verses ‘Tu che a Dio spiegasti l’ali, o bell’ alma innamorata’ by tenor Salvi in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. ‘Laughter froze on our lips, and we began to cry like a romantic poet’.⁹⁰ This higher degree of civility was tied to class. The Mexican national elite, now more confident and established, not only asserted their political dominion on the high street but also showed their superiority by behaving entirely differently from the lower classes.

⁸⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 18 May 1852.

⁸⁶ *Las Cosquillas*, 22 May 1852.

⁸⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 10 Sept. 1852.

⁸⁸ Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 81.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁹⁰ *Las Cosquillas*, 19 May 1852.

Again, the 1853 Theatre Regulations framed this emerging attitude in new rules to be followed by the Mexican public at large.⁹¹ Article 34 is quite explicit in the new attitude demanded from the public: ‘During the performance, the spectators shall maintain the silence, decorum and circumspection appropriate to a civilised public’.⁹² Rhetoric about public behaviour in theatres had come a long way since the 1830s when the theatre was anything but a place for introspective attention or respect for the work of art. In effect, however, behaviour in the theatre was a day-to-day negotiation between regulations, expectations, ideals, customs and idiosyncrasy.

‘*Albinistas*’ versus ‘*Cesaristas*’

One of Mexico’s nods to integrating with the European operatic craze was the passion for *prima donnas* and the consequent clashes between rival groups supporting them. Many world-famous Italian female singers visited Mexico between the 1820s and 1850s, among them Angela Massini, Amalia Majocchi Valtelina Madame Passi, Carolina Pellegrini, Adela Cesari and Marietta Napoleona Albini, all of them as part of Filippo Galli’s company in one point or other during the years 1831-7, Anaide Castellani di Giampietro with her own company (1841-1843), Eufrosina Borghese who formed a company in Mexico in 1845, Anna Bishop in 1849, Balbina Stefannone as part of Max Maretzek’s company in 1852, and, most famous of them all, Henrietta Sontag in 1854. From relatively early on, Mexicans had the opportunity to compare renderings of operas, and the vocal qualities of singers, and take passionate sides with one diva or another when the occasion demanded it. The case of *Albinistas* and *Cesaristas* helped the authorities to flex their muscle against privileged groups from the past and to assume the role of mediator between conflicting groups in an emerging civil society, a crucial role in the new republic.

The rivalry took place between Marietta Albini and Adela Cesari during the visit of famous bass singer Filippo Galli’s opera company to Mexico (1831-1837). These two singers, both part of Galli’s company, arrived in Mexico in 1836 with Mexican diplomat Manuel Eduardo Gorostiza, who brought them at the behest of the Mexican government in order to reinforce the company’s cast. A mild rivalry already

⁹¹ These regulations should also be situated within the dictatorship of Antonio López de Santa Anna (1853-1855), who issued several sets of laws aimed at controlling public behaviour, including toughening censorship, as well as a heavy burden for the population in the shape of new sets of taxes.

⁹² AHDF, Bando, box 21, file 32, *op. cit.*

existed between the two singers, but it took on new proportions when, for the opera *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* by Bellini, the role of Romeo was assigned to Albini. In operas of the period with one male and one female leading character both assigned to sopranos, the custom was that the high soprano sang the female heroine while the lower soprano sang the heroic male role.⁹³

The quarrel broke out because the person in charge of the company while the impresario Gorostiza was absent, Joaquín Patiño, had given the role of *Romeo* to Marietta Albini. Albini was a well-known soprano and the principal voice of Gorostiza's company. *Romeo* was the brilliant main role of Bellini's opera, originally written for Giuditta Grisi, while *Giulietta* was clearly a supporting role. The supporters of Cesari had raised uproar over this decision because their favourite diva, Adela Cesari was a contralto, and in their view, the role was hers not only because of her voice but because it had been promised to her when she was contracted in Italy. In order to fight their cause, those in favour of Cesari disrupted the first performance, making it impossible to continue and causing the authorities to cancel the rest of the run. The defenders of Albini, or '*Albinistas*', cleverly argued that it was probably the homonymous opera by Vaccai that had been promised for la Cesari's voice, for the role is for contralto. Indeed, this opera by Vaccai not only assigns the first role to a contralto, but it was none other Cesari who had first performed the role of *Romeo* at the Teatro alla Canobbiana in Milan on 31 October 1825, and thus the role that was naturally hers was not that of Bellini's *Romeo*.⁹⁴

What was at stake was the *prima donna* position, and the *Albinistas* were clear about it when they stated that, according to her contract, all the major roles should be Albini's, because she possesses 'brilliant merits' above any other singer in the company.⁹⁵ Even beyond a certain singer's position, the discussion was about the authorities' obligations towards its citizens. The *Albinistas* presented the, no doubt self-serving, argument regarding the obligation of the authority to keep the theatre open, foster performances and respect the public's rights.

⁹³ Naomi André, *Voicing Gender. Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006).

⁹⁴ But things were even more complicated than that: Giuditta Grisi, who had premiered *Romeo's* role in Bellini's opera, was indeed a contralto singing a soprano role.

⁹⁵ *Municipal Mexicano*, 20 Aug. 1836, 'Representación hecha por la mayoría de los abonados del teatro, al Exmo. Ayuntamiento de esta capital'.

The public that attends the theatre has the right that new operas be offered them. The public has the faculty of asking for the ones that please them, principally when the company is well disposed to provide them; since it equally has the legal power to hinder, directing themselves to the authorities, that three, four or twenty individuals disrupt these even for a moment at seeing a well done opera.⁹⁶ (4.4, p. 313)

The *Albinistas* put an additional burden on the authorities by claiming to be concerned with the image Mexico was projecting to European observers, proving the poor culture of Mexicans who were ready to let go such a worthy singer. The *Albinistas* and *Cesaristas* affair did have an international impact in the form of a duel that, ironically, was fought between a French citizen, M. de Lisle, the secretary of the French Legation, and a Mexican, one Captain Cabrera, nowhere other than on the balcony of the French embassy.⁹⁷ This incident shows that at least some Europeans living in Mexico were passionately involved in local affairs rather than simply being judges of Mexicans' backwardness.

Supporters of these main groups were apparently moreover divided along class lines. According to what Guillermo Prieto, man of letters and politician, wrote in his memoirs: 'Those rich and lewd old men of the first orchestra stalls...with their big glasses so as not to miss a gesture nor feature; those *cavalier servente* of matrons, scoping out the dancers...organised a campaign setting la Cesari, an extremely good-looking green-eyed girl, with Roman nose, svelte and well-built, against la Albini, in the distribution of the opera roles'.⁹⁸ He thus clearly identified the *Cesaristas* as upper class, while he, and many other passionate amateurs of lesser wealth and status, were committed *Albinistas*. The governor's advisor, Antonio Madrid, in fact concurring with Prieto's appreciation, denied the *Cesaristas* their ambition to represent 'the Public', and adjudged it the prerogative of the manager of the theatre to make the necessary artistic decisions. To act against this freedom and force the manager to take one or another choice, Madrid believed, would incite counter-arguments that would eventually compromise the authority's position.⁹⁹ The theatre

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Mathieu de Fossey, *Le Mexique* (1857) quoted in Montserrat Galí Boadella, *Historias del bello sexo. La introducción del Romanticismo en México* (Mexico: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002), 346-7.

⁹⁸ There were also texts of admiration for la Cesari, in a paper named La Lima de Vulcano. A writer mesmerized by her charms found that she personified the union of beauty and harmony. María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío published a piano waltz dedicated to Madame Cesari, who was her mentor, in *Panorama de las señoritas. Periódico pintoresco, científico y literario* (1842).

⁹⁹ AHDF, Diversiones Públicas, file 59, Teatro, 1836.

commission finally proposed to leave the impresario ‘in complete freedom to present or not the opera *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*’.

The *Albinistas* and *Cesaristas* incident illustrates the involvement of Mexican society with opera on several levels: literary, social, political and artistic.¹⁰⁰ A Mexican civil society, which came alive through opera, took the stage to perform an operatic drama through a newly acquired freedom in a civil society. Parties involved in this controversy empowered the city authorities by assigning them a new role: to arbitrate between citizens’ diverse interests.

Mexicans’ Operatic Culture

Gradually more serious criticisms began to stem from an increasingly stable and yet diversified operatic culture in Mexico. Not only were the authorities subject to criticisms, but so were companies and impresarios touring the country. Since the 1830s Mexican critics, acting as leaders of opinion, had been critical of opera performances for a variety of reasons including cuts in operas, endless repetitions of the same works, bad quality in singing, either in main parts or choruses, assignment of parts to the wrong voice-types, wrong characterisation of leading singers, inadequate stage settings and poor printed translations of libretti into Spanish (sold as an aid to performances in Italian).

The premiere of Giacomo Meyerbeer’s *Il crociato in Egitto* in Mexico, by Filippo Galli’s company in 1837, offers an instance of disturbance due to cuts. This

¹⁰⁰ The matter was also the subject of poems distributed in the theatre and published in the newspapers. Guillermo Prieto wrote a long romantic poem entitled ‘A la Albini’ (For Albini), whose last verses, not coincidentally, mentioned the name of Bellini associated to that of his muse:

Your sweet, your pleasant, your placid song,
Arouses my spell, my tender emotions.
Rival of the graces, precursor of love,
One can already hear your angelic voice [...]
If you kindly play the voluptuous voice
That arduously instills intense passion,
The bosom instantly embraces itself in your fire,
It loses its sedateness, and grows drunk on love. [...]
Oh Memory, Reach my muse of time,
And keep the glory of your song immortal;
Your name, and the name of the great Bellini,
Oh, magical Albini! Resound in peace. (4.5, p. 313-4)

Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México 1538-1911*, vol. I, prol. by Salvador Novo, 3rd ed. (Mexico: Porrúa, 1961), 344-5. Most of the contemporary Mexican public still remembered that Albini premiered the main role of one of Mexicans’ dearest operas, Norma, in 1831.

opera, premiered at La Fenice in Venice in 1824 was immediately successful in Italy and then in France.¹⁰¹ The Mexican public was thrilled with the work but the performance caused considerable tensions. During its second performance, on 28 October, the public reacted with outrage upon realising that some of the original scenes had been cut ‘because the opera was too long’, or so the critic assumed since there was no official explanation from the director. When noting that some of the parts were cut, the audience expressed its discontent by suddenly interrupting with applause, hissing, shouts and stamping on the gallery floor. When the chorus continued to sing throughout these boisterous manifestations, the public decided to intensify their expressions of discontent by ‘singing’ along. The critic poetically described this collective sonority as follows: ‘soon one could only hear a spectacular and unhurried roaring, such as the one produced by a volcano just before erupting’. The chorus, defeated in its attempt to finish its designated music, decided to leave, but one brave singer, upon leaving, confronted the public with the following words: ‘One word. We are treated like this because we are Americans; thank you’.¹⁰² The singer is implicitly complaining about what he perceived as discrimination against local performers, ‘*americanos*’ vis-à-vis European, Italian, performers. The public replied by whistling at him and shouting that he ought to be put in jail for addressing the audience in such a manner. The narrator’s corollary to the story was that the uproar had nothing to do with foreigners or nationals, nor with being disrespectful to the chorus, but rather was rooted in misgivings over the way the opera had been arbitrarily cut. In addition, he advised the director to announce in advance any possible cuts to the opera and also to edit the respective section in the booklet (presumably the Spanish translation of the libretto) if he wished to avoid the public’s rage.¹⁰³

The reprimand to the Italian director Filippo Galli was the Mexicans’ proud defence of their operatic culture which required following a libretto in its entirety,

¹⁰¹ I could not find the date of the first performance but most likely was on the 25 (Thursday) or 26 (Friday) October. See also Mark Everist, ‘Meyerbeer’s “*Il crociato in Egitto*”: mélodrame, Opera, Orientalism,’ *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8, No. 3 (1996), 215-250. In this exhaustive study of the sources and composition of the opera’s libretto, Everist persuasively argues for a nuanced vision of the orientalism of this work. The Mexican episode as portrayed in the press argues nothing about the opera’s libretto or music, other than finding the opera ‘extremely beautiful’; but the discussion around the second performance is certainly significant of centre-periphery issues.

¹⁰² ‘Americans’ was used in the sense of people born on the American continent and not as in our contemporary use of the term which equates it exclusively with citizens of the United States.

¹⁰³ *El Recreo de Las Familias* (1837), 79-80.

and did not allow for any unexpected changes. Or, more exactly, it was a reminder to the Italian director that Mexicans, despite being distracted with a thousand happenings inside the hall, did indeed listen during performances and were capable of noticing a shorter version in a second performance, as well as, more generally, of a reminder of the Mexican public's operatic culture. At the same time, it constituted a call to attention to national performers, in this case the chorus, to avoid yielding to these practices. In effect there was a national divide between the main roles of the opera assigned to the singers brought by the Italian companies, and the chorus and orchestra which were hired locally. This is an intriguing, paradoxical, and early case of Mexicans from the elite supporting an uncivilised act, according to contemporary criticisms of misbehaviour in the theatre, but in the service of a patriotic cause: the defence of the—artistic—rights of the Mexican public.

The issue of a poorly translated libretto came up with special virulence again during the stay of Max Maretzek's company in 1852. A specialist critic, 'Fortún', reported on the 'detestable and barbarous' translation into Spanish of the libretto of *La Favorita*. This critic alluded to the Mexicans' high cultural level in a veiled call to attention to those (European or American) visitors who considered the country uncivilized. 'One should not imagine we think much of it [the bad translation]; but Mexico is already at a certain cultural stage where is almost an insult to make the Mexican presses print such extensive nonsense from the Mexican press. The translator does not know what is prose, nor verse; he does not know Italian or Spanish, and he even lacks common sense'.¹⁰⁴

Mexicans became disinclined to accept uncritically everything that came from these companies. They knew they were acting in a similar way to the European public and critics when they criticized some of the companies' and impresarios' practices, and demanded necessary changes. At the same time impresarios took space in the press to air their points of view, to defend the way they did things according to European practice and, in some cases, to pontificate to the Mexican public. This was a way not only to justify their doings but also to reaffirm their (European) superiority in neo-colonial terms by demonstrating the public's lack of culture, as the case of Max Maretzek demonstrates. When some operagoers sent letters to Maretzek

¹⁰⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 16 June 1852. 'Fortún' wrote that the translator had even left some places blank where he did not know how to translate. He considered that he would have done a better service to the opera leaving the whole libretto blank.

demanding that his company performs ‘*La Favorita* complete, as written by Donizetti for the Parisian theatre’.¹⁰⁵ Maretzek was assuming Mexico as a ‘cultural periphery’, to use Nelly Richard’s term, where he could lecture about opera adaptation in Parisian theatres, implicitly showing the ignorance of those formulating that request, and demonstrating why it was impossible to comply with their wishes. ‘The necessary and recognized custom of abbreviating and reducing those compositions written precisely for the Parisian theatres, by accommodating them to the Italian stage, is well known. In this way they satisfy the different demands of different nationalities and other particular circumstances in each of the countries where they are to be performed’. Maretzek gives as an example *Guillaume Tell* by Rossini, whose four acts were reduced to three in Germany and Italy; *Le siège de Corinthe* ‘which has suffered much variation and abbreviation for the Italian theatre even changing its name to *Maometto II*; and regarding Donizetti, Maretzek quotes *Les Martyrs* (changed to *Polyeucte* in Italy), and also the changes the composer made to *Dom Sébastien* and *La Favorita* for adaptation for the Italian public’. After this long list, Maretzek adds a further claim on the subject of performance practice by asserting that ‘the company is staging the opera exactly the same way his company is accustomed to do it in Milan, London, Havana, New York, etc.’¹⁰⁶ This response was in part the impresario’s exasperated reaction to the, perhaps unexpected, Mexican public’s continuous expression of their opinion and requests to the impresario regarding which singers they would like to hear in which roles, what operas they wanted and which singers the public considered should be hired, and complaints about translation of libretti.

The year after Maretzek’s visit, the 1853 revision to the Theatre Regulations returned to the matter of cutting theatrical works by demanding that the impresario oversees that no dramas or opera scores were mutilated for ‘they shall be represented as they are written and as it is the habit in Europe’s great theatres’. To this effect, the regulations established severe penalties.¹⁰⁷ The mention of European practices opens up once again the question of an idealised model of Europe in operation. Certain opera composers, such as Mozart, were indeed in the process of forming part of the

¹⁰⁵ It was premiered on 2 December 1840 at the Théâtre de l’Académie Royale de Musique in Paris.

¹⁰⁶ *El Siglo XIX*, 31 May 1852.

¹⁰⁷ AHDF, Bandos, box 21, file 32.

sacrosanct musical canon in Europe.¹⁰⁸ But Mexicans' beloved *bel canto* Italian repertoire was indeed adapted, cut, translated, refashioned into a variety of genres, and a long list of etceteras to fit the public's, theatres', regulations', impresarios' and artists' needs and whims as much or more in Europe as in Mexico. Many Mexicans travelled and experienced operatic performances first-hand in the Old World and therefore they probably knew of the malleability of operas in those 'great theatres' to which the Mexican Regulations referred.¹⁰⁹ An idealised European musical world, known to be inexact in reality, was apparently needed as a model to set the standards high for Mexico's newly-independent theatrical life.

On the one hand the public demanded a performance suitable to their operatic and general culture and customs and on the other impresarios defended their decisions, many times for financial reasons disguised as superior cultural reasons. This give and take characterizes the multifaceted relationship between the European music world in the form of music, ideas, practices and artists, and the Mexican elite positioning itself as cultural consumers constructing their own musical identity.

Opera reigns supreme

The musical history of nineteenth-century independent Mexico is inextricably linked to that of opera. It was José Antonio Gómez's dream as well as that of the musical youth of the 1820s, writes Gerónimo Baqueiro Fóster, that opera should take hold on Mexican soil.¹¹⁰ From the 1820s on, the inhabitants of Mexico City were almost

¹⁰⁸ Katharine Ellis, 'Rewriting "Don Giovanni", or "The Thieving Magpies",' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, No. 2 (1992), 215-250, where the author demonstrates that Véron's production of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in Paris in 1834 failed for not addressing the canonicity of Mozart, which the critics held against him.

¹⁰⁹ The topic of the instability of operatic texts in nineteenth-century Europe has been subject to a myriad of studies of which some deal with concrete performance and reception studies. Mark Everist has accurately described this instability in these terms: '[T]he study of opera in the first half of the nineteenth century is beset by the perennial challenge of unstable texts and rapidly shifting patterns of performance that make discussions of a "work" substantially more difficult than would be the case if the subject were a key-board miniature or string quartet:', 'Lindoro in Lyon: Rossini's *Le Barbier de Séville*,' *Acta Musicologica* 64, Fasc. 1 (1992), 50. The article is a comprehensive study about the first performance in French of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in 1821; Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars. Performing Italian Opera*, ([Chicago]: The University of Chicago Press, 2006) wrote a magnum opus regarding opera performance reception of *bel canto* up to Verdi with first-hand accounts of the author; and Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris. The Sound of Modern Life* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), a fascinating study on the Parisian reception of Rossini's operas year by year between 1824 to 1829, which explain the enormous popularity of Rossini's music and its gradual decay in the French capital's taste.

¹¹⁰ Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música*, 122.

constantly exposed to Italian opera with the presence of visiting companies as well as by companies formed in the country which included foreign singers. The main opera companies to visit or establish themselves in Mexico during the first half of the nineteenth century were those of Manuel García (1827-9), the first visiting company, and one which left an indelible trace in the musical community's collective memory, Filippo Galli (1831-7), Anaide Castellan-Roca (1841-2), Eufrasia Borghese (1845) Anna Bishop-CharlesBochsa (1849-1850), Max Maretzek (1852-53), René Masson (1854), including the singer Henrietta Sontag, and Pedro Carvajal (1854).¹¹¹ These companies were largely responsible for the dissemination of the *bel canto* repertoire that came to be the favourite of the Mexican public for decades to come. Opera's supremacy, even over spoken drama, went unchallenged until well beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. By the 1850s, operatic performances were still preferred over instrumental concerts. As a reporter wrote: 'A concert can never have the same interest as an opera: the dramatic glitter is missing'.¹¹² The swift accommodation made by the Mexican establishment of the needs generated by Italian operas, including larger orchestras, sets, designs, costumes, etc. was truly remarkable and is a reflection of its popularity.

Still within Spanish dominion, the New Coliseum featured some complete Italian operas, beside mixed programmes. Among them were: *Il tutore burlato* by Domenico Cimarosa (1805) and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Giovanni Paisiello (1806). Before opera became popular, Spanish *sainetes* or *tonadillas escénicas* including singing, dancing and acting, with actors and musicians of Spanish origin as the main participants, were well liked. A Royal Order dictated by the Spanish king Carlos IV in 1799 prohibited the representation of works in languages other than Spanish in the Mexican Coliseum. This was the reason why all libretti from Italian operas sung from that year up to June 1827 were translated into Spanish. This situation began to change, not without irony, with the arrival of the first truly Italian opera company in Mexico City, that of the Spaniard Manuel García.

¹¹¹ In the year of 1839, when no foreign companies arrived in Mexico, students of José Antonio Gómez sang *I Capuleti e i Montechi* in the Teatro Principal, and students from Caballero and Beristáin's school presented *La Sonnambula* in whose main role was Mrs. Elizaliturri. During 1840 several operatic concerts took place where María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío played an important role.

¹¹² *El Siglo XIX*, 2 May 1854.

Manuel García and the expansion of *bel canto* opera in Mexico

Before the arrival of Manuel García, the first famous and experienced opera company to visit the country, there were two active opera companies composed of Mexican and Spanish singers resident in Mexico—Victorio Rocamora's and Andrés del Castillo's. Both presented operas in Spanish according to the current regulation that ruled it as the obligatory language for theatre performances. Some of Rossini's operas were performed in Mexico's coliseum before the arrival of García: *El barbero de Sevilla* (1823), *La italiana en Argel* (1824), *Tancredo* (1825), *La urraca ladrona* (1825), *Otello* (1825), in their Spanish guises. Operas by other composers such as Esteban Cristiani's *El Solitario* (written by the Italian composer in Mexico) and the opera by Manuel Corral, a Spanish composer, also living in Mexico, *Los gemelos*. Most concerts however were not full operas but mixed concerts including operatic arias. The genres of spoken drama and opera alternated in the theatre. The fact that all operas were performed in Spanish and by the same singers that sang *tonadillas* and *sainetes*, made those first decades a transitional time leading to the dominance of the European opera.

Spanish tenor Manuel García and his company arrived in Mexico City the same year that Claudio Linati introduced the first lithographic press: 1826. García had spent a year touring the United States before getting to Mexico.¹¹³ The well-known Italian tenor spent several seasons in New York. Both in that city and in Mexico City, García premiered Rossini's works in Italian. Prior to his arrival, these works were sung in English or French in the U.S.A., and in Mexico, in Spanish.¹¹⁴ García was a key figure for the establishment of the continental craze of Italian opera in America. After his company's visit, Italian troupes flooded the country and opera emerged as an expected and necessary feature in Mexican theatres. It is thus important to probe into the relevant aspects of García's sojourn.

¹¹³ His complete name was Manuel del Pópulo Vicente Rodríguez García, his father's was Rodríguez but his mother was widowed, and remarried a García who gave her children his last name.

¹¹⁴ For the U.S.A. part of the tour see Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road. Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60* (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001): 101-106. The language issue also came up in the U.S.A. were some critics also considered that the music should be sang in English for the 'our own language [is being] neglected' and they also expressed their opinion that 'the musical form [of Italian opera] was an inferior one and unworthy to take place of "the old English tragedy and comedy" on the American stage'; Preston, *Opera*, 105. James Radomski in his influential and comprehensive study *Manuel García (1775-1882). Chronicle of the Life of a bel canto Tenor at the Dawn of Romanticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), includes a chapter devoted to García's Mexican tour: '10. Mexico, 1826-1829,' 211-243.

Manuel García founded an opera company in New York with whom he produced the American premiere of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in 1826 as well as the premiere of many of Rossini's operas. As Katherine K. Preston has shown, García's troupe was initially very well received by all classes of the New York society, and his tour even had an impact on the fashion of the city. Nevertheless, '[t]he fascination of the New York public with García's troupe was short-lived. A great deal of their early success apparently was due to the sheer novelty of their undertaking, for after only two months of performances, it was apparent that New Yorkers were not yet prepared to support an Italian company on a regular basis'.¹¹⁵ Consequently, García's company suffered from a lack of funds. This was probably the reason why he decided to travel on to Mexico, whose public was eager to attend performances from a genuine Italian opera company.

The Mexican colonel Luis Castrejón, a man with a passion for spoken and sung drama, took on the negotiations required to bring García's troupe to Mexico. Castrejón was the manager of both theatres of the capital: the Principal and that of Los Gallos (or the Provisional Theatre). The first was run-down and in such dire need of repair that it was not possible to finance a visit as projected, so Castrejón had to present García in the less elegant and functional Provisional Theatre. The situation was adverse to the enterprise from the beginning, because the city council was not convinced of the advisability of inviting the company to Mexico because of the high prices that the impresario was planning to charge for tickets—because he needed funds to remodel the theatre—and because of protectionism: the authorities were against 'foreigners tak[ing] away the money so necessary in Mexico, no matter how great an artist they might be'.¹¹⁶ In addition, the political situation was fragile since Mexicans were struggling with interventionist forces supported both from inside and outside the country, including an expedition organised by Spain to recapture the country. In January 1827, a conspiracy led by priest Joaquín Arenas together with other priests, military personnel and government officials, was attempting to bring Mexico back into the Spanish fold. The conspiracy was uncovered, and its participants were executed or expelled from the country. Amid these unfavourable circumstances, García and his company arrived in Mexico City at the end of June of

¹¹⁵ Preston, *Opera on the Road*, 105.

¹¹⁶ Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica*, 228.

that same year. Despite high drama on the new republic's front, Mexican amateurs and musicians eagerly awaited the arrival and performance of García's troupe.¹¹⁷

On 29 June 1827, the Mexican public heard *Il barbiere di Siviglia* sung in Italian for the first time. García presented this and other operas to a full audience. However, with the Arena's conspiracy still fresh in the popular mind and with anti-Spanish feelings running high, the tables turned against him. The main objection to García was the fact that his company sang the operas in Italian. According to critics, Mexicans could not be content listening to the singing without understanding the words. Moreover, the public complained that if García was a Spaniard, he should sing in Spanish. In fact, the Spanish tenor had left Spain a couple of decades before and had gone to live in France and Italy, never to return to his home country. García's relation with Spain had faded by the time he visited Mexico.¹¹⁸

Although there were supporters of García's quest to present operas in the original language, there was unwavering opposition from one sector of the Mexican public. 'We do not have in Mexico', the critic from the *Águila Mexicana* wrote, as many people 'who understand Italian or who would be satisfied only with the pleasure of the singing and the music alone, without understanding what is being said, as in Paris and London'.¹¹⁹ The issue became one of popular versus refined taste: an article in the newspaper *El Sol* begged the impresario, 'in the name of good taste', never to alter the original language of a composition. As he wrote: 'An opera translated from Italian to Spanish or any other language becomes severed from the lyrics, and in consequence, the same is the case with the music, to which the author had accommodated Italian periods, accents and sounds together with the rhythm and artistic profile'.¹²⁰ The more musical approach of the writer of *El Sol* was overridden by those demanding to listen to the operas sung in Spanish, as was customary.¹²¹ Facing this pressure, García yielded to the Mexican public and presented his own

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

¹¹⁸ His prominent operatic career had since thrived in Italy where he arrived in 1811, and then in Paris and London. García was a mature and experienced 52 year-old composer, singer and impresario by the time he reached Mexico.

¹¹⁹ *El Águila Mexicana*, 14 July 1827.

¹²⁰ *El Sol*, July 1827, quoted in Baqueiro Fóster, *Historia de la música*, 131-2.

¹²¹ As James Radomski, *Manuel García, op. cit.*: 211-212, has rightly pointed out, 'García became a pawn in the debates between the two principal parties: the *yorkinos* (named after York rite Masonry) and the *escoceses* (after Scottish rite Masonry).' *El Sol* voiced the first group's interests and *El Águila Mexicana* the second. The *yorkinos*, the highest layer of economic power within the elite, was later to ally itself with the conservative party while the second, composed mainly of merchants, military officers and members of liberal professions, allied itself with the liberal party.

early operas and more recent ones such as *El poeta calculista* in Spanish, and also translated parts of *Otello*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *La gazza ladra*. In addition, he appeased the Mexican public by hiring local singers who had sung Italian opera in Spanish before, such as Andrés del Castillo and Rita González de Santa Marta. García thus managed to extend his visit to the Mexican capital for a year and a half, playing in the theatre and in private halls such as La Lonja and Minería.¹²²

Hostility towards García began to grow at the end of 1827 when his company got into trouble both with the government and the church: firstly for not providing the programme in advance as was required by law, and secondly when Garcia proposed to sing a *Salve* to the Virgin of Remedies in the theatre. The Church forcefully opposed this act and the city council stood by the church in the matter.¹²³ Within a prevailing intolerant climate against Spain, on 20 December 1827 the Mexican Congress issued a decree expelling all Spanish citizens from Mexico. The law had plenty of exceptions that could be invoked in order to evade its rigour and García used these with the purpose of staying longer in the country. At the end of 1828, however, García and his troupe decided to leave. As a justification for the foreseeable disappointment of the operatic community, the government made clear in *El Sol* that it was Garcia's decision to ask for a passport in order to continue his tour, and not a measure taken by the authorities.¹²⁴

García's tour raised questions that were not entirely compatible but likewise not entirely foreign to one another, including the desire to fit into a larger world, but at the same time, not feeling entirely at ease on a larger stage. In musical terms this tension expressed itself as the rejection of operatic musical performances in a language other than the familiar Spanish. The fact that Garcia had been born in Spain, even though he had made his career elsewhere, nonetheless struck chord with the newly defined Mexicans' hurt national pride and conflict-ridden political circumstances that led to the decree of expulsion of Spaniards from the Mexican territory. Despite all these cultural undercurrents, Manuel García ultimately succeeded in contributing to Mexico's musical culture by consolidating Italian opera as the preferred genre and mode of theatrical musical performance.

¹²² *Águila Mexicana*, 20 Nov. 1827.

¹²³ AHDF, Diversiones Públicas, file 46, 1827; *El Sol*, 18 and 20 June 1828.

¹²⁴ *El Sol*, 1 Mar. 1828.

Rossini and the reception of *bel canto* in Mexico

When Andrés del Castillo's company performed *Tancredi* at the National Theatre in 1826, José María Heredia, the poet and music critic of journal *El Iris*, had little to say other than the following: 'On the nights of last Saturday and Sunday, the opera *Tancredi* by Rossini was performed. There could be hardly anybody who had not listened to some parts of this beautiful composition before, for it is usually lying around wherever there is a piano'.¹²⁵ As we have stated above, until the mid-nineteenth century the operatic repertory frequently made its way first in domestic formats before the premiere of that opera took place in the theatres, and Rossini was the favourite composer in Mexican home arrangements during the 1820s and 1830s. This was no different from France where, according to Benjamin Walton, it was home music-making that represented the principal experience of Rossini for a large proportion of the population, a fact that can be accounted for in the innumerable published arrangements published at that time.¹²⁶

By the 1840s, opera—including Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*—had even conquered the Mexican capital's cathedral during Holy Week, as this quotation from the appalled American Protestant Brantz Mayer proves:

The ritual [inside the Church] is Indian, rather than civilized or intellectual. The show is tasteless and barbaric. The altars display a jumble of jewellery, sacred vessels and utensils of the precious metals mixed up with glass through which is reflected the tints of colored water, and the whole is overlaid with fruits and flowers.[...]; and in place of the airs of Mozart and Haydn, you have the music of the latest opera, and the favourite *morceaux* from *Robert le Diable*.¹²⁷

Rossini and later Bellini and Donizetti's sway over Mexico was complete in the years following García's tour. When García presented his own opera, *Semiramis*, one critic said the public was bored by it and that they 'missed those sublime passages of Rossini, which involuntarily move and excite the emotions of the spectator'.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ *El Iris* 11, 15 Apr. 1826, 115-6. Newspaper *El Sol* attests to the early offer of music dealers offering complete or sections of Rossini's operas: 6 Apr. 1824, 26 May 1825, 9 Mar. and 1 June 1826.

¹²⁶ Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris*, 9-10.

¹²⁷ Mayer, *Mexico as It Was*, 151-2. *Robert le diable* was only premiered in Mexico in 1 October 1852 by Max Maretzek's company. *El Siglo XIX*, 6 Oct. 1852. Although in many occasions before parts of this opera were sung in Mexican theatres.

¹²⁸ *El Correo de la federación mexicana*, 9 May 1828, as quoted by Radomski, *Manuel García*, 220.

Before the Spanish tenor's tour, judgments about Rossini's music were divided. A critic in *El Sol* had expressed the opinion that in *L'Italiana* and *Il barbiere*: 'We could not find even one aria which was placed in the right place of the passionate scene, as we do in *Il barbiere* by Paisiello'. He also found that Rossini was too cerebral, for he sacrificed 'the pleasure of the ears for the enjoyments of reason' and claimed that this same defect had been pointed out by critics in Italy, a fact even the composer had to admit.¹²⁹ In contrast, for the critic of the *Águila Mexicana*, Rossini harmoniously combined depth and grace. The article, written in 1824, employs terms that indirectly acknowledge musical debates current in Europe, concerning the opposed musical terms Italian/German: 'I finish by saying that Rossini is the incomparable composer, who has accomplished the combination of the German harmony, passion and depth together with the melody and Italian taste, embellishing both with his original, epoch-making fecundity and grace'.¹³⁰

Awareness of the terms in which Rossini's music was discussed in Europe became especially apparent in 1832, when during the tour of the opera company Filippo Galli in Mexico, the rhetoric of the twin styles Italian-German (Rossini-Beethoven) taking place in France or Germany was fully acknowledged. The paper *El Sol* published an article by '*Un aficionado al cantar italiano*' (a fan of Italian singing) who expressed his detailed opinion about *Mahometto II* by Rossini.¹³¹ The *aficionado* found that the ideas of the tríos 'Pria svenar' and 'In questi estremi istanti' were very original, and the latter particularly displayed 'all of Rossini's taste and Beethoven's depth'.¹³² In this case the writer sees the 'twin styles' rather as a

¹²⁹ *El Sol*, 8 Mar. 1825.

¹³⁰ *Águila Mexicana*, 13 Sept. 1824.

¹³¹ *Maometto II* was revised as *Le siège de Corinthe* in 1826 for its Paris performance.

¹³² *El Sol*, 26 June 1832. My emphasis. Filippo Galli premiered this opera, in the role of Mahometto, on 3 Dec. 1820 at the Theatre of San Carlo in Napoli. Scholar Nancy Vogeley (, 'Italian Opera in Early National Mexico,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 57, No. 2 [1996]) has claimed that in early Mexico, 'Italian opera provided the new interests with the vocabulary they needed to state their difference from Spanish culture and to legitimate their control,' 281. I would not entirely subscribe this claim because of the debate that I have shown was taking place within the elite regarding the role of opera and the prevailing sense of opera as integration to Europe, according to the sources, and not as a particularly means of resistance to Spain. And however attractive it might be in its postcolonial explicative nuances, I would not subscribe at all the following claim for lack of ground on primary sources: '[The operas'] plots, which often relied on conflict between Christian and Moor, also helped Mexicans reflect on their own history, during which they had been judged idolatrous and racially inferior by their European conquerors. Operatic language, which highlighted the categories of 'civilized' and 'barbaric' permitted liberals and conservatives alike, whether *criolos* or *mestizos* of the Mexican elite classes, to rethink Spanish uses of the terms; they could shift ont Indian peoples in the peripheral areas and an uneducated populace in the capital the label of 'barbaric,' thereby cleansing themselves of inferior colonial status,' 281. Regarding Vogeley's ready disposition to interpret the Mexicans' reaction to *Mahometto II* in post-colonial terms is hindered by her own honest recognition that: 'The

fusion than a dichotomy. This fact worked apparently to create an enhanced Mexican reception of Rossini, and not as a disadvantage. In addition, the article alluded to the fact that Rossini had evidently read the history of the sultan of Constantinople in order to construct the characters of Mahometto and Anna. This fact, pointed out the critic, differentiated this opera from previous ones by Rossini, where he had followed only his own flow of music. Furthermore, it became clear that here Rossini demanded a more knowledgeable listener in order to fully apprehend the opera's subtleties: 'It is necessary for the ear to become quite accustomed to what specialists have called the profound and sublime genre in order to perceive the great beauties of this composition'.¹³³

Once the process of establishing the canon was well in place in Europe, Beethoven became 'incontrovertibly "heroic"' and Rossini became 'romantically inaudible' in France in the 1830s, to employ Benjamin Walton's apt terms.¹³⁴ In Mexico, Rossini reigned supreme for many decades to come both in the general public's perception and in terms of critics' taste. The endowment of Rossini's music with this 'deeper'—Beethovenian—quality, granted the Italian composer a safe passage in the eyes of a sector of the Mexican professional community conversant with European trends, a very small but not negligible sector of the music community. At the same time, the general public was delighted rather by Rossini's passionate music, the opera stories and the magic created when companies embarked upon his music. The 'catchy tunes and bouncy melodies' that Walton found were 'redirected to the negative end of the twin styles' while in Mexico they dominated most of Rossini's reception. Rossini graciously gave way to Bellini and Donizetti during the 1830s and 1840s without losing a special position in Mexican taste, both at home and in the theatre, and for most of the remainder of the century.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, by the 1840s Bellini was the Mexicans' favourite. After Bellini's death, a note in the papers stated that: 'Most of Bellini's operas have been performed in Mexico, and we believe many years will pass before the impressions

message Mexican audiences received from *Mahometto II*, when they saw it for the first time, is unclear,' 282.

¹³³ *El Sol*, 26 June 1832. There is no acknowledgement of the librettist in the newspaper report.

¹³⁴ Walton, *Rossini*, 235.

¹³⁵ The critic of *El Sol* of 13 Apr. 1826, however, maintained that it was a pity that new singers who arrived in Mexico devoted themselves to *L'italiana in Algeri*, a composition that had been 'too superficially dealt with and too corrupted and that has no longer any attraction for most of the public'.

caused by the sweetness of *Pirata* and the sublimity of *Norma*, weaken'.¹³⁶ *Norma* was premiered at Milan's La Scala in 1831 and only five years later in Mexico. This opera was probably the most performed and popular one in Mexico in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, to the extent that Bellini's popularity affected Donizetti's reception adversely for a short while. When Donizetti's *Beatrice di Tenda* was premiered in Mexico, part of the unfavourable opinion was due to direct comparison with Bellini:

With the exception of various pieces which are reminiscent of Bellini [the opera *Beatrice di Tenda*] isn't one of those that have principally contributed to the glory of the great composer [Donizetti]. One can find within it a good conception next to a bad one many times over, a brilliant inspiration and one of feeling next to a bit which make it languid and dull and at times not so pleasant.¹³⁷ (4.6, p. 314)

After the untimely death of Bellini, however, a Mexican critic believed that Donizetti was 'the only one who has filled the void left by the unfortunate Bellini, if it is possible to fill it'.¹³⁸

Such was the influence of Rossini and his successors' model that the music of composers such as Mozart or Verdi was measured against them when (re)released in Mexico. Attilio Valtellina, a bass singer who came with Anna Bishop's company and stayed on in Mexico to start his own company, was the first to present a complete Verdi opera, *Ernani*, in a Mexican theatre.¹³⁹ The critic for the conservative newspaper *El Universal*, concentrated on Hugo's story to dismiss it: 'The argument is really nothing more than a weaving together of unlikely rubbish, as most operas tend to be and very especially those which are taken from extravagant masterpieces, daughters of the delirious imagination of Victor Hugo.'¹⁴⁰ In addition, the critic disliked the fact that theatrical effect seemed to be Verdi's main aim in his deployment of larger ensembles: trios, quartets, quintets and large choruses.

Verdi's music was also criticised from a musical point of view via the claim that he attempted to revolutionise harmony in music when it had already been achieved by Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti. In short, Verdi, who was endowed of a 'colossal genius' had come to the world 'too late'. Inevitably, the critic here referred

¹³⁶ *El Apuntador*, 308, 314.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 320.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 'Donizetti,' 340.

¹³⁹ In Mexico's newspapers, the opera was spelled *Hernani*, like Hugo's play.

¹⁴⁰ *El Universal*, 17 May 1850.

to the closeness of *bel canto* composers with the Mexican public, which he found lacking in Verdi and, in short, while admitting the richness, magnificence and grandeur that Verdi's music produces, he judged that 'one cannot find in it [Verdi's music] those ravishing portions, as tender as they are passionate, which shine so much for instance in Bellini's operas'. It was not possible to hum a melody after an opera by Verdi as one could do with Rossini or Bellini. Two commentaries in the papers consider that Verdi's music did not prompt the emotional response that Rossini's did. The latter's music was listened to with 'tears of feeling and tenderness', which was not possible with the former's.¹⁴¹ In its turn, *El Siglo XIX* pointed out that *Ernani*'s music can never 'captivate the senses nor enrapture as can *Norma* or *La sonnambula*'.¹⁴² This phenomenon reinforces the idea that in the 1850s a change took place in Mexican sensibility, accompanied by a growing importance of emotion in musical reception, which was framed within an increasing need for order and silence inside the theatre. At the same time the adored Italian trinity of Rossini/Bellini/Donizetti played such a key role in the establishment of that it was difficult to let them go in favour of new Italian models.

Mozart also suffered in its comparison with the Mexican *bel canto* Italian composers. His *Don Giovanni*, was (re)premiered in Mexico on June 1852 by Maretzek's opera company. Maretzek's performance was announced as a premiere. Manuel García had premiered it 24 years before, on 23 June 1828, but no one seemed to remember or mention the fact. Back then, the commentary in the press was directed toward how well the singers performed, and not at the piece itself.¹⁴³ A quarter of century later the positions were reversed. *El Siglo XIX* commented that despite acknowledging some valuable arias, 'the public received the opera coldly and was not very pleased. Some enthusiasts of German music applauded wildly, but they were clearly in the minority'. The critic explained that Mozart's music was not for most people and that it sounded outmoded. He could not help bring up the fact that Italian music, unlike Mozart, 'was so melodious, so tender, and so expressive'.¹⁴⁴ There was uneasiness in the conservative and liberal press as some critics were clearly concerned with the bad image Mexico would project towards the rest of the

¹⁴¹ *El Universal*, 18 May 1850.

¹⁴² *El Siglo XIX*, 21 May 1850.

¹⁴³ Radomski, *Manuel García*, 227-8. Except for a poem deifying Mozart written by Secretary Lucas Alamán published in *El Sol*, which Radomski transcribes.

¹⁴⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 25 June 1852.

world for disliking Mozart. For instance the critic ‘Nadie’ felt ashamed of the public’s lack of sensibility toward Mozart as it hissed his masterpiece.¹⁴⁵ This opinion suggests an awareness of the European process of canonisation of the Austrian composer, whereas the following description recognises a line of continuity between Mozart and Rossini but undoubtedly reaffirms the latter’s superiority. The critic from *El Universal* explained in musical terms why Mozart caused such a commotion in his own time and in the decades immediately after his death, when *Don Giovanni* reached the status of masterpiece; but he also clarified why that status could not be achieved in 1852. The critic argued that Rossini took Mozart as a model and exceeded him on all counts; he stressed the continuity between the two composers by wrongly pointing out that the day of Mozart’s death was precisely that of Rossini’s birth.¹⁴⁶ Ultimately, in the journalist’s examination, no single aria in *Don Giovanni* could compare with the prayer from *Möise*, the romance in *Desdemona* or ‘Casta Diva’ in *Norma*.¹⁴⁷ In this historically situated concept of ‘masterpiece’, *Don Giovanni*, and Mozart’s music more generally, was overcome by Rossini’s music, more attuned to contemporary feelings and perceptions.

In contradistinction to Europe, in Mexico City there was no established musical canon in the 1850s. In the latter part of the century, the absolute dominion of Italian repertoire continued, with only sporadic presence of the French repertoire of Meyerbeer, Bizet and Gounod. Only in the 1890s were ‘the strange voices of Beethoven, Weber and Wagner first heard on Mexican stages’.¹⁴⁸ But perhaps we should look elsewhere to hear such music rather earlier than that. Beethoven, not unlike Rossini, was first known in Mexican homes. In an 1826 newspaper advertisement we find that piano concertos with orchestral accompaniments, not only by Beethoven, but also by Kalkbrenner, Dussek, Cramer, Field and others are on sale. On offer, too, are overtures in orchestral score, not only by Rossini but also by

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 28 June 1852. Maretzek’s experience was different in the U.S. and he was probably expecting Mexicans to positively react to the opera as well. When the impresario presented *Don Giovanni* at Astor Place House in New York, he claimed that it ‘brought support from all classes, and attracted persons of all professions and every description to the Opera House.’ Preston mentions that ‘other sources corroborate the manager’s description of the audience’ and that the opera ‘saved the season financially’. Preston, *Opera on the Road*, 152.

¹⁴⁶ The actual dates are: 5 Dec. 1791 (Mozart’s death) and 29 Feb. 1792 (Rossini’s birth).

¹⁴⁷ *El Universal*, 30 June 1852.

¹⁴⁸ Ricardo Miranda, ‘El espejo idealizado: un siglo de ópera en México (1810-1910)’, *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica. Actas del Congreso Internacional, La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica. Una creación propia*. Madrid, 29 Nov. /3 Dec. 1999 (Madrid: ICCMU, Colección Música hispana textos. Estudios, [c2001]), 153.

Beethoven, Ries, Winter, Paer, Pleyel, Kufner, Mozart and Haydn. Finally there is chamber music: quintets, quartets, trios and duets by Beethoven, Sorgel, Romberg, Haydn, Viotti, Lafont, Carulli, among others.¹⁴⁹ John Koegel has found that the ensemble works published or sold in Mexico usually came with parts and a reduced score or a piano reduction rather than full conductor's score.¹⁵⁰ Publishers provided their clientele with this German, and also French and non-operatic Italian music for home enjoyment. Unsurprisingly it is José Antonio Gómez who in an 1832 advertisement offers a music repertoire, available for sale in his own home, where he sold music by Rossini, Haydn, Beethoven, Mozart and others.¹⁵¹

We have a few hints of Beethoven's presence in Mexico during the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth centuries from Carmen Sordo's short article 'Beethoven's Projection in Mexico'. In 1797, Beethoven's music was forbidden by the Spanish authorities as 'unpleasant to the ear and of doubtless danger to the stability of the New Spanish kingdom'. However, Sordo claims, the music shops of Mexico City continued to sell his music camouflaged as something else, and even printed some of his works under 'anonymous' authorship.¹⁵²

In 1854 'The German Philharmonic Club' began to offer concerts by invitation where German music figured prominently. In 1854, for instance, it gave a concert in honour of the Dutch violinist Franz Coenen and pianist Ernest (Ernst) Lubeck who were playing concerts in Mexico. According to *El Siglo XIX*, this was a club of *dilettanti* who wanted to honour these artists 'who have made known to Mexico the beauty of the music of Thalberg, Liszt and Gottschalk'.¹⁵³ The concert included music by Gluck and Haydn, the song *Liedesfreiheit* by Marschner and music by Zöttner, among others. Despite enjoying the performance, the reporter disliked the fact that, much in the German *Liedertafeln* fashion, it was a men-only

¹⁴⁹ *El Sol*, Supplement to No. 1195, 21 Sept. 1826.

¹⁵⁰ John Koegel, 'Towards a National Union Catalog of Nineteenth-Century Mexican Music Imprints,' Jan. 2009, unpublished paper, 5.

¹⁵¹ *El Sol*, 29 July 1832, quoted by Aguilar, 'La imprenta profana,' 73.

¹⁵² Carmen Sordo, 'Beethoven's projection in Mexico', *Bericht Über Den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus; Hans Joachim Marx; Magda Marx-Weber; Günther Massenkeil. Report on the Symposium 'Reflexionen Über Musikwissenschaft Heute'. (Kassel/Basel/Tours/ London: Bärenreiter, 1971), 577. Sordo demonstrates that from the 1860s onwards Beethoven became extremely popular in Mexico. There were also compositions in his honour by well-known composers such as Aniceto Ortega; in addition, during President Benito Juárez inauguration in 1867, Beethoven's *Egmont* overture was played.

¹⁵³ *El Siglo XIX*, 21 Jan. 1854.

event.¹⁵⁴ With the arrival of Henrietta Sontag that same year, new Germanophilic musical events took place in the same Club in honour of the singer, who, herself, sang German music at concerts.¹⁵⁵

There are two caveats about this repertoire that exceed the coverage of this thesis but that are worth noting. The first is the fact that advertisements for this type of non-operatic chamber music are found in the first decades of the century (including the last part of the Colonial dominion), but is hardly found in later decades when it was superseded by arrangements for chamber ensembles of mainly operatic music, and piano and piano and voice music (during the 1860s) when there is again an expansion of the repertoire being offered by music-sellers. The second idea refers to the predominantly masculine character of this music, because in the first decades of the nineteenth century women's instruments were restricted to piano and voice or (less frequently) harp and guitar. There is no sign that professional orchestras employed women, and we have found no references to domestic performances with women playing string or wind instruments. It is interesting to note that with the exception of a waltz by Johann Strauss published by José Antonio Gómez, which is not really considered 'serious music', women's magazines did not publish Germanic music at the time. Additionally, the *Liedertafel* episode reinforces the idea that German repertoire was performed in a men's space, and that it was a minority interest. The dominance of Italian opera remained unthreatened.

Conclusion

Brantz Mayer offered a valuable assessment of the theatre's role in Mexicans' everyday life during his visit of 1844. He underscored the importance that theatrical life held for the inhabitants of Mexico City: '[T]heater is a Mexican necessary of life. It is the legitimate conclusion of a day, and all go to it; the old, because they have been accustomed to do so from their infancy; the middle aged, because they find it difficult to spend their time otherwise; and the young for a thousand reasons which the young will most readily understand'.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 21 Feb. 1854. Probably Heinrich Marschner (1795-1861), German composer. No reference to a composer Zöttner could be found.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 13, 30 Apr. and 2 May 1854.

¹⁵⁶ Mayer, *Mexico as It Was*, 287.

Amid the operatic phenomenon that began to take place in Mexico City after independence, important changes in the circulation of repertoire and practices from the home to the theatre and from the theatre to the home, and slow changes in taste and musical repertoire, took place. The Mexicans' incorrigible love for bel canto remained largely untouched through the period probed in this thesis and the decades after. In particular Rossini, as introduced by Manuel García in the 1820s, captured opera lovers' imagination and predominated over the rest of the operatic composers. Rossini's melodies conquered the Mexicans' homes and hearts and left its particular mark in the way of a lens through which audiences looked at the rest of the repertoire.

In the wake of the changes that began to happen in mid-century around operatic matters, many discussions were conducted involving the role of women in society, the rules for coexistence in public spaces, the role of the authorities in the new civil society, and Mexico's place in the community of nations and in the face of what was considered to be the heart of civilisation: Europe.

Victor Uribe-Uran, who wrote about the emergence of the public sphere in Spanish America, claims that 'an at least incipient public sphere emerged within colonial Spanish America's civil societies in the late colonial period'.¹⁵⁷ The actors contributing to this development were 'a limited circle of cultural elites' that opened out to other groups after independence.¹⁵⁸ The foundation of *sociedades de amigos del país*, *tertulias patrióticas*, literary, scientific and economic associations together with the emergence of independent presses that published an increasing number of newspapers, are proof of the development and expansion of civil societies and of a 'rudimentary' public sphere.¹⁵⁹ After independence, the body politic became stronger with the proliferation of presses and the organisation of *sociedades* and literary groups by the *letrados* (lawyers and intellectuals). Uribe-Uran considers that 'These new social forums, along with the patriotic armies themselves, became new public spaces and means to shape an alternative legitimacy. They also produced a new source of political power—namely, "public opinion"'.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Victor M. Uribe-Uran, 'The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, No.2 (2000), 425.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 437.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 439-445.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 450.

Theatres too became an instance of this emerging ‘public sphere’, where private individuals engaged in debates over the rules governing relations in that sphere of commodity exchange and social labour.¹⁶¹ In theatres, this ‘new civil society’ opened spaces for debate, questioned authority ‘from above’ and demanded ‘availability of the cultural product’ of which they were becoming key authors now that the Colonial, authoritarian, rule was over. Those same elites that Uribe-Urban finds writing and publishing new newspapers and founding societies, attended music performances where they not only were connected as the cultural elite but where they also discussed economic and political matters. In a Habermasian vision, Mexican theatre could also be viewed as a training ground for critical public opinion. The process was multifaceted and fluid: theatrical life shaped social and political life as much as new social and political rules and organisations shaped behaviour inside the theatre. In a wider sphere, the fashioning of identity for nineteenth-century Mexicans was taking place through discursive practices and politically-charged actions inside and around the opera house.

The theatrical operatic world of the first decades of the nineteenth century also served as an experimental field in Mexico’s relationship to Europe. Europe had been part of Mexican identity since its inception as a nation, but it was also an ideal that was impossible to reach—like a mirage that constantly moved further away. From a European perspective Mexico was irremediably behind the main European cities in theatrical affairs. Foreign visitors were quick to point out this backwardness via colonialist rhetoric. More precisely, the disparity between Mexico and Europe, despite Mexicans’ alleged desire to become European musically speaking, was caused by profound cultural differences that repeatedly surfaced, demonstrating the specificity of the new nation *vis-à-vis* the Old World. These disparities became evident in matters of behaviour and repertoire in the Mexican musical world, such as the custom of smoking or the relentless love for Italian *bel canto*. In fact, differences functioned not only as a demonstration of how far Mexico City was from London, Paris or Vienna, but also served the purpose of reaffirming Mexicans’ sense of self, as demonstrated by patriotic statements published in newspapers.

Mexicans’ complex relationship to Europe was also manifest in their appraisal of visiting musicians, which we will examine in detail in the next chapter

¹⁶¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 30.

devoted to the case of pianist-virtuoso Henri Herz and his mid-century tour of Mexico. In this case too, patriotic drive and admiration for the European musical world and products combined with Mexican agendas to create a singular experience, with rich semantic and political implications.

Chapter 5

Henri Herz: A European Virtuoso in Mexico (1849-1850)

The variations on Norma were sublime. An admirable performance, an exquisitely delicate touch, unbelievable mastery of the instrument, Herz makes the piano laugh joyfully and then cry in heart-rending fashion. Those who have not heard Herz have no idea what a piano is.

*El Siglo XIX, 27 August 1849*¹ (5.1, p. 314)

Virtuoso pianist and composer Henri Herz took Mexico by storm in 1849. His visit was a temporary relief for demoralised national elites. After losing half of its territory in the war with the U.S.A., Mexico desperately needed to raise her head and to find viable ways of constructing a national identity. Practices, ideas and the presence of visiting musicians proved to be key elements of nation building. The country's ambivalent relationship to Europe, which was both an aggressor and the main provider of cultural models, is manifest in the way in which Mexicans clung to all facets of the musicians' visits: what they brought with them and what they represented. According to somewhat ironic contemporary chroniclers, politicians were often more occupied with what was in store at the theatre than with internal quarrels and foreign invasions, which took place well into the 1860s. During the nineteenth century, with the tours of visiting musicians and with the development of a local musical secular community, music was incorporated into a new wave of modern European cultural influence, and formed part of the civil endeavour of identity construction. Mexico was to find, both in real and metaphorical terms, her place in the concert of the nations.

In Mexico Henri Herz practiced a series of unprecedented procedures in the country that affected the way music was conceived, both in public and private spaces. While the main goal of the musician's tour was to earn as much money as possible, and the strategies he displayed were aimed at this specific target, from the Mexicans' point of view, Herz's tour exceeded these aims.

The chapter conceptualises the effects of the virtuoso's tour on Mexico's musical community, touching upon matters of class and, especially, gender. The musician acted as the self-appointed leader of a musical Romantic school that placed emphasis on its sentimental and domestic aspects. Accordingly, he especially

¹ My emphasis.

targeted women, whom he rightly perceived as susceptible to his musical gallantries. For instance, he dedicated pieces to them and gave sheet music to them *gratis* at his concerts, and he targeted women as his preferred concert public. At the same time, according to the evidence, Herz strove to take the musical salon and the music performed there to the next level within musical life, and thus granted women, the main actors of the salon, new relevance. In the end, however, as we shall see, his aim was not the advancement and modernisation of music in Mexico (which would have included, for instance, the furthering of women's place within the musical profession), but a propaganda campaign to promote his own aims. With regard to men, he realised the importance of the pressing issues of creating a national (musical) identity, and responded by proposing the composition of a national anthem and the collection of local songs (*sonecitos*).²

Mexican professional musicians and musical amateurs were eager to revitalise the culture of musical performance after interruptions caused by war. In Richard Leppert's concept:

The virtuoso anchored a broad range of paradoxical, often contradictory, meanings: artist and businessman; inspired superhuman Genius, and sonority-producing machine; utterly sincere in character and calculatingly manipulative; authentic and fake; masculine and feminine; Byronic hero possessing militaristic stamina and strength but, ironically—as regards Liszt—in the body of a pale, thin, and sometimes fainting aesthete. These polarities to no small degree not only define the obsessive fascination with the virtuoso in the nineteenth century but also mark the virtuoso at the epicenter of the cultural and social issues that characterize modernity itself.³

This ambiguity as embodied in the semiotic sign of the virtuoso enabled its appropriation by Mexican men and women. The melange of Romantic and modern elements Herz introduced during his performances in Mexico proved well suited to the transitional period Mexico was undergoing.

² This was, of course, also a Romantic practice, widely in vogue in Europe with the creation of national identities during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was, in addition, practised before by Herz in the U.S. and afterwards in both Peru and Chile.

³ Richard Leppert, 'The Musician of the Imagination' in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* ed. by William Weber (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 26.

A modern musical colonisation of Mexico

Henri Herz brought to Mexico the European model of the virtuoso both in the Romantic image of the Artist as a visionary genius and a charmer of ladies, and in the form of a series of (tangible and profitable) modern elements characteristic of nineteenth-century commercialisation of music. Some of the traits Mary Louise Pratt identifies in the new European travellers of the nineteenth century can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to travelling musicians. They showed intolerance to what their predecessors idealised: unexplored nature and ‘primitive’ societies. They regarded these facts as a failure of human enterprise and sought to act as a ‘capitalist vanguard’. According to Pratt, there is a good amount of hypocrisy in this view, for: ‘Ideologically, the vanguard’s task is to reinvent America as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of the rationalized exploitation the Europeans bring’.⁴

Herz was applying a long-standing, albeit altered, equation that can be traced back to the Spanish conquest: religion and civilization in exchange for gold. It is simply that in the travelling musicians’ case, religion was replaced by culture and weapons by pianos. In addition, Herz’s representation of the modernised musical Romantic hero was appealing to a people who were used to and loved, Baroque theatricality during Colonial times and who were currently reading Romantic literature. He was in fact a modern impresario calculating his potential profit without displaying this interest to the public. On this occasion, nineteenth-century refined entertainment was to be presented on the Mexican stage, and this was the carefully prepared task of Bernard Ullman, Herz’s agent. The agent was a new character on the Mexican scene. He was charged with raising the public’s expectations and creating an aura of mystery to the virtuoso to come.

Bernard Ullman was a Hungarian immigrant to the United States, where he arrived around 1842 and eventually became a manager to a number of European touring musicians. Years later, Herz vividly narrated his first encounter with Ullman in New York. The virtuoso described Ullman as ‘a very young man’, although he was probably twenty-nine by then and, by all accounts, possessed a strong

⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 151-2.

personality.⁵ He knew what he wanted: to have ‘wealth as everyone in America does’, and he knew how to sell himself accordingly. The pianist’s memoirs recall their first encounter:

‘What do you know how to do?’ I asked young Ullmann, who had been warmly recommended to me.

‘Nothing,’ replied the future impresario frankly, ‘but for the very reason I do not know how to do anything, I do know how to get things done. Try me. I will take care of the concert posters, I will have your programs printed, I will see that everything is in order in the hall where you hold your concert, I will present you favourably to the newspaper editors. The newspaper is the key to artistic success [...] If you wish it, I will give you my advice on whatever steps I think useful to take, *for it does not always suffice to have only talent to succeed*; finally, I will act in your interest, which will become mine, in doing whatever you cannot do yourself but nevertheless urgently need to have done.’⁶

Herz found Ullman’s argument and personality compelling enough to grant him the opportunity he requested.⁷ They became a team through good times and bad, and stayed together during the U.S. and the Mexican tour, from 1846 to 1850. Thereafter, Herz continued the South American part of the tour by himself and Ullman returned to the U.S. to become a prosperous impresario. The itinerary of Herz’s Latin American tour, never collated before, was as follows: Mexico, first stay, ten months (June 1849-March 1850) before journeying on to San Francisco (where he stayed during the month of April 1850) and then two months again (May-June 1850) after

⁵ He was probably born in 1817 and there is no account of his career before his arrival in the States. His name is variously spelled as Ullman, Ulman, Ullmann or Uhlman. William Brookes and Katherine K. Preston, ‘Ullman, Bernard’, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy. Accessed 04 12 2006, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁶ This last phrase is crucial for an understanding why Herz knew he needed Ullman. Herz had confidence in his musical merits but he also realized that in the U.S., and more generally as a touring musician with a busy schedule, he also needed a commercial strategy and an assistant to organise the practical aspects of the tour. This quotation comes from a series of articles originally published in French in *La France Musicale*, a specialized newspaper, in 1851-1852. Later Herz revised the articles for publication as a book: *Mes voyages en Amérique* (Paris: Fauré, 1866). In this text I use the English version: Henri Herz, *My Travels in America*, trans. Henry Bertram Hill (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963), 29. Compared with the newspaper articles, he abbreviated the musical matters in the book and became more anecdotal, stressing the stereotypes of Americans. Allen Lott recommends not taking his statements at face value: ‘His version of the truth is often chronologically inaccurate, and some anecdotes are too ridiculous to believe’. However, it is an invaluable document in assessing Herz and the mentality of his times. See also R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria. How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (Oxford /New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 58.

⁷ On Ullman as manager see R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria, op. cit.*, also Laurence Marton Lerner, ‘The Rise of the Impresario: Bernard Ullman and the Transformation of Musical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America,’ PhD diss. (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970); and Laure Schnapper, ‘6. Bernard Ullman-Henri Herz. An Example of Financial and Artistic Partnership, 1846-1849,’ in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans and Entrepreneurs*, ed. by William Weber (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 2004), 130-144.

his stay in San Francisco and before departing for Lima, Perú.⁸ His first concert in Lima was on 19 August 1850; in November, he left for Chile where he gave several concerts. In June 1850, he returned to Lima and on 9 July 1851 he took a ship back to London.⁹

How and why the relationship between Herz and Ullman terminated in Mexico remains unclear. The American impresario Max Maretzek, who knew Ullman well, contends that Herz ‘dismissed’ him.¹⁰ We might mistrust Maretzek because of his obvious competitiveness with Ullman—the Austrian-American and the Hungarian-American managing European talent in the land of the dollar—and also because of his interest in managing some of the same artists as Ullman (for example, Henrietta Sontag). However, it might also be that Maretzek learned how the Ullman-Herz partnership ended when he brought an Italian opera company from New York to Mexico only four years after Herz and Ullman had left the country, and heard first hand reports of the matter. The fact that Ullman and Herz did indeed part ways in Mexico, never to reunite, lends credibility to Maretzek’s assertion.

At any rate, Ullman and Herz agreed on the foremost purpose of their work relationship: money. Ullman was presented by Herz as the ‘capitalist vanguard’, to borrow Pratt’s term, allowing Herz himself to shine as the Romantic artist of

⁸ Herz gave four concerts in the Teatro Coliseo of the town of Durango in Northern Mexico: 24, 27 and 31 January and 3 February 1850, which is the last Mexican concert of which I have news. See Javier Guerrero Romero, *Teatro Coliseo. Teatro Victoria. 200 años de vida del primer teatro del norte de México* (Mexico: Instituto Municipal del Arte y la Cultura de Durango, 2001), 55-57. From then on, Herz vanishes from the records until 2 April, when he gives his first concert in San Francisco. Those two months, about which we know little, were partly spent travelling to California. That is why I take March as the end of his Mexican tour. According to the Mexican newspaper *El Siglo XIX*, 20 May 1850, in San Francisco, Herz stayed ‘less than a month and gave twelve concerts’. He then briefly returned to Mexico (June 1850) and performed several concerts in Guadalajara and perhaps other towns, from where he was planning to continue to Mexico City again but was deterred by the cholera epidemics.

⁹ Schnapper, ‘Bernard Ullman- Henri Herz...,’ 137. Herz’s stay in Peru is mentioned in Rodolfo Barbacci, *Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano* (Peru: Fénix, [1950]), 463-464. I thank musicologist Aurelio Tello for this reference. The Chilean tour is referred to in Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Historia de la Música en Chile, 1850-1900* (Santiago: Univ. de Chile, 1957), 111-114. The details of Herz’s tour in Peru and Chile exceed the scope of this work and would certainly need research on primary sources, of the type I have done in Mexican newspapers, in those respective countries. Herz apparently copied his Mexican model in his tours in Peru and Chile: composed a National March, played improvisation on local tunes and proposed to collect an album of ‘national airs.’

¹⁰ His memoirs, which I have quoted in relation to the Eufrosia Amat’s case in Chapter Three, are eloquent testimony of his experiences in the United States and Mexico. Max Maretzek *Revelations of an Opera Manager in 19th-Century America: Crotchets and Quavers and Sharps and Flats* [1855, 1st volume; 1890, 2nd volume], with a new intro. by Charles Haywood, Two volumes bound as one (New York: Dover, 1968). The reference to Ullman’s dismissal is in page 307.

elevated spirit. Herz gave the following account of a dialogue with Ullman in the memoirs of his U.S. tour:

One day, when my secretary had proposed something more fantastic than usual—more ingenious perhaps would be more polite—I told him that I wished insofar as it was possible not to use other people or special tricks to draw a crowd for my concerts. I wanted them to rely on my art.

‘Art, art, always art’, replied Ullman [sic] in a depreciatory tone. ‘What, then, do you think music is?’

‘You want a definition of music?’

‘Yes.’

‘All right. Music is the art of evoking moods by means of combinations of sounds.’

‘Is that all?’

‘So it would seem to me.’

‘Not at all. Music is the art of attracting to a given auditorium, by secondary devices which often become the principal ones, the greatest possible number of curious people so that when expenses are tallied against receipts the latter exceed the former by the widest possible margin’.¹¹

Prepared by Ullman, Herz’s reception on the outskirts of Mexico City befitted that of a returning hero, with a welcoming escort of musicians and amateurs from the Mexican elite. This magnificent reception even surfaced in the U.S. papers, where Americans had recently witnessed Herz’s two-year musical tour:¹² ‘Herz is being *lionized* in Mexico. A large procession of the leading musicians, amateurs, and of the nobility and citizens, went out on the afternoon of the 10th of July, upwards of two leagues, to meet M. Herz, and escort him into the city, where he was received with every demonstration of respect and esteem’.¹³ According to the Mexican papers, Herz was received ‘with the most cordial tokens of appreciation’, and those who could not follow the delegation to El Peñón Viejo, waited for him at the Hotel de la Gran Sociedad, where he stayed, and was, once again, the subject of a distinguished reception including a military band placed in the Hotel’s courtyard, that played for a long time.¹⁴

¹¹ Herz, *My Travels*, 41-2.

¹² For details of the American part of the tour see R. Allen Lot, *From Paris*. His American expedition was not all honey and roses. Herz received mixed reviews, including strong criticisms, and became involved in clashes with other musicians. These annoyances, however, were part and parcel of the virtuoso life and were calculated to attract renewed public interest.

¹³ A league is equivalent to 3½ miles. *The Message Bird. A Literary and Musical Journal*, New York, 15 Aug. 1849, 27. It is likely that Ullman kept the American press informed of Herz’s success in Mexico, with a possible return to that country in mind.

¹⁴ *El Monitor Republicano*, 13 July 1849.

The occasion perhaps found echoes, in the older audience, of receptions organised during Colonial times, when a new viceroy or bishop arrived from Spain. It was conceivably a chance to recuperate some lost grandeur, drenched in nostalgia for formerly authoritarian viceregal times, transferred to the person of the travelling musician in newly independent republican Mexico. At the same time, these new European ambassadors carried the seemingly utopian possibility for Mexicans to form part of the Western world as a republic in its own right and in a peaceful manner, suspending for a short time their perceptions of the crude imperialism manifested by the U.S. and Europe. However, as Pratt has argued, ‘one would seriously misinterpret creole¹⁵ relations to European metropolis (even in their neo-colonial dimensions) if one thought of creole esthetics as simply imitating or mechanically reproducing European discourses’.¹⁶ The process of transculturation of European values, understood as ‘selecting and deploying [European materials] in ways that do not simply reproduce the hegemonic visions of Europe’,¹⁷ was over three centuries old by the time Herz arrived in Mexico. Mexicans needed Herz’s visit as much as Herz needed it; and, far from being as gullible as he thought, they resignified his tour into their own nation-building quest.

***La Lonja* concert series. A telling failure of musical organisation**

Herz, most likely through Ullman, published a letter of acknowledgment in the papers in which he courteously flattered the Mexican amateurs and professional musicians who welcomed him and who were, of course, the potential clients for his concerts. The condescending rhetoric displayed by the Herz-Ullman declaration in the papers was consonant with the old-fashioned flavour his welcoming reception had exhibited: ‘From Europe I had already heard of the extraordinary fondness Mexicans have for the arts, and especially music; thus I consider the reception I received less than a proof of personal benevolence than a solemn homage, rendered

¹⁵ Mary Louise Pratt is referring here to *criollo* as defined above; ‘creole’ could be confusing since in America it has been specifically applied to mixed races from the U.S. South and more specifically to Louisiana and the New Orleans area, including its cuisine, as well as the Caribbean area. By contrast, *criollo* refers specifically to locally born people, in Spanish speaking countries, descendants of Peninsulars as the Spaniards were called. Their blood was suppose to be pure, or almost pure, Spanish blood. They held a higher status than all other classes in society save for Peninsulars.

¹⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 187-188.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

to the divine art, of which I am but a humble devotee'.¹⁸ The 'king of pianists' who had 'no left hand but two right hands' was then ready to charm.¹⁹ While this reception was an all-male affair that included strenuous horse riding and military music, for the next stages of their tour, Herz/Ullman turned to their female contingent.

Women were active participants in the theatre, a space in which they found ways to develop their own taste and artistic sensibility, beyond the domestic realm. Visiting musicians displayed a particularly intense focus on women, whom they conceived as the perfect consumers of their musical products, both intangible and tangible: seduction, glamour, but also sheet music. During Herz's tour of the U.S., an American critic captured the seductive power of Herz's playing style like this: 'De Meyer may break a piano, but Herz can break a heart'.²⁰ An American lady gave credit to the critic's words when she wrote '[W]hen I heard Herz play his own compositions, I was carried away with unqualified delight'.²¹ In Mexico Herz moved women's hearts and emptied their husbands' pockets in concert tickets and sheet music, while also promoting women's involvement in music making.

In a 'Biographical notice' printed in Mexico, Herz presented himself as 'the sun' of the new school, 'the father and chief of Romantic music'.²² The type of Romanticism Herz was advocating was that of a *modus vivendi*, a musical kind of social interaction between professionals and concertgoers and dilettanti, the latter of which he was especially eager to draw on-side. While in Europe Herz was attacked by Schumann and his friends for his commercialism and superficiality,²³ in Mexico he could freely advocate for a less intellectualised version of Romanticism, including the defence of operatic music *outside* the theatre and in the salon, the middle-class—and not aristocratic—salon. The piano stood at the centre of this advocacy. Women were crucial in this project for they were the main performers of piano music in the

¹⁸ *El Monitor Republicano*, 14 July 1849.

¹⁹ Expressions used in Mexican newspapers. See for instance: *El Siglo XIX*, 6 July 1849, *El Universal*, 11 July 1849.

²⁰ Quoted in Lott, *From Paris*, 59.

²¹ Lydia Maria Child as quoted in Lott, *From Paris*, 71.

²² The article is signed by well-known writer Manuel Payno. *El Álbum Mexicano. Periódico de Literatura, Artes y Bellas Artes*, II (Mexico, 1849), 208-218.

²³ We need to remember that Schumann's objective when founding his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1834 was precisely to fight against the commercialism and superficiality embodied in the virtuosi that swept Paris in those years. 'Let us not look and do nothing!' he said 'Take action so that poetic qualities may again be honoured in this art'. Leon Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1967), 3-4.

salon, the new transitional space between private and public among the middle and upper classes. In the decades following Herz's visit, Mexican composers undertook an initial search for a musical identity, which, in its first instances, took place prominently in this very space, in the form of music which contained musical references to local melodies and songs. Herz, as well, as other visiting musicians, played a role in establishing this trend.

Nevertheless, the tour did not start smoothly. Failed attempts by Ullman to secure for his patron the only functioning public hall, the National Theatre, due to previously booked engagements, forced him to look for an alternative venue. His negotiations led to a series of four concerts, starting 6 August, in a lavish house called *La Lonja*, owned by an association of merchants.²⁴ This exclusive all-male association granted access to women only during balls held a few times a year. However, women were considered a natural public for concerts and therefore were not excluded from this occasion. Herz's *La Lonja* concerts put at the centre of the discussion two issues that were live within the Mexican concert-going elite: one was precisely the discussion about women, but in this case it added the interrelated issue of class.

We know that the real cause of difficulty concerning Mr. Herz's concert at *La Lonja*, was in the basic repugnance of certain members that, given the open entrance to everybody, perhaps their wives and daughters would have to sit near persons without principles, nor education or decency. Having overcome this obstacle by means of subscription, the concert will take place soon.²⁵ (5.2, p. 314)

Mexicans were now facing for the first time the dilemma of the semi-private elitist musical space open to unknown 'others'. The collapse of the Colonial caste system, where blood and birth-lines determined one's position in society, left them with uncertainties they had never faced before. These included the possibility that *their* women, that is, those responsible for the literal and cultural reproduction of the system, might establish direct contact with lower, if moneyed, classes. While in the

²⁴ The association boasted not only *savoir vivre* but intellectual stimulation: its premises provided its members with the main national and foreign newspapers, and an exclusive ball, open only to members, their families and special guests, was periodically thrown. In order to become member, a person had to be accepted by at least two-thirds of the constituency. A word that fell into disuse, *lonja* literally meant public exchange or—usually wool—storeroom. The information presented here is taken from Marcos Arróniz, a Spanish traveller to Mexico, who gave a detailed description of the Mexican association in his *Manual del viajero en México* [1858], Facsimile (Mexico: Instituto Mora, 1991).

²⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 24 July 1849.

theatre the upper classes could, and did, subscribe to a box where their sense of separateness from more ordinary people could be preserved, this physical separation was much harder to achieve in a hall like La Lonja. Thus with this ‘women problem’ in mind the organisers decided to have La Lonja’s concerts open to the public, but with access tightly controlled by subscription. A committee of La Lonja members would supervise the subscriptions and authorise—or not—admission. In fact, the conditions imposed by La Lonja to Herz, which were published in the papers, were extremely restrictive, including four general clauses and seven additional ‘subscription conditions’. Among the first were that Herz would use only the main and the meeting rooms and that the tickets were personal with a specific seat assigned, ‘in order to avoid disputes concerning the place each holder of a ticket should occupy’. The subscription conditions set a limit of 500 tickets to be sold for the main room, and for the meeting room, ‘those places that can comfortably fit’; the ticket was valid for the four concerts and its cost was one gold ounce.²⁶ The committee was to evaluate the applications for tickets on 4 and 5 August (the concerts were to take place on 6, 9, 13 and 16 August).²⁷ The level of detail of this announcement is unusual, telling of the rarity of the event and of the tensions it embodied, especially the intermingling of castes, classes and gender.

The newspaper *El Monitor Republicano*, which as its name indicates was an adamant Republican and anti-elitist publication, was quick to express, albeit in an indirect and subtle fashion, its reservations about La Lonja’s arrangement: ‘Mr. Herz prefers to give his concert in a private building; we believe, however, that none of those existing in Mexico would be large enough for the crowds that want to hear the eminent artist’.²⁸ In fact, Ullman and Herz could hardly have preferred the private hall, but were simply making the best of a bad situation. It became obvious later that they were unaware of the social unrest the concerts would cause. The newspaper was indirectly referring to the unease that Mexican musicians and amateurs felt toward an exclusionary organization.

As detailed as the instructions on the sale of tickets published by La Lonja’s subscriptions committee were, they were not clear enough, apparently, for a bemused contingent of Herz’s followers. The *Monitor Republicano* considered that further

²⁶ The limited places available, compared to the over 2,300 at the National Theatre, plus the high prices, several times higher than those of the theatre, is telling of the elitist nature of the event.

²⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 2 Aug. 1849.

²⁸ *El Monitor Republicano*, 23 July 1849.

clarification of the concept '*boleto personal*' (personal ticket) was required, which only confirms the fact that this was an unprecedented procedure: 'Since many persons have not understood the concept of "personal ticket", the committee hastens to let the public know that just as the word "personal" indicates, the ticket cannot be used but by the person whose name is written on it'.²⁹

A couple of days later, a further 'Rectification' was published in the papers, which slightly relaxed the committee's original requirements. This is the first adaptation of the original plan in light of the prevailing conditions—a portent not only of the eventual failure of the organisation of La Lonja's concerts but, at a deeper level, the fact that the world represented in La Lonja's members' scheme of things was rapidly changing.

With regard to rumours circulating in the city, by those who like to make things complicated, which claim that the names of the persons who want to buy tickets for Mr. Herz's concert should be approved by the committee in charge of the subscription, we hasten to assure the public that this is false. Every respectable person has the right to obtain tickets, and these shall be emitted without any further requirements other than the signature of one of the 47 members of La Lonja. This is done only to prevent abuses which, violating the public's interest, have always been practiced on this type of occasion.

Given that the committee is engaged otherwise, M. Herz's secretary will be in La Lonja this morning to sell tickets.³⁰ (5.3, p. 314)

The rhetoric is telling of the social tension underlying the matter: without admitting it, the committee retracted what it previously stated, and left a margin of ambiguity that worked to its advantage. However, it was forced to give uncomfortable—albeit vague—explanations. To further complicate matters, it turned out that Ullman himself, *and not* the members of the La Lonja committee, was in charge of selling tickets, a change made probably to encourage reluctant sectors of the middle classes to buy entrance tickets and who wanted to avoid being screened by the La Lonja members.

Ullman dealt an additional blow to the original plan when he realised that the way the subscription concerts were being planned by the committee was becoming a fiasco. It was obvious by then that the stratospheric prices, together with the complicated instructions, had led to very low ticket sales. Ullman then had to

²⁹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 3 Aug. 1849.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 Aug. 1849.

intervene, implementing damage control, and on the day of the first concert he published an announcement aimed at selling as many last-minute tickets as possible. First, the announcement clarified that alongside subscriptions for all four concerts, tickets for the concerts beginning that night were to be sold *separately*, for four pesos for each concert, and that people could buy them directly from the pianist's secretary.³¹ This desperate appeal indicates just how poor ticket sales had been up to that moment. Yet this was not a veritable remedy to the problem, for individual tickets were also extremely expensive: at the National Theatre, the regular price for the most expensive ticket was only one peso.

After Herz's first concert and before his second, a proud letter to the editors of the *Monitor Republicano* signed by 'Many passionate followers of Herz', delivered the final blow to the concert series. It is the moneyed new post-independence business class speaking in this passionate manifesto. It demands conditions of equality with those who still held the staggering banner of nobility inherited from Colonial times. The publication straightforwardly asked Herz, 'in the name of a multitude eagerly waiting to listen to the prominent pianist and composer', to stop giving concerts at La Lonja. They refused to attend that hall in order 'to avoid an unpleasant and indecent assessment [of themselves]. Even though, we are positive, that we and our families, signatories of this article, would not be snubbed'.³² The problem was not the one ounce fee as such, which they were ready to pay—bragging they would even be ready to pay twice that price, if conditions were different. They exonerated Herz from responsibility for the prevailing situation because 'he does not know our mores and our character' and he always wanted 'to generate affection and good relationships to *all classes of society*', for which reasons they believed he would heed their advice.³³

Caught in the middle of a dispute heightened by but not generated by their presence, Herz and his manager quickly understood that the Austro-French musician's public image was suffering from the conflict, and that he was alienating an important part of his potential paying public. After giving the second concert on 9 August and without further delay, Herz published a letter to the La Lonja committee, in which he apologized for cancelling the rest of the series. Published in the

³¹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 6 Aug. 1849.

³² *Ibid.*, 9 Aug. 1849. My italics.

³³ *Ibid.*

newspapers on 12 August, the letter stated that in spite of having been treated with great consideration by the institution, he felt forced to acknowledge that ‘the conditions that you have stipulated for using your locale, and which are indispensable for the corporation, have met with such opposition from the public that my friends advise me to interrupt this series of concerts that I intended to offer at La Lonja’.³⁴ For his own sake, Herz lined up with the Mexican aspiring classes—‘my friends’—in the La Lonja conflict.

Over 300 people attended Herz’s first concert at La Lonja. The invited guests included the president of the republic, the state secretaries, the governor of the city, and the French envoy, among many other notables. Journalists did not fail to mention that also present were ‘a great number of Mexican young ladies, as beautiful as they were interesting’.³⁵ The difficult negotiations around La Lonja concert did not, in the end prevent upper-class women from attending and being at the centre of the event. Women functioned as an passively-fashioned ‘adornment’ for men who went to listen to concerts and at the same time they were also active participants in a space in which they found ways to develop their own taste and artistic sensibility, matters that were absent from most roles of their daily life as housewives, daughters and sisters. As we have seen, women were at the centre of men’s discussion concerning the tour: those who did not want *their* women to intermingle with lower-class men, and those who were not prepared to have their families scrutinised by a discriminating elite. Ullman and Herz started their own agenda regarding women, by disseminating an image of the artist, not unlike modern pop artists. One of the first announcements united their entrepreneurialism to that of the local publisher, who crowed: ‘In the lithography of this paper [*El Siglo XIX*] we have done a portrait of Mr. Herz, which will be exhibited during the night of the first concert, *for the audience to look at*, in several places of the hall of La Lonja’. On this occasion the image was only to be seen by those who could pay the entrance fee to the hall. Despite the mixed results, the La Lonja series made Herz and his agent, as we will see, also ensured greater access to the musician’s image and presence.

The spectacle character of concerts was a central element in the paraphernalia of the virtuoso. Ullman knew and exploited this nineteenth-century fashion well, sometimes with a thousand candles on stage, with military bands, with horses, with

³⁴ *El Monitor Republicano*, 12 Aug. 1849.

³⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 9 Aug. 1849.

sixteen pianists or, as in this case, with an amplification of the presence of the pianist himself by means of images. The ‘audience’, especially thinking of women, would like to assess the looks of the courteous artist; but indirectly it included men too, for they would be able to appreciate the latest Parisian masculine fashion and bearing as embodied by Herz, who was publicised as elegant and well-mannered.

According to *El Siglo XIX*’s chivalric description, most likely provided by Ullman: ‘[Herz] is knight of the Legion of Honour, he has been the pianist of Charles X, and he is currently the first pianist and composer of Louis Felipe. He has been named by the French government professor in chief of the Paris Conservatoire, and a member extraordinary of Santa Cecilia by his Holiness, the Pope, in Rome’.³⁶ He was not especially good-looking (a fact even the article had to admit); neither did his 46 years of age allow him to be considered young. Nevertheless, the chivalry continued: ‘Enrique Herz is taller than average, of an elegant bearing, of distinguished manners, and without being handsome in rigor, he presents a very agreeable sight, and each one of his movements breathes nobility’.³⁷ He embodied French elegance: properly dressed in a black-tie with the red ribbon of the Legion of Honour in his buttonhole and with his hidden hand *à la Napoléon*, a proverbial courtesy and deference to women. He was certainly different from the soldiers and the lower-class men to be seen in every street of Mexico City and he was also unlike the upper-class men surrounding his female audience, because he, unlike them, was there exclusively to please and to charm them. The only things this modern coloniser asked of women in exchange for his show was their enraptured gaze, their applause and of course their (husbands’) money. The construction of Herz as idealised character added materiality to the imaginary worlds of Mexican women who avidly nourished themselves with Romantic literature being published at the time in women’s journals.³⁸

Women were also in the musician and organisers’ minds at the La Lonja’s concerts for dance. A significant portion of Herz’s salon compositions were dance pieces: quadrilles, waltzes, polkas, etc. In his concerts at La Lonja he took dance, a traditionally feminine and feminised activity that occurs at home, to a semi-public

³⁶ The article was originally published in 1841 in France.

³⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 18 July 1849.

³⁸ As we mentioned in Chapter Two, pre-Romantic and Romantic, mainly French, literature, represented in authors such as Rousseau, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Chateaubriand, Victor Hugo, Lamartine and Byron, among others, was published in women and literary journals from the 1820s and especially during the 1840s in Mexico.

space. Once the pianist finished playing the official programme, chairs were moved aside, leaving enough space '[s]o the ladies could dance, many of whom offered their bouquets to the celebrated pianist. And they did indeed dance some of the pieces, in which Mr. Herz shone again as the composer of the quadrilles entitled *Las Elegantes*, *La Polka del Siglo*, and also of the *Waltz de los Segadores*'.³⁹

An additional enticement for those women attending the (expensive) concerts was the little musical piece that the virtuoso offered as a gift. 'We know that *one of Mr Herz's gallantries with the ladies* is to give each of them a copy of the first composition he wrote in Mexico, with the title of the *La Polka del Siglo*'.⁴⁰ Ignacio Cumplido, publisher of newspapers and magazines such as *El Siglo XIX* and *El Álbum Mexicano*, and close collaborator of Herz, made good business by publishing the *Polka* in different formats and at different prices, and by constantly announcing Herz's publications in his paper.

After the day-dream was over, women could always take home some of Herz's pieces to play, or perhaps even his portrait, and thereby recover the lost magic. They could recreate Herz's resonating presence in their own terms and in their own spaces. Playing at home could then become a way of uniting fantasy and reality: Romantic literature and real life. While women most likely enjoyed being wooed in this fashion by 'the king of pianists', the elite of La Lonja men probably felt anxious about the potential assortment of social classes present on the improvised dance-floor. Herz's show was indeed specifically designed to entertain women in splendid style: portraits, dance, sheet-music as a gift and ice-cream! The reporter stated that 'with unprecedented gallantry during a public concert, during each interval, ice-cream was served to the audience'.⁴¹

The La Lonja affair is fascinating precisely for its somewhat disappointing results. The first encounter between the musical coloniser and his subjects became a cultural clash between the musician's commercial strategies, the local idiosyncrasy of the upper classes of old good stock and the new Republican democratising spirit of the times, as embodied by the aspiring classes. A society in the process of social readjustment was made evident: classes on the rise demanded access to a culture that

³⁹ *El Siglo XIX*, 9 Aug. 1849. *La Polka del Siglo* was specifically composed for the Mexican women and printed by Ignacio Cumplido, the editor of *El Siglo XIX*. This was also a collaboration between the musician and the local press where both expected to earn fame and profit from the enterprise.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2 Aug. 1849. My emphasis.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

until then had belonged to the elites. The times of the pre-eminence of blood purity, associated with the Spanish colonial period, were clearly over, and negotiations over public, and even semi-private, spaces were now imperative.

Women, performance and repertoire

After La Lonja, concerts at the National Theatre finally started to take place. The first took place on Saturday 18 August 1849.⁴² There people of most social classes could buy a ticket to see Herz. At the same time, in *El Álbum Mexicano. Periódico de Literatura, Artes y Bellas Letras*, a magazine directed especially to Mexican ladies, the public could obtain Herz's portrait to take home with them.⁴³ The popularization of the image of the artist, previously the prerogative of La Lonja concertgoers, was a sign of the accessibility the musician was looking for.



Figure 32. Image published as part of Henri Herz, *Mes Voyages en Amérique* (Paris, Achille Faure, 1866)

It was precisely during Herz's concerts at the National Theatre that an unprecedented practice began: the placement of chairs on stage for the public. Herz's capitalistic drive was apparently contagious, and had been caught by the theatre's managers. The demand for tickets was so great, they claimed, that this was the only

⁴² Concerts at La Lonja took place on 6 and 9 August; those programmed for 13 and 16 August were cancelled for the reasons stated above.

⁴³ Herz's portrait is between pages 208 and 209.

way to make room for more people, although *El Siglo XIX*, Herz's spokesman, unabashedly announced that: 'chairs will be put on the stage itself, for *ladies who would like to listen more closely to the great pianist*, and they could climb to the stage by stairs put beside the orchestra, especially for the occasion, and they shall also enjoy a beautiful sight of the amphitheatre that will be exceptionally ornamented'.⁴⁴ The Romantic modern cult of the person was being staged in Mexico City's theatre and, in this representation, women were assigned a leading part denied them in other areas of public participation. They could not only see closely, and almost touch, the great pianist, but also *be seen*. They would be on stage for everyone to admire; an extraordinary opportunity not to be missed. According to a letter from Herz to his brother, the organizers had to put the extravagant number of 350 chairs on stage.⁴⁵ Women were rightfully allowed on stage without the negative connotations this position brought with it concerning actresses.

Those women who could not attend the concert of La Lonja, and thus did not get a free copy of *La Polka del siglo*, could now buy the score for the moderate price of one *real* or acquire the *Álbum Mexicano*, where not only the image of Herz but also *La Polka del Siglo*.⁴⁶ Herz even dedicated a piece to Ignacio Cumplido's daughter, *La Camelia. Nuevo walse brillante*, 'composed in Mexico and dedicated to Miss Guadalupe Cumplido', for which the publisher obtained the rights to publication and distribution. Herz also published and sold with great success other pieces allegedly composed in Mexico (See Table VI, p. 222)⁴⁷ and also composed elsewhere: 'I'd like you to send me lots of my pieces; I can sell them easily and with significant profits', he wrote to his brother Charles from Mexico.⁴⁸ Arthur Loesser points out that 'Herz's compositions sold more than those of any other composer whatsoever, and publishers reputedly paid him four times as much per page as they

⁴⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 16 Aug. 1849. My emphasis.

⁴⁵ Letter from Henri Herz to his brother Charles, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1849, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, l.a. Henri Herz., no 49. Considering Herz's tendency to exaggerate his success, we can assume that this number was probably smaller, although not significantly so, because we know the concert was sold out and there was a widespread resale of tickets.

⁴⁶ For a facsimile edition of this piece with a preliminary study, see Yael Bitrán, 'Furor por la polka', *Heterofonía* 134-135 (2006), 131-140. The number of *reales* per *peso* was eight for the most part of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁷ Other pieces may still appear besides the ones I have located so far. At least one, the *Marcha Nacional*, was recycled from material previously composed. See below the section on the National Anthem and the National March.

⁴⁸ Letter from Henri Herz to his brother Charles, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1849, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, l.a. Henri Herz., no 49.

did almost anyone else'. Loesser hits the mark when he described Herz's salon pieces as 'plausibly brilliant but not discouragingly difficult'.⁴⁹

Herz's and Cumplido's interest in the music-publishing business for home consumption is a clear indication of the popularity of this kind of product in Mexican upper-class homes. Judging by the numerous new printing shops or retail businesses that announced music for sale in the papers, the 1850s marked an era of market expansion for this type of publication. The visit of Herz and other musicians at this time intensified this market and, consequently, contributed to a nascent private musical culture, independent from Church and theatres, and in which women were central. The impact of salon music in Mexico at the time can only be compared with the popularity of opera, although on stage the latter suffered from the ups and downs of political instability while the former enjoyed sustained success fostered by the relative stability of private homes.

Title	Genre	Month/year of publication	Price	Publisher
Rondó para piano	Rondo	1843	Four and a half <i>reales</i> ⁵¹	José Antonio Gómez in <i>El Instructor Filarmónico</i> , vol. II, pp. 155-161.
La Polka del Siglo XIX	Polka	August 1849	One <i>real</i>	Ignacio Cumplido
Gran Rondó Dedicado al Rey de los Franceses	Rondo	August 1849	-----	Imprenta de Navarro
La Camelia. Nuevo walse brillante	Waltz	October 1849	Three <i>reales</i>	Ignacio Cumplido
Marcha Nacional compuesta para los mexicanos ⁵²	March	December 1849	One <i>peso</i>	Ignacio Cumplido
La Morisca	Waltz	1860s	-----	M. Murguía
La Tapada	Waltz	1860s	-----	M. Murguía

⁴⁹ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos. A Social History*, with a new foreword by Edward Rothstein and a preface by Jacques Barzun (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), 350.

⁵⁰ Sources: *El Siglo XIX*, *El Monitor Republicano* and the sheet music. As far as we know, the only publication by Herz that was printed before his arrival in Mexico was the Rondo for piano, which I include here. I thank John Koegel for making this piece available to me.

⁵¹ The *Rondó* was delivered in three fascicles, one real and a half each.

⁵² For voice and piano.

By the time Herz arrived in Mexico, opera was already the preferred genre of Mexican dilettanti. The theatre presented fragments of operas by Bellini and Donizetti as part of its programme almost every night. Parts of *Norma*, *I puritani*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *La sonnambula* and *Il pirata* were presented in the theatre during 1849, before Herz's arrival. When Ullman's posters appeared—he was supposed to bring an operatic company, as well as Henri Herz—expectations ran high. An article in the papers celebrated the fact that it was very likely Ullman would come to an agreement with the manager of the National Theatre to bring the opera company as well because, according to the writer, since 'we have not had a decent opera company since 1836'.⁵³ This was, of course, as we have demonstrated in Chapter Four, an exaggeration or rather an outright lie, for opera companies had come to Mexico or were formed in Mexico practically non-stop since Manuel García's visit.

During the very year of 1849 the piano manufacturer Pleyel opened a sales office in Mexico.⁵⁴ The announcement applauded its 'piano fortes', 'whose well-deserved fame is due to the power and clarity of sound'. It also stressed the fact that the pianos were 'especially destined for Mexico' so they were built 'to resist all kinds of climates that are usually adverse to the instruments' longevity'.⁵⁵ Mr Isidoro Devaux fuelled the snobbish Mexican elite's illusion of living in Europe by advertising that he was ready to take orders from Mexican buyers 'who will be satisfied with the same expediency and zeal, as if the buyers were themselves in Paris'.⁵⁶ Herz too was interested in selling pianos in Mexico. According to the promotional article published in *El Álbum Mexicano*, Herz was the director of 'the royal factory of pianos' that 'have been adopted by the Conservatoire [because] they are the best of all'.⁵⁷ The factory's revenues were not as thriving as this text would have us believe, because we know that the main aim of his American tour was to

⁵³ *El Universal*, 23 June 1849. The newspaper refers here to Filippo Galli's opera company. Although simultaneously to Herz's presentation, Anna Bishop was in Mexico presenting many of the Mexicans' favourite operas.

⁵⁴ By this time the company was in the charge of pianist Camille Pleyel, after the retirement in 1824 of her father Ignaz.

⁵⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 11 May 1849.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *El Álbum Mexicano*, 214. Although we suspect a grain of exaggeration in this account, we know that Herz's pianos did indeed achieve great popularity and fame and were highly appreciated in Europe and exported to the Americas. To this day his pianos are found to be sold over the internet at considerable prices; I have found ads from France, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Spain for Henri Herz pianos, as well for those of Philippe Henri Herz, his nephew, who continued the business.

collect money to finance his business, including selling as many pianos as he could along the way. In the U.S., he was apparently quite successful in marketing his pianos by establishing a network of agents to distribute them.⁵⁸ In Mexico, negotiations to sell pianos were not as easy and, as we learn from a letter to his brother, Herz conducted them himself. He sold one instrument to the politician Ignacio Trigueros, Minister of Treasury during Santa Anna's regime—who was one of the negotiators with the Americans during the Mexican-American war—and probably a couple of more; but being far away from France and not being able to deliver pianos promptly put his sales at risk, as we learn from Herz's desperate instructions to his brother Charles in Paris.⁵⁹ As a promotional device, he did not fail to announce that he was playing a Herz piano from his own factory, both on his U.S. and his Mexican tours. Herz pianos' fame grew especially in later years, when they won gold at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855. The French musician and writer Oscar Comettant's fascination with the person and the pianos that Herz built, is reflected in the grandiloquent quasi-liturgical phrase: 'Henri Herz is the God of the piano in three persons: the virtuoso, the composer and the manufacturer'. The quality of his pianos is attested by the text that accompanied Herz's awards ceremony at the *Exposition*: 'Perfection across all areas of the piano, power and equality of tone, mechanical precision, and strength [of construction]'.⁶⁰

Regarding the repertoire Herz performed at the theatre, one detects his progressive acquaintance with Mexicans' musical tastes and favourite repertoires. As was customary, in his first concert the pianist included in his programmes arias from operas then fashionable in Europe: *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Lucia di Lamermoor* and *Torcuato Tasso* by Donizetti, and *Le Pré aux Clercs* by Ferdinand Hérold;⁶¹ but Herz also showcased many of his own compositions, including his Second Concerto for piano. As supporting artists he also hired one of the most famous Mexican singers, María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío, and the local orchestra conducted by José María

⁵⁸ Lott, *From Paris*, 91-92.

⁵⁹ Letter from Henri Herz to his brother Charles, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1849, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, I.a. Henri Herz., no 49. Herz gives detailed instructions in prices and limits for the discounts his brother could make. Apparently Charles had the tendency to give lower prices on the pianos of those Herz approved of.

⁶⁰ Oscar Comettant, *La Musique, les musiciens et les instruments de musique chez les différents peuples du monde* (Paris : Michel Lévy frères, 1869), 690. Comettant was part of the jury of pianos at international exhibitions.

⁶¹ Ferdinand Hérold (1791–1833) was a French operatic composer of Alsatian descent who also wrote many pieces for the piano, orchestra, and the ballet. He is best known today for the overture to the opera *Zampa* and the ballet *La fille mal gardée*.

Chávez. Despite the fact that he really had no other choice, the press celebrated his decision to reward local talent. In the following concerts, he also performed selections from *I puritani* and *Norma* by Bellini, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *Otello* by Rossini, among other works. All these programme selections served to please a public that was used to miscellaneous concerts and that loved opera above all.

Herz's repertoire patterns changed almost as soon as his visit began. In the programmes Ullman gave the papers prior to the concerts, we see that Herz progressively incorporated more operatic arias and shorter piano pieces in his programmes, in place of more demanding concert pieces (See Appendix A, p. 296). For instance, in the first concert he played in Mexico at La Lonja, he had announced a gruelling programme heavily dependent upon his own piano resources: in the first part he played his three-movement Second Piano Concerto, *Concerto Serioso*; in the second part, a *Grand Romantic Fantasy* on themes from *Lucia di Lamermoor* for piano solo and his Bravura Brilliant Variations on themes by *Le Pré aux Clercs*; finally he exhausted his audience with three pieces of his own composition but played by the orchestra alone, *Las Elegantes* (brilliant quadrille), *La Polka del Siglo* and *Los Segadores* (waltz). There were *only* three (unidentified) voice pieces interspersed during the concert. For the second concert (9 August 1849), Ullman published two completely different programmes: the first, two days before, and the second on the day itself. In the first, Ullman included Herz's Piano Concerto No. 4, complete and with orchestra, in addition to the *Rondo Russo* presumably by Mercadante. These pieces were cut from the second programme, however, indicating a series of 'adjustments' towards the 'lighter' side of things. Taking into account the predominantly feminine public and its interest in transferring the concert experience into their salon, Herz included shorter piano pieces that, in addition, were later sold to those interested: his own *Les Entraînantes* (quadrilles) and *La Polka del Siglo*.

To charm his Mexican audiences Herz also displayed the standard practices of touring virtuosi, such as playing a different programme for each concert, often with invited musicians, presenting twenty pianists on stage, or improvising on local tunes—practices that he had successfully used while in the U.S.⁶² According to Loesser the 'multi-piano vogue lasted for twenty-five years or so' in Europe, starting

⁶² In New York he played *Semiramide* arranged for sixteen pianists on eight pianos, to the public's delight. See Lott, *From Paris*, 63.

in the mid 1820s.⁶³ By 1849, this fashion was probably seeing its last days in Europe, while in Mexico it was only just beginning. For his third and fourth Mexican concerts, Herz invited Dutch violinist Franz Coenen (1826-1904), whom he had met in the U.S., to join him.⁶⁴ In Mexico Coenen played virtuoso pieces in the Paganini fashion, such as *Mélancolie*, by Prume, his own *Bravura Variations on a Sentimental Theme with a Brilliantissimo Finale in Tremolo*, *Carnival de Venise* by Paganini, and *El ave en el árbol* ('The bird on the tree'), a work composed by the violinist for his Mexican audience, according to the announcement.⁶⁵

As a sharp contrast to the gallant ways of Herz towards his women patrons in the theatre and salons stands his dealing with professional women musicians. He and his agent handled them to their advantage and convenience, and, in this case, with no chivalric regard for their gender. For instance, in his first two concerts in the National Theatre he hired singer María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío, but by the third and fourth concerts a certain *señorita* Mosqueira was singing instead. According to critical notes in the press, Ullman broke the contract with *señorita* Cosío, without paying her any compensation; in addition Herz did not participate in the singer's benefit, as was stipulated in the contract.⁶⁶ There were no gallantries when dealing with working female musicians and one might even suspect the behaviour towards them was even harsher than that employed towards men. Since these women were workers on their payroll, all the gentlemanliness displayed towards his women patrons in the theatre and outside as clients for his musical products seemed to vanish.

The construction of a national (musical) identity: a national anthem

According to contemporary writer, historian and acute observer of Mexican mores, José María Luis Mora, 'without a doubt Mexican society in its present state represents a mixture of the customs of Paris, London and the large cities of Italy with an essence of Spanish seriousness added in. Its manners also entail an excess of

⁶³ Loesser, *Men, Women*, 363-365.

⁶⁴ Coenen made his American debut at a Herz's concert in New York. See Lott, *From Paris*, 96.

⁶⁵ The press critics raved about him and compared him favourably to Ole Bull and Henri Vieuxtemps. *El Siglo XIX*, 27 Aug. 1849.

⁶⁶ *El Tío Nonilla. Periódico Político, Enredador, Chismográfico y de Trueno*, I, 7, 30 Sept. 1849. Even *El Siglo XIX*, usually a publicist of Herz, had to admit the behaviour towards the singer was ungenerous. They attributed it to Ullman and exonerated Herz from blame. *El Siglo XIX*, 14 Sept. 1849. We explored the details of this affair in Chapter Three.

refinement, as in tastes in dress, sumptuous furniture, dances, performances, music and even painting; all this despite the city [still] being in its infancy'.⁶⁷ Mexican identity had to reconcile, by force, the tension between this Europe-oriented elite and the calls for democratization stemming from the lower classes, who were part and parcel of the success of the quest for independence. As we have seen, this set of tensions came to the surface during the La Lonja episode, but Herz's influence extended to issues of identity-building in Mexico.

Herz proposed to create a national anthem, to open 'a public school of music [that would operate] with the same curriculum as the famous Paris Conservatoire', and to compile an album of national songs (*sonecitos*). Needless to say the first proposal was neither accomplished nor even started given the short duration of the musician's visit. It raises the question of whether Herz contemplated staying longer in Mexico or whether it was only a publicity device. To the second of these proposals, that of composing a national anthem for Mexico, we devote our attention now and finish with a comment on the third of his projects. In the anthem's case, as in the La Lonja series', the process is more telling than the ultimately deficient result: a National March rather than an anthem. The process is also revealing of the multiplicity of meanings and even results a (musical) act can generate, and the potential semantic loss when read univocally. As we shall see, Herz without a doubt pursued his own financial interests and acted literally and figuratively as a musical mercenary in the U.S.-Mexican war by exploding the inflamed patriotism on both sides of the border—and by reusing music as he saw fit. His endeavour, however, generated mechanisms of national symbol-production which were pursued by the Mexican elite in order to reinforce the collective imaginary of the nation.

According to a newspaper article with the title '*Himno Nacional*', 'most nations have one [anthem] that can never be heard with indifference'. Behind the article stood Herz and Ullman, who reminded Mexicans that anthems fill troops with courage and boldness 'and no one is unaware of the triumphs achieved in the last century, during the French Revolution, due to Rouget de L'Isle's anthem'. They proposed 'to fill that void by inviting local poets to present their poetic work as part of a competition, from which the best one would emerge and to which Herz would compose the music'. The musician and his manager were clearly conscious of the

⁶⁷ José María Luis Mora, 'Costumbres mexicanas', *Calendario de Galván*, (Mexico, 1835).

wounded Mexican nationalistic spirit resulting from the Mexican-American war and thus of the likelihood of raising enthusiasm for the project. An anthem might even change Mexico's military fate in the future, the article hinted.

Mexicans were ready to endorse this project, which provided an internal boost of national enthusiasm in the wake of their defeat to the Americans. At the same time the symbolic value of a national anthem was certainly not lost on the Mexican elite. It was one more distinctive sign of a collective identity being forged internally, and one that could be demonstrated externally to friends and foes. The calamitous U.S.-Mexican war had taken place barely a year before Herz's visit, and left national pride still hurt. The group that surrounded Herz realised, however, the semantic difficulty of investing a passing Austro-French pianist with such an important symbolic responsibility. It is in this context that we should situate an article by Herz in which he endows himself with a temporary Mexican nationality. The article can also be understood as a vehement reaction by the pianist's supporters resistance to the idea of an anthem being composed by a European national:

The illustrious artist wishes to be considered as Mexican during his stay in our country, and wants to leave a perennial token of the appreciation he professes to us. We are extremely grateful for such a commendable testimony of recognition and we have the satisfaction of being the first ones to thank him, and we hope that once the idea is realized, that anthem will soon become popular and will serve to excite our joy in the public festivities and to make our warriors enter combat with audacity and courage.⁶⁸ (5.4, p. 314)

Mexican nationals of all groups probably would not have so readily endorsed Herz's project had they known that the virtuoso had already profited from war-induced nationalism from the side of the Mexican enemy! While in the U.S., Herz composed a piece named *Variations brillantes et grande fantaisie sur des airs nationaux américains*, 'a hodgepodge of patriotic tunes expected to be composed by every visiting artist'.⁶⁹ Through this work Herz exploited the American patriotism incited (also) by its war with Mexico, as Allen Lot affirms. The piece was based on three American tunes: 'Jackson's March', 'Hail Columbia', and 'Yankee Doodle'.⁷⁰ In fact, during the war, when Herz was touring in the U.S.A, the pianist had openly celebrated the victories of the American army on Mexican territory, all of which

⁶⁸ *El Siglo XIX*, 24 July 1849.

⁶⁹ Lot, *From Paris to Peoria*, 81.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

involved extremely painful defeats for Mexico, with musical pieces, or rather a musical *piece*. According to Lott, the said piece was renamed in different concerts while in the U.S. as ‘Victory of Vera Cruz...expressly composed on that occasion’ or ‘The Battle of Buena Vista...expressly composed in honour of that event’—both important battles the Americans won in Mexico, or even ‘The Return of the Volunteers. A Heroic National Fantasia’. Incidentally, on each occasion, the piece was announced as a premiere performance. The considerable distances between American cities where he performed gave the opportunist Herz a certain confidence that his audiences would be different on each occasion and, in any case, he was probably ready to face the risk due to the short visits and the extensive travelling between concerts.

El Siglo XIX urged the *Academia de Letrán* (Letrán Academy) to summon the poets who were to write the lyrics for the anthem, as well as the jury in charge of selecting the best poetry.⁷¹ The *Academia de Letrán* was founded in 1836 by literature teacher José María Lacunza and his pupils with the aim of furthering a worthy national literary expression.⁷² It became an intellectual centre for literary creation that spearheaded the nationalist movement in literature and that admitted divergent currents of political thought including liberals and conservatives.⁷³ This institution, dormant during the years of the U.S.-Mexican war (in which some of its members fought), became iconic of the Romantic-foundational literature of the mid-nineteenth century. The quest for the national anthem’s lyrics pulled them out of inactivity after the difficult years of war.

Mexicans took on Herz’s initiative by creating a ‘Patriotic Council’. On 8 August 1849 the papers announced that the ‘Patriotic Council’ had determined to create two commissions, one to visit the *Academia de Letrán* and another to visit Herz, with the aim of respectively crafting the lyrics and the music of the national anthem. The ambitious —not to say unrealistic— aim set by the Council was to have the piece ready for the celebrations of Mexican independence on 15 and 16 September to be held at the University and the National Theatre, respectively. These

⁷¹ *El Siglo XIX*, 5 Aug. 1849.

⁷² Among its members were renowned Mexican writers of the Romantic generation such as Andrés Quintana Roo, Guillermo Prieto, Ignacio M. Altamirano, and later Manuel Carpio, José Joaquín Pesado and Ignacio Ramírez. Guillermo Prieto, one of the founding members, left a detailed description of the founding and the events surrounding the institution, in the book *Memorias de mis tiempos*, prolog. by Horacio Labastida, 3rd ed., Sepan Cuantos 481 (Mexico: Porrúa, 2004), 94-145.

⁷³ In 1856 internal dissensions culminated in the dissolution of the Academia.

dates, which correspond to the beginning of a popular revolt led by Miguel Hidalgo in 1810, were set as official commemoration days after independence. To present the anthem to the public for the first time on those dates would be to confer both the anthem and the dates with the symbolic value required for engraving them permanently into collective memory.

Conscious of the limited time left, council members urged the *Academia* to get to work immediately on the invitation to the poets, and they assured the public that ‘Regarding Mr Herz, it is certain he will honour his generous promise [to write the music]’.⁷⁴ The *Academia de Letrán* followed the recommendation and called a meeting for 13 August, in order to define the terms of the poetry competition for the national anthem. At the same time, a commission visited Herz in his hotel to discuss the matter of the project’s music.⁷⁵ On the following day the *Academia* published a public appeal directed ‘to all persons inside and outside of the capital who would like to write a national anthem, whose music is to be composed by Mr. Herz’. The deadline was fixed for 31 August, a limit that granted interested candidates a little over two weeks, and the results were to be published the following evening, 1 September.⁷⁶ The tight schedule was nearly followed, for on 6 September the *Academia* published the results of the poetry competition. The tone of the announcement proved remarkably reserved, however, and its tenor was far from the exultant patriotism one might expect from an occasion so significant to the nation’s annals:

Since the idea of composing a national anthem was born, we have reached the conclusion that something was asked of art which it could not deliver, that it is something that is born of the circumstances of the peoples, contemporary only to their moments of enthusiasm, and that is consecrated by the memory of grand actions, or by the solemnity generated by glorious memories or persons.⁷⁷ (5.5, pp. 314-5)

⁷⁴ *El Siglo XIX*, 8 Aug. 1849; *El Monitor republicano*, 9 Aug. 1849.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1849; *El Monitor republicano*, 12 Aug. 1849.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1849. The evaluating committee was composed of distinguished writers and public personalities such as José María Lacunza, Joaquín Pesado, Manuel Carpio, Andres Quintana Roo and Alejandro Arango y Escandón.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 Sept. 1849.

The *Academia de Letrán* thus reluctantly announced the resulting winners as Andrés Davis Bradburn,⁷⁸ in first place, and Félix María Escalante, in second place. Furthermore, the Selection Committee of the National Anthem stressed that the selected piece ought not to be regarded as a national anthem, ‘because it was impossible for it to be considered as one, since, under the circumstances already indicated [of haste and necessity], it would only be a piece that, at the most, would be the expression of the author’s patriotism and testimony of his genius’. The judges emphasized that theirs was the choice of a poem most suited to be sung during national functions and one ‘the nation could adopt as its expression of union or war, and that could be transmitted to future generations of Mexicans by striking a chord in their hearts’.⁷⁹ The dissatisfaction of the members of the *Academia de Letrán* is indicative of the pressure they faced having had to produce a suitable poem for an anthem in such short time (since Herz was soon to leave Mexico) and for such a symbolically-charged celebration as national independence. The publication of the contest’s results amounted to a declaration ‘under protest’. The poetical-patriotic value the poets and writers from the *Academia* invested in a national anthem stood at odds with the political opportunism of the organising board, and certainly with the barely-hidden financial motivations of Herz himself. This practical dismissal of the anthem’s lyrics acted as a bleak omen for the music (not) to be composed by Herz.

According to the planned schedule, Herz had two weeks to write the music for the national anthem. Probably to no-one’s surprise, the composition was not finished on time and was not performed on the intended occasion. Herz did, however, deliver a ‘National March’—initially also called ‘Military’ in the newspaper—which was premiered at a concert on 12 September 1849. This was in fact several days *before* the deadline for the anthem. By then, Herz, whose concerts at the National Theatre had been received with praise by the Mexican public, was ready to give a flamboyant performance, which the newspapers announced as ‘monster concert’, of which one of the main pieces was to be the ‘March’. Minding his virtuoso business, Herz paid no heed to the solemn formality that the inauguration of a National Anthem, or March in this case, should have entailed. The piece was advertised in the press, not by Ullman and Herz, but by a group of ‘artists,

⁷⁸ Interestingly, Andrés Davis Bradburn was the son of an English officer who came to Mexico with the expedition against Spanish rule with Spanish insurgent Francisco Javier Mina in 1817, an expedition that was organized and financed from England.

⁷⁹ *El Siglo XIX*, 6 Sept. 1849.

professors of piano' who promised a paraphernalia as yet unseen in the Mexican theatre:

A Military March that will be played for the first time was composed and dedicated to the Mexicans by Henri Herz.

This beautiful piece, whose dedication shall be kindly received as a small token of his profound recognition of the generosity with which his efforts to please have been appreciated: it will be played on twelve pianofortes, by twenty pianists, with double orchestra, military band, men's choir, under the direction of Henri Herz, who shall play during the performance, a *brilliant variation* on his Trio.⁸⁰ (5.6, p. 315)

A brief note at the end of the paper's advertisement clarifies a point that Mexicans might have wondered about at the time: 'The National March should not be confused with the National Anthem, for which he [Herz] has been given the lyrics, and whose composition will be completed as soon as possible'. It must have been hard to understand why Herz would invest all his time and energy in presenting a National March, just days before the official presentation of the anthem at the celebration of Mexican independence. In retrospect, we can appreciate that he had given up on the idea of the anthem and was compensating for it in advance. The bombastic presentation of the 'March', including the involvement of twenty pianists, choir, and military band, was simply a clever way to feed the public's enthusiasm and patriotism and to divert attention *away* from the anthem.

The concert delivered what it has promised: a full spectacle of staged, militaristic patriotism. However, the 'March' caused in some reporters ambivalent reactions that reflected painful contemporary feelings on war and its related matters. These responses must have been partly responsible for the printed version of the 'Military March' being renamed, more neutrally, as 'National March', when it was later printed for home consumption. The reporter for *El Siglo XIX* was deeply moved by the 'March' but expressed his doubts as to whether it was an original composition or not.

Twelve pianos, twenty pianists, a military band and a double-sized orchestra played the Mexican military march, which, we had been assured, was composed in this capital city by Mr Herz. Whether or not it was crafted in this capital, the piece is of great merit, it is extraordinarily moving, it generates reactions in the nervous system, and therefore it will be a work most suited to being performed for the regiments and for the National Guard. A drum roll was the sign for a soldiers' company to move,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10 Sept. 1849.

and they sang the March without it being heard, for the torrent of harmonies not only caused their voices to be drowned but also the theatre to vibrate. While the choir of the national guards appeared from all sides of the performance hall, a multitude of tri-coloured [national] flags appeared and were cheered with bravos and applause by the audience.⁸¹ (5.7, p. 315)

In a different report, the unease produced by the ‘March’ was extended to a general reflection on Mexico’s pathetic situation. There was really no reason to celebrate from a military point of view. Therefore, despite its energetic character, the ‘March’ made this writer feel melancholic:

The Military March, a beautiful composition, musically speaking, and well performed, caused in me the opposite effect than in the rest of the public; it made me sad. Mexicans should leave these warlike and merry songs for other times when we have reasons for intoning them: today we must be silent, and gather our hatred for the day, if it ever comes, when we can avenge them.⁸² (5.8, p. 315)

Before the enormous enthusiasm generated by Herz’s composition cooled off, Ignacio Cumplido’s *Siglo XIX* published an announcement indicating that the editor of the paper had bought the rights to publish the ‘National March’ from Mr. Herz, and it pompously stated that ‘[t]he main aim of this purchase is to produce a handsome edition, that will correspond to the merits of the composition’.⁸³ The note in the paper is indicative of the widespread popularity Herz’s ‘March’ was already enjoying in the wake of the ‘monster concert’ and *before* its official publication. In a statement, which was unprecedented with regard to this or any other piece, Cumplido condemned the practice of piracy as had already taken place with Herz’s ‘National March’:

The editor is aware that some people have sold a printed version of the National March and have thereby violated the right of property and the law that protects it. Besides being an act of robbery, for which the guilty will eventually be charged, the purchasers are going to be widely disappointed, for the National March that is sold to

⁸¹ Ibid., 14 Sept. 1849.

⁸² *El Monitor Republicano*, 17 Sept. 1849. The writer reproduces the lyrics of the March and comments that they seemed ‘a bit depressing’ to him. For Herz ‘the show must go on’, and immediately after the ‘monster concerts’ he journeyed to other Mexican towns where he frequently repeated the ‘March’ to great success with different ensembles according, probably, to what was available in each town. For instance, in Guanajuato he played it with eight pianos ‘causing such excitement that in both concerts he had to repeat it three times’. *El Siglo XIX*, 29 Nov. 1849.

⁸³ Ibid., 23 Sept. 1849.

them is highly defective, lacking the corrections made to the version that will be published by this establishment.⁸⁴ (5.9, p. 315)

As for Herz, he not only dismissed the musical value of the piece but also made clear that the only value he ascribed to it was monetary. In a letter that he wrote to his brother in France, he quoted the exorbitant fee he thought he could ask for it if published in Mexico:

Have I told you about the Mexican National March that I played at my last concert with 24 pianists, a chorus of 50, an orchestra, two military bands, 48 flags... ? This joke was amazingly effective and I believe I could sell the copyright for this little march for 1000 francs.⁸⁵ (5.10, p. 315)

Whether Cumplido paid this humongous price or not, we do not know, but he most certainly paid a considerable amount of money in order to get the rights to print the piece. While Herz was on tour, the editor began working on the home edition of the 'National March'. Proofs went back and forth between the musician and Cumplido in the following months. Finally, at the end of November 1849, Cumplido announced that the latest proof of the 'National March' was to the composer's satisfaction, and he quoted Herz as having (rather superciliously) said that he was 'very pleased with the edition, which would be welcomed even in Paris'. Cumplido assured the public that he would publish the 'National March' the following week; a promise he did indeed carry out.⁸⁶

Once the 'March' was taken into Mexican hands to be printed and disseminated, its monetary value was raised to conform to its symbolic value, as was portrayed in Cumplido's edition. The one-peso edition was not, as Cumplido stated, 'sold at a moderate price in order to make it accessible to all classes of society'—for in fact other sheet-music editions were half its price—but it was, by all means, lavish and grandiloquent. The publication was intended to entice the discerning public; those who acquired the original edition would get the extra bonus of a remarkable image on the title page, compared to those who were complicit in the 'March's' piracy that Cumplido complained about. If, from Herz's point of view, this 'March'

⁸⁴ Ibid., 29 Nov. 1849.

⁸⁵ Letter from Henri Herz to his brother Charles, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1849, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, I.a. Henri Herz., no 49.

⁸⁶ The first announcement of the piece's sale came out on 6 Dec. 1849 in *El Siglo XIX*, exactly a week after the announcement was made. On 10 December Cumplido placed a new advertisement where the price of one *peso* is given for the 'Marcha' in the capital and nine *reales* (just over 1 *peso*) elsewhere

was a *blague* (a joke), for Mexicans, this composition, especially in the lavish edition presented by Cumplido, was a manifestation of patriotic values by means of a local iconography. The printed edition of the ‘March’ symbolically transformed music into a key actor in the movement of the construction of a national identity.



Figure 34. Title page of *Marcha Nacional dedicada a los Mexicanos* op. 166 by unknown artist [J. Campillo?] for piano and voice by Henri Herz, published by Ignacio Cumplido (México, 1849).

The title-page’s illustration of Cumplido’s edition of the “March” displays an assortment of classic and patriotic symbols: the national eagle devouring a snake, a proud Mexican soldier holding his bayonet, a cherub blowing—or trying to—six elongated trumpets at a time, together with a Roman Victory offering a crown, perhaps of olive or laurel leaves, to the Mexicans, in a parallel gesture to that of Herz’s title. While the illustration renders explicit the role men held in the new republic as defenders of the nation, the same did not hold true for women, whose only representation was that of an exotic, from the Mexican point of view, (semi-naked) Roman goddess. The title itself is framed by a stereotyped Mexican landscape that includes palm trees and different types of cactus—Mexico’s national plant—as

well as a collection of weapons from diverse time-periods bundled with an elegant ribbon, in the characteristic iconographic fashion of the time. By carefully looking behind the weapons, one can notice the remains of some unidentifiable Mexican-Indian monuments, which, positioned at the base of the picture, serve as the metaphor for the Indian roots of this new country, which, in turn, the 'National March' was to celebrate.

In fact, the 'National March' as materialised in Cumplido's sumptuous edition was the iconic representation of Mexico's glorious entrance to the community of nations, with its considerable share of local elements as an affirmation of local pride. Cumplido's rendering of Herz's piece exhibits what Mary Louise Pratt calls 'auto-ethnography'.⁸⁷ Cumplido designed an exoticised image to fit the colonisers' ideas of Mexico while also displaying icons of Western culture: the Roman column, cherubim and goddess. He was making a statement both for Mexican and for potential European buyers of the *Marcha Nacional*.⁸⁸

The lyrics for Cumplido's publication of Herz's '*Marcha Nacional Dedicada a los Mexicanos*' (National March Dedicated to the Mexicans) Op. 166, are the same as those sung at the 'monster concert' and published in the newspaper in a chronicle of the concert:

*Cuando la trompa guerrera
Suene, volad animosos;
De lauros siempre gloriosos
Vuestras frentes coronad.*

*Combatid siempre ardorosos
Sin partidos, como hermanos,
Por la patria mexicanos,
Y tendréis la libertad.*

[When the warlike note
Resounds, fly forth bravely;
Of always glorious laurels
Crown your foreheads.
Always combat ardently
Without sides, like brothers,
For the Mexican fatherland,
And you will have peace]⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7. See Introduction of the thesis.

⁸⁸ When writing this paragraph the computer automatically changed 'exoticised', a word unknown to its dictionary, to 'eroticised', which, actually, could also be a suggestive way of interpreting this title page.

⁸⁹ *El Monitor Republicano*, 17 Sept. 1849.

These are certainly not the competition- winning lyrics by Andrés Davis Bradburn. The author of these words, used by Herz in his composition, remains anonymous to this date. Davis Bradburn's lyrics, which were published only the following year, exalt an extreme patriotic bellicosity that is absent from the *National March*'s more subtle patriotic language. The poem of Davis Bradburn is superior to the rather simple lyrics of Herz's 'March':

HIMNO NACIONAL.

Coro

*Truene, truene el cañón, que el acero
En las olas de sangre se tiña,
Al combate volemos, que ciña
Nuestras sienes laurel inmortal.
Nada importa morir, si con gloria
Una bala enemiga nos hiere;
Que es inmenso placer al que muere
Ver su enseña triunfante ondear.*

I

*Llora un pueblo infeliz su existencia,
Humillada hasta el polvo la frente,
Grande un trono le oprime potente;
Nada es suyo, ni templo, ni hogar.*

*Mas se eleva grandioso un acento,
Que en el monte y el valle retumba...
Y aquel trono opresor se derrumba,
todo el pueblo ¡soy libre! al clamar.*

Coro

Truene, truene el cañón, etc.

[National Anthem

Chorus

Let the cannon resound and resound, and the iron
In the waves of blood be dyed
Let us fly to battle, that it tie
Our immortal temples with laurel,
Dying matters not, if with glory
An enemy bullet should wound us;
What an immense pleasure to him who dies
To see his triumphant sign wave forth.

I

An unhappy people weep their existence,
Humiliated down to the powder of their foreheads.
Great is the throne that strongly oppresses;
Nothing is his, neither temple nor hearth.
An accent rises grandly
Which resounds in hills and vales
And brings down that oppressive throne.

All the people will shout out: 'I'm free!'
Chorus].⁹⁰

Music historians have assumed that Herz did indeed compose his anthem after he finished the 'National March'. This notion comes primarily from Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari—one of the first and most frequently-quoted music and theatre historians of nineteenth-century Mexico—who declared that Herz composed the anthem during his inland tour, sent it to Cumplido in late November and had it published in early December.⁹¹ As mentioned earlier, what Herz sent to Cumplido in November were the final proofs of the 'March', *and not* the anthem. Jesús C. Romero,⁹² Guillermo Orta Velásquez⁹³ and Gloria Carmona⁹⁴ among others, have taken Olavarría y Ferrari's statement to be true. The only exception is Esperanza Pulido, who in 1985 suggested that the anthem and the march were one and the same thing. Pulido did not provide any proof but she did argue, rightly, that the musical composition of the 'March' preceded that of the lyrics for the anthem.⁹⁵ Indeed, this is a crucial point. By the time Herz composed and played his 'March', he had not yet seen Bradburn's lyrics, and after the 'March' was played and Herz was preparing it for publication while touring the country, he was no longer involved with the Mexico anthem business.

⁹⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 23 Jan. 1850. These lyrics were never set to music by Herz who, in January, was still touring the country.

⁹¹ Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México 1538-1911*, vol. I, prol. by Salvador Novo, 3rd ed. (Mexico: Porrúa, 1961), 487. The first edition was published in 1885-1890, slightly before Olavarría y Ferrari, Lucio Marmolejo in his *Efemérides Guanajuatenses*, Vol. III (Guanajuato, 1884), 285 wrote that Herz's anthem did exist but 'It was not well received owing that the author completely ignored the Spanish language, and he was unable to accommodate his music to the verses which were given him. He ruined the prosody horribly; in addition to this, the hymn is longer than a popular song need be since it should be simple and easy.' Quoted by Jesús C. Romero 'Un israelita en la historia musical de México,' *Tribuna Israelita*, 89 (Mexico, 1952), 18-19. He was perhaps thinking of the 'March', whose imperfect coordination of music and lyrics Esperanza Pulido has also noted.

⁹² Romero 'Un israelita,' 18-19. Romero brings to light an interesting fact: Herz's Jewish roots. It is likely that he did so in order to get his article published by a newspaper within the Mexican Jewish community.

⁹³ Guillermo Orta Velásquez, 'En torno a la composición del Himno Nacional Mexicano,' *Álbum el [sic] Himno Nacional Mexicano*, quoted in Daniel Molina Álvarez and Karl Bellinghausen, *Más si osare un extraño enemigo....CL aniversario del Himno Nacional Mexicano. Antología conmemorativa. 1854-2004* (Mexico: Secretaría de Cultura de la Ciudad de México/Editorial Océano, 2004), 84.

⁹⁴ Gloria Carmona, *La música de México, I. Historia. 3. Periodo de la Independencia a la Revolución (1810 a 1910)*, ed. Julio Estrada (Mexico: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1984), 47.

⁹⁵ Esperanza Pulido, 'Marcha Nacional dedicada a los Mexicanos Compuesta por Henri Herz, op. 166,' *Heterofonía* 17, 88 (1985), 45-52.

The most recent book on the history of the Mexican national anthem, by Daniel Molina Álvarez and Karl Bellinghausen, lavishly edited for the official national anthem's 150th anniversary, contends that Herz's hymn was 'finished at the end of November [1849]'. Under the title '*Himno Nacional*', the authors provide the complete winning lyrics of the 1849 competition giving the following credits: 'Henry [sic] Herz, music. Andrés David Bradburn, lyrics'.⁹⁶ The supposed music of this early Mexican anthem, which the authors situate as a precedent to the official 1854 anthem by Francisco Bocanegra and Jaime Nunó, is nowhere to be seen in the book. In fact Bradburn's lyrics remained without music. It is thus important to set the record straight: the closest Henri Herz got to write a Mexican national anthem was the 'National March', for which he did not use the winning lyrics of the competition for a national anthem, but someone else's. The lyrics Herz used, whose author is to us unknown, are *ad hoc* to a shorter, characteristic march. It seems, in fact, that they are actually *ad hoc* to a preexisting music.

Not only did Herz fail to compose the national anthem he had proposed but, as the unnamed critic from *El Siglo XIX* suspected, he did not even compose an original score for the 'National March'. As we learn from a letter to his brother in France, the version he delivered to the Mexicans stemmed from a different occasion during his time in New York:

The government has just struck a gold medal in my honour and that of the Mexican National March (which, between ourselves, I had composed in New York—oh the comedy of it!⁹⁷ (5.11, p. 315)

It is a fact that salon composers' practice of recycling music was quite common at the time, and they did so with a considerable degree of cynicism, as Herz's words prove. What makes this instance remarkable is that this was a project to write the most sacrosanct of secular songs: the national anthem, a venture proposed, furthermore, by the Austro-French pianist himself. The fact is that the 'March' lived

⁹⁶ Molina Álvarez, *Más si osare un extraño*, 84-85. In this section he quotes Orta Velázquez. Molina Álvarez writes a sketch of Herz's Mexican tour that is practically copied *verbatim* from Carmona, even including the illustrations she used.

⁹⁷ Letter from Henri Herz to his brother Charles, Mexico, 20 Sept. 1849, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, l.a. Henri Herz., no 49.

its own life well into the late nineteenth century, satisfying for years to come Mexico's patriotic and symbolic musical needs.⁹⁸

Herz incursion in Mexican folk music

The Romantic penchant for folklore as a means of constituting national identity is well-known.⁹⁹ In addition to the National Anthem episode, Herz explored other ways of bringing the local into play by including harmonised Mexican tunes in his last concerts and thus playing with the quest for Mexican national identity he so astutely perceived and exploited. The elite group that backed the pianist expected him to do this as an additional recognition of the value of Mexico's local music and its capacity to become (international) concert music via the appropriate hands and procedures. The practice of transforming local material into concert songs or salon pieces was popularized by foreign visiting musicians, and became widely held among Mexican musicians in the decades to come. In 1844, while visiting the country, the German cellist Maximilian Bohrer composed *Fantasia sobre sonecitos populares mexicanos y españoles* [Fantasy on Mexican and Spanish popular *sonecitos*] for cello and piano and played it in the theatre together with Mexican pianist Vicente Blanco.¹⁰⁰ That same year the Irish violinist, pianist and composer William Vincent Wallace, also visiting the country, published in Mexico a piano piece advertised as: '*La Mexicana. Wals nuevo compuesto por W. V. Wallace*' [The Mexican Woman. A Waltz

⁹⁸ In fact, for several more decades at least, it was to enjoy greater luck than what became the country's official national anthem composed finally in 1854. The latter had an ill-fated birth, because it was commissioned by dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna. Due to its politically incorrect origin, it was despised by the subsequent liberal governments which ruled the country during the 1850s and 1860s. Even a conservative president like Miguel Miramón completely ignored it and during his rule adopted Herz's composition. In a ceremony he held at the Teatro Principal, Herz's March was played as the national anthem in place of the official one. It was not until the government of Porfirio Díaz, also a dictator, who ruled Mexico from 1877 to 1880 and from 1884 to 1911, that Mexico officially assumed the National Anthem which remains the same as today. See Molina Álvarez, 19-21. The 'March' was probably still in the people's memory when in the mid-1880s composer Miguel Ríos Toledano published *Aires Nacionales Mexicanos* op. 558 (Wagner y Levien Sucs.), dedicated to president Porfirio Díaz, where he included a long musical quotation, with its respective credit, from Herz's 'Marcha Nacional'.

⁹⁹ See, for instance, Richard M. Dorson, 'The Question of Folklore in a New Nation,' *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3, 3 [Special Issue: The Yugoslav-American Folklore Seminar] (1966):

'Circumstances vary from nation to nation, but the promoters of a national self-consciousness, whether in a republic, a monarchy, an empire, or a socialist state, clearly appear to have recognized the value and utility of folklore,' 277. Jean Jacques Rousseau, widely known and read in Mexico, was one of the first to idealise the 'folk', including folksongs. Most notably Herder ascribed a specific value to the local lore in the constitution of a national identity.

¹⁰⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 10 Feb. 1844.

composed by W. V. Wallace]. Charles Bochsa improvised on several occasions on Mexican *sones* during his concerts and, like Herz, also composed a national song in 1849-50. At that time, Anna Bishop composed and published *La pasadita*, based on a local song, and Franz Coenen, played variations on the Mexican theme ‘*el butaquito*’ in his concerts. This practice was a good business for them, for they published and sold these songs in home formats and they were an additional enticement to attract the public to their concerts, while it was a source of enjoyment and pride for the Mexican musical community.¹⁰¹

Herz also used local materials to perform in concerts, which was an extremely agreeable surprise for the public. During one of his last concerts, the chronicler reports that without a warning Herz started playing the *jarabe*: ‘Oh, my God! ¡such delightful variations, such accents of intense pleasure! Such a frank and innocent joy! [When the *jarabe* was played] the effect produced in the audience was magical’.¹⁰² The journalist could not hide his national pride on hearing local tunes elevated to concert status: ‘Herz playing the *jarabe*, the musician from Vienna, protected disciple of Napoleon, playing a *soncito* by the *tapatíos* and the *poblanos*? This is an outstanding event, worthy of mention’.¹⁰³ The public’s reaction was calculated or at least hoped-for by Herz and Ullman.¹⁰⁴ Herz was probably aware that during the struggles for Mexican independence the *jarabe* was used as a symbol for the rebels and their will to gain freedom from Spain. It is worth calling attention to how much homework Herz and Ullman did to please the Mexican public, albeit with a commercial aim in mind. Furthermore, the local colour and political value of the genre was reflected in the proud definition put forth by the reporter: ‘the most alluring, most boisterous, most subversive music’. The reporter also introduced the element of class by underlining the popular value of *jarabe* in comparison to the traditionally elitist worth ascribed to concert music: Herz delightfully combined both.

¹⁰¹ *El Cosmopolita*, 24 Apr. 1841.

¹⁰² *El Siglo XIX*, 23 Jan. 1850.

¹⁰³ I transcribed the eloquent passage in full in Appendix B (5.12, pp. 315-6), *El Siglo XIX*, 27 Aug. 1849.

¹⁰⁴ According to Enriqueta Gómez, an amateur musician and writer, Herz and Coenen translated the stanzas of the *jarabe* into German and made it popular in Germany. I have not been able to verify this information. Enriqueta Gómez, *Páginas musicales* (Mexico: Ed. Mi Mundo, 1956), 275. Herz, who continued the tour to South America alone also collected local tunes in Lima and worked in a national anthem. He knew the commercial value of these strategies. For the American, Mexican or Peruvians, Herz’s doings had their own value. Rodolfo Barbacci, in his *Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano* (Peru: Fénix, [1950]), briefly describes Herz’s tour in Perú.

In addition to the *jarabe*, Herz and Ullman displayed a carefully staged production of Mexican-sounding pieces that were calculated to make the audience feel involved to the point of being co-authors. During one interval, the ushers collected pieces of paper onto which people in the audience wrote the names of suggested tunes. Once the curtain was raised, a little table with a lit candle was seen by the piano where Mr Zanini, an Italian singer taking part in Herz's concerts, started reading the papers delivered by the ushers. The public was going to decide by means of their applause which songs Herz should improvise on. By this method three of the most popular *sones* were chosen: *Los enanos*, *El butaquito* and *La pasadita*. Once this boisterous process was over, Herz, as the inspired and spontaneous artist, came on stage, put the themes on the piano's stand and proceeded to play. A crucial musical matter remains unresolved: how the names of pieces written on bits of paper became musical fragments Herz could improvise on. In any event, the public was so thrilled with Herz playing 'their music' that they had to repress their applause and manifestations of joy in order not to lose a note of what was being played. At the end there was a riot of hands applauding, feet stamping the theatre's wooden floor and voices cheering. The chronicler differentiated the audience's reactions to the pianist's improvisations by gender: 'men would clap their hands while the beautiful young ladies would do something better still, laugh, and their eyes and all of their features expressed content and surprise'.¹⁰⁵ Herz was called back onstage and showered with flowers and bouquets: 'Mr Herz, visibly moved, picked up the tokens of the glory he had conquered with his sublime talent'.¹⁰⁶

This process was enjoyable because Mexicans of different classes present at the theatre could hear their *national* voice almost magically transformed, onstage, into an international-level utterance. This was the creation of a unifying space of national celebration with a talented (foreign) guest of honour. The guest's financial motivations as well as the grim reality of national destruction and demoralisation after the war with the U.S. and the colossal task of rebuilding that lay ahead, remained outside the theatre's door and could be disregarded for a short time, in order to celebrate. Herz mesmerised Mexicans into a better reality, however passing,

¹⁰⁵ *El Siglo XIX*, 27 Aug. 1849. Full quote in Spanish in (5.12, 311-2)

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 Sept. 1849. *El Monitor Republicano*, 27 Aug. 1849, less 'Herzian,' and more pro-Bishop and Bocha, than the *El Siglo XIX*, had to recognize Herz's immense success with the public in his foray into Mexican tunes.

and, in a metaphorical, but quite audible way, the virtuoso included Mexico in the concert of nations.

To crown his efforts regarding local music, Herz proposed to compile a '*Coleccion de arias mexicanas. Obra de lujo arreglada, corregida y publicada por Henri Herz*' [Collection of Mexican Arias. A luxury edition arranged, corrected and published by Henri Herz].¹⁰⁷ Here Herz envisaged another window of opportunity for attracting the public's interest and gaining money. Ullman confessed in the announcement that Herz was 'surprised' at the beauty of most of the national *soncitos* and that he had realised that so far there existed no edition of them. In this unwitting declaration of 'surprise', Herz implicitly relegated Mexico to a second class, colonised and primitive nation in musical terms, and as the person being surprised he situated himself in a 'superior' standpoint. But as a benevolent coloniser, Herz called the natives' the attention to the beauty of their music and warned the Mexican people that it risked becoming lost, since it was a spontaneous manifestation and it circulated only in manuscript. Moreover, Herz proposed to improve these songs musically —'to arrange them scientifically'— and to present them in a luxury edition. This type of edition, of what was to be an *Album of national songs*, would certainly have been a novelty in Mexico.¹⁰⁸ It was to include observations about Mexican music, historical notes and allusive poetry. Being the mastermind of the project but unwilling to do the hard work himself, Herz asked the locals, 'music professors and aficionados', to send him the songs they knew, along with all related information, to his lodgings at the Hotel del Bazar. In the end, unsurprisingly given the short time and the opportunism involved, this project, like the national anthem and the conservatoire, remained another of Herz's unfulfilled promises to the Mexican people. Its importance lay in the idea itself, for collections of local melodies became a standard feature of the following decades in Mexico and they formed a significant part of the construction of the national aural imaginary, from where Mexican composers set out to create a musical nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth.

¹⁰⁷ *El Monitor Republicano*, 3 Sept. 1849.

¹⁰⁸ I found an early collection of local songs entitled '*Colección de 24 canciones y jarabes mexicanos*,' arranged for piano, edited by Hamburg, publisher J. A. Böhme in 1843. The title in Spanish leads me to believe it was distributed in Mexico, although the only copy I found is in the library of Yale University. This interesting collection, which includes a couple of the songs improvised on by Herz, deserves further investigation.

Conclusion

Henri Herz was the epitome of the virtuoso pianist, which until the mid 1840s dominated Paris. According to the definition of Katharine Ellis, he was a figure

whose reputation was built largely around performances of his own virtuoso pieces—concertos, concerto movements, and operatic fantasies in particular. Narcissistic and competitive, he basked in the authority of both complete control over and ownership of his repertory. He adapted or revised his works in performance and composed in such a way as to emphasize his technical strengths and mask his deficiencies.¹⁰⁹

Ellis points out that virtuoso-composers' performances were described in terms of 'conquest'. This is especially relevant in our case, because Herz not only set out to 'conquer' women's hearts, but also to establish new institutions: a music conservatoire, an anthem and a collection of local songs that would *guide* the uncivilised Mexicans in the right direction while starting to build their musical, national self. The same element of a 'quasi-sexual possession of the audience' that Ellis has found for the piano virtuoso in Europe at the time, is transformed in the virtuoso's view into a (manly) conquest of the *virgin* (musical) territories of the Americas after the 1840s, when, coincidentally, the virtuoso's star was in decline in Europe.

Since the term 'colonisation' entails the application of violent methods to extract richness from a country and, therefore, involves an unequal relationship where the colonised is subject to exploitation, we need to be cautious in applying it as a metaphor as in this particular case. Herz embodied a multiplicity of complementary and conflicting nineteenth-century characters. He acted as a modern coloniser, an opportunistic and a greedy music impresario, who was at the same time a Romantic virtuoso musician of astonishing technical prowess, a professor of piano at the Paris Conservatoire and a piano manufacturer from the City of Light. Additionally, and not to be forgotten, Mexico was not a colony but an independent country with three centuries of its own tradition of music and music-making, albeit within the European sphere of influence. What we have unpicked here is the multiplicity of values and scenarios derived from the interaction of Mexican post-independence society and a European travelling virtuoso.

¹⁰⁹ Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, 2/3 (1997), 356-7.

Despite Herz's own interested agenda regarding women, his emphasis on salon music, his predilection for composing and playing music for that space and his defence of it as the privileged, democratised space for music making in modern times invested that space, which was otherwise regarded as an unimportant *womanly* place, with a new significance. It might be argued that this drive favoured the publication of sheet music in collections and magazines for salon and thereby indirectly contributed to revitalise a musical environment that, in itself, was more stable than the theatres at times of wars and political instability. It is in this regard that the Austro-French musician played a role in increasing the centrality of women in music.

Herz and Ullman achieved their main goal with Herz's Mexican tour: to return to Paris financially solvent in order to rescue Herz's piano factory from imminent bankruptcy and to be able to live comfortably from his tours' earnings. To this end, he used all the means at his disposal, regardless of their moral validity, including the exploitation of Mexican musicians and the taking advantage of the Mexican public's willingness to be fascinated, even through deceitful means. Nevertheless, if one is interested in Mexico's nineteenth-century construction of musical identity, as we are, it would be short-sighted to disregard the other effects his visit had, from the Mexican point of view. Certainly, what Ashcroft describes as 'the tendency of colonized peoples to appropriate the formations, discourses and theoretical strategies of a dominant discourse in making their voice heard'¹¹⁰ is undeniable in the way the Mexican elite of men and women received Herz's visit. The virtuoso helped further Mexican musical life and debate by generating a new emphasis on salon music and women as well as highlighting issues of identity. Herz did not, and could not, provide the answers or lead the way to the actual construction of a Mexican musical identity unannounced, but studying his visit provides some clues to the initial stages of that process.

¹¹⁰ Bill Ashcroft, 'Modernity's First-Born: Latin American and Post-Colonial Transformation,' in *El debate de la postcolonialidad en Latinoamérica: una postmodernidad periférica en el pensamiento latinoamericano*, Alfonso de Toro and Fernando de Toro eds., TCCL-Teoría y crítica de la Cultura y Literatura. Investigaciones de los signos culturales (Semiótica-Epistemología-Interpretación) (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 1999), 14.

Conclusion

After independence, professional male musicians gained the freedom, and had to face concomitant difficulties, that becoming freelance entailed instead of being full-time employees of ecclesiastical institutions. The transition was rather of a change in the economic regime that ruled their profession. For women, the secular musical profession was a new and challenging arena that they had to invent and fight for, much like the new country. Based on contemporary appraisals, we have compared these women's incipient careers with Mexico's birth as an independent nation; the metaphor helps us understand their personal/professional development, their place in their society, and their contribution to the culture of their country.

During the research for this thesis, the reading of primary sources uncovered that the construction of a national identity impinged on all areas of Mexican life, not least on the reworking of traditional gender roles. Women were regarded with special emphasis in this work, since their relationship to the production and reception of music has been overlooked, their having been regarded as mere *jolies meubles de salon*,¹ to use a phrase concocted at the time but somehow still present in contemporary studies of nineteenth-century music history. While women's musical talents were, in effect, mainly relegated to private spaces, their participation as consumers, theatre audiences and quality music performers deserves a second look that, as proved by this work, might convert them into protagonists rather than simply decorative elements of musical culture.

The primary sources available—newspapers, journals, sheet-music, literary works—have had to be exhaustively questioned in order to provide the evidence necessary to assemble the jigsaw puzzle that emerges from the question of how women of the upper classes made and used music in Mexico after independence. Women were omnipresent but mainly portrayed and talked about, frequently without the chance of employing their own voices directly in order to convey their musical experiences. Their own writings and compositions, however scarce, proved especially valuable. It was necessary to perform a culturally situated reading of different sources in order to allow them to illuminate each other and serve as a basis for a reconstruction of facts and underlying ideas. We have categorized the

¹ *El Cosmopolita*, 11 Jul. 1840.

relationships operating between women and music in Mexico between the 1820s and the 1850s into three types: amateur, semi-professional and professional women musicians, although the boundaries between these categories were fluid and the definitions flexible.

Amateur Mexican young women, like those in parts of Europe and the United States, practised music at home and that music was deemed an essential part of a girl's or young woman's education. Pianos, sheet music—often bound in elegant albums that the owners put together—, teachers and home soirées were complemented by attendance at operas in theatres, music in churches and private concerts. We found that music formed part of the everyday life of these women and was a way of expressing their sentimental world.

While formal education for women took a long time to be established in the new country, private musical lessons were considered part of their training as daughters, wives and mothers; as is revealed by the frequency of advertisements in the period's publications. French influence through French schools or Mexican schools which adopted French curricula seem important in their education, as we found it was the main reference to European culture regarding women at the time. French ideas, which were not entirely in tune with the conservative tone of most of advice articles and manuals for women, also seeped into women's magazines that translated articles published recently in France. Texts that advocated, for instance, the wider participation of women in politics and paid work for women, reached at least part of the female Mexican elite, opening up their intellectual horizons.

Warnings of the dangers of undertaking music in too serious a fashion were repeatedly issued, due to the nature of music-making and the passion it arose among amateurs. In certain cases, when an amateur reached a certain level, music was difficult to control, and as a result, women's traditional roles were seen as threatened by their supposedly excessive attachment to music. These attitudes were associated with a feminized Romanticism that supposedly caused unacceptable excesses on women's part. More than the 'angel/devil' dichotomy Leppert and others have found in the Victorian world, although not altogether absent, in Mexico, it seems that the traditional patriarchal structures reinforced by the arrival of the *criollos* to power, are those shaken most violently by the passion women developed for music and reading. Music entailed a sentimental and personal development which lay beyond the

traditional housewife role, and reading Romantic novels and articles went against the prevailing ideology.

Here, the Mexican world based on Spanish, Catholic values, meets the Anglo Victorian, mainly Protestant, cultural world. The frequent convergence of ideas, as well as the differences we have found, deserves further study and explanation concerning the place of and ideas about women in the nineteenth-century West. Catholic/Protestant, Old World/New World, or centre/periphery theories are necessary to understand at a deeper level processes of acculturation and resistance. On a philosophical plane, it would be worth undertaking an axiology that accounts for the similarities together with the disparities. Such a study would require additional specific studies in Latin American countries, as the one undertaken here, which would reinforce similarities or elucidate differences between countries and in comparison with the European/U.S. worlds.

Regarding the Mexican thread of the women/music relationship, a double discourse is pervasive, not least in the performing selves of amateur young women. In order to reconcile the *social* demands of propriety placed upon young ladies with the *technical* ones generated by challenging musical pieces, there was a certain suspension of rules which allowed women to display their artistic flair and capabilities while playing these pieces at the piano and then return to their composed selves thereafter. Men turned a blind eye to the temporary enactment of dexterity and passion, provided that once women stepped down from the stage they would return to their regular, subordinated, subdued position.

Additionally, the cover illustrations of sheet-music displayed women as young, beautiful, and often coquettish and enticing. These covers—often consisting of irresistibly beautiful images—were alluring for male customers, even though all those participating in the musical process tacitly agreed that the proper self of the performing woman should embody propriety and decorum. This moral double standard ran parallel to the performative one. Beautiful sheet music was not only permitted at home, but was actually fostered by fathers, suitors or husbands, as a necessary musical object that would further the praiseworthy (if closely monitored) musical activities entertained by women. In addition, it seems that the beautiful, forever young, women on these covers served as a subtle reminder of the fleeting time granted to real women to undertake music in an absorbing fashion. Upon marriage, the exceptional status regarding their relationship to music usually came to

an end, at least in the passionate and absorbing manner in which it was allowed beforehand, and participatory music remained only a minor part of a mature woman's social life. Music worked indeed as a 'compensatory space' for the monotony of everyday life, as Richard Leppert has pointed out; but in the liminal spaces between the performative world of art and everyday unexciting life, it became an ambiguous place. Music for women can be regarded in a less benevolent light by looking at the purpose it served within upper class societies whether in eighteenth-century Germany, or nineteenth-century Mexico, by what Matthew Head has named a 'double disciplinary function' of domestic music. On the one hand, music kept women at home and on the other 'deprofessionalized' musical practice and contained women in their basic roles as daughter, wife and mother²

Unsurprisingly given the passion invested and time devoted in musical practice, some women surpassed the expected boundaries and excelled in music without entering the professional space entirely: to these we apply the label of 'semi-professional'. José Antonio Gómez and Agustín Caballero believed and openly declared that Mexicans, including women, were exceptionally gifted for musical art and could excel in it. Both considered their duty to help women achieve this goal. The two documented cases of semi-professional women unearthed in this thesis were Gómez's students: Fernanda Andrade and María Dorotea Losada.

There was no established space for these women in the Mexican professional musical world, their status being ambiguous. Andrade and Losada appear, in the text of women's journals, as outstanding pupils of their mentor. Short published biographies provide us precious access to their lives. Still, their exceptional musical skills together with their outstanding quality as pianists were not enough to grant them admission to the professional world. Not unlike their European counterparts, however, these women created a world of their own in which to develop, explore and share their talents. Home concerts were relatively common in Mexico, but in contrast to European capital cities such as Paris or London, no concert series of chamber music were organised prior to the 1860s. Such a lack of a professional chamber music environment apart from opera was an additional factor that limited these semi-professional women's possibilities for publicly excelling as pianists. However, there was an acknowledgement and an appreciation of their talent, for they joined

² Matthew Head, "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52 (1999), 210.

professional musicians in playing opera arrangements in soirées and home concerts, and partook in religious events alongside their professional colleagues as well. These are rare cases of female musical personalities who were able to imagine and create a space that was important in the future professionalisation of women, and whose trajectories have not been studied until this thesis.

In spite of everything, a few women did become professional musicians during the 1840s and 1850s. María de Jesús Cepeda y Cosío and Eufrosia Amat, the two notable cases of Mexican professional singers explored in this work, performed alongside first-class international voices and sang roles in operas that were well known and much loved internationally. Agustín Caballero was involved in their education. They also participated in concerts, benefit performances for actors and musicians, and in religious and philanthropic events. They managed to live from their trade, both from the salaries they received and through private lessons. Although they were fully accepted as professionals, they found themselves in an exceptional situation. Their working conditions were different—inferior—to those of their European counterparts. They earned less and sometimes found their working-contracts broken without explanation. Foreign musical impresarios proved particularly prone to discriminating against these women; knowing well that by hiring them in their companies they were giving them a ‘chance’, they considered that they should be grateful for it. Yet, these women, by themselves, or together with their mothers, negotiated their contracts with the impresarios and sometimes rejected contracts that they considered unfair. This was certainly a case of unusual agency for women of the upper classes or indeed for women in music at all.

In contrast to Andrade and Losada, these professional musicians were singers. Mexico follows a pan-European model where professional musical careers opened up first for women as singers, then for keyboard players and belatedly for other instrumentalists. Paula Gillett has described an ‘informal ban on women’s violin-playing in England’ up to 1870s.³ In Mexico, we do not know of women publicly playing instruments other than the piano before 1872, when an Italian harpist,

³ Paula Gillett, *Musical Women in England, 1870—1914: ‘Encroaching on All Man’s Privileges’* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000), 77-108.

Rosalinda Sacconi, who had arrived as part of Angela Peralta's company, delighted the Mexican public with her virtuosity.⁴

Esperanza Pulido, a notable Mexican pianist and pioneer researcher on women, who in 1958 published her work *La mujer mexicana en la música* [The Mexican woman in music] found an endogenous reason for the predominance of singing in professional women. Pulido considered that Mexico kept producing singing luminaries due to a natural and national gift of voice, and also mentioned 'the lack of obligation on the part of women to deepen musical studies, either through the perfect dominion of a concert instrument or, most importantly, through musical composition skills'. In addition, she wrote, 'it was a custom that the Mexican woman, upon marriage, abandoned all other activity outside home chores'.⁵

Pulido's first point is backed by a widespread, still prevalent today, of Mexicans' special talent for singing. It is a notion illustrated by the existence of Mexican singing stars of international renown, male and female, unparalleled in other musical areas up to this day. The naturalistic predetermination of this argument would be as hard to prove as to discredit. As to the author's third comment, it is worth mentioning that it conceives of marriage as a deterrent to the music profession on the part of women in the nineteenth century. It is perhaps significant that neither Cepeda y Cosío nor Amat ever married. Ángela Peralta, an internationally successful Mexican singer from the 1860s to the 1880s, triumphed *despite* her marriage, which got in the way of her career.

Unlike their foreign counterparts, Mexican female singers felt it was their duty to justify their move into the professional terrain. This included going out of their way to explain why they took this otherwise unadvisable road. The explanations of Cepeda y Cosío and Amat are similar: they both went through the loss of a father, and thus had to provide for their (widowed) mothers in extreme financial need. The press opened its pages to give voice to the singers to tell these stories, and implicitly endorsed them. By means of these printed statements women artists' could acquire public legitimacy and keep their reputation intact. They needed to whitewash their

⁴ Karl Bellinghausen, 'El suspiro musical de las arpas y arpistas del siglo XIX' *El arpa de la modernidad en México: sus historias*, eds. Lidia Tamayo and Sergio Tamayo (Mexico: UAM, 2000), 40-41.

⁵ Esperanza Pulido, *La mujer mexicana en la música* (Mexico: Ediciones de la Revista Bellas Artes, 1958), 88-9.

professional life with an impeccable moral standard rooted in their private lives. Again, a double standard of sorts was at work.

By telling these stories, the papers underscored one additional and crucial aspect of the way these women presented themselves publicly: their specifically Mexican origin. This patriotic device served to justify their appearance on a public stage but also acted as a call to the Mexican public to take pride in their fellow compatriots' performances. The expression 'our fellow countrywomen' stuck to their names and became the ultimate reason why their careers were not only tolerated but enthusiastically supported. The historical/patriotic determinant made their musical trajectories acceptable, and therefore audible. As a result, their singing became secondary to the fact that they could effect a (re)presentation of the homeland at a time when pride in the nation was sorely needed. This is not a negligible and certainly an early aspect of Mexican musical profiling: the pride taken in local (women) performers.

A long way was covered between those amateur women playing at home, and satirized or even condemned for not complying fully with their domestic obligations, and professional women who, despite inequalities and double standards, successfully pursued a professional music career. They took an undeniable first step that provided a model for future professional women, who could later invoke them to tread further the professional path.

After independence, Mexico saw the development of a particular new type of musical life based on an emerging civil society. The difficult circumstances in which Mexico found herself during these decades, including civil wars and foreign invasions, political instability, epidemics and lack of resources, were hardly conducive to development of a thriving musical scene. Musically speaking, we have explored in this thesis the dynamic interaction of a diverse series of elements, through which we have reconstructed, imagined and attempted to make sense of the social fabric of Mexico's musical world of the time and its role in identity profiling.

Mexicans combined a patriotic pride for their new country with an ambivalent perception of Europe, which took the form mainly of a fervent admiration and occasionally of criticism and rejection caused by the unfair and even violent treatment Mexico received from European powers, or by deep-rooted cultural differences. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, Mexico was invaded by European and U. S. A. armies. Although, by and large, Mexican citizens regarded

Europe as a civilizing force, the aggression the latter inflicted, and its imperialistic power, proved hard to square with that idea. On an artistic level, although Mexicans revelled in the virtuoso concerts of foreign musicians or Italian opera companies, they were also aware of cases of unfair treatment of their musicians by European artists and impresarios. Moreover, Mexican amateurs and professionals, when confronted with mediocre, underprepared, performances or significant cuts in operas, saw through the promotional promises of unscrupulous impresarios. However, and at the same time, they were fascinated by the works and the performers these opera companies brought along, and through which they were able to hear performances of Italian *bel canto* works for the first time. The yearning for opera companies, and the perception that there were not enough performances, was always looming in newspapers.

Expectations and assumptions on both sides conformed to preconceived notions and prejudices that could hardly accommodate reality. Mexicans expected European musicians to embody and perform an idealized version of the civility and musical perfection to which Mexicans aspired in their new country. This vision was flawed because the ‘real Europe’ was quite different from the ‘ideal Europe’. It was also quite common that foreign visitors regarded Mexico as an imperfect Europe looked at through Eurocentric lenses. If it followed the right path, this vision proclaimed, Mexico would reach European standards in due time. ‘Europe’ became an entity that encompassed ideals, which were frequently at odds with the different European persons who effectively, and with a variety of purposes, traversed the Mexican territory. The failure of foreign musicians and impresarios to recognise the value of the Mexicans’ musical culture was partly due to their own economic interests, invested in their attitude of ‘capitalist vanguard’, to employ Mary Louise Pratt’s apt term. ‘Ideologically, the vanguard’s task is to reinvent America as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of the rationalized exploitation the Europeans bring’.⁶ Through their casual approach to Mexican audiences’ levels of professional tolerance, impresarios assumed or pretended it was acceptable to act thus in front of an allegedly ignorant public which they had come to civilize. However, their passing through the country has additional value when regarded from the Mexican point of

⁶ Ibid., 151-2.

view. For instance, visiting musicians saw a value in the local music and incorporated it in salon and concert pieces, which not only roused the Mexicans' pride but was also a driving force in local composers' own exploration of local sounds in the following decades.

Postscript

In 1854, René Masson, a French impresario living in Mexico, brought to the country an outstanding company of Italian singers including the celebrated *prima donna* Henriette Sontag. The company, coming from the U. S. A., was the best Mexicans had heard up to that point and included, alongside Sontag, Claudina Fiorentini as second *prima donna*; Carolina Vietti as *prima donna* contralto; Sidonia Costini as *prima donna comprimaria*; Eugenia Barattini as *seconda donna* ; tenors *primos assolutos* Gaspar Pozzolini and Mr. Arnoldo; baritone, Cesar Badiali; basses Mr. Rocco and Nicola Barilli; *basso buffo*, Eliodoro Specchi and second tenor Timoleon Barattini. With them came Giovanni Bottesini as '*maestro compositor*'. Masson put together an orchestra which, he claimed, included the best musicians he could find across the country.⁷

Sontag's first presentation in the role of Amina in *La sonnambula* on 21 April caused an ecstatic reaction among the Mexican public. Her singing voice was otherworldly: 'supernatural', 'fantastic', 'celestial', 'divine'. Despite having abandoned singing for many years after her marriage and having resumed only recently, the critics thought she sang as well, and looked as beautiful and young, as twenty years before. As it is well known, the countess of Rossi had returned to singing to reinstate the fortune lost by her husband. The precision of her singing, the unheard-of beauties she could bring out in her roles, her timbre, her embellishments, all in the right place, were but few of the matters on which an amazed press commented. Critics confessed their impotence in attempting to describe what they were hearing and watching: 'When one says: the sun is illuminating, there is nothing to add. The same occurs when one says, "*Sontag is singing*". That says it all.'⁸

⁷ *El Siglo XIX*, 17 Apr. 1854.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1854. Mexicans heard Sontag sing the following roles: Amina in *La sonnambula*, Rosina (several times, the last on 23 May) in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (6, 7 and 24 May), Marie in *La fille du regiment* (11 May), Adina in *L'Élixir d'amore* (20 May) and Desdemona in Rossini's *Otello* (3

Copies of a poem written by a Mexican woman and dedicated to the ‘Inimitable artist Enriqueta Sontag, countess of Rossi, when we heard her in the great theatre Santa-Anna’,⁹ were dropped down from the theatre’s gallery. In an auto-orientalized vein, the poem exalts the singer’s virtues as they glitter on Mexican soil.

From what remote region
Did the unsettled dawn bring you
Sweetest Enriqueta
To remote Mexican soil!

Curly-plumed bird
Most beautiful and melodious,
How gentle your sonorous voice
Sounds in Montezuma’s garden!

Here where there is no ice,
And the breeze is perfumed,
Your song and your smile
Harmonise with our land.

From the north at noon,
Absorbed with your trills
In ecstasy divine,
Enthused Europe applauded you.

But the shadow of war
Frightens the nightingale,
And it flies, and comes and sings,
And the earth rejoices of Columbus.
[...]

Sad turtledove in a distant nest
You cry your soft, your mournful complaints,
And the echo you then leave behind in your soul,
Laments the pain hidden therein.

But if your throat modulates joy
Laughter, love and placid contentment,
The heart forgets its torment,
And only feels that your voice enchants.

You bring together sorrow and joy,
I have heard celestial singers;
But none, Enriqueta, can equal your skill,
None entrances my soul like you.

[...]

June). Despite being well-known by the public, Sontag brought new light to these roles. The public was also thrilled when she presented the Polka d’Alary from Act III of *Maria di Rohan*.

⁹ It was the National Theatre renamed in honour of the dictator Antonio López de Santa Anna.

With a thousand reasons the world is enraptured,
How many of your songs, Enriqueta, do you intone,
Laurels, feathers and crowns are offered you,
And the world hears you and adores you with a deep love.

Shine then, if shining is your destiny:
Charm with your voice, lovely German girl,
But allow that here a Mexican maiden
Strew some flowers in your path. (C.1, pp. 316-7)

R. B. de G.¹⁰

Sontag responded to this Mexican's admiration by participating in a gala function at the Santa Anna theatre where the President's wife, Dolores Tosta, a passionate amateur pianist, was present. It was a magnificent event: the building's façade was illuminated with coloured lights, the patios to the sides of the foyer became fantastic gardens, lights and flowers were everywhere, and the entrance was lavishly carpeted. The hall shone as though in broad daylight, the spellbound chronicler reported; the columns on the boxes were swathed with garlands of fresh roses.¹¹ The gala, which started with the overture to Verdi's *Nabucodonosor*, reached its culmination when Henrietta Sontag sang a Mexican national anthem composed by Giovanni Bottesini with lyrics by Mexican poet Francisco González Bocanegra.

Then, from the beginning of May, some members of the Masson's company began to fall ill—too ill to perform. Masson had to make last minute arrangements in order to accommodate these unexpected changes and the authorities prohibited him from saying publicly what everybody knew: cholera morbus had hit Mexico City once again. After an excursion to the popular Tlalpan fair on the city's outskirts, Henriette Sontag was also taken ill. After a few days and desperate attempts to save her life, she died at 3pm on 17 June 1854. The next day a sumptuous funeral procession conducted her body to the San Fernando cemetery, where she had a magnificent burial with state honours, the German Club sang a prayer to the virgin, the orchestras of the two theatres played together, and the Mexican poet Pantaleón Tovar declaimed a second poem written in her honour.¹²

¹⁰ *El Siglo XIX*, 10 May 1854. Translation from Spanish, Catherine Rendón.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1854.

¹² Her remains were transferred to a permanent site in a convent, near Dresden, Germany, where they were deposited on 2 May 1855. Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, 'Funeral Romántico para una cantante', *Cuadernos de historia del arte*, (Argentina, Universidad Nacional del Cuyo, 1987): 233-241.

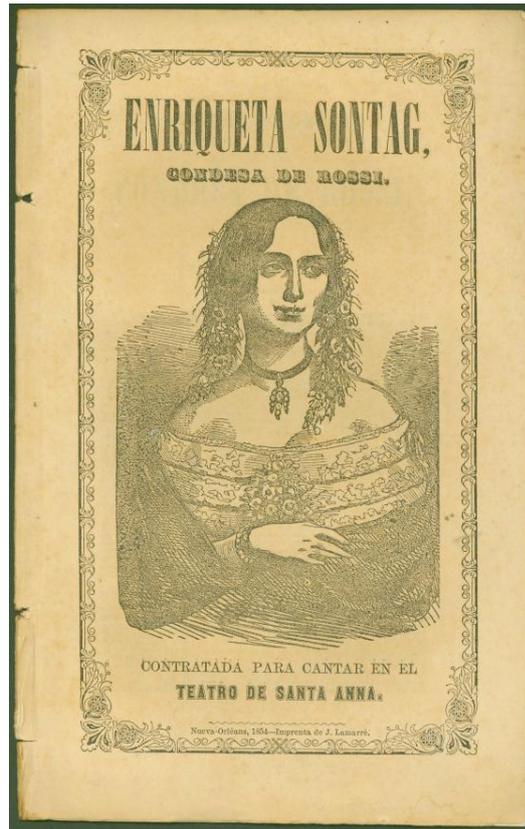


Figure 33. Promotional program of Henrietta Sontag's presentations in Mexico

Sontag's death can be seen as a metaphor for the beginning of the decline of the virtuoso era in Mexico and the gradual entrance to a modern period in its musical history, including a state-organized music education system. In the coming decades, there was an accelerated development of Mexican musicians at professional levels within an established and permanent national musical setting. This new era was heralded by the foundation of the National Conservatory in 1866 and the consolidation of its symphony orchestra in 1882. Women were from the start included in these new institutions.

When Henrietta Sontag was in the capital, she was told of a talented nine-year-old girl who had a prodigious voice. Interested or amused, she agreed to hear her. After the girl sang, the story goes, Henrietta covered her face with kisses, gave her a piece of music as a present, and declared: 'If your father were to take you to Italy, you would be one of the greatest singers of Europe.'¹³ The girl was Ángela

¹³ Narrated in Agustín F. Cuenca's book, *Ángela Peralta de Castera. Rasgos biográficos*, (México, 1873) as quoted in Mónica Barrón, 'Para escuchar al ruiseñor' <<http://www.inehrm.gob.mx/Portal/PtMain.php?pagina=exp-angela-peralta-articulo>> (Accessed 02 09 2011).

Peralta, ‘Angelica di voce e di nome’, as she was called in Italy, where she triumphed as a soprano less than a decade after Sontag heard her. She sang *Lucia di Lammermoor* in 1862 at *La Scala*, founded her own company back in Mexico and returned to Italy to perform with it. She also composed and published her music and was a recognized teacher. When she came back to Mexico, she was received as a hero.¹⁴ Her encounter with Sontag had been a symbolic passing of the baton for a new generation of Mexican professional and independent women musicians, and her image is a fitting way to end this thesis.



Figure 34. Ángela Peralta in the 1870s or 1880s

¹⁴ An internet search brings up several short biographies of Ángela Peralta of different levels of detail. She has clearly become a character of international and especially national value, who is studied in primary and secondary schools. Her presence is a constant in dictionaries, encyclopedias and there are also some published monographic studies about her. For example: Bobette, Gugliotta, *Women of Mexico: The Consecrated and the Commoners, 1519–1900* (California: Floricanto Press, 1989), 164–165; Armida Manjarrez, ‘Ángela Peralta’ in http://redescolar.ilce.edu.mx/redescolar/publicaciones/publi_quepaso/angelaperalta.htm (Accessed 21 09 2011). Peralta has an entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* and in other countless Mexican dictionaries; her obituary was published in *The New York Times*, 9 September 1883 and her name gives name to schools and auditoriums. She has become a Mexican symbol of an early entrepreneurial artistic woman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICAN NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

- El Águila Mexicana* (1823-1827)
- El Álbum Mexicano. Periódico de literatura, artes y bellas letras* (1849)
- La Antorcha* (1833)
- El Apuntador. Semanario de teatros, costumbres, literatura y variedades* (1840-1841)
- Calendario de artes y oficios para el año 1858* (1857)
- Calendario de Galván* (1835)
- Calendario de las Señoritas Megicanas, para el año bisiesto de 1840* (1840)
- Calendario filarmónico para 1866. Arreglado al Meridiano de México* (1865)
- La Camelia. Semanario de literatura, variedades, teatros, modas, etc.* (1853)
- Correo semanario de México* (1826)
- Las Cosquillas. Periódico retozón, impolítico y de malas costumbres* (1852)
- El Cosmopolita* (1838-1842)
- El Daguerrotipo* (1850)
- Diario del Gobierno de la República Mexicana* (1835-1840)
- El Fénix de la Libertad* (1833-1834)
- La Hesperia* (1840)
- El Iris* (1826)
- El Monitor Republicano* (1849-1850)
- El Mosaico Mexicano* (1836-37, 1840-42)
- Municipal Mexicano* (1836)
- El Museo Mexicano* (1842-44)
- El Panorama. Periódico Semanario de Teatros, Literatura, Modas y Variedades* (1856)
- Panorama de las señoritas. Periódico pintoresco, científico y literario* (1842)
- Presente amistoso dedicado a las señoritas mexicanas* (1847, 1851, 1852)
- El Recreo de las Familias* (1838)
- Registro Oficial del Gobierno* (1831-1833)

El Renacimiento (1869)
Semana de las Señoritas Mejicanas (1851-1852)
Semanario de las Señoritas Mexicanas (1841-1842)
El Siglo Diez y Nueve (1841-1856)
El Sol (1823-1832)
El Telégrafo. Periódico Oficial del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (1833-1834)
El Tío Nonilla Periódico Político, Enredador, Chismográfico y de Trueno (1849-50)
Un periódico más (1841)
El Universal (1848-1857)

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSICAL ALBUMS AND SCORES

Gómez, José Antonio. *Pieza histórica sobre la independencia de la nación mexicana* (1823?)
Gramática Razonada Musical, compuesta en forma de diálogo para los principiantes dedicada y publicada en México para el Bello Sexo, Mexico: Imprenta de Martín Rivera, 1832.
Prospecto y Reglamento de la Gran Sociedad Filarmónica y Conservatorio Mexicano de Ciencias y Bellas Artes, dirigida por José Antonio Gómez, Mexico: Imprenta del Iris, 1839.
Wals de las gorditas de horno caliente in *El Mosaico Mexicano* (1840)
Variaciones sobre el tema de jarabe mexicano (1841)
Instructor Filarmónico. Nuevo Método para Piano, simplificado y extractado de varios autores por J. Anto. Gómez, vols. 1 and 2, Mexico: Propiedad de los editores, 1843.
Instructor Filarmónico. Periódico Semanal Musical, vol 3, Mexico: Propiedad de los editores, 1843.
El Inspirador Permanente. Gran Método de Música Vocal, Mexico: Imprenta de la Hesperia, 1844.
Pieza histórica sobre la independencia de la nación mexicana (1823?)

Hahn, Luis [Ludwig]. *Recuerdos de México* [1850s-1860s]. Facsimile, prol. by María Teresa Franco and intr. by Guillermo Tovar y de Teresa and Ricardo Miranda, Mexico: Conaculta/INBA/National Conservatory, 2008.

LITERARY PRIMARY SOURCES

Altamirano, Ignacio Manuel. *Clemencia* [1869], critical study by Marina Martínez Andrade, Clásicos Mexicanos, Mexico: Alfaguara, 2003.

Arroniz, Marcos. *Manual del viajero en Méjico o compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Méjico* [1858], Facsimile, Mexico: Instituto Mora, 1991.

Calderón, Fernando. *A ninguna de las tres* [c.1837-1840], in *Teatro mexicano decimonónico*, selection of texts and prol. by Eduardo Contreras Soto, Mexico: Ediciones Cal y Arena, 2006, 192-286.

‘El Pensador Mexicano’ [Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi]. *La educación de las mugeres, o la Quijotita y su prima. Historia muy cierta con apariencias de novela*, Mexico: Librería de Recio y Altamirano, 1842.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Emile, ou l'éducation* [1762]. Accessed 18 04 2008, <<http://www.ilt.columbia.edu/pedagogies/rousseau/Contents2.html>>

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES

Bishop, Anna (Rivière). *Travels of Anna Bishop in Mexico. 1849*. Philadelphia: Charles Deal, 1852.

Bullock, W. *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico*. London: John Murray, 1824.

Calderón de la Barca, Frances. *Life in Mexico* [1839-1842]. London: Chapman and Hall, 1843. Accessed 08 01 2008, <<http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/calderon/mexico/mexico.html>>

Cartas sobre la educación del Bello Sexo, por Una Señora Americana. London: Ackerman, 1824.

Comettant, Oscar. *La musique, les musiciens et les instruments de musique chez les différents peuples du monde*. Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1869.

Del Rivero, Luis Manuel. *Méjico en 1842*. Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de D. Eusebio Aguado, 1844.

- Elton, J[ames] F[rederick]. *With the French in Mexico*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1867.
- La France Musical* (1851-1852).
- García Cubas, Antonio. *El libro de mis recuerdos. Narraciones históricas, anecdóticas y de costumbres mexicanas anteriores al actual estado social, ilustradas con más de trescientos fotograbados* (1904). Mexico: Editorial Patria, 1950.
- Herz, Henri. *My Travels in America* [1866], trans. by Henry Bertram Hill. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963.
- Ibarra, Domingo. *Colección de bailes de sala, y método para aprenderlos sin auxilio de maestro*. Mexico: Tipografía de Nabor Chávez, 1860.
- Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Paris: 1829.
- Maretzek, Max. *Revelations of an Opera Manager in 19th-Century America: Crotchets and Quavers and Sharps and Flats* [1855, 1st volume 1890, 2nd volume], with a new intro. by Charles Haywood, Two volumes bound as one. New York: Dover, 1968.
- Mayer, Brantz. *México lo que fue y lo que es* [1844], prol. and notes by Juan A. Ortega y Medina, trans. by Francisco A. Delpiane. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1953.
- Mexico as It Was and as It Is* [1844], 3rd ed. Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & Company, 1847.
- The Message Bird. A Literary and Musical Journal* (1849).
- Morales, Melesio. *Mi libro verde de apuntes e impresiones* [1869], intr. by Karl Bellinghausen, *Memorias Mexicanas*. Mexico: Conaculta, 1999.
- Pérez Hernández, José María. *Estadística de la república mexicana*. Guadalajara, Tipografía del gobierno, 1862.
- Poetisas americanas. Ramillete poético del Bello Sexo Hispanoamericano*, comp. By José Domingo Cortés. Paris-Mexico: Librería de A. Bouret e Hijo, 1875.
- Prieto, Guillermo. *Memorias de mis tiempos* [1906], prol. by Horacio Labastida, *Sepan Cuantos*, 481. Mexico, Porrúa, 2004.
- Revilla, Manuel G. *Biografías (artistas)*, Vol. 1. Mexico: Imp. de V. Agueros, ed., 1908.

Vilar, Manuel. Letters to his brother José Vilar [1846-1860]. In Salvador Moreno, *El escultor Manuel Vilar*. Mexico: UNAM/IIE, 1969.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Águila M., Marcos Tonatiuh. 'El primer centenario de Guillermo Prieto y algunas reflexiones sobre la cuestión del atraso económico,' *Economía: teoría y práctica* 9 (1998). Accessed 07 03 2011, <<http://www.azc.uam.mx/publicaciones/etp/num9/a7.htm>>.

Aguilar Ruz, Luisa del Rosario. 'La imprenta musical profana en la ciudad de México (1826-1860),' Master's thesis. Mexico: UNAM, 2011.

Aguirre Loera, María Esther. 'Una invención del siglo XIX. La escuela primaria (1780-1890).' In *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. Luz Elena Galván Lafarga. Mexico: UNAM, 2002. Accessed 15 01 2011, <http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_16.htm>

Almazán Orihuela, Joel. 'La recepción musical de las óperas de Gioachino Rossini en la ciudad de México (1821-1831),' *Heterofonía* 129 (2003): 49-65.

Alonso González, Celsa. 'Los salones: Un espacio musical para la España del XIX,' *Anuario Musical: Revista de musicología del C. S. I. C.* 48 (1993): 165-206.

Alvarado, María de Lourdes. 'Mujeres y educación superior en el México del siglo XIX.' In *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. Luz Elena Galván Lafarga. México, UNAM, 2002. Accessed 15 01 2011, <http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_10.htm>.

André, Naomi. *Voicing Gender. Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Aragón, María Eugenia. *El Teatro Nacional en la ciudad de México. 1841-1901*, Premios Rodolfo Usigli, 1992. Mexico: INBA/CITRU, 1995.

Araujo Pardo, Alejandro. *Novela, historia y lecturas. Usos de la novela histórica del siglo XIX mexicano: una lectura historiográfica*. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Claustro de Sor Juana, 2009.

Ashcroft, Bill. 'Modernity's First-Born: Latin American and Post-Colonial Transformation.' In *El debate de la postcolonialidad en Latinoamérica: una postmodernidad periférica en el pensamiento latinoamericano*, Alfonso de

- Toro/ Fernando de Toro eds., TCCL-Teoría y crítica de la Cultura y Literatura. Investigaciones de los signos culturales. Semiótica-Epistemología- Interpretación, 13-29. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 1999.
- Bailey, Candace. 'The Antebellum "Piano Girl" in the American South,' *Performance Practice Review* 13 (2008), Claremont Graduate University: 1-43.
- Baqueiro Fóster, Gerónimo. *Historia de la música, III. La música en el periodo independiente*. Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes/Departamento de Música/Sección de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964.
- Barbacci, Rodolfo. *Apuntes para un diccionario biográfico musical peruano*. Peru: Fénix, [1950].
- Baron, John H. 'Vieuxtemps and Ole Bull in New Orleans,' *American Music* 8, No. 2 (1990): 210-26.
- Barrón, Mónica. 'Para escuchar al ruseñor.' Accessed 02 09 2011, <<http://www.inehrm.gob.mx/Portal/PtMain.php?pagina=exp-angela-peralta-articulo>>.
- Béhague, Gerard. 'Latin America: Independence and Nationalism.' In *The Early Romantic Era. Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848*, Vol. 6, ed. by A. Ringer A., Man and Music Series, 280- 93. London: Macmillan Press, 1990.
- Bellinghausen, Karl. 'Chapter 1. El suspiro musical de las arpas y arpistas del siglo XIX.' In *El arpa de la modernidad en México: sus historias*, I, 27-60. Mexico: UAM- Unidad Azcapotzalco, 2000.
- Berlin, Isaiah. *The Roots of Romanticism: The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, ed. by Henry Hardy. [London]: Chatto & Windus, 1999.
- Bitrán, Yael. 'Furor por la polka,' *Heterofonía* 134-135 (2006): 131-40.
- 'Periphery within the margins: studies of salon music in Spain,' unpublished paper presented at the Annual Music Graduate Exchange Conference for the East and South of England 2006, Department of Music, Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, Surrey.
- Bonilla Reyna, Helia Emma. 'Joaquín Giménez y *El Tío Nonilla*,' *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 76 (2000): 179-235.
- Botstein, Leon. 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience,' *19th-Century Music* 16, No. 2 (1992): 129-45.

- Brading, D.A. *The First America. The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal States: 1492-1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Brett, Philip. 'Piano Four-Hands: Schubert and the Performance of Gay Male Desire,' *19th-Century Music* 21, No. 2 (1997): 149-76.
- Brookes, William and Katherine K. Preston. 'Ullman, Bernard.' In *Grove Music Online* ed. by L. Macy. Accessed 04 12 2006, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.
- Brooks, Jeanice. 'Les collections féminines d'albums de partitions dans l'Angleterre du début du XIXe siècle,' trans. by Vincent Giroud. In *la la... Maître Henri, Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, ed. by C. Ballman and V. Dufour, 371-85. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Burgan, Mary. 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction,' *Victorian Studies* 30, No. 1 (1986): 51-76.
- Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Cornell Paperbacks. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Caldera, Ermano. *Los románticos se burlan de sí mismos. Algunos apuntes sobre el Romanticismo existencial*. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel Cervantes, 2003.
- Campos, Rubén M. *El folklore musical de las ciudades. Investigación acerca de la música mexicana para bailar y cantar*, [1930], Facsimile. Mexico: Cenidim, 1995.
- El folklore y la música mexicana. Investigación acerca de la cultura musical en México (1525-1925)*, [1928], Facsimile. Mexico: Cenidim, 1991.
- Canudas Sandoval, Enrique. *Las venas de plata en la historia de México. Síntesis de historia económica. Siglo XIX*, Vol. 3. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Tabasco, 2005.
- Carballo, Emmanuel. *Diccionario crítico de las letras mexicanas en el siglo XIX*. Mexico: Océano-Conaculta, 2001.
- Carilla, Emilio. *El Romanticismo en la América hispánica*, 3rd ed. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.
- Carmona, Gloria. *La música de México, I. Historia. 3. Periodo de la Independencia a la Revolución (1810 a 1910)*, ed. Julio Estrada. Mexico: UNAM/Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1984.
- 'La música mexicana a través de sus crónicas. Un frustrado Conservatorio de

- música,' *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 51 (1983): 83-97.
- Casco Centeno, Emilio. 'Julio Ituarte,' Master's thesis. Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 2004.
- Castro Guzmán, María Guadalupe. 'Compositoras mexicanas de 1850 a 1917,' Licenciatura thesis. Mexico: Conservatorio Nacional de Música, 2003.
- Chasteen, John Charles. *National Rhythms, African Roots: The Deep History of Latin American Popular Dance*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- 'Patriotic Footwork: Social Dance and the Watershed of Independence in Buenos Aires.' In *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution*, ed. By Victor M. Uribe-Uran, 173-91. Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 2001.
- Christensen, Thomas. 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, No.2 (1999): 255-98.
- 'Cigarettes: Women. Coffin Nails; The Tobacco Controversy in the 19th Century,' Accessed 21 07 2011,
 <<http://tobacco.harpweek.com/HubPages/CommentaryPage.asp?Commentary=Women>>.
- Comellas, Mercedes. "'¡Yo quiero ser caribe! ¡Yo quiero ser antiromántico!'" del buen humor del anti-romanticismo.' In *Del Romanticismo al Realismo*. Actas del I Coloquio de la S. L. E. S. XIX, Barcelona, 24-26 October 1996, ed. by Luis F. Díaz Larios and Enrique Miralles. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2005, 357-370. Accessed 28 09 2007,
 <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/12604511990154841865846/p0000005.htm#I_39>.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. 'Music and Romanticism.' In *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. by J. Bradford Robinson, 15-26. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: Univ. of California Press, 1989.
- Davies, James. 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, No. 2 (2006): 287-309.
- De Grial, Hugo. *Músicos mexicanos*. Mexico: Diana, 1978.
- De Paz, Alfredo. *La revolución romántica. Poéticas, estéticas, ideologías*. Madrid: Tecnos, 1992.

- Díaz y de Ovando, Clementina. *Los cafés en México en el siglo XIX*. Mexico: UNAM, 2003.
- ‘Funeral Romántico para una cantante,’ *Cuadernos de historia del arte*. Argentina: Universidad Nacional del Cuyo, 1987: 233-41.
- Dorson, Richard M. ‘The Question of Folklore in a New Nation,’ *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3, No. 3, Special Issue: The Yugoslav-American Folklore Seminar (1966): 277-98.
- García Barragán, Elisa. ‘El arquitecto Lorenzo de la Hidalga,’ *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 80 (2002): 101-28.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gramit, David. ‘Selling the Serious. The Commodification of Music and Resistance to It in Germany, circa 1800.’ In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* ed. by William Weber, 81-101. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Ehrlich, Cyril. *The Piano: A History*, revised ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Ellis, Katharine. *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth-Century France*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- ‘The Structures of Musical Life.’ In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson, 343-70. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- ‘Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, No. 2/3 (1997): 353-85.
- Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France : ‘La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris’, 1834-1880*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- ‘Rewriting “Don Giovanni”, or “The Thieving Magpies”,’ *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, No. 2 (1992): 215-50.
- Ette, Otmar. ‘Europa como movimiento. Sobre la construcción literaria de un asunto fascinante,’ trans. by Meter Storandt Diller. In *Política, identidad y narración*, ed. by Gustavo Leyva, 319-62. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana/Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2003.
- Everist, Mark. *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon: 1824-1828*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, University of California Press, 2002.
- ‘Meyerbeer’s “*Il crociato in Egitto*”: mélodrame, Opera, Orientalism,’

- Cambridge Opera Journal* 8, No. 3 (1996): 215-50.
- ‘Lindoro in Lyon: Rossini’s *Le Barbier de Séville*,’ *Acta Musicologica*, 64, Fasc. 1 (1992): 50-85.
- Farrell, Gerry. *Indian Music and the West*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Fernández Hernández, Silvia. ‘La transición del diseño gráfico colonial al diseño gráfico moderno en México (1777-1850).’ In *Empresa y Cultura en tinta y papel (1800-1850)*, coord. By Laura Beatriz Suárez de la Torres, ed. by Miguel Ángel Castro, 131-44. Mexico: Instituto Mora/UNAM, 2001.
- Galí Boadella, Montserrat. *Historias del bello sexo. La introducción del Romanticismo en México*. Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2002.
- Gillett, Paula. ‘Ambivalent Friendships: Music Lovers, Amateurs, and Professional Musicians in the Late Nineteenth Century.’ In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 321-40. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Musical Women in England, 1870—1914: “Encroaching on All Man's Privileges”*,’ 77-108. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000.
- Goldberg, Halina. *Music in Chopin’s Warsaw*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- ‘Chopin in Warsaw’s Salons,’ *Polish Music Journal* 2, Nos. 1-2 (1999). Accessed 27 06 2006, <http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/PMJ/>.
- Gómez, Enriqueta. *Páginas musicales*. Mexico: Ed. “Mi Mundo”, 1956.
- González Espinosa, Jesús Emilio. “‘No doy por todos ellos el aire de mi lugar’”: La construcción de una identidad colombiana a través del bambuco en el siglo XIX,’ PhD diss., Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2006.
- Gossett, Philip. *Divas and Scholars. Performing Italian Opera*. [Chicago]: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Granillo Vázquez Lilia and Esther Hernández Palacios. ‘De reinas del hogar y de la patria a escritoras profesionales. La edad de oro de las poetisas mexicanas.’ In *La república de las letras. Asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico, Vol. I. Ambientes, asociaciones y grupos. Movimientos, temas y géneros literarios*, ed. by Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra, 121-52. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005.

- Guerrero Romero, Javier. *Teatro Coliseo. Teatro Victoria. 200 años de vida del primer teatro del norte de México*. Mexico: Instituto Municipal del Arte y la Cultura de Durango, 2001.
- Haase-Dubosc, Danielle. 'Intellectuelles, femmes d'esprit et femmes savants au XVIIe siècle,' *Clio*, No. 13 (2001). Accessed 23 08 2008, <<http://clio.revues.org/document133.html>>.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989.
- Hahner, June H. 'Fanny Calderón de la Barca. Women's Lives in Midnineteenth-Century Mexico.' In *Women through Women's Eyes. Latin-American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts*, ed. by June H. Hahner, 43-68. Los Angeles: SR Books, 1998.
- Hall-Witt, Jennifer. *Fashionable Acts. Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880*. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007.
- Head, Matthew. "'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 52 (1999): 203-54.
- Henares, Ignacio. *Romanticismo y teoría del arte en España*, Antología de textos románticos españoles. Madrid: Cátedra, 1982.
- Herrera, Jesús. 'El *Manuscrito de Mariana Vasques*: música para tocar, bailar y cantar de principios del México independiente,' *Heterofonía* 132-133 (2005): 9-24.
- 'El *Quaderno Mayner*,' Master's Thesis, Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2007.
- 'Mariano Elízaga'. Accessed 18 07 2011, <<http://sepiensa.org.mx/contenidos/elizaga/mariano1.htm>>.
- Hoeckner, Berthold. 'Schumann and Romantic Distance,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, No. 1 (1997): 55-132.
- Honour, Hugo. *El romanticismo*, Alianza Forma. Madrid: Alianza, 1981.
- Hutcheon Linda and Michael Hutcheon. 'Smoking in Opera.' In *Smoke: a Global History of Smoking*, ed. by Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun, 230-35. London: Reaktion Press, 2004.

- Illades, Carlos. *Las otras ideas. El primer socialismo en México 1850-1935*. Mexico: Era/Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Unidad Cuajimalpa, 2008.
- Nación, sociedad y utopía en el romanticismo mexicano*, Sello Bermejo. Mexico: Conaculta, 2005.
- Johnson, James H. *Listening in Paris. A Cultural History*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kallberg, Jeffrey. *Selected works / Henri Herz*, New York: Garland, 1993.
- ‘The Harmony of the Tea Table: Gender and Ideology in the Piano Nocturne,’ *Representations* 39 (1992): 102-33.
- Kammertöns, Christoph, ‘Henri [Heinrich] Herz.’ In ‘Christoph Kammertöns: Netzseite Henri Herz’ from Christoph Kammertöns, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (MGG) ed. by Ludwig Finscher. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002, 1447-1449. Accessed 15 04 2008, <<http://kulturserver-nrw.de/home/ck/muw/herz.html>>.
- Koegel, John. ‘Towards a National Union Catalog of Nineteenth-Century Mexican Music Imprints,’ January 2009, unpublished paper.
- ‘Music and Theater in Nineteenth-Century Mexico.’ A paper read at the conference *Musical Theater and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain and America*. Clark Library, UCLA, 28 October 2006.
- ‘La vida musical en el México del siglo XIX vista por los extranjeros,’ trans. by Ricardo Miranda, *Discanto. Ensayos de investigación musical*, Vol. I, Universidad Veracruzana (2005): 79-108.
- ‘Nuevas fuentes musicales para danza, teatro y salón de la Nueva España,’ trans. by Yael Bitrán, *Heterofonía* 116-117 (1997): 9-37.
- Kramer, Lawrence. ‘Haydn’s Chaos, Schenker’s Order; or, Hermeneutics and Musical Analysis: Can They Mix?,’ *19th-Century Music* 16, No. 1 (1992): 3-17.
- Ladd, Doris M. *La nobleza mexicana en la época de la Independencia, 1780-1826*, (1976) trans. by Marita Martínez del Río de Redo. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984.
- Lander, María Fernanda. ‘El *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* de Manuel Antonio Carreño: reglas para la construcción del ciudadano ideal,’ *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 6 (2002): 83-96.

- Lazo, Raymundo. *El romanticismo (Lo romántico en la lírica hispano-americana)*. Mexico: Porrúa, 1979.
- Lazos, John. 'Gómez, Antonio: El maestro de los maestros entre los mexicanos, o ajonjolí de todos los moles,' *Heterofonía* 140 (2009): 77-100.
- 'José Antonio Gómez's *Ynvitatorio, Himno y 8 Responsorios*: Historical context and music analysis of a manuscript,' PhD diss., Université de Montreal, 2009.
- Lenneberg, Hans. 'Classic and Romantic. The First Usage of the Terms,' *The Musical Quarterly* 78, No. 3. (1994): 610-625.
- Leppert, Richard. *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- 'The Musician of the Imagination.' In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* ed. by William Weber, 25-59. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Lerner, Lawrence Marton. 'The Rise of the Impresario: Bernard Ullman and the Transformation of Musical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America,' PhD diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970.
- La litografía en México*. Sixty facsimile prints with a study by Manuel Toussaint. Mexico: Estudios Neolitho, 1934.
- Loesser, Arthur. *Men, Women and Pianos. A Social History*, with a new foreword by Edward Rothstein and a preface by Jacques Barzun. New York: Dover Publications, 1990.
- Losseff, Nicky. 'Absent Melody and "The Woman in White",' *Music and Letters* 81, No. 4 (2000): 532-50.
- Lott, R. Allen. *From Paris to Peoria. How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland*. Oxford /New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Lustig, Jodi. 'The Piano's Progress: The Piano in Play in the Victorian novel.' In *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff, 83-104. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Martínez, José Luis. 'Las revistas literarias del romanticismo mexicano.' In *La expresión nacional. Letras mexicanas del siglo XIX*, 213-19. Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1955.
- 'México en busca de su expresión.' In *Historia General de México*, 1017-69.

- Mexico: Colegio de México, 1994.
- Mayer-Serra, Otto. *Panorama de la Música Mexicana. Desde la Independencia hasta la actualidad*, [1941]. Facsímile. Mexico: INBA-CENIDIM, 1996.
- Mellor, Anne K. *Romanticism & Gender*. New York/London: Routledge, 1993.
- Mendoza, Cristina. 'Entre maestros y manuales, la tradición de la enseñanza de la danza,' *Casa del Tiempo* VIII, Nos. 90-91, (2001): 55-9.
- Mignolo, Walter D. *The Idea of Latin America*, Blackwell manifestos. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- Milewski, Barbara. 'Chopin's Mazurkas and the Myth of the Folk,' *19th-Century Music* 23, No. 2 (1999): 113-35.
- Miller, Bonny H. 'Ladies' Companion, Ladies' Canon? Women composers in American Magazines from *Godey's* to the *Ladies' Home Journal*.' In *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. by Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou, 156-82. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994.
- 'A Mirror of Ages Past: The Publication of Music in Domestic Periodicals,' *Notes. Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 50, No. 3 (1994): 883-901.
- Miranda, Ricardo. 'La Batalla de Puebla. José María Pérez de León,' *Artes de México*, 'Música de la Independencia a la Revolución,' 97 (March, 2010): 48-9.
- '“A tocar señoritas”.' In *Ecos, alientos y sonidos: ensayos sobre música mexicana*, 91-136. Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001.
- 'El espejo idealizado: un siglo de ópera en México (1810-1910).' In *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica. Actas del Congreso Internacional, La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica. Una creación propia*. Madrid, 29 Nov./3 Dec. 1999, 143-85. Madrid: ICCMU, Colección Música hispana textos. Estudios, [c2001].
- 'Tempo di variazioni: la música de Mariano Elízaga y su tiempo,' pref. to Mariano Elízaga, *Ultimas variaciones para teclado*, 9-19. Mexico: INBA/Cenidim, 1994.
- Molina Álvarez, Daniel and Karl Bellinghausen. Más si osare un extraño enemigo.... *CL aniversario del Himno Nacional Mexicano. Antología conmemorativa*.

- 1854-2004. Mexico: Secretaría de Cultura de la Ciudad de México/Editorial Océano, 2004.
- Moore, Tom. 'A visit to Pianopolis. Brazilian Music for Piano at the Biblioteca Alberto Nepomuceno,' *Notes* 57, No. 1 (2000): 59-87.
- Moreno Gamboa, Olivia. 'Una cultura en movimiento: la prensa musical de la ciudad de México (1866-1910),' Licenciatura thesis. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2002.
- Mañón, Manuel. *Historia del Viejo Gran Teatro Nacional de México. Tomo I. Capítulo I 1841 al Capítulo XXX, 1873*. Mexico: Conaculta/INBA, 2009.
- Olavarría y Ferrari, Enrique. *Reseña histórica del teatro en México 1538-1911*, Vol. 1, prol. by Salvador Novo. Mexico: Porrúa, 1961.
- Pacheco, José Emilio. 'A 150 años de la Academia de Letrán. Discurso de ingreso al Colegio Nacional el 10 de julio de 1986.' Accessed 28 12 2007, <<http://www.colegionacional.org.mx/SACSCMS/XStatic/colegionacional/esp/anol/home.html>>.
- Poesía Mexicana I. 1810-1914*. Mexico: Promexa Editores, 1979.
- Pareyón, Gabriel. *Diccionario Enciclopédico de Música en México*, 2 vols., Zapopan, Jal., Mexico: Universidad Panamericana, 2007.
- Peckacz, Jolanta. 'The Salonnières and the Philosophes in Old Regime France: The Authority of Aesthetic Judgement,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60, No. 2 (1999): 277-97.
- Pereira Salas, Eugenio. *Historia de la Música en Chile, 1850-1900*. Santiago: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1957.
- Pérez Hernández, José María. *Estadística de la república mexicana*. Guadalajara: Tipografía del gobierno, 1862.
- Pérez Salas, María Esther. 'Genealogía de *Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos*,' *Historia Mexicana* 190, XLVIII, No. 2 (1998): 167-207.
- Pérez Vejo, Tomás. 'La invención de una nación: La imagen de México en la prensa ilustrada de la primera mitad del siglo XIX (1830-1855).' In *Empresa y cultura en tinta y papel (1800-1860)*, coord. by Laura Beatriz Suárez de la Torre, ed. by Miguel Ángel Castro, 395-408. Mexico: Instituto Mora/IIB-UNAM, 2001.
- Plantinga, Leon. *Schumann as Critic*. New Haven /London: Yale University Press, 1967.

- Plesch, Melanie. 'La música en la construcción de la identidad cultural argentina: el topos de la guitarra en la producción del primer nacionalismo,' *Revista Argentina de Musicología* I (1995): 57-68.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Preda-Schimek, Haiganus. 'Music in the Salons of Central and South-Eastern Europe: Preliminary Considerations for Cross-Regional Research.' In *Poetics and Politics of Place in Music*, Proceedings from the 40. Baltic Musicological Conference (Vilnius, 17-20 October, 2007), ed. by Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Lina Navickaitė, Lithuanian Composers' Union, 1-5. Helsinki: Unweb Publications, 2009.
- 'Entre Orient et Occident: de l'hétérogénéité de la pratique musicale dans les salons roumains Vers 1830,' *Cultures d'Europe*, No. 8 (2009): 29-41.
- Preston, Katherine K. *Opera on the Road. Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60*. Urbana /Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Pulido, Esperanza. 'Marcha Nacional dedicada a los Mexicanos Compuesta por Henri Herz, op. 166,' *Heterofonía* 17, No. 88 (1985): 45-52.
- La mujer mexicana en la música*. Mexico: Ediciones de la Revista Bellas Artes, 1958.
- Radomski, James. *Manuel García (1775-1882). Chronicle of the Life of a bel canto Tenor at the Dawn of Romanticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Ramos Smith, Maya. *El ballet en México en el Siglo XIX. De la independencia al segundo imperio (1825-1867)*, Los Noventa, 62. Mexico: Alianza/Conaculta, c1991.
- "“Baila con gusto y aprovechamiento”": los bailes de salón I,' unpublished text, 2011.
- Reyes de la Maza, Luis. *El teatro en México durante la independencia, 1810-1839*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1969.
- Richard, Nelly. 'Cultural Peripheries: Latin America and Postmodernist De-centering.' In *The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America*, ed. By Michael Aronna, John Beverley and José Oviedo, 217-22. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1995.
- Rink, John. 'The Profession of Music' in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, 56-86. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

- Roldán Vera, Eugenia. 'Reading in Questions and Answers: The Catechism as an Educational Genre in Early Independent Spanish America,' *Book History* 4 (2001): 17-48.
- Romero, Jesús C. 'Un israelita en la historia musical de México,' *Tribuna Israelita* 89 (1952): 18-9.
- Chopin en México*. Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1950.
- José Mariano Elízaga*. Mexico: Ediciones del Palacio de Bellas Artes, 1934.
- Rosselli, John. *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth Century Italy*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1991.
- The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: the role of the impresario*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Ruíz Torres, Rafael Antonio. 'Historia de las bandas militares de música en México: 1767-1920,' Master's Thesis. Mexico: UAM-Iztapalapa, 2002.
- Rutherford, Susan, 'La cantante delle passioni': Giuditta Pasta and the Idea of Operatic Performance,' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, 2 (2007): 107-138.
- Saldívar, Gabriel. *Bibliografía Mexicana de Musicología y Musicografía*. Mexico: INBA/Cenidim, 1991.
- 'El Jarabe. Baile popular mexicano,' *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 2 (1935): 305-26.
- Samson, Jim. 'Chopin and Genre,' *Music Analysis* 8, No. 3 (1989): 213-231.
- 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth Century Pianism.' In *The Musical Work. Reality or Invention?* ed. by Michael Talbot, Liverpool Music Symposium, 110-127. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
- 'The Musical Work and the Nineteenth-Century History.' In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. by Jim Samson, 3-27. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Virtuosity and the Musical Work. The Transcendental Studies of Liszt*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- 'Romanticism, §3: Styles.' In *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 12 12 2005, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.
- Schnapper, Laure. 'Bernard Ullman-Henri Herz. An example of Financial and Artistic Partnership, 1846-1849.' In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans and Entrepreneurs*, ed. by William Weber, 130-144. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 2004.

- Schonberg, Harold C. *The Great Pianists. From Mozart to the Present*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987.
- Simón Palmer, María del Carmen. 'La mujer y la literatura en la España del siglo XIX,' AIH/Centro Virtual Cervantes, Actas del VIII Congreso (1983): 591-6. Accessed 07 02 2012
<http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/aih/pdf/08/aih_08_2_069.pdf>
- Stevenson, Robert. 'Liszt at Madrid and Lisbon: 1844-45,' *The Musical Quarterly* 65, No. 4 (1979): 439-512.
- Stohaugh, Margaret H. 'La música en la novela mexicana 1810-1910,' PhD diss. Mexico: UNAM, 1952.
- Solie, Ruth A. *Music in Other Words. Victorian Conversations*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Sordo, Carmen. 'Beethoven's projection in Mexico.' In *Bericht Über Den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bonn 1970*, ed. by Carl Dahlhaus, Hans Joachim Marx, Magda Marx-Weber and Günther Massenkeil. Report on the Symposium 'Reflexionen Über Musikwissenschaft Heute,' 577-8. Kassel/Basel/Tours/ London: Bärenreiter, 1971.
- Sosa, Francisco. *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*. Mexico: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1884.
- Sosa, José Octavio. 'La ópera en México en el Siglo XIX: Filippo Galli y su compañía italiana de ópera,' *Revista Conservatorianos* 9 (2006): 42-44. Accessed 10 12 2007,
<<http://www.conservatorianos.com.mx/web/Conservatorianos%209%20para%20web/9-jose%20octavio%20sosa.pdf>>.
- Sosa M., Octavio and Mónica Escobedo F. *Dos siglos de ópera en México*, pres. by Eduardo Lizalde. Mexico: SEP, 1986.
- Spell, Jefferson R. 'The Educational Views of Fernández de Lizardi,' *Hispania* IX, No. 5 (1926): 259-274.
- Spitta, Silvia. 'Transculturation and the Ambiguity of Signs in Latin America.' In *Between Two Waters. Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America*, 1-28. Houston, TX: Rice University Press, 1995.
- Susskind Pettler, Pamela. 'Review: Clara Schumann's Recitals, 1832-50,' *19th-Century Music* 4, No. 1 (1990): 70-6.

- Temperley, Nicholas. 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music.' In *Music in Britain. The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, ed. by Nicholas Temperley, The Athlone History of Music in Britain, 109-134. London: The Athlone Press, 1981.
- Torres Septién, Valentina. 'Educación privada en México.' In *Diccionario de la educación en México*, coord. by Luz Elena Galván Lafarga. Mexico: UNAM, 2002. Accessed 15 01 2011,
<http://biblioweb.tic.unam.mx/diccionario/htm/articulos/sec_20.htm>
- Turino, Thomas. 'Nationalism and Latin American Music: Selected Case Studies and Theoretical Considerations,' *Latin American Music Review* 24, No. 2 (2003): 169-209.
- Uribe-Uran, Victor M. 'The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America during the Age of Revolution,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42, No.2 (2000): 425-57.
- Vázquez, Josefina Zoraida. 'Cultura y Sociedad' in *Historia General de México*, 784-803. Mexico: Colegio de México, 1994.
- Vázquez Montano, Miriam Laura. 'El modernismo en la obra para piano de Castro, Elorduy y Villanueva,' Master's thesis. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana, 2006.
- Velázquez, Marco and Mary Kay Vaughan. 'Mestizaje and Musical Nationalism in Mexico,' paper prepared for WASHLA conference, Univ. of Maryland-College Park, 8. Nov. 2002. Accessed 26 09 2011,
<<http://www.driskellcenter.umd.edu/programs/2002-2003/conf/washla/papers/VaughanVelazquez.pdf>>.
- Velázquez Guadarrama, Angélica. 'Castas o marchitas: "El amor del colibrí" y "La flor muerta" de Manuel Ocaranza,' *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* XX, No. 73 (1998): 125-60.
- Villoro, Luis. 'Rousseau en la Independencia de México,' *Casa del Tiempo* III, No. 8 (2005): 55-61.
- Vogeley, Nancy. 'Italian Opera in Early National Mexico,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 57, No. 2 (1996): 279-288.
- von Mentz, Brígida, Verena Radkau, et al. *Los pioneros del imperialismo alemán en México*, Ediciones de la Casa Chata, 14. Mexico: CIESAS, 1982.

- Walton, Benjamin. *Rossini in Restoration Paris. The Sound of Modern Life*.
Cambridge/New York: Cambridge Studies in Opera, Cambridge University
Press, 2007.
- Weber, William. 'Redefining the Status of Opera: London and Leipzig, 1800-1848,'
The Journal of Multidisciplinary History 36, No. 3 (2005): 507-532.
- 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914.' In *The
Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*
ed. by William Weber, 3-24. Bloomington /Indianapolis: Indiana University
Press, 2004,
- 'From the Self-Managing Musician to the Independent Concert Agent.' In
*The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and
Idealists* ed. by William Weber, 105-129. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana
University Press, 2004.
- Weliver, Phyllis. 'Music, Crowd Control and the Female Performer in *Trilby*.' In *The
Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff,
57-80. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900. Representations of Music,
Science and Gender in the Leisured Home*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Winter, Robert. 'Pianoforte, §II, 2: Piano Playing: Romantic Period' in *Grove Music
Online*, Accessed 12. 12. 2005, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.
- Woodfield, Ian. *Music of the Raj. A Social and Economic History of Music in Late
Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society*. New York: Oxford University
Press, 2000.
- Wright de Kleinhans, Laureana. *Mujeres notables mexicanas*. Mexico: Tip.
Económica, 1910.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Biblioteca Nacional (Mexico City)

Fondo Reservado y Hemeroteca de la Biblioteca Nacional (Mexico City)

Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal (AHDF) (Mexico City)

Alumbrado

Bandos

Diversiones Públicas

Festividades Fincas

Teatros

Private Collection of Music Albums of Guillermo Contreras (Mexico City)

British Library (London)

Senate House (London)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Musique, l.a. Henri Herz. (Paris)

Table I. Composers and Arrangers as Appear in Albums

	IF1	IF2	MWM	AYB	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM60 CNM	OM6 5 CNM	AJK	API2	TOTAL
Aguilar y Ortega, Juana			1											1
Aguilar, J. M.					1									1
Aguirre, Clemente							3					1		4
Alonso, Francisco					1									1
Araujo, Teófilo								1			1			2
Art, Franz				1										1
Ascher, Joseph				2		3		1				3		9
Aulagnier					1									1
Baca, Luis	1													1
Balderas, Agustín										2				2
Barilli, Antonio					1									1
Benedict, J.													1	1
Bennet, William Sterndale				1										1
Beristáin, Joaquín									1					1
Berner, Louis											1			1
Bertini [Henri Jerôme		2												2
Beyer, F.[erdinand]						1	5		8					14
Blanco, Vicente									1					1
Bohm, Carl							1							1
Bürgmuller, Fréd. [Friedrich]									2		1		1	4
C.[ovarrubias], M.[anuel]		1												1
Cabrero y Martínez, Paulina		1												1
Camacho, José C.							2					1		3
Campos Morel, Y.						2								2
Cepeda y Cosío, María de Jesús			2											2
Chopin, Frideric										1				1
Coenen, Franz									1					1
Contla, Sabás								1			1			2
Coria, A.								1			1			2
Cramer, Henri											1			1
Cramer, Joseph Baptist												2		2
Czerny, C.[arl]		1												1
Daniele, Giuseppe											2			2
Darjou, Marie				1										1
De María y Campos, Antonio											1			1
Delgado, Eusebio				1						2				3
Díaz de Herrera, Santiago			1											1
Dreyschock, Alex.				1										1

	IF1	IF2	MWM	AYB	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM60 CNM	OM6 5 CNM	AJK	API2	TOTAL
Drug, D.							1							1
Duvernoy, J.B.					1			1						2
Elbel, Victor											1			1
Elizaliturri de Caballero, Ignacia			1											1
Elorriaga, Ramón			1											1
Ernst, H. W.													1	1
Farbach						1								1
Faust, Carl.							1					3		4
Favarger, René												1		1
Fernández de Coca, José L.											1			1
Fliege						1								1
Francoeur, A:					1					1				2
Friedrich, Ferd.							2							2
Fumagalli, Adolfo						1								1
Gelinek, Joseph												1		1
Godefroid, Felix				2							1			3
Golde, Adolph												1		1
Gómez, J. Alejandro	1	1												2
Gómez, José Antonio	15	1	1											17
Gottschalk, L. M.						3				1	1			5
Gounod, Charles											1			1
Guerrero, T.									1					1
Guillén, Angela												1		1
Hahn, Luis [Ludwig]											1			1
Heitz, Santiago										1				1
Hernández, Margarita			1											1
Herz, Henri		1			2			1	4	2			4	14
Herzberg, Antoine											1			1
Hüntén, F[rançois]					1	1		2	2	1			1	8
Inclán, Pedro												1		1
Infante, Alejo										1		1		2
Iradier, S.										1				1
Jaëll, Alfred				1										1
Jourdan, Ph.										1				1
Juliano, A. P.											3			3
Jülig, Franz				1										1
Jungman, Albert				1			1	1			1			4
Kafka, Johann								1						1
Ketterer, Eugène				2				1						3
Krüger, N.											1			1
Labitzki, J.					1					2				3
Lange, Gustav								4						4
Lares, Sta. Dña. L.										1				1
Larios, F[elipe]					1						1	1		3
Le Carpenter, A.											1			1
León, Tomás							1	2		9		5		17
Lerdo de Tejada, F.												1		1

	IF1	IF2	MWM	AYB	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM60 CNM	OM6 5 CNM	AJK	API2	TOTAL
Leybach, J.						1								1
Liszt, Franz				1										1
Llorente, C.												1		1
Louis, N.										1				1
Lumbye, Hans Christian				1										1
Marchetti, Filippo														
Martin, Henri (Henry)							1	1		1				3
Martínez, Micaela			1											1
Mayer, Carl (Charles)											1			1
Mendelssohn, Felix												1		1
Messemaeckers, Louis					1									1
Metra, Olivier												1		1
Mey, Louis									2					2
Montero, Antonio			1											1
Morales, Melesio											2	1		3
Musard, Alfred				2										2
Musard, Philippe		2												2
Neldy, A. B.								1						1
Nuño, V:												1		1
Oliver, P.	1								1					2
P., R.			1						1					2
Paniagua, Cenobio										1	1			2
Pasdeloup, J.											2			2
Patiño, Pomposo	1													1
Pérez de León, José M.					1		2			2				5
Pérez de León, Luis					1					2				3
Planas, Miguel										2				2
Popp, W.						3								3
Portu, L.												1		1
Prieto, Emetrio												1		1
Prudent E.[mile]						2							2	4
Ramírez de Arellano, Miguel												1		1
Ramírez Valdes, F.							1							1
Ravina, Henri								1			1			2
Reichert, M. A.						1								1
Richards, Brinley							4	1						5
Rosellen, Henri								2	1			1		4
Sánchez, Mariano												1		1
Sauvinet, F.									1					1
Schad, Joseph												2		2
Schubert, Camila											1			1
Schulhoff, Jules										1	2	1		4
Schwencke, Charles				1	1									2
Seager, Henri											2			2
Siliceo, Agustín			2									1		3
Smith, Sidney								3						3
Smith, Stanley						1								2

	IF1	IF2	MWM	AYB	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM60 CNM	OM65 CNM	AJK	API2	TOTAL
Strauss, [Johannes]	1						1	1			1			3
Streabog, L.							1							1
Talex, Adrien											1			1
Tedesco, Ignace											1			1
Tejada, Ignacio							2							2
Thalberg, S.[igismund]						2								2
Valadés, J.										3				3
Vargas Machuca, A.											1			1
Villanueva, J.												1		1
Vilse										1				1
Wallace, William Vincent	1													1
Wallerstein, A.										1				1
Wasserman, W									1					1
Weber, Carl Maria von											1			1
Willmers, Rudolph												1		1
Zumpe, Edmund								1						1

Abbreviations	Full Names Of Albums
IF1	Instructor Filarmónico I
IF2	Instructor Filarmónico II
MWM	Mexican women magazines
AYB	Album YB
JZ	Josefina Zúñiga
MZPi6	Matilde Zamora pi6
MZPi5	Matilde Zamora pi5
MZPi4	Matilde Zamora Pi4
MF	Museo Filarmónico
OM60CNM	OM 60 CNM
OM65CNM	OM 65 CNM
AJK	Album JK
API2	Album Pi2

Table II. Musical Genres

	IFI	IFII	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM 60 CNM	OM 65 CNM	PYB	AJK	LH	API2	Mwm	Total
Air				1					1				3		5
Barcarola		1													1
Canción	2				1			5						3	11
Canzonetta		1						1							2
Caprice										1	1	1			3
Contradanza					1			3				2			6
Concert-Stück									1						1
Danza				2					2		6			2	12
Danza habanera					2					4	9				15
Divertissement											1		1		2
Elegía						1									1
Fantaisie-Mazurka						1									1
Fantasia característica									1			2			3
Fantasia					1										1
Favorite theme							1								1
French Chansonette									1						1
Galop	1								1	1	1	1			4
Galop-scherzo											1				1
Idylle					1	1			1						3
Illustration par piano				1											
Impromptu									1						6
Improvisation for violin							1								1
Jarabe tapatío								1							1
Jota aragonesa	1														1
Lieder ohne Worte									1		1	1			3
Lieder										2					2
March											1			1	2
Mazurca				1	3	1	1	1			7	2			16
Méditation sur le piano															2
Mélodie					1	2									3
Mélodie sans paroles				1											1
Morceau de genre									1						1
Morceau de salon									1						1
Motif favori			1												1
Morceau élégant						1									1
Musical sketches										3					3
Nocturne					2						1	1			4
Opera-aria	3				6										6
Opera-canzone				1											1
Opera-Caprice on a favorite theme		1													1
Opera-Cavatina						1	1						1		3
Opera-Divertissement													1		1
Opera-Duo	2	3	1			1		1							6
Opera-Estudio de salón				1											1
Opera-Fantasia		1	1	7	1	1	7			2	2		1		23

	IFI	IFII	JZ	MZ Pi6	MZ Pi5	MZ Pi4	MF	OM 60 CNM	OM 65 CNM	PYB	AJK	LH	API2	Mwm	Total
Opera-March			1	1							1				2
Opera-Mélodie						1	1								2
Opera-Nocturne de soirée						1			1						2
Opera-other					1		3		1						5
Opera-Overture	1	1	1			1					1			1	6
Opera-Paraphrase de concert															1
Opera-Polka									3						3
Opera-Polka mazurka									1						1
Opera-Polonaise favorite							1								1
Opera-Potpourri	1														1
Opera-Quarteto				1		1							1		1
Opera-Rondo			1				1								2
Opera-Rondoletto brillant sur themes...										1					1
Opera-Tarantelle										1					1
Opera-Transcription brillant						1			1						2
Opera-Vals			1	1				2	2						5
Opera-Variations concertantes			1												1
Opera-variations on a theme			1								1		3		5
Overture (not linked to opera)		1					1								2
Paraphrase de concert				1											1
Pensée fugitive									1						1
Pensée poétique						1				3	1				5
Piece for piano (unspecified genre)			1	1	3	6	1	2	1	2					17
Polacca												1			1
Polka			5	1	1	2	5	6	5	3	3				31
Polka-Mazurka			2					5	3		2				12
Quadrilles	2	3					1	1			1				8
Redowa			1			1		2							4
Révérie Idylle						1									1
Romance sans paroles				1						1					2
Romanza					1			2			1			1	5
Rondo		1								1					1
Schottisch					2			3	8		2				15
Serenade				1											1
Tarantela											1				1
Tirolésa-Mazurka				1											1
Vals	13	2	6		3	2	5	14	7	1	3	1		7	64
Variations													1		1
Variations brillantes	1	1											1		3
Variaciones burlescas													1		1
Variations et Rondino						1									1
Variations mignones							1								1
Varsovienne			1			1		1							3

LEGEND

IFI	Instructor Filarmónica I
IFII	Instructor Filarmónica II

JZ	Josefina Zuñiga
MZPi6	Matilde Zamora pi6
MZPi5	Matilde Zamora Pi5
MZPi4	Matilde Zamora Pi4
MF	Museo Filarmónico
OM60 CNM	OM 60 CNM
OM&% CNM	OM 65 CNM
PYB	Piano YB
AJK	Album JK
LH	Luis Hahn
Api2	Álbum Pi2
Mwm	Mexican women magazines 1840s- 1860s

**Table III. Album Josefa Zúñiga
“Colección de piezas de música para piano / Josefa Zúñiga”**

	Author	Title	City of Publication/ Publisher	Plate number	Collection	Price	Pages with music	Year	Mexican distribution	Notes
1	Aguilar, J. M.	La flor del bosque. Valse	M. Murguía Editor. Litog. en el Portal del Águila de Oro ¹			4rs	2			
2	Francoeur, A.	Amanda. Redowa	Lit. de M Murguía y Ca. Editores,		El Repertorio No40 To3o		2			Hand-written: Sta. Dña. Josefita Zúñiga
3		Las Tres Gracias para piano No3	M. Murguía y Ca. Editores. H. Iriarte, Litografía ²		El Repertorio No17 To3o		2			
4		La amabilidad. Polka Mazurca. No2	M. Murguía y Ca. Editores.		El Repertorio No34 To4o		3			Hand-written: Sta. Dña. Josefita Zúñiga
5	Barilli, Antonio, Maestro Director y jefe de Orquesta de la Ópera Italiana en Nueva-York y en México [1820-1876]	Polka para piano. Independencia	Repertorio de Música de Enrique Ángel y Cia. Calle del Refugio No8			8rs	4			A las amables señoritas mexicanas
6		La hermosa Anita. Polka mazurca	Prop. Del editor. Lit. de Murguía			4rs.	21			
7	Alonso, Francisco	La Flor de España.	Lito. De m. Murguía y Ca.			4rs	2			

¹ The rest of Murguía’s publication also in Lit. Portal del Águila de Oro.

² In addition to Portal del Águila...

	Author	Title	City of Publication/ Publisher	Plate number	Collection	Price	Pages with music	Year	Mexican distribution	Notes
		Varsoviana	Propiedad de los Editores							
8		La Caprichosa. Polka	M. Murguía y Ca. Editores		El Repertorio No40 2ª Ea		2			Dedicada a la señora Doña J. Ciocca
9		2 Polkas elegantes para piano: La Sontag y La coqueta. No 29				4rs	2 in total			
10		El Recuerdo. Polka mazurca para piano	M. Murguía y Ca. Editores		El Repertorio No4 To3o		2			
11	Larios, F[elipe] (1817-1875)	Las dos discípulas. Vals a cuatro manos.	Prop. Del Editor. Lit. de Navarro. Se expende en el Repertorio de Música. Calle de Tacuba No19		Museo Filarmónico No25		4			
12	León, J. M. P. de (1828-1907)	La constancia. Vals para forte piano	Prop. Del Editor. Lit. de Navarro. Se expende en el Repertorio de Música. Calle de Tacuba No19				3			Part of the previous piece.
13	Hüntén, F.[rancios] (1793-1878)	La Cerrito. Gran vals por Donizetti arreglado por.... Vals arreglado a cuatro manos por J. Valades	Impreso y publicado por M. Murguía, editor de música. Litog. Portal del Águila de Oro			7rs	6			Also versions for one pianist and for guitar

	Author	Title	City of Publication/ Publisher	Plate number	Collection	Price	Pages with music	Year	Mexican distribution	Notes
14	Duvernoy, J.[ean] B.[aptiste] (c.1802-c.1880)	Fantasia a cuatro manos y sobre temas de la Ópera <i>Puritanos</i> de Bellini			Biblioteca Musical Nums. 30, 31 and 32		10			“Fin del primer tomo”
15	Messemaeckers, Louis (1809-1862[?])	La Polonaise. Motif favori de L. Sphor, arrangé pour le Piano a quatre mains par...	Paris, Bernard Latte, ed.	B. L. 2099	L'Année Musicale, 3 ^e Mois No87	6f	10			
16	Aulagnier [Joseph-Anthonin (?) 1800-1892)	No1. Marche de <i>La Dame du Lac</i> . Rossini	Paris, Aulagnier	167AA	Trois airs variés pour le piano sur des thèmes de Rossini, Bellini, etc. composés par...Arrangés a Quatre Mains	5f	10			
17	Schwencke, Charles	Duo No2. Sur un chœur de la <i>Norma</i> de Bellini, op. 44	Paris, Henri Lemoine	1787 H	Trois Duos non difficiles, pour le piano a quatre mains, arrangés d'apres ses duos	5f	10	[1838] HFF		
18	Aulangier [Joseph-Anthonin (?) 1800-1892)	Etincelle No 3. Rondo sur le <i>Pirate</i>	Paris, Aulangier ed.	AA 429	10 Etincelles pour piano a quatre mains	6f	12	[1836] HFF		
19	« Un amateur »	No3 Overture della <i>Cenerentola</i>	Paris, chez Carli, ed.	1778	Choix de dix Ouvertures de la Composition de Rossini Arrangées a quatre mains Pour le piano forte par...	4f	16			
20	Herz, Henri	Variations	Bonn, N.	3498		4fr50cs	28		Enrique	Seal. Enrique

	Author	Title	City of Publication/ Publisher	Plate number	Collection	Price	Pages with music	Year	Mexican distribution	Notes
	(1803-1888)	brillantes avec introduction et finale Alla militaire pour le piano a quatre mains sur la cavatine favorite de la Violette de Caraffa, op. 48	Simrock						Nagel	Nagel y Cia. Mejico
21	Herz, Henri (1803-1888)	Variations concertantes a quatre mains pour le piano sur la Marche favorite du Philtre Der Liebestrank de D. F. E. Huber, op. 70	Mayence et Anvers ches les fils de B. Schott	3910		2fl. 24kr	28	[1845] HFF	Repertorio de Seal: Repertorio de Música, Calle de la Palma No13, México Música	
22	Labitzki, J.[oseph]	Las perlas. Wals para piano	M. Murguía, editor.		El Repertorio No30		2			Originally Published by Leipzig, Hofmeister, 1845 (HFF)
23	Hüntten, F. rancios] (1793-1878)	La espina blanca. Valse	[M. Murguía, editor.]		El Repertorio No11		3			
24	Pérez de León, Luis (1809-1897)	El clarín de la selva. Wals	M. Murguía y Ca.		El Repertorio No10 To4		4			Compuesto y dedicado el día de su cumpleaños al Exmo. Sr. Comandante, General del Distrito y

	Author	Title	City of Publication/ Publisher	Plate number	Collection	Price	Pages with music	Year	Mexican distribution	Notes
										Director General de Artilería: Don Martín Carrera

Table IV. Album Instructor Filarmónico, vol. I
'Ynstructor Filarmónico. Periódico Semanario Musical
Dirigido por José Antonio Gómez y Socios
Colección de piezas escogidas por diversos autores
Para piano, canto, flauta y vihuela'
(México, 1843) Tomo I
(propiedad de los editores, calle cerrada de santa teresa no 2)

	Author	Title	Pages within the album	Number of delivery	Instruments/Voice	Notes
1	Gómez, José Antonio	Wals de la Aurora	1	1	Piano	3/8, EbM
2	Gómez, José Antonio	Canción. El Feliz Hallazgo	2-5	Part of 1 and 2	voice and piano	6/8, Fm, 6 stanzas
3	Mercadante, [Saverio]	Duo No 14 en la Ópera <i>La Donna Caritea</i>	6-13	Part of 3 and 4	Piano and guitar	4/4. FM Note on p. 8: "Si no hay vihuela se tocarán en el piano los trozos que son anotados con este signo \$"
4	-----	La jota aragonesa	14-15	Part of 4	Piano, voices and flute	¾ FM, 3 Stanzas
5	García, M[anuel]	Aria (no3 del 2º acto) en la ópera <i>El Amante Astuto</i>	16-28	Part of 4-7	Piano and voice	4/4 CM. Singing character: Ramondo
6	Mercadante, [Saverio]	Overtura en la ópera <i>La Campana Solitaria</i>	29-39	8-10	Piano	2/4 EM
7	Gómez, José Antonio	Wals de la Lucia	40	Part of 10	Piano	3/8 FM
8	Bellini, V.[incenzo]	<i>I Puritani</i> . Aria no. 6	41-51	11-13	Piano and voice	4/4 EbM Singing character: Elvira
9	Baca, Luis	El Cometa de 1843. Wals para piano	52	Part of 13	Piano	3/8 BbM "Dedicado al Sr. Su Maestro D. J. Antonio Gomes"
10	Gómez, José Antonio, arr.	"Vivi tu. Aria no 14 en la Ópera Anna Bolena por Donizetti	53-58	14-15	Piano and guitar	4/4 GM
11	Gómez, Alejandro	El Delirio. Wals para piano-forte	59	Part of 15	Piano	3/8 AM
12	Strauss, Johannes	Wals de la rosa	60-64	Part orf 15 and 16	Piano	¾ BbM
13	Gómez, José Antonio	Olla podrida sobre temas de la ópera La Clara de Rosemberg de Ricci	65-79	17-20	Piano and flute	4/4 GM
14	Patiño, Pomposo	Wals de la pasión	80-81	Part of 20-21	Piano	3/8 EbM "Dedicado a su Maestro el Sr. D. Felipe Larios"
15	Donizetti, [Gaetano]	Duetto "Quando di sange tinto" Nell' Opera <i>Belisario</i>	82-92	Part of 21-23	Piano and voices	¾ AbM Voice characters: Belisario and Alamiro
16	Gómez, José Antonio	A Elisa. Canción a dúo puesta en música para el Instructor	93-95	24	Piano and voices	6/8 EbM 2 female voices, 5 stanzas

	Author	Title	Pages within the album	Number of delivery	Instruments/Voice	Notes
		Filarmónico				
17	Gómez, José Antonio	Variaciones brillantes sobre un tema original por Pixis arregladas para forte-piano y vihuela	96-115	Part of 24-29	Piano and guitar	4/4 EM
18	Gómez, José Antonio	La insinuación. Wals para forte-piano	116-117	Part of 29-30		$\frac{3}{4}$ FM "Compuesto y dedicado a las señoritas suscriptoras"
19	Gómez, José Antonio	Las noches de ventura. Cuadrillas a cuatro manos para piano-forte	118-127	Part of 30-32	Piano four hands	$\frac{6}{8}$ FM

Bound at the end of the same album but not part of the *Ynstructor Filarmónico*

	Composer	Title	Pages	Editor/Distributor	Instrument	Price	Notes
20	Gómez, José Antonio	Wals del saltapared y La cachucha para piano-forte	1		piano		$\frac{3}{8}$ C
21	Gómez, José Antonio	Las armoniosas cuadrillas y galopa para forte-piano sobre temas de diversos autores arregladas por Jose Antonio Gómez para el Carnaval de 1843	7 (6 music)	The author's edition; dist. By Cristobal Latorre: Librería Mexicana. Litog. By Amado Sta. Cruz and Francisco Cabrera	piano	3 rs	$\frac{2}{4}$ E Based on themes by Weber (no 1), Donizetti (no 2), Donizetti and Bellini (no 3), Donizetti (no 4), Bellini and Donizetti (no 5), Gómez (galopa, no 6).
22	W.[illiam] V.[incent] W.[allace]	La Primavera. Walst para forte-piano	5 (4 music)	México, 1843. Ed. by J. A. Gómez. Dist. by Cristobal Latorre: Librería Mexicana	piano	1.5 rs	$\frac{3}{4}$ BbM
23	Gómez, José Antonio	El Estío. Walst para forte-piano	3 (2 music)	México, 1843. Ed. by J. A. Gómez. Dist. by Cristobal Latorre: Librería Mexicana	piano	1.5 rs	$\frac{3}{4}$ EbM
24	Gómez, José Antonio	El Otoño. Walst para forte-piano	3 (2 music)	México, 1843. Ed. by J. A. Gómez. Dist. by Cristobal Latorre: Librería Mexicana	piano	1.5 rs.	$\frac{3}{4}$ Bm
25	Gómez, José Antonio	El Invierno. Walst para forte-piano	5 (4 music)	México, 1843. Ed. by J. A. Gómez.	piano	1.5 rs.	$\frac{3}{4}$ AbM

	Composer	Title	Pages	Editor/ Distributor	Instru ment	Price	Notes
				Dist. by Cristobal Latorre: Librería Mexicana			
26	Gómez, José Antonio	Wals El Encanto	1		piano		3/8 EbM
27	Oliver, P.	El Olimpo. Walst para forte-piano	3 (2 music)	Lit. de Sta. Cruz y Cabrera		1r	3/8 BbM

Table V. Album Instructor Filármonico, vol. II
'Ynstructor Filarmónico. Periódico Semanario Musical
Dirigido por José Antonio Gómez y Socios
Colección de piezas escogidas por diversos autores
Para piano, canto, flauta y vihuela'
(México, 1843) Tomo II
(propiedad de los editores, calle cerrada de santa teresa no 2)

	Author	Title	Pages within the album	Number of delivery	Instruments/Voice	Notes
1	Czerny, C.[arl]	Fantasia para forte piano sobre temas de Lucrecia Borgia	1-27	1-6	piano	4/4 FM
2		La rosa americana. Walst para forte piano	28-29	Part of 6 and part of 7	piano	¾ DM
3	Bellini, V[incenzo]	Duetto nella opera <i>Beatrice di Tenda</i>	30-60	8-14	Piano and voices	Voice characters: Filippo and Bea
4	Cabrero y Martínez, Paulina	La Querella	61-64	15	Piano and voice	4/4 EbM
5	Bertini , [Henri Jérôme, (1798-1876)]	La Serenata. Capricho sobre un tema favorito de <i>Dn Pasqual</i> [opera by Donizetti] para piano	65-80	16-19	piano	6/8 AbM
6		Nuevas cuadrillas de Lucrecia para forte piano	81-86	20-part of 21	piano	6/8 5 quadrilles
7	M.[anuel] C.[ovarrubias]	La Palmira. Overtura para forte-piano	87-102	Part of 21-part of 25	piano	GM
8	Gómez, J. Alejandro	El Lirio. Vals. Para forte-piano	103-107	Part of 25-part of 26	piano	¾ DM
9	Bertini , [Henri Jérôme, (1798-1876)]	El Ángel. Variaciones brillantes	108-124	Part of 26-30	piano	4/4 EM
10		Sinfonía de la Ópera <i>La Parisina</i> [by Donizetti]	125-134	31-32	piano	4/4 EM
11		Dúo en la Ópera de <i>Don Pasqual</i> por Donizetti	133-150	33-part of 37	Piano and voices	4/4 FM Voice characters: Norina and Malatesta
12	[Musard, Philippe (1792-1859)]	El pozo del amor. Cuadrillas por Musard.	151-154	Part of 37 and part of 38	piano	2/4 BbM 5 quadrilles
13	Herz, H.[enri (1803-1888)]	Rondó para piano	155-160	Part of 38-part of 40	piano	4/4 BbM
14		Duetto no 10 de <i>Maria Padilla</i> por	162-172	Part of 40-part of 43	Piano and voices	4/4 CM Voice characters:

	Author	Title	Pages within the album	Number of delivery	Instruments/Voice	Notes
		Donizetti				Maria and Don Pedro
15	[Musard, Philippe (1792-1859)]	Cuadrillas por Musard	173-176	Part of 43- Part of 44	Piano	2/4 AM 5 quadrilles (no 1 Pantalon, no 2 Été, no 3 Poule, no 4 Trénis, no 5 Finale)
16	Gómez, José Antonio	La boca risueña. Barcarola. [INCOMPLETE]	177	Part of 44	Piano and voice	“Que J. Anto. Gómez compone y dedica a los SS. SS. Del Instructor Filarmónico”

1

Appendix A

Henri Herz's Concert Programs in Mexico City as Published by Mexican Newspapers¹

1-First concert, 6 August 1849, La Lonja (private hall), Mexico City

Programa

Primera parte

1. Grande obertura por la orquesta
2. Canto, por una señorita aficionada.
3. Gran Concerto Serioso, en Do menor (el secondo) en tres partes, con acompañamiento de toda la orquesta, compuesto y ejecutado por Enrique Herz.
1ª parte, Allegro maestoso.
2ª parte, Andante sentimentale,
3ª parte, Rondo Giocoso
(Este Concerto dedicado a Luis Felipe, fue compuesto para el Conservatorio de París, y la Sociedad Filarmónica de Londres.)

(Intermedio de 20 minutos)

Segunda parte

4. Canto
5. Grande fantasía romántica para piano solo, sobre temas de la Lucia de Lamermoor, compuesta y ejecutada por Enrique Herz.
6. Canto
7. Variaciones brillantes y de bravura, con acompañamiento de orquesta, sobre un tema de la ópera Le Pré aux Clercs, [by Hérold] compuestas y ejecutadas por Enrique Herz.

Tercera parte

Por la orquesta sola

[Se vuelve a comenzar la numeración]

1. *Las Elegantes*, cuadrillas brillantes compuestas para los bailes del teatro de La Grande Ópera de París por Enrique Herz.
2. *La Polka del Siglo*, compuesta por Enrique Herz
3. *Los Segadores*, valse compuesto para las bailarinas de Viena, por Enrique Herz.

2-Second Concert, 9 August 1849, La Lonja (private hall), Mexico City (Program published 7 August)

“Conciertos de la Lonja
La Segunda Tertulia Musical
de
Henri Herz.

[...]

1º El 4º Concierto y el Ron[dó] de Russo² con Gran Orquesta.

¹ These are the programmes published *previously* to the concerts in the papers *El Siglo XIX* and/or *El Monitor Republicano*. We know how common was at that time the practice of altering the programmes due to diverse causes ranging from the public's requests to the availability of scores or musicians to other reasons. In some cases we have given testimony of these changes. We believe that despite the changes this printed announcements are valuable documents that reflect Herz's plans and probably what he thought were the tastes of his Mexican audience. The reader will see that in certain occasions Herz himself first published a program and shortly before the concert another completely different.

- 2° La fantasía brillante sobre temas de la *Lucrecia Borgia*
 3° Las grandes variaciones de concierto sobre la marcha del *Otello*, con orquesta. Los pormenores se hallarán en el programa.

(Programme published 9 August, the day of the concert)

- Parte Primera.
1. Obertura de Gustavo por la orquesta. [opera *Zampa*]
 2. Terzetto de la ópera *Attila* de Verdi.
 3. Grandes variaciones sobre la marcha de *Otello* (con orquesta) [...] H. Herz
- Parte Segunda.
4. Duetto de *Lucrecia Borgia* de contralto y tenor.
 5. Brillante fantasía sobre temas de *I Puritani* [...] H. Herz.
 6. 6. Duetto de la ópera *Attila* de soprano y tenor.
 7. Fantasía romántica sobre temas de la *Lucrecia Borgia* [...] H. Herz.
- Parte Tercera.
8. *Les Entrainantes*, quadrilles, H. Herz.
 9. *La Polka del siglo*, H. Herz.
 10. Wals.

3-First Concert in the National Theatre, Mexico City, 18 August 1849

PROGRAMA

PRIMERA PARTE.

1. Obertura del Conde de Essex por.....La orquesta.
2. ARIA DE BAJO de la ópera *Lucrecia Borgia*,
de Donizetti, cantada por.....El Sr. Solares
3. GRAN CONCIERTO SERIOSO (el segundo) EN

TRES PARTES.....

- 1° Allegro Maestoso.
- 2° Adagio Sentimental.
- 3° Rondo Giocoso.

Compuesto y ejecutado con acompañamiento

de toda la orquesta porHenri Herz.

Este concierto (dedicado a Luis Felipe) [etc. etc. véase fecha anterior para completar párrafo]

4. Cavatina de la Cantante

cantada porLa Sra. Cossío.

SEGUNDA PARTE

5. Obertura Del DOMINO NOIR porLa orquesta.

6. DUETTO de la ópera TORQUATO TASSO

cantada por.....La Sra. Cossío.

7. VARIACIONES brillantes y de bravura
sobre un tema del PRÉ AUX CLERCS,

compuestas y ejecutadas (con la orquesta) por.....Henri Herz.

8. ARIA de tiple de la ópera TORCUATO TASSO

² I have not found a composer Russo at the time which leads me to believe this piece might be the Rondo Russo from his Concert for flute (1819) by Saverio Mercadante (1795-1870), adapted to piano by Herz. That would probably make the 4th Concerto Herz's own. He composed eight piano concerti. Liszt also transcribed pieces by Mercadante in his concerts. In Madrid he played arrangements on *Zaira*, *Il Giuramento*.and *Il Bravo*. See Robert Stevenson, "Liszt at Madrid and Lisbon: 1844-45", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Oct., 1979): 439-512. I have found Liszt and Herz's programs were very similar in the former's Madrid and Lisbon concerts and the latter's Mexican concerts. This might suggest a sense of the orientalisised Spanish/Mexican other that could prove telling in further analysis. Another comparative thread would be the reification both enjoyed in their respective "exotic" tours.

cantada porLa Sra. Cossío.
9. Gran fantasía romántica sobre temas de la LUCIA
DE LAMMERMOOR para piano solo, compuesta y
ejecutada porHenri Herz.

4-Second Concert in the National Theatre, Mexico City, 22 August 1849

(announcement of 20 August)

“TEATRO NACIONAL.

EL SEGUNDO Y GRAN CONCIERTO

DE HENRI HERZ,

Se verificará en la noche del miércoles 22 de agosto.

Completo cambio del programa.

Para que sus conciertos sean los más variados, presentará en ellos el Sr. Herz escenas en traje teatral y actos enteros de las OPERAS ITALIANAS más conocidas.

El Sr. Herz tocará durante el curso de la función:

I. Grandes y brillantes variaciones sobre la marcha del
OTELLO.

Con acompañamiento de toda la orquesta.

II. Una gran fantasía sobre el dueto *Suoni la tromba*, de los
PURITANOS.

III. La gran fantasía romántica sobre temas de la
LUCRECIA BORGIA.

Los pianos son de la fábrica nacional de París, cuyo director es el Sr. Herz.

La función empezará con todo el acto segundo de la afamada ópera del inmortal

Bellini, titulada :

LOS PURITANOS.

Elvira.....Srita. Cosío.

Georgia.....Sr. Solares.

Ricardo.....Sr. Zanini

Con coros completos.

En la segunda parte se cantarán escenas en traje del
BARBERO DE SEVILLA.

Rosina.....Srita. Cosío.

Fígaro.....Sr. Zanini.

Director de la orquesta..... El Sr. Chávez.

Maestro..... El Sr. Michelle.

(Announcement of 21 August)

Second concert by H. Herz including changes in comparison with the announcement of the previous day.

At the beginning:

“I. Obertura de la ópera *Estradilla*, por la orquesta.”

After *I Puritani* (It was at the beginning in the previous announcement)

“III. Grandes y brillantes variaciones sobre la marcha del *Otello*, con acompañamiento de toda la orquesta, compuestas y ejecutadas por Henri Herz.

Parte Segunda.

IV. Obertura de la ópera *Gustavo*, o

Le Bal Masqué, ejecutada por la orquesta.”

Aquí sigue la obertura de V. ‘Suoni la Tromba’ de los Puritanos, antes en la primera parte.
“VI. Cavatina. Una Voce un Poco Fa.
por la señorita Cosío.

VII. Dueto. Dunque Io. Cantado por la Srita. Cosío y el Sr. Zanini.”

El VIII es la Lucrecia Borgia previamente anunciada, y la

“IX. La Polka del Siglo.”

5-Third Concert in the National Theatre, Mexico City, 25 August 1849, together with Franz Coenen

EL SEÑOR HERZ tocará por la primera vez.

I. Variaciones brillantes sobre un tema de NORMA
con acompañamiento de orquesta.

II. Una fantasía nueva sobre el precioso tema irlandés
LA ÚLTIMA ROSA.
concluyendo con el rondó de la ópera francesa
LA EMBAJADORA.

FRANZ COENEN

Tocará I. Una fantasía militar sobre un tema de los PURITANOS.

II. LA MELANCOLÍA, de Prume, Variaciones de bravura sobre un tema
sentimental, con un final brillantísimo en forma de TRÉMOLO.

III. EL CARNAVAL DE VENECIA, tema napolitano con las variaciones
burlescas y originales del inmortal PAGANINI.

Las variaciones burlescas que toca el Sr. Coenen son las mismas con que su ilustre
compositor ha entusiasmado a la Europa entera.

Estas variaciones no deben ser confundidas con las de Ernst sobre el mismo tema,
que no son sino una imitación de las de Paganini.”

6-Fourth Concert in the National Theatre, Mexico City, 29 August 1849 [Including compositions with Mexican colour], together with violinist Franz Coenen (announcement of 27 August)

“Teatro Nacional.

El cuarto y gran concierto de Henri Herz,
Se verificará en la noche del miércoles 29 de agosto.

El Sr. Herz se presentará por segunda vez al ilustrado público de México,
el célebre violinista Franz Coenen,

Discípulo del grande Beriot, miembro de la capilla de S. M el rey de Holanda, socio
honorario de la real sociedad de música de Ámsterdam y director de la real unión filarmónica
de Róterdam, etc., que ha producido tan gran sensación en Londres y las demás capitales de
Inglaterra y de los Estados Unidos.

El Sr. Herz tocará en la primera parte por petición del público:

I. El Adagio Sentimental y el Rondo Giocoso de su segundo concierto serio,
con acompañamiento de toda la orquesta.

En la segunda parte presentará por primera vez el Sr. Herz, un

II. Cuadro Musical en tres partes: 1ª. Introducción y Notturmo titulado: ‘Los
Suspiros.’ 2ª. ‘La Rancherita,’ recuerdo de su viaje. 3ª. ‘Una hoja de su
Álbum,’ capricho brillante sobre un aire nacional.

- III. Una nueva fantasía (manuscrita) sobre temas del ‘Ernani’.
Franz Coenen tocará tres de sus composiciones nuevas.
 - I. Una gran fantasía sobre temas de la ‘Lucia de Lammermoor,’ con
acompañamiento de orquesta.
 - II. Un sueño [sic], fantasía elegiaca con orquesta.
 - III. ‘La Kermes (carnaval de Holanda)’ con variaciones burlescas, imitación
del ‘Carnaval de Paganini.’
- La escogida orquesta estará dirigida por el Sr. D. J. M. Chávez.”

(announcement of 29 August)³

(Changes and additions to the bill printed on 27 August)

First:

“La señorita Mosqueira cantará dos hermosos trozos.”

Then on the First part:

- I. Obertura del Domino Negro por la orquesta
- II. Aria de la ópera Romeo y Julieta de Vaccai, cantada por el Sr. Zanini y luego
sigue el I. del programa anterior.

Después sigue:

- IV. Aria de la Sonámbula cantada por la Srita Mosqueira.
- V. Gran fantasía sobre temas de la Lucia de Lammermoor, [I. de la segunda parte en el
programa anterior.

Segunda Parte

- VI. Obertura del dios y la bayadera. Por la orquesta.
- VII. A petición del público, por la segunda y última vez, la gran fantasía militar sobre
varios temas de Los Puritanos,
por Franz Coenen, con la orquesta.
- VIII. Aria de Los Puritanos,
cantada por la Srita. Mosqueira.
- IX. Cuadro Musical [ver programa anterior. Todo lo demás sigue igual. Termina en
el X. con “La Kermes...”]

**7-Benefit farewell concert to violinist Franz Coenen with Henri Herz’s participation,
National Theatre, 1 September 1849**

El Sr. Coenen, deseando probar su profundo reconocimiento hacia el ilustrado público que con tanta bondad lo ha recibido, ha arreglado una función compuesta de piezas que espera agradarán a sus favorecedores.

El sublime pianista Henri Herz, caballero de la Legión de Honor, coadyuvará con sus profundos conocimientos al mejor éxito de la función ejecutando las piezas que se expresan en seguida:

La Violeta, composición suya que tan ardientemente desea el público.

Brillante improvisación, sobre tres temas escogidos en la misma noche por el público, quien por medio de aplausos manifestará cuales escoge de los que consten en una lista en que la persona que estará en el foro, inscribirá todos los que los concurrentes le entreguen; cuya lista se leerá en público.

La Srita. Cosío cantará lo siguiente:

³ This second advertisement with the announcements of the changes for Herz’s fourth concert in the National Theatre, is basically the inclusion in the bill of the young and popular Mexican singer señorita Mosqueira. Mexicans loved it—they still do—when a foreign renowned artist included local artists in his/her concerts. This was even stronger at a time of national construction and war against foreign powers.

Aria con coros, de la ópera *Atila*, del maestro Verdi.
 Aria de la ópera *Beatrice di Tenda*, con coros completos.
 El Sr. Franz Coenen, a petición de varias personas, repetirá la *Melancolía*, de Prume, variaciones con un final brillantísimo en forma de trémolo.
 Tocaré además:
El ave en el árbol, rondo de concierto, con acompañamiento de orquesta, compuesto por él y dedicado a los generosos mexicanos.
El carnaval de Venecia, tema napolitano con las variaciones burlescas de Paganini.
 Los sres. Herz y Coenen, ejecutarán el gran *duetto concertante*, composición del primero, para piano y violín, sobre la romanza de la ópera *Fra Diávolo* (por solo esta vez).”

Additions/substitutions to the program according to a chronicle published on 4 September

Srita. Cosío and basso Valltelina sang a duet of *L'Elixir d'Amore*.
 The orchestra played an overture by Franz Coenen
 Herz received little pieces of paper with the public's suggestions for tunes, selected a few—especially Mexican *soncitos*—and improvised on them. He included his *Marcha Mexicana* in the improvisation.
 There was duet of *Il Barbieri di Seviglia* (No reference to the arias that were published in the paper before the concert. The rest of the pieces by Coenen and the *duetto*, were indeed performed).

8-“Monster Concert”, sixteen pianists including Henri Herz, National Theatre, 4 September 1849 (program published 3 September).

Concierto Monstruo
 de Henri Herz
 En que se tocará por esta sola vez la magnífica Obertura de Guillermo Tell arreglada para
 Ocho pianos
 y diez y seis pianistas.

Esta sorprendente pieza que ha sido recibida con el más grande aplauso en los conciertos monstruos que hada dado en París y Londres, será ejecutada por diez y seis de los mejores profesores de la capital y Henri Herz.
 Los pormenores de este concierto monstruo se darán con los programas.

9-“Last Monster Concert”, National Theatre, 7 September 1849

Se presentarán en él los dos eminentes violinistas
 Franz Coenen
 y
 D. Eusebio Delgado,
 El cual en obsequio al Sr. Herz, bondadosamente ha consentido en prestarse a acompañarlo.
 La Srita. Mosqueira cantará algunos trozos de óperas italianas.
 Los distinguidos profesores de piano de esta capital, de nuevo y graciosamente han prometido acompañar al Sr. Herz en este su último concierto.
 Henri Herz tocará las variaciones de bravura sobre el “Pre Aux Cleres,” y la fantasía brillante sobre temas de la “Lucrecia Borgia,” en que intercalará un precioso Aire Nacional.
 Franz Coenen, tocará por primera vez la afamada fantasía del célebre Artót, sobre temas del ‘Pirata’ y de la ‘Sonámbula.’
 El Sr. Herz tiene muchísimo gusto en anunciar al ilustrado público que ha conseguido que se tocan en ests su último concierto, las burlescas variaciones del afamado Carnaval de Venecia.
 de Pagnini,
 arreglado como un duetto chistoso por los Sres.
 Delgado y Coenen.

Este Carnaval está arreglado del mismo modo que el que ha proporcionado tanta celebridad a las Hermana Milanollo.

El concierto terminará con la contradanza criolla original, composición del Sr. Henri Herz, titulada

La Tropica [sic],

Con variaciones brillantes y de bravura, arregladas para

Ocho pianos y diez y seis pianistas,

y orquesta completa.

Pianists: J. M Aguilar, A. Balderas, P. Fluteau., Ant. Gómez, Alej. Gómez, J. M. León, F.

Larios, J. M. Marsan, P. Mele, A Michel, J. M. Oviedo, J. M. Retes, C. G. Ureña, J. Valadez, J. Vázquez., Franz Coenen [¿?] and Henri Herz.

[Contado a Coenen allí incluido son 17].

10-Benefit concert for Henri Herz, National Theatre, 12 September 1849

“Teatro Nacional.

Los artistas profesores de piano, tienen el honor de participar a los numerosos favorecedores del Sr.

Henri Herz,

que en obsequio de tan insigne artista, que ha contribuido tanto a la elevación de la música de piano, han arreglado una función extraordinaria en beneficio de este gran artista, que se verificará el miércoles 12 de septiembre, víspera de su salida de esta capital para Puebla.

El programa de la función será digno de tan interesante fiesta artística, y se compondrá de las siguientes piezas:

El Trémolo, compuesto por Carlos de Beriot, y ejecutado por primera vez por su discípulo,

Franz Coenen.

La Hija del Regimiento, introducción, variaciones brillantes y rondó final, con acompañamiento de toda la orquesta, compuestas y ejecutadas por primera vez por Henri Herz: esta composición es la primera de importancia que ha hecho el Sr. Herz en esta capital, dedicada a sus favorecedores.

Dos hermosas arias, cantadas por la Srita. Mosqueira.

Grande obertura.

El Sr. Herz hará una improvisación en tres partes. Primera, sobre temas franceses. Segunda, sobre temas italianos. Tercera, sobre aires nacionales.

Se suplica al público proporciones un crecido número de temas, que se entregarán del mismo modo que en la anterior improvisación.

A petición general del público, Franz Coenen tocará su nueva composición intitulada: *La ave en el árbol*.

Sonecitos del país, tocados en la jaranita y dos guitarras, por los artistas mexicanos D. Luis Arriaga, D. Juan San Martín y D. José Arsinas.

Gran duetto de piano y violín, sobre la marcha de *Mosé*, composición del Sr. Herz y ejecutado por él y Franz Coenen.

Esta magnífica función se concluirá con

Una Marcha Militar,

ejecutada por primera vez, compuesta y dedicada a los mexicanos por Henri Herz.

Esta hermosa pieza, cuya dedicación espera su autor será bondadosamente acogida como una débil muestra de su profundo reconocimiento por la generosidad con que han sido apreciados sus esfuerzos de agradar: será ejecutada en doce pianofortes, por veinte profesores, doble orquesta, banda militar, coro de hombres, bajo la dirección de Henri Herz, que tocará durante la ejecución, una *brillante variación* sobre su Trío.”

Appendix B

Original Spanish Quotes

Chapter 1

1.1, pp. 27-8.

Buenas para madres de familias, así para una polka como para asistir a un enfermo; tiernas sin afectación.

Notas: *Las hay en abundancia; la dificultad es encontrarlas.*

Enmarañadas, pero afectuosas; sensibles, pero dentro de casa con las medias bajadas y el túnico a la cintura, con el dedo amarillo del cigarro.

Notas: *Abundan; pero solo las solicitan los subtenientes con licencia ilimitada, músicos de guitarra, bailarines, compositores de versos para dar días, y viudos con el recargo de inquieta prole.*

Filarmónicas. Las últimas representaciones de ópera han valorado este artículo, que tenía muy poco consumo... Murguía vende lo que no es decible las obras de Rossini, de Bellini, Verdi Marzan, Valadez, etc. La mayoría es sensible, entendida: los tápalos de lana les agradan, y los cajeritos de la Monterilla son su delicia. No habla una de cosas de cocina ni de aptitud doméstica, porque es forzoso descuidar todo lo que no tiene que ver con la solfa...

Notas

Abunda, y hay pedido

Tonistas. Las *soirées*, algunas posadas de alto rango, las estrangeradas y la óperas, han restituido este artículo al mercado... El poco costo de los marabús y de la pasamanería, y la abundancia de modistas les ha comunicado un vuelo efímero. Los besos y otras monerías hacen solo se hallen entre las gentes decentes improvisadas...

Notas

Escasea: sin salida: poco pedido.

1.2, p. 31

Educación de las niñas.

Esta se arreglará a su sexo, y nada se omitirá para que sea aún más completa que la que se da en los mejores establecimientos de Europa, pues comprenderá un gran número de oficios mecánicos tan agradables como lucrativos.

1.3, p. 33

En la *amiga* aprendió mil lindezas, ya sobre escándalos que se resiste la pluma a escribir, ya en voz baja decía palabras que tampoco aprohija diccionario alguno, ya a mezclar al rezo gracejos irreligioso parodiando al popular Ripalda [...] Salida Mariquita de la amiga, mal leyendo, mal escribiendo, y con su corazón y su inteligencia viciados al a par, por los criados y por los maestros, se lanzó a la novelesca vida de la juventud. En la *amiga* aprendió mil lindezas, ya sobre escándalos que se resiste la pluma a escribir, ya en voz baja decía palabras que tampoco aprohija diccionario alguno, ya a mezclar al rezo gracejos irreligioso parodiando al popular Ripalda [...] Salida Mariquita de la amiga, mal leyendo, mal escribiendo, y con su corazón y su inteligencia viciados al a par, por los criados y por los maestros, se lanzó a la novelesca vida de la juventud,

1.4, p. 34

Lo que llegamos a formar, lo que logramos, lo que llena de admiración a esa mayoría extraordinaria de individuos que no piensa, son en realidad esos lindos muebles de salas (*jolies meubles de salon*) que tocan el arpa o el piano, cantan, bailan, pintan, hablan y entienden de

todo, menos de los negocios de su casa, de hacer felices a sus maridos, de criar bien a sus hijos, inspirándoles los sanos principios de la moral religiosa, que debieran.

1.5, p. 35

Las niñas serán atendidas con el mayor esmero, y todos los esfuerzos de los directores se dirigirán a desarrollar sus facultades físicas, intelectuales y morales, infundiéndoles los conocimientos que ilustran y adornan su sexo, dan realce a su genial amabilidad, y contribuyen tan poderosamente a la felicidad y prosperidad de las familias

1.6, p. 35-6

Piano y canto.

Primer premio consignado a la niña Luisa Gen [¿hija de la directora?]: grandes variaciones y el Elixir de amor de Herz.

Segundo premio, consignado a la niña Teresa Pradel: Invitación de Weber por Hunten, oeuvre célebre par Hüntten.

1.7, p. 39

Antes el grande arte en la educación de las mujeres, era contenerlas en la vida privada en una situación preventiva que les prohibía el uso de moverse y de pensar, y se reducía todo a infinitas precauciones y a una vigilancia excesiva. Antes de cualquiera otra cosa, se cuidaba de mostrar a los abuelos el nombre puro y sin tacha de la familia. La mujer no tenía otra función que ejercer que la de esposa y madre, y sin inteligencia, jamás debía salir del hogar doméstico, Hoy por la necesidad o por la suerte, debe disponerse a rivalizar con la instrucción de los hombres.

1.8, p. 42

Con la caída del antiguo régimen... parecería que la mujer ocuparía en la sociedad el lugar que las teorías ilustradas le habían estado preparando. Pero el discurso no fue acompañado de medidas liberalizadoras, sino todo lo contrario, ya que la mujer quedó encerrada en el nuevo espacio doméstico privatizado. Para persuadir a todos aquellos que pudieran tener reticencias sobre este proceso, se elaboró un discurso basado en la debilidad, dulzura, caridad, piedad y demás cualidades naturales e innatas de la mujer.

1.9, p. 43

[U]na criatura llena de fantasía y de verdad, capaz de inflamarse a la llama de todo lo que es noble, sensible a las bellezas de la creación, a los encantos de la armonía, tan fecunda en textos para las almas tiernas y de las ilusiones de ese arte divino que se apellida *poesía*; un ser, en fin, que desdeñe la adulación y el aplauso tumultuoso, que se contente con gustar las dulzuras de la vida doméstica[.]

1.10, p. 47

Hay mujeres que les causa hastío solo el ver un libro,—esto es malo.—Hay otras que devoran cuanta novela y papelucho cae a sus manos,—esto es peor.—Dice un proloquio que en el medio consiste la virtud, y en este punto debe llevarse a puro y debido efecto.

1.11, p. 48

Por regla general, voy a daros un consejo, hermosas mías. Siempre que oigáis decir de una obra que es romántica, no la leáis; y esto va contra mis ideas literarias y contra mi opinión respecto a estos escritos; pero generalmente lo que se llama romántico no deben leerlo ni las doncellas ni las casadas, porque siempre hay en tales composiciones maridos traidores, padres tiranos, amigos pérfidos, incestos horrorosos, parricidios, adulterios, asesinatos y crímenes, luchando en un fango de sangre y de lodo.

1.12, p. 50

¡De cuánto atractivo se reviste una joven cuando su blanca mano recorre el sonoro piano e

inunda el oído de tiernas melodías; parece entonces que el aristocrático salón se puebla de genios invisibles que vienen a aclamarla con sus voces divinas, por reina de la hermosura!

1.13, p. 52-3

Mas manso pero no menos temido el filarmónico, ya en una conversación, ya recitada, ya obligada a tenor o a soprano, después de regalar a Mariquita caramelos y malvavisco, gorjeaban a dúo *El Suspiro*, *La Cheneréntola*, *El Pirata* y otras cosas poniéndose a su frente, con su guitarra, tocando impunemente sus rodillas y aprovechando con la voz y con el tacto los intervalos en que se templaba o discutía en la tertulia lo que se debía cantar

1.14, p. 55

Don Timoteo: Según eso
¿usted quiere que sofoque
De mis hijas los talentos?
¿Qué laven, cosan o planchen,
Estén siempre en el brasero,
Disponiendo la comida,
Y, en fin, que tengan empleo
De criadas?

Don Antonio: No señor;
Pero que sepan al menos
Aquellas obligaciones
Que son propias de su sexo.
La música, la pintura,
El baile, todo es muy bueno,
Y sirve a una señorita
De atractivo y de recreo;
Pero, amigo, todo es malo
Cuando se lleva al exceso.

1.15, p. 55

Impías (doncellas de los 25 a los 40). Este género era desconocido antes en este mercado: el trato con extranjeros, que fueron cerrajeros en su tierra y aquí son personajes, los dramas románticos y algunas novelas que han leído sin el debido criterio, como el Judío Errante[.]

1.16, pp. 56-7

Don Carlos: ¿Eres Venus, o eres Flora,
O más bien ángel del cielo?

María: Soy sólo una mexicana.

Don Carlos: ¡Imposible! ¡No es verdad!
Eres francesa, italiana,
O siquiera de La Habana;
Pero no de esta ciudad.

María: Pues...

Don Carlos: No me hables castellano,
Destruyendo la ilusión;
De ese rostro soberano
No puede ser mexicano,
Lo dice mi corazón.

María: (*Enfadada*) Buen modo de enamorar,
¡despreciar mi patria así!

Don Carlos: (*Sumiso*) Dígnese usted perdonar:
¡es tan difícil hallar
Una cosa buena aquí!

María: Pues abierto está el camino,

¡Qué pesado y qué tenaz!
Llene usted su alto destino;
Vuelva usted por donde vino;
Déjenos usted en paz;
Si usted no está bien hallado
En el suelo en que nació
Vaya usted al otro lado,
Que un galán almibarado,
No es mucha pérdida, no.

Chapter 2

2.1, pp. 75-6

Formado el carácter moral de una señorita con la religión y la virtud, debe adornar su entendimiento con algunos conocimientos, que aún cuando no sean profundos, sean útiles. Debe huir de dos extremos igualmente desagradables, y son, el de una ignorancia grosera, y el de una vana ostentación de su saber... Un aire de superioridad o de altanería, es el que peor sienta a una mujer.

2.2, p. 79

Reglas para sentarse al piano

1. El cuerpo estará derecho.
2. La distancia que debe haber de la silla al piano será de un pie.
3. Se doblará el codo naturalmente de modo que se pueda tirar una horizontal de la punta de éste a la superficie de las teclas, graduándose por esto la altura del asiento.
4. La muñecas deben estar un poco más elevadas que los codos a fin de que éstas dominen al teclado.
5. Los dedos se tendrán recogidos en tal disposición que la forma de la mano sea redonda.
6. El dedo pulgar nunca se tendrá fuera del teclado.
7. Los dedos se contarán por el mismo dedo pulgar: 1º, 2º, 3º, 4º y 5º.

2.3, p. 89

Los Sres. D. M. Eduardo Gavira y D. Domingo Ibarra son los autores de este baile de la *Camelina*, la cual es hija de la *Dama de las Camelias*, porque su música tiene parte de la ópera de la *Traviata*, y no obstante que la *Camelina* es nacida en México, no se parece al *Jarabe* ni al *Palomo* ni menos a un patedú teatral de carácter mímico o grotesco, sino que es por el estilo de los bailes que actualmente están en uso, conforme al sistema de Mr. Labordé para las tertulias del gran tono.

Chapter 3

3.1, p. 111

Los acordes, las cadencias, el contrapunto, la armonía, la composición, las notas de la música y el solfeo, presentan materia bastante, así para la instrucción como para la diversión amena de nuestras señoritas mexicanas que felizmente dedican ya con tanto esmero sus ratos de ocio a las apreciables tareas del arte mágico de la música.

3.2, p. 112

Tenemos genios a propósito para que en América se reprodujeran los *Jomelis*, *Tartinis*, *Ducecs*, *Aydms* y tantos otros que han sido la admiración de la Italia y demás estados de la dulce Europa: la dulzura del clima, el carácter nacional, la flexibilidad del idioma, todo presenta las más felices ventajas para que la música no yaciera en el abandono en que hoy desgraciadamente se encuentra, así en el canto a capella como en la de cámara o teatral.

3.3, p. 117

Igualmente consistirá la mejora en la posibilidad de insertar algunas piezas de música moderna, aplicadas a clave o guitarra, pues la imprenta del *Mosaico* posee muy buenos caracteres en ese ramo. Así es, que las nuevas composiciones, si son de mérito, a juicio de los inteligentes, tendrán lugar en el periódico, y en caso de ser cantables, se añadirá el verso, a fin de difundir por todas partes el buen gusto en uno y otro género.

3.4, p. 128

La afición a la música se ha propagado en esta capital con una velocidad sorprendente, y el gusto se ha ido refinando hasta un punto que admira: los grandes conciertos y óperas de aficionados que se han presentado al público, testifican de la verdad de mis acertos. En medio de las disensiones civiles que han desgarrado las entrañas de la patria, la Providencia ha permitido en nuestro suelo los progresos de un arte capaz de suavizar el carácter de las naciones y de los individuos.

3.5, p. 132

A las señoritas mexicanas
Cuyas virtudes
Forman el honor de su sexo:
Su ternura,
El consuelo del hombre;
Y su belleza
El más brillante ornamento
De su patria,
Ofrece este leve obsequio
Mariano Galván Rivera.

3.6, p. 139-40

Si es siempre grato elogiar el mérito sea la que fuere su patria, si fácil corre la pluma para los encomios y alabanzas de todas aquellas personas que de cualquiera manera sobresalen en medio de la sociedad en que vivimos y contribuyen a nuestro bienestar; esto es mucho más satisfactorio cuando el objeto de nuestros aplausos nos está unido por los vínculos de la patria, y abre en ella una carrera antes desconocida. Acaso hay entonces en nuestra admiración algo de amor propio y de orgullo, por el que nos creemos partícipes del triunfo de nuestros conciudadanos y asociados a su gloria, y tal es lo que acaba de pasar a los mexicanos con la joven, cuyo retrato adorna la página que está al frente del artículo.

3.7, p. 142

¿Es posible pintar con más verdad el delirio amoroso del último acto, cuando Lucía delante de su hermano, con la distracción propia de una enajenación mental fija la vista y juguetea con las borlas de su traje, nos parece ella misma una verdadera demente, no la actriz que ha comprendido el carácter que desempeña, y que lo ha estudiado hasta en sus más imperceptibles y delicados pormenores?

3.8, p.142

Contrayéndonos ahora la encantadora Anna Bishop ¿qué diremos de ella cuando por espacio de tres horas ha podido ocupar la atención del público, atrayéndose en el acto las simpatías de todos? ¿Habla de la voz de verdadero *soprano sfogato*, de esa voz tan pura y expresiva en que tan pronto parece oírse el ruiseñor como los dulces sonidos de la flauta? ¿Habla de la asombrosa facilidad con que sabe presentarse en una sola función en tres o cuatro caracteres de diversos géneros y distinta escuela? ¿Haremos el elogio de su brillante vocalización y de la precisión de sus entonaciones?... Tememos, en verdad, que por la insuficiencia de nuestra pobre pluma no podamos hacer la debida justicia del mérito de la célebre artista, y por tanto nos limitaremos a decir que su mérito musical es muy superior a lo de que él se nos había referido, lo que comprueba las demostraciones de general aprobación que hizo el público.

La manera de vestir de Anna Bishop, es tan propia, que llena completamente la ilusión, y se penetra tanto del papel que ejecuta que no es la Bishop a quien se ve en el de Norma sino a la misma sacerdotisa que olvidando que lo era, se entrega al amor de Polión, o bien a la gentil Linda di Chamounix, que bajo el traje de una bella dama de París.

3.9, p. 144-5

La señorita Mosqueira en el papel de Lucrecia, manifestó como siempre la envidiable flexibilidad de garganta que la distingue, y una dulzura y un sentimiento tal vez algo en disonancia con su carácter, pero de hermoso efecto. Sin embargo, su voz no tuvo la extensión que otras veces ni la seguridad necesaria en el principio de la ópera; defectos que es preciso atribuir al temor que debía inspirar aquel público. Su acción no era tampoco bastante despejada, y se resintió de monotonía. Estaba, como llaman los franceses verdaderamente *genée, mal a son aise*.

3.10, p. 146

Querer formar un paralelo entre las señoritas Mosqueira y Cosío es un absurdo: la voz de la primera es dulce, suave, modulada, es el trino del ruiseñor, la armonía de la calandria, el arrullo de la tórtola, al paso que la de la señorita Cosío es viva, extensa, clara, nerviosa, llena de majestad; es el genio que llena con su acento los desiertos: la voz de la primera, encanta, entenece; la de la segunda domina. ¿Cuál de las dos es más hermosa? No puede decirse: las dos han recibido un don del cielo que deben cultivar, y yo les aconsejo que no abandonen un momento el estudio.

3.11, p. 149

Es decir que vamos mal, y lo peor es, que por ahora no vemos trazas de remedio. Para hoy está anunciada la *María di Rohan*, en la cual vemos que se ha dado la Sra. Costini el papel de *Armando de Gondí*. Este papel es de contralto, y es absolutamente imposible que la Sra. Costini pueda cantarlo aún cuando se le transporte, si no se le hacen grandes alteraciones.

[...]Conocemos muy bien a la *María di Rohan*, y el Sr. Marezek nos hallará muy poco indulgentes con las alteraciones que arbitrariamente quiera ahcerle. No nos arguya que le obliga a ello la falta de contralto. No creemos que le fuera imposible el contratar a la Srita. Amat; y aún cuando esto no fuera, tiene en su compañía a la Sra. Majocchi, que podría desempeñar perfectamente el papel de *Armando* [...]

Si este señor [Marezek] no procura enmendar los defectos que se van notando casi en cada ópera, tal vez se arrepienta antes de que llegue a la mitad de su temporada: que si el público de México es en extremo generoso e indulgente con los que de veras se esfuerzan por agradarle, también sabe castigar con su indiferencia a los que interpretan mal su generosidad, o no saben corresponder a ella.

3.12, p. 154

No habiendo emulación artística, ni compañías nacionales en qué poder trabajar, el aislamiento, el abandono y la miseria fueron los últimos compañeros de aquella notable cantatriz, cuyo genio no bastó siquiera para proporcionarle lo necesario para cubrir las necesidades de su modesta existencia, viniendo a morir pobre y agobiada por el más profundo desdén.

Chapter 4

4.1, p. 155

Pero por muchos elogios que puedan hacerse de las piezas anteriores, ninguna de ellas causó tanto efecto como la aria del Tancredo. Más de quince años hace que se conoce en México, y hoy es tan común, tan trivial, que las nodrizas la cantan a los niños para hacerlos dormir; en los bailecitos de medio carácter, se repite, acompañada por la vihuela, en una palabra, no hay muchacha ni viejo que no la sepa de memoria.

4.2, p. 173

Don Carlos: ¡Bravo! Y que es universal (211)

De la música el idioma.
¡Cuánto me agrada Rossini
Pero es más tierno Bellini,
Más ‘tocante’: yo vi en Roma,
No, no en Roma, fue en Milán,
Vi *Pirata*, vi *Extranjera*:
¡oh, que hermosas! Creo que era
Por la fiesta de San Juan.
¡cabalmente! Pero nada
Como *Norma*, ¡qué belleza!
Habla allí naturaleza.

4.3, p. 180

Unos oyen atentamente, otros duermen, y otros ni oyen, ni duermen, ni dejan oír a los demás; alabo a los primeros, doy a los segundos las buenas noches, y voy a dí[42]vertirme con los últimos. Algunos, tan prosaicamente mercantiles que quieren convertir en lonja el teatro, hablan del precio del chile o del cacao, de la alta o baja de los fondos públicos, del quince por ciento y de la amortización del cobre; de modo que el vecino que quiere escuchar a los actores, a pesar de sus muchas interpelaciones, ve regalado su oído tan pronto con un bellissimo verso de Bretón, como con la noticia de una quiebra, o con la compra de treinta tercios de pasilla.

4.4, p. 1866

El público que asiste al teatro y tiene el derecho de que se le den óperas nuevas, que tiene la facultad de pedir las que le agraden, principalmente cuando la empresa está bien dispuesta a dárselas, que tiene igualmente el poder legal de impedir, dirigiéndose a las autoridades, que tres, cuatro o veinte individuos le estorben ni por un momento el ver una ópera bien arreglada

4.5, p. 187

A LA ALBINI, by Guillermo Prieto.

Tu dulce, tu grato, tu plácido canto,
excita mi encanto, mi tierna emoción.
Rival de las gracias, de amor precursora,
ya se oye sonora tu angélica voz.

Despliega su rauda, su eléctrico vuelo,
se pierde en el cielo su curso fugaz,
en tanto que luce con noble hermosura
tu nítida y pura, tu cándida faz.

Arroba a las almas tu armónico acento,
inspira tu aliento sublime fervor,
y aquel que a tu vista de gozo respira,
se extasía, te admira, te da el corazón.

Si acaso afligida remedas quejosa
a amante llorosa o a madre infeliz,
anubla tus ojos el lúgubre llanto
y se oye en tu canto la voz del gemir.

El hombre, entre tanto, de todo se olvida,
te ve enternecida, resiente tu mal,
se exalta, suspira, padece martirio,
de dulce delirio se siente embriagar.

Si juegas amable la voz voluptuosa
que infunde ardorosa la intensa pasión,
el pecho al instante se abrasa en tu fuego,

se pierde el sosiego, se embriaga de amor.

Mas ¿quién cuando cantas perdido no te ama?

¿y quien no se inflama si sabe sentir?

De amor, de ventura, me brindas los goces;

cuando oigo tus voces no soy infeliz.

Alcance mi musa del tiempo memoria,

y guarde tu gloria tu canto inmortal;

tu nombre, y el nombre del grande Bellini,

¡oh mágica Albini!, resuenen en paz.

4.6, p. 200

A excepción de varios pedazos que recuerdan a Bellini, [esta ópera] no es por lo demás de aquellas que principalmente han contribuido a la gloria del gran compositor. Muchas veces en ella se encuentra una buena concepción junto a una mala idea, una inspiración brillante y de sentimiento junto a un pedazo que la languidez y la monotonía hacen a veces poco agradable.

Chapter 5

5.1, p. 208

Las variaciones de la Norma estuvieron sublimes. Admirable ejecución, exquisita delicadeza para pulsar las teclas, maestría increíble para dominar el piano, y hacerlo, ya reír gozosamente, ya llorar de una manera que lastima el corazón. Los que no han oído tocar a Herz, no tienen idea de lo que es un piano.

5.2, p. 216

Sabemos que la verdadera causa de las dificultades que había para arreglar el concierto que va a dar en la Lonja Mr. Herz, consistía en la fundada repugnancia que había de parte de ciertos suscriptores para que, dándose entrada franca a todos, tuvieran tal vez, sus esposas e hijas que estar junto a personas sin principios, educación, ni decencia. Vencido este obstáculo, por el que justamente no querían pasar, se ha allanado satisfactoriamente lo demás, y pronto se verificará el concierto por suscripción.

5.3, p. 218

Habiéndose circulado en la ciudad, por personas que gustan complicar las cosas, que los nombres de las personas que quieran boletos para el concierto del Sr. Herz deben ser aprobados por el comité encargado de la suscripción; nos apresuramos a asegurar al público que esto es falso; que toda persona respetable tiene derecho a sacar sus boletos, y que éstos se le darán sin más requisito que la firma de uno de los 47 propietarios de la lonja, y esto se hace únicamente para impedir abusos que, con perjuicio del público, se han hecho siempre en funciones de esta naturaleza.

Por ocupación del comité, *el secretario del Sr. Herz* estará en la Lonja la mañana de hoy para el expendio de boletos.

5.4, p. 231

El ilustre artista quiere considerarse como mexicano, durante su permanencia en nuestro país, y desea dejarnos un recuerdo perenne de la estimación que nos profesa. Reconocidos en extremos a un testimonio tan recomendable de aprecio, tenemos la satisfacción de ser los primero en darle las gracias, y esperamos que realizada la idea, pronto se hará popular ese himno, que servirá para excitar nuestro júbilo en las festividades públicas, y para que en las batallas entren nuestros guerreros al combate, con denuedo y bizarría.

5.5, p. 233

Desde que se indicó la idea de formar un himno nacional, nos pareció que se pedía al arte una cosa que no podía nacer de él, sino que es hija de las circunstancias de los pueblos,

contemporánea solo de sus momentos de entusiasmo, y que se consagra por la memoria de acciones grandes, o por la solemnidad que dan los recuerdos de personas o tiempos gloriosos.

5.6, p. 235

Una Marcha Militar,

ejecutada por primera vez, compuesta y dedicada a los mexicanos por Henri Herz.

Esta hermosa pieza, cuya dedicación espera su autor será bondadosamente acogida como una débil muestra de su profundo reconocimiento por la generosidad con que han sido apreciados sus esfuerzos de agrandar: será ejecutada en doce pianofortes, por veinte profesores, doble orquesta, banda militar, coro de hombres, [mis negr.] bajo la dirección de Henri Herz, que tocará durante la ejecución, una *brillante variación* sobre su Trío.

5.7, p. 235-6

Doce pianos, veinte pianistas, una banda militar y orquesta doble, tocaron la marcha militar mexicana, que se nos ha asegurado es composición hecha en esta capital por el Sr. Herz. Sea hecha en esta capital o no, ella es de mucho mérito, conmueve extraordinariamente, obra una reacción en el sistema nervioso, y será por tanto muy propia para tocarse en los regimientos de línea y de guardia nacional. El redoble de un tambor fue la señal de la salida de una compañía de soldados, que cantaron la marcha sin ser escuchados, pues el torrente de armonía hacía no sólo que se perdieran sus voces, sino que se estremeciera el teatro. Al mismo tiempo que salió el coro de guardias nacionales, aparecieron de uno y otro lado del salón que formaba el foro, multitud de banderas tricolores, que fueron saludadas con los bravos y palmoteos del público.

5.8, p. 236

La marcha militar, composición bella, musicalmente hablando, y bien ejecutada produjo en mí el efecto contrario que en todo el público; me entristeció. Los mexicanos debíamos dejar esos cantos guerreros y alegres para cuanto tengamos motivos de entonarlos: hoy nos toca callar, y reconcentrar nuestro adiós para cuando podamos vengarlos si es que podremos hacerlo algún día.

5.9, pp. 236-7

El editor sabe que algunas personas han vendido la Marcha nacional manuscrita, violando el derecho de propiedad que tiene e infringiendo la ley vigente que lo asegura. A mas del robo que con este acto se comete, y que a su tiempo se reclamará de los responsables, se pega un chasco a los compradores, porque la Marcha nacional manuscrita que se les vende es defectuosísima, como que carece de las correcciones hechas en la que se va a publicar en este establecimiento.

5.10, p. 237 (in French)

T'ai-je parlé de la Marche Nationale mexicaine que j'ai joué à mon dernier concert avec 24 pianistes, 50 choristes, 1 orchestre, 2 bandes militaires, 48 drapeaux, [...] ? Cette blague a fait un effet prodigieux et je crois que je vendrai la propriété de cette petite marche pour 1000 frs.

5.11, p. 242 (in French)

Le gouvernement vient de faire frapper une médaille en or en mon honneur et en [...] de la Marche nationale mexicaine (laquelle, entre nous, j'avais composé à N.Y., ohé la bonne farce!).

5.12, p. 244

El Sr. Herz tocó después una fantasía sobre el precioso tema irlandés La última rosa, y entre la música irlandesa y francesa e italiana introdujo la música mexicana más sandunguera, más bulliciosa, más subversiva, el Jarabe. ¡Un jarabe tocado por Herz! ¡Qué profanación, que atentado contra el buen gusto, contra la aristocracia!...pues bien, que digan lo que quieran los hombres del buen tono, no hagáis caso, id, aunque os cueste una onza de oro, a escuchar el jarabe tocado por Herz. ¡Dios mío! ¡qué variaciones tan encantadoras, qué acentos de placer tan vivos! ¡qué alegría tan franca y tan ingenua! El efecto que produjo en la concurrencia, fue mágico. Al principio el público creyó que era Bellini y Rossini quienes hablaban en el piano, y

guardó ese respetuoso silencio que indica que en todas partes del mundo se tributa al genio una veneración religiosa; pero apenas fue reconocido el jarabe nacional cuando del cielo del teatro brotó un torrente de aplausos, una tempestad de alegría que comunicó su electricidad a los palcos y al patio. Los hombres sonaban las manos, las lindas jóvenes hacían todavía otra cosa mejor, reían, y sus ojos, su fisonomía toda, expresaban el contento y la sorpresa. ¿Herz tocando jarabe, el músico de Viena, el discípulo protegido de Napoleón, tocando un sonecito de los tapatíos y de los poblanos? Este es un acontecimiento notable, dignos de mencionarse. Los aplausos fueron tan repetidos y las instancias del público tan vivas, que el Sr. Herz tuvo que salir de nuevo a tocar. ¿Y qué tocaría?...Bah, para un músico, para un talento, esto es cosa de poca monta. Un momento de inspiración, y está el negocio concluido.

Conclusion

C.1, pp. 258-9

¿De qué región lejana
Te trajo el aura inquieta
Dulcísimo Enriqueta
A la remota tierra mexicana?

Ave de riza pluma
Bellísima y canora,
¡Cómo tu voz sonora
Es blanda en el jardín de Moctezuma!

Aquí donde no hay yelo,
Y es aroma la brisa,
Tu canto y tu sonrisa
En armonía están con nuestro suelo.

Del norte al medio día,
Absorta con tus trinos
En éxtasis divinos,
Entusiasmada Europa te aplaudía.

Pero al rumor de guerra
Al ruiseñor espanta,
Y vuela, y viene y canta,
Y le oye alegre de Colón la tierra.

II.

Y tu voz que dulcísimo suspira,
Y tu sereno angelical semblante,
Y tu mirada tierna y centellante,
Hacen que tiemble mi olvidada lira.

Pues al oír tu celestial acento,
Muda y absorta ¡ay Dios! Te contemplaba,
Y unas veces reía, otras lloraba
De ternura y amor, de sentimiento.

Porque con el acento peregrino
De tu argentada voz, bella cantora,
Curar el mar que al corazón devora,
O avivarlo tal vez, es tu destino.

Tórtola triste en apartado nido
Lloras tus blandas, tus dolientes quejas,
Y al eco entonces que en el alma dejas,
Lamenta su dolor allí escondido.

Mas si alegre modula tu garganta
Risas y amor y plácido contento,
El corazón olvida su tormento,
Y sólo siente que tu voz lo encanta.

Árbitra del pesar o la alegría,
Yo he escuchado cantoras celestiales;
Mas no, Enriqueta, a tu primor iguales,
Ninguna mi alma como tú extasía.

Hermosas son del cielo las estrellas:
Me deleita su luz modesta y pura,
Pero Sirio bellísima fulgura,
Y en su luz superior a todas ellas.

Así también en el jardín la rosa,
Reina de lindas y pintadas flores,
Es su olor sobre todos los olores,
Es su vista también la más hermosa.

Con mil razones extasiado el mundo,
Cuanto tus cantos, Enriqueta, entonas,
Lauros te ofrece, y plamas y coronas,
Y te oye y te ama con amor profundo.

Brilla, sí pues brillar es tu destino:
Encanta con tu voz, linda alemana,
Mas permite que aquí una mexicana
Esparza alguna flor en tu camino.

R. B. de G.