



Santiago de Chile Cathedral Music in the Nineteenth Century

Samuel Claro-Valdés

Introduction

OF THE EIGHT CHAPELMASTERS who directed cathedral music in nineteenth-century Santiago, three were native Chileans, the rest foreign-born. José de Campderrós (served as maestro de capilla, 1793–1812), the most fecund colonial maestro, was a Catalanian who reached Santiago after lengthy sojourns at Cádiz and Lima. José Antonio González (1812–1840), although a native Chilean, proved his loyalty to the independence cause with difficulty. Henry Lanza (1840–1846), London-born son of Italian parents, took more interest in Italian opera than in religious music. José Bernardo Alzedo (1846–1864), the native of Lima who composed the Peruvian national anthem, presided over Santiago music during its best epoch. His solid training, talent as a composer, and knowledge of theoretical classics made him a cynosure. José Zapiola (1864–1874), born at Santiago, leaped to early fame as a composer of an 1839 anthem celebrating the Chilean military victory at Yungay. The German organist and opera conductor, Tulio Eduardo Hempel (1874–1882), left a more enduring mark on the Conservatorio Nacional de Música than on cathedral music. The Spanish-born priest Manuel Arrieta (1882–1894) lost the post after a street brawl that caused the cathedral chapter to replace him with Moisés Lara.

Music During the Transition from Colony to Republic

José de Campderrós¹ (1742–1812), born in Barcelona, composed masses, psalms, lamentations, and carols that continued in the cathedral repertory until well after mid-century.² José Zapiola³ (1802–1885), in his *Recuerdos de Treinta Años* ("Recollections of Thirty Years") claimed that everything heard in the cathedral during his youth had been written by Campderrós.⁴ Santiago cathedral archives still today include over eighty of Campderrós's manuscripts. One of his fifteen Masses (G Major, composed in 1798–1800) was revived at the cathedral as recently as September 9, 1971.⁵ After his death, Campderrós's widow donated his files of musical scores to the cathedral.

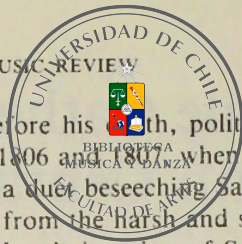
¹For his peninsular origins, see Samuel Claro-Valdés, "José de Campderrós (1742–1812): de mercader catalán a maestro de capilla en Santiago de Chile," *Anuario Musical*, xxx (1975), 123–134. Campderrós's will printed at pp. 130–131 attests his origins. For a summary of this article, see *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, No. 42: 1980 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 717, item 7098.

²Claro-Valdés catalogued these in *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, Instituto de Extensión Musical, 1974).

³Claro-Valdés, "José Zapiola, músico de la Catedral de Chile," *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, xlii/88 (1974 [1978]), 221–235, compiled documents concerning Zapiola's musical career.

⁴*Recuerdos de Treinta Años* (1810–1840), ed. Eugenio Pereira Salas (Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag, S.A., 1945), p. 89: "La música de la iglesia catedral se componía en su totalidad de lo que había escrito Campderrós, lego español de la Buena Muerte, que se había traído de Lima para organizar la capilla en los últimos años del siglo pasado."

⁵Qualified by *El Mercurio*, Santiago, September 12, 1971, as an important revival, proving the composer's ability to write Viennese classical style church music. The score was published in 1970 by the Instituto de Extensión Musical (*José de Campderrós, Misa en Sol, Mayor*, partitura).



Already several years before his death, political events inspired the texts sung in Santiago Cathedral. In 1806 and 1807 when the British were attacking Buenos Aires, two triples joined in a duet beseeching saints Martin and Clara to "liberate conquered Buenos Aires / from the harsh and shameful tyranny / of the Islander armed with greed."⁹ Napoleon's invasion of Spain inspired an anonymous vocal duet sung sometime around 1808: "The stricken French are checked, / they cannot keep up with Spain's swift moves; / this will dishonor them from Antarctic to Arctic."¹⁰

Chilean poets and musicians vented their sympathies for imprisoned Fernando VII in lines declaring their loyalty to the dethroned king. However, as political sentiments shifted, so also did the texts sung in the cathedral. A solo-voice villancico (catalogued No. 38, 15) exemplifies these changes:

Original Text

O happy desired, longed-for-day
when obedient and loyal subjects
salute our beloved Fernando

Amended Text

O happy desired, longed-for day
when Sun and Stars shine with
great splendor on the happy
subjects of America

Another villancico text originally reading "Glory to God, high above / and to Spaniards, peace," became "Glory to God, high above / and to our Patriots, peace."

After the royalist 1814 victory at Rancagua, the two leaders of the so-called Absolutist Restoration, Mariano Osorio and Francisco Casimiro Marcó del Pont, were honored with music still surviving in cathedral archives. According to one text, Mariano Osorio's native affability contrasted with the repression that was imposed by higher authorities.⁹ Marcó del Pont's "elegance" as new Governor inspired a duet sung in December, 1815.¹⁰ The texts of these tributes belie the true character of this difficult period in Chilean history. The joy felt in Chile when Spanish rule ended in 1817 had already been anticipated in the *Himno a la Victoria de Yervas Buenas* sung May 2, 1813, to celebrate the routing on the previous April 13 of royalist forces commanded by Antonio Pareja.

Impact of Socio-Political Events on Artistic Life

According to Eugenio Pereira Salas, José Antonio González y Ximenas (ca. 1772-1840), who became chapelmaster in 1812 during a tense period, composed the

⁹For the Spanish text of this duet catalogued (footnote 2) No. 332, 15, see Claro-Valdés, "La Musicología y la historia: una perspectiva de colaboración científica" (Discurso de incorporación del académico de número), *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, XL/87 (1973), 76.

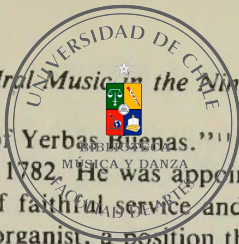
¹⁰*Ibid.*, 77-78; catalogued No. 157, 17.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 79; catalogued No. 40, 15.

¹²*Ibid.*, 80; catalogued No. 338, 15.

¹³*Ibid.*, 81: "O Magnifico Monarca / q^e nuestro Gefe elevaste, / a un asenso tan sublime, tan ilustre y tan brillante / DUO / 1^o Artico polo entre luces, / sacra Aurora rutilante, / forso era dar las gracias, / por Asenso tan laudable. / 2^o Metrica dulce armonia, / para Marcò se prepare, / honrosa alta y bien acorde, / con q^e Chile mas lo alave. / 3^o Ylustre Gefe excelente / en quien brilla tanto realce, / para honor de todo Chile, / vive por eternidades."

With small variants the same bombastic lines had been sung when bidding farewell to Ambrosio O'Higgins (who in May 1796 left Santiago to become viceroy of Peru).



music of the "Hymn for the Victory of Yerbas Buenas."¹¹ González y Ximenas began as a Santiago choirboy in about 1782. He was appointed second organist on December 16, 1803, in recognition of faithful service and musical merit.¹² Three years later he was promoted to first organist, a position that he had been holding without pay. When on December 5, 1812, he succeeded José de Campderrós as chapelmaster, his skill, ability, and guarantees of excellence "entitled him to the position formerly held by Don José de Campderrós, which is now vacant because of the former chapelmaster's death." For a monthly stipend of fifty pesos, he was expected to "maintain good musical standards, enlarge the repertoire, and compose and hold sufficient rehearsals for solemn events."

On October 4, 1817, doctoral canon José Ignacio Cienfuegos (1762-1845), named governor of the diocese four months earlier, informed the chapter that González had been dismissed from his post because "his political behavior was deemed antipathetic to the sacred cause of America." As his substitute, the chapter with Government approval that day designated Manuel Salas Castillo, "possessor of the necessary knowledge for the post." González, although banished to Mendoza, was permitted to live at Los Andes "because of his wavering health." Fighting for return to Santiago, he based his appeal on his own musical qualifications and the incompetence of his slanderer.

Salas is a mere singer ignorant of the rules of composition, and a very poor musician. He knows nothing of counterpoint and cannot accompany because he does not know the stops of an organ. I have provided some of my compositions without charge. I sing and play the organ when necessary, without being bound to do either. Salas feigns that he composes, but does nothing but string together plagiaries from several authors.¹³

González won his plea and was reinstated. On his return, however, he had to confront a different type of problem: indiscipline. William Carter, an English clarinetist (in Chile since 1814) who had taught Juan José Carrera,¹⁴ had replaced José Zapiola during the latter's absence in Buenos Aires. On November 9, 1827, Zapiola asked to be reinstated. On November 23, Carter was conveniently dismissed "due to his vice of drink, which renders him not only useless but harmful," and was replaced by Zapiola. A year later, González in a turnabout asked that Zapiola be expelled "because he causes constant mischief in the choir."

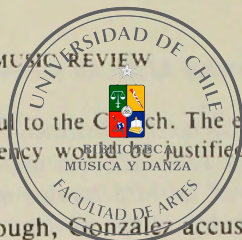
He plays only what he likes and when he likes, and never concentrates on what he is doing. At times he plays the violin and at other times the double bass. He constantly mocks the chapelmaster. Scolding makes matters worse. To preserve decorum, silence must be kept. If this is not settled, the other musicians, who up to now have been restrained, will become as

¹¹Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes del Arte Musical en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941), p. 65, note 10.

¹²Manuscript documentation for all data henceforth cited without footnotes in this article is itemized in Claro-Valdés's "Musica catedralicia en Santiago durante el siglo pasado," *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxiii/148 (October-December 1979), 7-36, from which the present English version has been extracted with the kind permission of the author and of the distinguished director, Luis Merino.

¹³Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes*, p. 73: "Salas es sólo un cantor de voz, muy mal músico, sin principio de composición, que ignora el contrapunto y las reglas de acompañamiento, pues no sabe poner el posturage del órgano. Yo he dado algunas composiciones mías de super erogación; canto y toco el órgano cuando es preciso, sin estar obligado a lo uno ni a lo otro. Salas, en cambio, finge componer sin hacer más que una rapsodia compuesta de diversos autores."

¹⁴Concerning him, see Claro-Valdés, "La vida musical en Chile durante el Gobierno de don Bernardo O'Higgins," *Revista Musical Chilena*, xxxiii/145 (January-March 1979), 7-9.



intractable as he, and harmful to the Church. The entire choir is disturbed by this musician and, therefore, Your Excellency would be justified in dismissing Zapiola, because of his rebelliousness.

As if all this were not enough, González accused Zapiola of having deserted from the army, of having sold the clarinets of the Seventh Battalion commanded by Colonel Rondizzoni, and of having traveled to Argentina with the proceeds.

Cathedral Administrator Manuel de Reyes, when asked to advise the chapter, sent the chantre an evasive note dated November 30, 1828. Instead of coming to grips with the charges against Zapiola, Reyes instead emphasized the bad conduct of all the musicians. According to Reyes, "such serious faults are often committed in performances that the public rightly criticizes them. I regret to say that my ears ring with these complaints." Because of Zapiola's "other merits" the cathedral authorities were advised to grant him temporary leave without pay from his post as first clarinet.

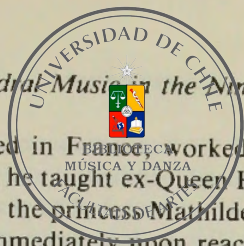
In 1839 José Antonio González—now nearing seventy and burdened with a large family—petitioned for a pension equivalent to full pay. Julián Navarro (1776–1854), acting chantre, reported on December 6 of that year

that the laws do not provide an income or pension for musicians or others of lower rank but only for prebendaries. Nevertheless, since Don José Antonio González has devoted 57 years to the cathedral, performing his duties with care and zeal, the chantre recommends some amount from the Ninth, without touching other church revenues. He deserves this in view of his old age and large family. Such largesse will serve also as a powerful incentive to all those who in the future occupy similar posts.

Opera versus Church Music

González died in March of 1840. During the next three months, his detractor of 1817, Manuel Salas Castillo, who had temporarily substituted for him in 1833, held the post. On July 27, 1840, Archbishop-elect Manuel Vicuña (1778–1843) appointed Henry Lanza (1810–1869) to the position.

Campderrós had been a prolific composer. José Antonio González left "a few compositions" (including two villancicos and the cover page of a *pastorela* written in 1813). In contrast, Henry Lanza did not compose, but was an opera singer—and therefore a fitting symbol of his period. During Lanza's epoch, the Santiago artistic world acknowledged the leadership of Isidora Zegers (1803–1869), a Madrid-born, Paris-educated singer and devotee of Rossini, who arrived in Chile in 1823. At musical gatherings in her home were conceived such projects as the Conservatorio Nacional de Música (1849), *El Semanario Musical* (1852, Chile's first musical magazine), and a philharmonic society. In about 1836, prominent clergy asked her to suggest ways of improving the cathedral music. She proposed importing Europeans who would lend sparkle to the music while simultaneously coaching society leaders interested in opera roles. Accordingly, the Chilean Government on her recommendation hired her Paris teacher, Frédéric Massimino (1775–1858), the pianist Arnault, the tenor Caruel, and basso singers Enrique Maffei and Henry Lanza. These birds of a feather arrived at Valparaíso on the *Bonne Clémence* in February of 1840 and reached Santiago the next month.



Lanza, born at London but trained in France, worked as music conductor in Rome from 1827 to 1832. Thereafter, he taught ex-Queen Hortense de Beauharnais (1783–1837) piano, and her daughter, the princess Mathilde, singing.¹⁵ Preceded by excellent recommendations, Lanza immediately upon reaching Santiago became a fashionable teacher and star opera performer. His artistic excellence compensated for the mediocrity of his companion immigrants. Zapiola complained that by 1841 the so-called “teachers” had with few exceptions proved themselves to be little more than apprentices. “Lanza came as chapelmaster and his merits are undoubtedly needed to indemnify the government for the fraud suffered, especially in connection with two of the alleged artists.”¹⁶

Unfortunately, the position of chapelmaster was suited neither to Lanza’s character nor his aspirations. True, he introduced some reforms in the repertoire and took over the teaching of the choirboys as early as July, 1840. But by 1844 he had contracted to sing all the leading baritone roles during the Pantanelli opera season.¹⁷ The capitular acts during Lanza’s tenure continually refer to the problems caused by his opera singing. Only because Lanza enjoyed esteem among high society opera lovers did he escape dismissal. As early as July 25, 1843, the chapter reprimanded him for his “little care in the teaching of the *seises*.” On August 18, the canons decided to send Manuel Montt, Minister of Justice, a letter documenting his continued absence from his duties. On August 29, the Government was asked “to dismiss him from his post.”

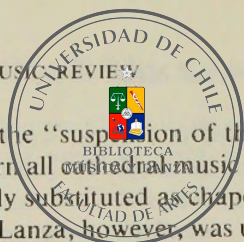
On October 13, 1843, the chapter denied his request for a four months’ salary advance, “since his request ignores legal proceedings ordered by the Supreme Government against the applicant.” In July of 1844, the canons replied to archbishop-elect Rafael Valentín Valdivieso’s demand that Lanza be forced to teach the *seises* with a frank admission that they could do only “whatever was possible.” During April of 1845, the chapter could not agree on what sums to deduct from Lanza’s salary for unexcused absences. This temporizing attitude encouraged Lanza to counterattack; on May 9 he requested delivery of his pay, withheld because of absences, “claiming that he would sue for injury if not paid.” In order to advise the archbishop, the chapter decided to resurrect José Antonio González’s records for use in the proceedings against Lanza. But in December, the chapter learned that Lanza’s file had mysteriously disappeared and that the entire civil proceedings against him were therefore void. Naught remained for the chapter to do, except to report to the archbishop March 6, 1846, on all steps and measures taken against Lanza, “currently in Valparaíso where he is acting as an opera singer.”

On June 23, 1846, under the pretext of having “to pay for church music scores recently arrived from Europe,” Lanza had the effrontery to ask for three months’ salary advance. The chapter inexplicably agreed, despite investigations of an archbishop’s committee working to be rid of him once and for all. This committee submitted its evidence and report in a “sealed envelope” handed the archbishop, who,

¹⁵See *Las Bellas Artes*, 1/20 (August 16, 1869), 160–161, for Henry Lanza’s obituary reprinted from *El Mercurio*, Valparaíso, August 9, 1869; also, Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes*, pp. 151–152. Concerning the variety of operatic roles that his excellent wide ranging voice enabled him to sing, see quotation from *El Progreso* of May 4, 1844, in Mario Cánepa Guzmán, *La Ópera en Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Del Pacífico, 1976), p. 24.

¹⁶Zapiola, *Recuerdos de Treinta Años*, 4th ed. (Santiago: Imprenta Victoria, 1881), pp. 83–84.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 92.



on September 22, ordered the "suspension of the chapelmaster." The chapter next asked Henry Lanza to return all cathedral music scores and files. Rafael González,¹⁸ cathedral tenor, temporarily substituted as chapelmaster; and after him the succentor José Miguel Mendoza. Lanza, however, was unwilling to give up the scores in his possession. Only after Archbishop Valdivieso ordered his definitive dismissal on October 13, 1846, was his successor, José Bernardo Alzedo, finally able to obtain the files.

Even so, Lanza's removal from the cathedral was not final. After further triumphs on stages at Santiago, Valparaíso, La Serena, and Copiapó¹⁹ and after having been appointed a teacher at the Conservatory presided over by Isidora Zegers,²⁰ he won reinstatement on October 26, 1852—now as first basso, with the warning that he might be again dismissed. He held this post until July 1855, earning a monthly wage of 37 pesos 4 reales.

Upon losing his fortune in mining ventures, Lanza retired from the stage and in 1860 resumed teaching to make a livelihood. He died at Valparaíso August 8, 1869, from injuries received while serving as a voluntary fireman.²¹

The Apogee: José Bernardo Alzedo

Archbishop Rafael Valentín Valdivieso (1804–1878)²² sought a successor to Lanza not enamoured of the stage, but instead devoted to sacred music. A better choice than the former Dominican *donado*, José Bernardo Alzedo,²³ could scarcely have been made. On November 26, 1846, at an annual salary of 600 pesos the Peruvian was appointed acting chapelmaster in charge of teaching the choirboys. The abundant Alzedo bibliography, his autobiography published in *Filosofía Elemental de la Música*, and a sketch by F. C. Zegarra in the same work, preclude the necessity of here elaborating lengthily on his Peruvian antecedents.

Born at Lima, August 20, 1788, Alzedo (or Alcedo) reached Chile with the Ejército Libertador del Perú in 1823. In August 1821 his entry had won the competition for a Peruvian national anthem. Next year he saw military action as First Musician, grade of Lieutenant, Fourth Chilean Battalion, in which he had enrolled August 15, 1822. In it, he proved "a distinguished and honorable officer." Prior to military

¹⁸Rafael González served the cathedral choir as "second soprano" from August 1, 1852, to February 1853, at a \$250 annual salary. From March 1853 to the end of 1861 he earned a yearly \$400 as cathedral second organist. Documentation in Santiago Cathedral *Copiador de Oficios despachados por Secretaría de este Cabildo* (January 1, 1826 to May 13, 1862), fols. 40^v and 52^v.

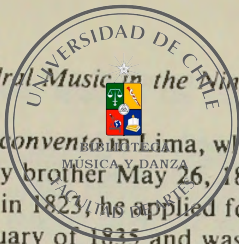
¹⁹Pereira Salas, *Historia de la música en Chile (1850–1900)* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile [Editorial Del Pacífico, S.A.], 1957), pp. 14, 15, 49, 114, 118, documented his operatic tournées.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 90.

²¹Lanza's daughter, Amelia Lanza de Fougueux, survived him to become a respected singer, teacher and frequent concert performer at Valparaíso in the 1890's. See Pereira Salas, *Historia*, p. 320.

²²Native of Santiago de Chile, he occupied important secular posts before ordination to the priesthood July 27, 1834. In 1843 he was named dean of the theological faculty of the newly founded Universidad de Chile. On May 13, 1845, the Supremo Gobierno presented him for second archbishop of Santiago. He was consecrated July 2, 1848. He assisted at the Vatican Council in 1869 and is now recognized as the preeminent prelate in Chilean nineteenth-century history. See Luis Francisco Prieto del Río, *Diccionario Biográfico del Clero Secular de Chile 1535–1918* (Santiago: Imprenta Chile, 1922), pp. 679–681.

²³Robert Stevenson's "Homenaje a José Bernardo Alzedo (1788–1878)," *Boletín Interamericano de Música*, No. 80 (March–June, 1971), pp. 3–24, documents his biography outlined in this and subsequent paragraphs.



service, he had lived at the Dominican convent in Lima, where he took simple vows for three years as a Dominican tertiary brother May 26, 1807.

Remaining in Santiago after arrival in 1823, he applied for a basso's post in Santiago Cathedral sometime during January of 1835 and was accepted the following February 10, with an annual salary of 168 pesos. His success as a private music teacher and his regularity and decorum as basso increased the esteem in which Archbishop Valentín Valdivieso held him.

Immediately upon appointment as Santiago chapelmaster, Alzedo began raising musical standards. As early as February 1847 he asked the chapter to tune the organ and to authorize a suitable Holy Week repertoire. In March 1847 he took steps to have a piano loaned in 1845 returned to the cathedral, so that he could "give lessons to the choirboys." As choirboy habit, he chose red cassocks with pink collars and white surplices. To fatten the musical archives he asked funds on one occasion (October 29, 1847), for imports from Europe, such as "a number of music works, symphonies, psalms, etc.," and on another (January 1, 1850) for "twenty symphonies costing thirty pesos." He also devoted part of his time to composing. During early 1848, he wrote a *Miserere* and a Passion for Good Friday. By the end of the same year (November 3, 1848) the chantre could report to the chapter "thirty-six pieces composed by the said chapelmaster." In addition, by December 22, 1848, Alzedo had compiled a plainchant collection that included the Christmas office. The chapter responded with a "vote of thanks for his dedication to his musical work." From March 6, 1850, until he returned to Lima in 1864, his annual salary was 800 pesos (monthly stipend of 66 pesos and 5 reales).

Santiago Cathedral archives today still possess 29 manuscripts containing Alzedo's music.²⁴ Another 40 Alzedo manuscripts are in the National Library at Lima.²⁵ No less valuable than his compositions are his literary works. In 1852 he cooperated with Isidora Zegers, Zapiola, and Francisco Oliva in founding of *El Semanario Musical*. Between 1851 and 1861 he wrote the largest treatise compiled in nineteenth-century America, *Filosofía Elemental de la Música*.

In January 1864 Alzedo applied to the chapter for leave to visit Lima, where the government was contemplating establishment of a conservatory. One of the last survivors of the society of "Fundadores de la Independencia" (Founders of Independence), Lifetime Honorary President of Lima Philharmonic Society, and Director General of the Music Bands of the Army, he died there, aged 90, on December 28, 1878.

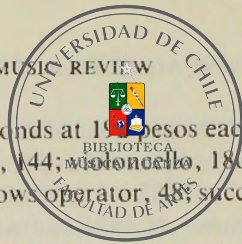
Changes in Chapel Music

During Henry Lanza's tenure, cathedral musicians comprised a small orchestra that doubled at night in the opera pit. The cathedral's musical staff included the following components on February 3, 1844²⁶ (fees in pesos): chapelmaster 800, plus an additional 300 for singing; 3 singers at 450 pesos each, 1,350; 2 first violinists, at

²⁴Claro-Valdés, *Catálogo del Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Santiago de Chile*, pp. 6-9.

²⁵Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1970), pp. 111-112.

²⁶"Estado demostrativo de las rentas y gastos que tiene anualmente la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Santiago . . . Febrero 3 de 1844" (manuscript statistical abstract prepared by the cathedral Mayordomo Ecónomo).



240 pesos each, 480; 2 seconds at 190 pesos each, 384; viola, 200; first clarinet, 240; second clarinet, 144; flute, 144; musician, 180; string bass, 180; first organist, 400; second organist, 200; bellows operator, 480; succentor, 400; 5 seises, at 72 pesos each, 360.

During Lanza's tenure, the cathedral's orchestra was the sole one in Santiago. As a result, when it played outside the cathedral "public announcement would be made, to the great delight of both the devout and the music enthusiast."²⁷ The over-emphasis on opera after 1830 turned the orchestra into an inappropriate link with the world of secular entertainment. Therefore, as soon as Alzedo became chapelmaster, Archbishop Valdivieso on October 19, 1846, suggested to the chapter that the orchestra be replaced by an organ built in Europe. In compliance, the chapter eliminated the positions of violinist and flute-player November 6, 1846, vacancies in the choir went henceforth unfilled, and all decisions on hiring new musicians were suspended.

Such Draconian measures disturbed Alzedo, who suggested that an orchestra be at least hired for such festivities as the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Te Deum on September 18, and at Corpus Christi. On March 9, 1847, he persuaded the chapter to approve this group of orchestral musicians: José Zapiola and Máximo Escalante as first violinists, Roque Guardado and José María Portilla as seconds, Mariano Santander and Juan Manuel Pando as clarinet players, Manuel Tobar and Rafael Lagunas as contrabassists, Eustaquio Guzmán as cello, and José Antonio Arenas and José de Carmen Luna as unpaid trumpeters.

After arrival of the "large organ" from London in 1849, one by one these orchestra musicians were eliminated. The first let go May 5, 1850, was the drummer and tam-tam player "who does not accord with the solemnity of sacred music." By the end of the century, the cathedral hired only the chapelmaster, five adult male voices, two organ players, six proprietary and six "supernumerary" choirboys, and two "tuners" or bellows operators. In so doing, Santiago Cathedral led the way followed in other South American cathedrals. "By 1891 all important cathedrals had abandoned the orchestra, in favor of the organ."²⁸

The Organ versus the Orchestra

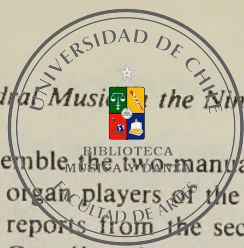
With the exception of a small but beautiful colonial organ made for the Jesuits (now preserved as a recently restored relic) the cathedral up to 1849 lacked an instrument of any distinction. Through the Minister of Religion, Mariano Egaña, the chapter on September 13, 1839, asked the Supreme Government to authorize ordering an organ from William Jones, recently arrived from England. Jones stipulated \$9,600 for an organ of 32 ranks. On March 14, 1840, however, he sent a letter announcing a price increase to \$12,500.

This price struck the chapter as exorbitant. As a stopgap the canons voted to repair the 1767 Jesuit organ, despite "the lack of flue pipes and the uselessness of those that are left." Jones, who was hired to do the work, received a 1000-peso advance, against 2100 pesos that he asked for the repair.

Two years later, July 21, 1842, Silvester Hesse, a German business agent, offered the chapter a ten-rank organ recently arrived from Europe. Pricing it at 3500 pesos

²⁷ Zapiola, *Recuerdos*, 4th ed., p. 63.

²⁸ Stevenson, "Homenaje," p. 13.



cash, he additionally promised to assemble the two-manual instrument with pedal board to the satisfaction of "learned organ players of the cathedral by September 18, this year." In view of favorable reports from the second cathedral organist, Damián Donayre,²⁹ and from Rafael González, the archbishop approved the purchase. The decision was ratified by the chapter September 23, 1842, after a solemn Te Deum celebrated on September 18, and after certificates were received from José Bernardo Alzedo—who rated it superior to the organ built by the Jesuits, and from Henry Lanza—who also considered it to be "better than the other, both in sweetness and quality of sound." Nonetheless, the new organ caused problems even before Holy Week of 1843. By October of 1851, six gold ounces had been spent on repairs, thus causing Alzedo to write the chapter a letter complaining of "the bad faith shown by him who sold it." Worse still, the Hesse organ lacked the volume needed to replace an orchestra. The chapter therefore had to continue struggling for the time being with the opera-minded orchestral players.

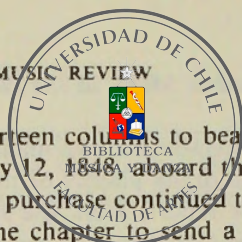
Meanwhile, the new archbishop, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso, foresaw no alternative to importing from abroad a truly adequate organ. The project, suggested to the chapter in 1846, took a year to mature. Alexander Caldcleugh, in Chile between 1819 and 1821,³⁰ recommended Benjamin Flight & Son, London organ builders. Considering that what the archbishop above all desired was a replacement for the cathedral orchestra, Caldcleugh made a proper recommendation. Benjamin Flight (ca. 1767–1847), who about 1800 had gone into a partnership with Joseph Robson later to be dissolved, had made his reputation with the Apollonicon, a monster organ built to imitate a full orchestra. Exhibited at London from June 1817 to 1840, this organ reproduced orchestral overtures such as Weber's *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon* "as accurately as though executed by a fine orchestra." F.-J. Fétis, who in 1829 heard Samuel Wesley play it, was sufficiently impressed to award Flight an article in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. The first edition of George Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1 (1879), 74–75, described the Apollonicon as a five-manual instrument of 1900 pipes with 45 stops, "several of which gave excellent imitations of the tones of the wind instruments of a complete orchestra, viz., flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, horn, and trombone."

According to Grove, Flight and his associate Robson spent "nearly five years in constructing the Apollonicon and £10,000 in perfecting it." The successor firm of Flight & Son built for Santiago a three-manual 39-rank organ with pedalboard costing a fourth of that amount—£2500 sterling. On October 8, 1847, the archbishop informed the chapter that he had already procured the latter sum plus an additional £200 sterling "to pay a skilled representative of the builders sent to assemble it." The archbishop also wished to engage an expert player in Europe.

The chapter agreed to this final request on condition that the organist serve in Chile at least six years and play the organ "every day on which the orchestra, according to the musical regulations, had played." On October 29, 1847, the archbishop sent Joseph Reid in London a first remittance of £1000 sterling, at the then prevailing exchange rate, and on December 7, asked the chapter to provide B. Flight with pertinent architectural details. In the same message to the chapter, he stressed the need for iron pillars to support the choir. On December 28, he sent Reid a second

²⁹Donayre, who died February 27, 1853, was succeeded by Rafael González. See note 18.

³⁰Translated account of his trip in Samuel Haigh, Alexander Caldcleugh, and Max Radiguet, *Viajeros en Chile 1817–1847* (Santiago: Editorial Del Pacifico, 1955), pp. 117–212.



remittance of £1000. Fourteen columns to bear the weight of the instrument were shipped from London July 12, 1848, aboard the *Rosalie*. These columns cost £338.

Every step of the organ purchase continued to interest Archbishop Valdivieso. In October 1848 he urged the chapter to send a third £1000 remittance; "otherwise serious penalties could result and the enterprise could falter," he warned. The chapter agreed, even though funds barely sufficed to meet the most pressing current expenses. In July 1849 he dispatched the final amount, £700, leaving to his credit some £340 sterling.¹¹ During the summer of 1849, he commissioned Vicente Larrain to plan the building of a new choir loft able to support the organ about to arrive. On October 9, 1849, he informed the chapter that the organ was expected at Valparaíso the next month. Joseph Reid's final bill for the organ, shipped in 28 cases aboard the *Shamrock* under the command of Captain John Poyntz, July 21, 1849, included the £2000 paid to Flight, plus charges for the iron beams, insurance, packing and freight. In addition, Reid's final bill included charges for passage and salary advances to Henry Flight, the manufacturer's nephew designated to assemble the organ after it reached Santiago, and to Henry Howell, the new cathedral organist.

The chapter used part of the organ fund surplus to purchase music scores published by the Pacini firm and a 110-page beautifully illustrated volume of plainsong published in France. Hilarión Eslava, chapelmaster of the Royal Chapel at Madrid, personally selected scores receipted January 27, 1852, in the amount of 9,189 reales.

Curiously enough, the Flight organ arrived at Valparaíso less than a month after the Chilean National Conservatory of Music was founded October 26, 1849.¹² Before being crated for shipment, it had been qualified by London experts as "magnificent, perfect, powerful" and one of the best ever manufactured by an English organ builder. Henry Flight, Henry Howell, and Alexander Caldcleugh arrived together on the same ship with the organ. Caldcleugh informed the chapter that the organ builder's nephew would remain six months but that the organ ought to be playable within three months. Flight, after periodically receiving advances on his wages according to agreement, left the country in June, 1850, without completing his work. Howell thereafter supervised placement of the bellows, amid urgent pleas that "the organ be played" and all other instruments be eliminated. Attended by great pomp and circumstance, the Flight organ on September 8, 1851, accompanied a *Te Deum* sung when a portrait of Pope Pius IX bought with organ fund surplus was unveiled.

To keep the Flight organ playable, repairs began being made as early as November 1852, when three gold ounces were paid Howell for work lasting approximately ten days. On the evidence of salaries paid the bellows operator, the Flight organ was played in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861 every Sunday and Thursday, at all *Te Deums*, anniversaries, funerals or supplications, and during some fifty religious festivities (Epiphany, Holy Week, Corpus Christi, their respective vespers and octaves, Ascension Day, Immaculate Conception, Christmas and various saints' days). The possibility of transferring the organ elsewhere in the cathedral was considered in May, 1865. The famous architect Fermín Vivaceta approved such a move. The Flight organ in 1981 still served Santiago Cathedral although then prejudiced by an

¹¹Caldcleugh delayed in making the exchange from Chilean money. Because of fluctuating exchange rates, he caused the archbishop's overage to be smaller than it would have been had he exchanged sooner.

¹²Luis Sandoval B., *Reseña Histórica del Conservatorio Nacional de Música y Declamación, 1849 a 1911* (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1911), pp. 7-18.



arch supporting the towers—due to the last transformation of the cathedral ordered in 1905 by the third archbishop of Santiago, Mariano Casanova (1833–1908).

On November 25, 1849, the English organist Henry Howell signed an agreement with the cathedral for a five-year term. However, after having established a Chilean family, he remained in Chile until death March 11, 1860. Upon taking his post, he immediately suggested that the chapter buy a plainsong manual brought with him from Europe. Three Haydn Masses (Novello Nos. 2 in B \flat , 3 in D minor, and 7 in G) autographed by Howell in 1849 still today remain in Santiago cathedral archive. On May 14, 1850, the chapter enjoined him to teach the organ. He was the first to play Mendelssohn's organ sonatas in Chile and to introduce Chileans to works by Schubert.³³

He twice visited Valparaíso in 1850 without leaving a substitute and without notifying José Bernardo Alzedo. On November 3, 1850, the Ecclesiastical Administrator informed the chapter that Howell "owed large sums." Next year, he joined the faculty of the newly founded national conservatory. During Holy Week of 1853, he incurred amoebic dysentery. From then until death March 11, 1860, his health steadily deteriorated. Unpaid sick absences cost him 154 pesos (of his annual 800-peso salary) during his last seven years.

From Consolidation to Decline

On January 12, 1864, the chapter appointed José Zapiola chapelmaster. Zapiola, the first "republican" musician, not only composed and intervened in most of the important musical events of his time but also took an active interest in liberal politics. After the 1870 fire, which damaged the municipal theater, and after the decision to build a new theater, the municipal government entertained and then rejected a "motion submitted by José Zapiola, the democratic alderman, to enlarge the gallery and amphitheatre at the expense of the boxes."³⁴

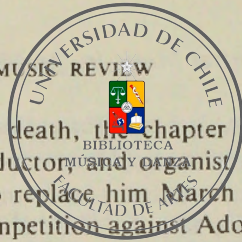
Zapiola constantly sought salary raises for cathedral musicians, money to repair the Flight, Hesse, and Jesuit organs, and funds to buy new music or repair old copies. His original works still extant in Santiago cathedral archives include five vesper hymns, a trio for Maundy Thursday foot-washing ceremony, and a three-voice *Stabat Mater* with organ accompaniment.³⁵ Chapter minutes during his incumbency suggest that Zapiola was no strict disciplinarian. On October 10, 1871, the chapter devoted the entire meeting "to considering the state of disarray in which the music chapel finds itself."

Zapiola, who had substituted for 76-year-old José Bernardo Alzedo when his predecessor requested leave to travel to Peru in January of 1864, and who was confirmed in the post on December 23, remained chapelmaster until April 28, 1874. Archbishop Valdivieso on that date suggested that Zapiola not resign outright but request "a year's leave of absence, which was granted, don Tulio Hempel being appointed acting chapelmaster." Zapiola's seriousness and honesty of character while performing his duties upheld the dignity of Santiago Cathedral music to the end of his appointment.

³³Pereira Salas, *Los Orígenes*, p. 153; Stevenson, "Homenaje," p. 20, note 42.

³⁴Pereira Salas, *Historia*, p. 155, note 1.

³⁵Claro-Valdés, *Catálogo*, nos. 303, 228, 233 and 310, 50–51.



Upon Henry Howell's death, the chapter had chosen the German immigrant composer, orchestra conductor, and organist in Chile since 1840, Tulio Eduardo Hempel¹⁶ (1813-1892), to replace him March 15, 1860, at four pesos per performance. After a public competition against Adolphe Desjardins, first director of the National Conservatory, the chapter on June 22, 1860, granted Hempel tenure, but with 600 pesos annual stipend instead of the 800 paid Howell. From 1861 to about 1880 Hempel conducted opera orchestras. In 1872 he helped found Santiago's *Orfeón* (Singing Society), which at its inaugural concert sang the Chilean National Anthem composed by Manuel Robles (Hempel's orchestration).

Upon succeeding Zapiola as acting chapelmaster in 1874, Hempel for an additional 500 pesos annual salary doubled as organist so that "the original appointee José Zapiola could continue drawing 300 pesos of the budgeted chapelmaster's salary." This arrangement lasted until April 28, 1876, when the chapter confirmed Hempel as tenured chapelmaster. From 1876 to 1886 he headed the Chilean National Conservatory.¹⁷ In 1882 he resigned the chapelmastership and in 1886 abandoned all activity on account of an illness diagnosed as neurasthenia.

From June 2, 1882, until August 25, 1894, the incompetent Manuel Arrieta¹⁸ directed the cathedral music. A native of Vitoria diocese in Spain, he had reached Chile in 1865. In that year and again 1868-1874 and 1875-1882 he was Santiago cathedral succentor. Upon being dismissed from the cathedral chapelmastership for alcoholism, he clung to a hospital chaplaincy three years. In 1897 he returned to Spain, where he died in December of that year. He was succeeded as cathedral chapelmaster by the priest Moisés Lara, since the latter was "quite competent in music and singing" and "far more knowledgeable than Arrieta."

¹⁶ Abundant indexed biographical reference concerning Hempel in Pereira Salas, *Historia*. Hempel was born in Gera, Saxe-Coburg. From 1840 to 1853 Valparaíso was his base (*Historia*, p. 96). At one time or another he sketched an opera *Romeo y Julieta* (p. 243) and composed a *Zamacueca*, a *Canción Nacional*, two Masses and a Requiem (p. 96), all now lost.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁸ Prieto del Río, *Diccionario Biográfico*, p. 57.