



## Before Their Music Stopped: Manila's Spanish Military Regimental Bands at the End of the 19th Century

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### Abstract

Utilizing the contemporary daily, Spanish-language newspapers surviving from the final three decades of 19th-century Manila, this study investigates the extensive activities of the eight regimental bands stationed in Manila, the Philippines. Even though these dailies served as powerful tools for the imposition of colonial subjugation and disenfranchisement on the indigenous Filipino population, they also reveal that the regimental bands were the most active musical ensembles during that era. This review of the papers began by chronicling the frequency of the many free, weekly, outdoor concerts that total more than 2,700 performances. A related goal was to identify as many of the musical pieces presented in band arrangements during these performances. The newspapers also published additional valuable articles that discuss a variety of unique or unusual events involving the regimental band's contributions to major military maneuvers, special occasions of state in honor of the Royal Family, and a set of seven concerts performed on consecutive days by one band during a major, religious feast.

The dailies also permit us to follow the work of the bands during a period of crisis and some danger. From August 1896 to December 1897, the Spanish Military was engaged in a war with Filipino insurrectionists fighting for independence. The Military command responded to this threat in two ways that affected the bands. The first was the creation of a new regiment of indigenous-heritage soldiers to protect the capital from invasion by their countrymen. That new regiment, The Loyal Volunteers, also had a new band attached to it. Like all the bands, this new one was made up entirely of Filipino men. A second response affecting all of the bands was the order for the Band Masters to include in their public concerts a steady stream of newly composed works promoting the Spanish propaganda opposing the war. Though the revolt was ended with a peace treaty in late December 1897, just four months later, on 1 May, the fate of the Spanish colony was sealed when the U.S. armed forces invaded the Philippines. As the Spanish Military regiments exited the country, the work of the bands ended. A new period of brutal colonial subjugation of the Filipino people had commenced.

**Keywords:** Philippines, Manila, Spanish colonialism, military band, nineteenth century, religious festivals, Philippine Revolution, Edi Remenyi

### Resumen

Utilizando los diarios contemporáneos en español que han sobrevivido a las últimas tres décadas de la Manila del siglo XIX, este estudio investiga las extensas actividades de las ocho bandas de regimiento estacionadas en Manila, Filipinas. Aunque estos diarios sirvieron como herramientas poderosas para la imposición de la subyugación colonial y la privación de derechos sobre la población indígena filipina, también revelan que las bandas del regimiento fueron los conjuntos musicales más activos durante esa época. Esta revisión de los artículos comenzó con la crónica de la frecuencia de los muchos conciertos

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\* I wish to dedicate this article to my brilliant, talented and loving wife Dr. Edith Kimber Summers. Her perpetual support and intellectual partnership have always enlivened and sustained my curiosity for the past.

gratuitos, semanales y al aire libre que suman más de 2.700 funciones. Un objetivo relacionado fue identificar la mayor cantidad de piezas musicales presentadas en arreglos de banda durante estas actuaciones. Los periódicos también publicaron artículos valiosos adicionales que discuten una variedad de eventos únicos o inusuales que involucran las contribuciones de la banda del regimiento a las principales maniobras militares, ocasiones especiales de estado en honor a la Familia Real y una serie de siete conciertos realizados en días consecutivos por una banda. durante una gran fiesta religiosa.

Los diarios también nos permiten seguir el trabajo de las bandas durante un período de crisis y algún peligro. Desde agosto de 1896 hasta diciembre de 1897, las Fuerzas Armadas españolas se enzarzaron en una guerra con los insurrectos filipinos que luchaban por la independencia. El mando militar respondió a esta amenaza de dos formas que afectaron a las bandas. El primero fue la creación de un nuevo regimiento de soldados de herencia indígena para proteger la capital de la invasión de sus compatriotas.

Ese nuevo regimiento El batallón de los Voluntarios, también tenía una nueva banda adjunta. Como todas las bandas, esta nueva estaba compuesta íntegramente por filipinos. Una segunda respuesta que afectó a todas las bandas fue la orden de los músicos mayores de incluir en sus conciertos públicos un flujo constante de obras de nueva composición que promovieran la propaganda española opuesta a la guerra. Aunque la revuelta terminó con un tratado de paz a fines de diciembre de 1897, solo cinco meses después, el 1 de mayo, el destino de la colonia española quedó sellado cuando las fuerzas armadas estadounidenses invadieron las islas Filipinas. Cuando los regimientos militares españoles abandonaron el país, el trabajo de las bandas terminó. Había comenzado un nuevo período de brutal subyugación colonial del pueblo filipino.

**Palabras claves:** Filipinas, Manila, colonia española, banda militar, siglo XIX, festivales religiosos, Revolución filipina, Edi Remenyi

During the second half of the 19th century, Manila, the Philippines, was a large, active, industrialized, cosmopolitan port city that served as the Spanish colony's administrative and cultural capital of what was known as Las Islas Filipinas.<sup>1</sup> By the year 1850, approximately 250,000 people resided in greater Manila. The ever-changing and diverse demographic makeup of the population tabulated by the colonial government included a very significant majority of residents who were of native descent. Smaller groups of mixed race Asian/Europeans, Asian immigrants, a comparatively small number of Spaniards, plus foreigners from Europe and the Americas completed the urban population picture.<sup>2</sup> Each month, approximately 150 ships from many

<sup>1</sup> For a highly perceptive study of 19th-century Manila, see Benito J. Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons, Economic Change, and Entrepreneurship in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Philippines*, Madison, 2002, University of Wisconsin Press. As with all colonial occupations, most especially for those who had endured external subjugation for a third of a millennium, Spanish imperial control of Manila by the middle of the 19th century was both mature and cruelly sinister, disenfranchising the population of native, mixed-race, or other Asian heritage peoples. Both the capital's increasing trade and modern industrialization intensified the cruel inequalities imposed on the non-European residents of the capital and the archipelago as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> Spanish-era information sources from Manila, primarily the government-funded guidebooks printed in the capital, are utilized in this study for two reasons. First, their compilers had direct access to the actual data collected by resident officials living in the capital. They were published intermittently by the colonial government over many years, 1834–1898. The importance of that local witness cannot be emphasized enough since the premeditated unreliability of foreign documentation of Manila in that era has proven both remarkably spotty, inaccurate and also driven by particular international propaganda movement distortions. Second, the contents of these volumes can be compared across several years, both to verify changes and to assess the veracity of the collecting patterns themselves. Admittedly, all types of statistical gathering involve estimates. The examples offered here are given fully aware of these

countries entered and exited the expansive Bay of Manila. Again, local governmental estimates of the scope of the trade that passed through the capital suggest that in the closing thirty years of the 19th century, Manila was an extraordinarily active and bustling trade center. Although a great deal has been known concerning this long-established Spanish colonial capital (1571–1898), certain parts of its history, especially the last half of the 19th century, are only now receiving attention from scholars.

One of the least understood topics, Manila's professional performance life, suffers from an evidentiary vacuum that has obscured large parts of these copious activities. The principal forces preventing the appearance of a study such as this one before now, one devoted to the extensive, public, performances of the capital's professional Spanish regimental bands, can be explained in large part by three inter-leaved events in Manila's past. On May 1, 1898, this port was subjected to a colonial invasion by the armed forces of the U.S., mobilized to pursue the Spanish American War. The cruel conquest that ensued, the ruthless dismantling of the civilian and governmental institutions, and the complete re-subjugation of the population of the archipelago by the new U.S. colonial occupiers forced a myriad of extreme changes onto the way of life in the capital. This new government's unrelenting campaign to de-Hispanify and de-Catholicize the population produced extensive scholarly embargoes, both within the archipelago and internationally, upon most matters involving the entire Spanish colonial period.<sup>3</sup>

A second and related catastrophe, one with far more significant direct impact upon Manila's physical and material history, befell the Philippines in 1941 when the Japanese Imperial armed forces invaded and occupied the U.S. colony during World War II. Three years later, in 1945, the battle by the re-assembled colonial U.S. and Filipino armed forces to retake Manila from the Japanese Empire raged for approximately thirty days, ending on March 3. According to the U.S.

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limitations. They are used to provide context and perspective only. These guidebooks, by design, also encode all of the human failings of the international industry of colonialism. For a listing of these volumes of Manila Guide Books to the Philippines and the relevant bibliographic information, see William Summers, "Rediscovering the Hidden Muses of Bohol: Filipino Music Maestri from Corella Church, Bohol," in *Budhi*, vol. 3, (2010 [2011]), pp. 1–106, especially pp. 1–7, (hereafter *Budhi*). This study also lists the surviving titles of approximately 170 works for wind band, some having been purchased from music stores in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Manila. See *Budhi*, pp. 8, 21–23, 103–106. A second extensive collection of music from another late 19<sup>th</sup>-century parish church in Oslob, Cebu, the Philippines, has just been published. See Patricia Marion Lopez Abrera, "International Repertoire and Local Practice: Parochial Music in Oslob," in *Humanities Diliman*, (July–December, 2019), 16:2, 1–39, especially pp. 5–6 for the wind band examples. The table listing Manila's population is found in the *Guía de forasteros para el año 1849*, Manila, 1849, Imprenta de Los Amigos del País, pp. 317–318. This parochial census totaled 280,130 individuals. Data treating the arrival and departure of vessels that visited Manila can be found in the same volume, p. 316, with 1410 ships arriving and 1384 departing. A later, detailed assessment of the population of Manila and its various neighborhoods is provided in, Ramón Gonzalez Fernández, *Manual del Viajeros en Filipinas*, Manila, 1875, Tipográfico de Santo Tomás, pp. 92–94. Export shipping tonnage can be seen for 1892 in a column published in *El Comercio* on 14 January 1893. England, for example, imported 630,932 picos (= 62 kg.) of hemp (abaca), and 380,559 picos of sugar in that year. For a model study on the challenges of population study of historic Manila see Francis A. Gealogo, "Counting People: Nineteenth-Century Population History of Four Manila *Arrabales* Using the *Planes de Almas*," Manila, 2011, *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3, pp. 399–423.

<sup>3</sup> See David Joseph Kendall, "Spanish Colonial Liturgical Music in the Philippines: Inventing a Tradition," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 2010, especially pp. 53–72.

War Office, the human and physical devastation wrought throughout the capital was second only to that found in the European city of Warsaw, Poland.<sup>4</sup>

The losses of all kinds were staggering, including the destruction of more than 690,000 volumes in the National Library, as well as the complete loss of virtually all of the historical music and dramatic performance materials from churches, schools, and theaters.<sup>5</sup> This mayhem also finally erased most of the surviving physical traces of the capital's performance history before 1900. Digging out from these interlinked disasters has taken a very long time and remains ongoing. This study represents another step toward illuminating the public, professional performance life of this colonial capital.

In a 2015 article based upon an examination of surviving issues of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Manila daily newspaper the *Diario de Manila*, I presented some of the first evidence in the 21st century that the research tide had taken a new direction. That study, devoted to the performance history of the first European opera company to visit the capital, Alfred Maugard's *Compañía de ópera lirica y francesa*, drew on unexamined data to reconstruct the company's performance calendar for 1865. Maugard had purchased advertising space in the newspaper the *Diario de Manila* from August to December.<sup>6</sup> Those advertisements and this landmark moment in the capital's music history were not discussed in print before.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Eighth Semi-Annual Report of the United States War Damage Commission for the period ending June 1950*, Washington, D. C., 1950, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 1. Of course, the U.S. left out mentioning Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

<sup>5</sup> See Vicente S. Hernández, "Trends in Philippine Library History," 65th IFLA Council and General Conference, Bangkok, Thailand, August 20–August 28, 1999, Code Number: 039138-E, Division Number: VII; published in *Libraries and Culture* [now *Libraries and the Cultural Record*], vol. 36.2, Spring, 2001, University of Texas Press. p. 8. Only 36,600 volumes remained from the original 733,000 in the National Library, and the University of the Philippines Library managed to save 3,000 of its original 147,000 volumes.

<sup>6</sup> See William John Summers, "Forty-Eight Nights at the Opera: *La compañía lirica francesa* in Manila in 1865," in *Qui musicam in se habet: Studies in honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, Anna Zayaruznaya et al eds., Múnster, 2015, American Institute of Musicology, pp. 315–346. Several recent studies, especially those that have made some use of 19<sup>th</sup>-century journalistic sources, have appeared during the past decade. Some of these have been devoted to the close of the 19th century. See Isabel M. Ayala Herrera and Juan Carlos Galiano-Díaz, "Ecos de ultramar: El músico mayor jienense Damián López Sánchez (1859–1930). Apuntes sobre la vida y la obra de un repatriado honorífico," *Boletín. Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 221 (Enero–Junio 2020), pp. 381–435. See also Maria Alexandra Iñigo-Chua, "Composing the Filipino: Music Transculturation and Hybridity In 19<sup>th</sup>-Century, Urban Colonial Manila," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of the Philippines, 2017. Arwin Quiñones Tan, "Music Labor and Capitalism in Manila's Transforming Colonial Society in the Late Nineteenth Century," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of the Philippines, 2018, pages 349–354, report information on regimental bands taken from the database documents utilized in this study. This information expanded Tan's published information on the regimental bands and anticipated elements of this article. See note 9 below. Maria Patricia Brillantes Silvestre, "Becoming to Being Filipino: A Social History of the Music in Manila through Journalistic Print," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of the Philippines, 2021. See also José Buen Consejo, editor, *Philippine Modernities, Music, Language and the Performing Arts, 1880–1941*, Quezon City, 2017, University of the Philippines Press, and Arwin Q. Tan, editor, *Saysay HIMIG: A Sourcebook on Philippine Music History, 1880–1941*, Quezon City, 2017, University of the Philippines Press. A focused study devoted to the composition, dissemination and uses of the waltz in late 19th-century Manila was released by Arwin Tan, "Tanda de valse and its Mode of Production in Nineteenth-century Manila," unpublished research report. See also meLê Yamomo, *Theater, and Music in Manila and the Asia Pacific, 1869–1946: Sounding Modernities*, 2018, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan. Also meLê Yamomo, "Brokering Sonic Modernities: Migrant Manila Musicians in the Asia Pacific, 1881–1948," in *Popular*

The present study reports on information recovered primarily from another of Manila's daily papers, *El Comercio*.<sup>7</sup> The preserved issues (1869–1873, 1875–1883, 1885–1898), all surviving in whole or in part in microfilm copies, shed direct light upon the work of the seven military regimental bands serving in Manila during the twenty-seven years 1871–1898. This newly-revealed data illuminates one of the most active, colonial concert traditions existing in the capital before the U.S. invasion. The Spanish language press, i.e., the research tools used for this study, were almost exclusively in the hands of Spanish expatriates. As a modern communication medium, these daily papers were perfectly positioned, sadly, to perpetuate the profound ills of colonialism.<sup>8</sup> In the particular case of the professional performing arts, they provide examples of this negative impact, some of which we will see below. On the other hand, the daily papers offer today a novel and useful source for certain types of information highly relevant to the facts of daily life in this city.

In this study, our attention will be focused first on the regimental wind bands' free, weekly, public concerts performed on the city's main paseos and public squares. The papers also comment on other activities undertaken by these ensembles, such as their contributions to major military pageants, their participation during various formal governmental occasions of state, and some rare but spectacular appearances they made in the city's theaters. Lastly, through band music's prism, we can examine a critical turning point in the history of the colony, the impact of the Filipino revolution of 1896 on the bands' performance life. Though this point will be made again below, except for the Spaniards who served as the conductors of many of the ensembles, all of the bandsmen were of native birth and held the rank of enlisted soldiers. This was a racial requirement. These seven regimental wind bands have received recent scholarly attention in a pioneering 2014 study by Arwin Q. Tan.<sup>9</sup> His article was the first in the 21st century to focus on these ensembles. Tan describes their origins, makeup, and the design of the bands. He also discusses their musical activities in Manila and identifies many leading conductors, or *Músico mayor*. His discussion of the

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*Entertainment Studies*, 2015, Vol. 6, issue 2, pp. 22–37, and meLê Yamomo, “Global Currents, Musical Streams: European Opera in Colonial Southeast Asia,” in *Nineteenth-Century Theater and Film*, 2017, vol. 44(1), pp. 54–74.

<sup>7</sup> This daily and six other Spanish newspapers, published between 1848 and 1898, miraculously survived World War II in part and have begun to be subjected to close study. They are *La Estrella* (1848–49); *Diario de Manila I*, (1849–1852); *Boletín Oficial*, (1852–1857), *Diario de Manila II*, (1857–1902); *España Oceanica*, (1862–1864); *Oceanía de Española*, (1877–1886); and *El Comercio*, (1869–1902). See Wenseslao E. Retana, *El Periodismo Filipino, noticias para su historia 1811–1894*, Madrid, 1895, Minueza de los Rios, pp. 18ff, 38ff, p. 40, p. 112, p. 136, pp. 146f, (hereafter *Periodismo*).

<sup>8</sup> *El Comercio* is discussed in Retana, *Periodismo*, p. 146–47. Retana apparently was unable to find copies of this paper, and proposes, incorrectly, that it might have been another publication. A long entry on *El Comercio* is given by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Los Periodicos Filipinos*, Manila, 1906 (09), pp. 112ff. Information from two other daily papers, *Diario de Manila* (1883), and *La Oceanía Española* 1885), is included in the tabulations made for this study. For *El Diario de Manila*, see Retana, *Periodismo*, pp. 30, 61, 65, 75–77. For *La Oceanía Española*, see Retana, *Periodismo* pp. 136, 184–188.

<sup>9</sup> These bands were attached to Spanish military companies stationed around the archipelago. In 1866, six regiments were stationed in Manila. See “Cuerpos de Infantería, La Reina, No. 2, Fernando 7, No. 3, Principe, No. 6, Princesa, No. 7, Isabel II, No. 9 and Castilla, No. 10,” in *Ejército de Filipinas. Elcalfon General*, Manila, 1866, Tipo-Litográfico de Manuel Pérez y hijo, p. 15. The most useful essay on the organization of the regimental bands appears in Ignacio Salinas y Angulo, ed., *Legislación Militar aplicada al Ejército de Filipinas*, Manila, 1879, Tip. de Plana y compañía, pp. 87–90. Another account of the organization of the regimental bands is mentioned in Arwin Q. Tan, “Reproduction of Cultural and Social Capital in Nineteenth-Century Military Bands of the Philippines,” in *Humanities Diliman*, July–December, 2014, 11:2, pp. 61–89, (hereafter *Tan, Bands*), in particular pp. 69–71.

social milieu within which the bandsmen worked reveals a great deal about colonial culture's oppressive and corrosive forces upon their lives.<sup>10</sup> The information offered here from the daily press expands in two significant ways what was known in 2014, most especially in the area of the particulars of the bands' performance activities, and they also reveal the diversity of titles and composers of the hundreds of works that were played. These data categories seemed to be of primary importance for a follow-up study devoted to the public performance lives of these ensembles.



Figure 1. El Comercio, Issue 1, page 1.

<sup>10</sup> Tan, Bands, was a pioneering work, and it is particularly helpful as it gathered and synthesized previously known information on the work of Spanish regimental bands and also detailed the individual contributions of influential Filipino musicians. The importance of the role of the bands as institutions for music education is also discussed on pp. 64–65.

In 1869, Joaquín de Loyzaga, a Spanish entrepreneur living in Manila, launched his new, afternoon daily paper, *El Comercio*.<sup>11</sup> Three years later, in 1871, he expanded his editorial policy by adding a new column titled “Música.” “Música” reported some of the forthcoming performances of the seven Spanish regimental bands stationed in and around the capital. These columns were not advertisements, such as those purchased by Alfred Maugard in 1865. In actuality, they were public service announcements aimed at informing his Spanish–literate readers of the particulars of the free weekly public concerts played on the plazas and paseos of the city. ‘Música’ continued to appear in this daily until 1898. These notices turn out to be a veritable treasure chest of new, trustworthy information. They always include the concert date, location, and a list of the pieces to be played, plus many of the composers’ names. The transcription below is from one of the earliest of the Música entries from *El Comercio*.

14 January 1871, La del núm. 5 (regimental band) tocará mañana en el paseo de la luneta las piezas siguientes:

- 1.º Introducción del primer acto de la ópera *El Trovador*.
- 2.º Tanda de vals dedicada á la Exima. Sra. Condesa de Reus. [Francisca Agüero y González, 1ª duquesa de Prim, 2. Condesa de Agüero: México, born Puebla de los Ángeles 21.05.1821, died Madrid 12.02.1889]
- 3.º Dúo de tiples de Norma.
- 4.º La Rosita, habanera.
- 5.º Dúo de tiple y bajo de la ópera *Aroldo* [Verdi, 1857].
- 6.º Valses.<sup>12</sup>

A sample program from each of the 27 years, given in Table 1, provides a starting point for learning more about the music performed and the inestimable value of these brief columns for charting the extensive performance undertakings provided by the colonial government. The opportunity to know and examine the performers’ tools make it possible to reverse substantially the 20<sup>th</sup>-century vacuum that had obscured their artistic contribution to a significant segment of the public, professional concert life of the capital. This abundant data also permits us to learn about these ensembles’ values and goals by examining their activities and accomplishments. While the opportunity to study surviving music that might have been preserved in Manila’s libraries, archives and personal collections no longer exists, we now have reliable, chronological evidence upon which to initiate a research process devoted to the free performances of the seven bands. This introductory study is only an opening to a research project that will very likely continue for years.

<sup>11</sup> Two assessments of Loyzaga’s journalistic work can be seen in Trinidad Hermenegildo Pardo de Tavera, *Noticias sobre la imprenta y el grabado en Filipinas*, Madrid, 1893, Tipografía de los hijos de M. G. Hernández, pp. 42–43. See also Carson Taylor, *History of the Philippine Press*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1927, pp. 20–21.

<sup>12</sup> The transcriptions of the texts from *El Comercio* will be supplied as printed, except when an obvious error is detected or modern Spanish spelling or orthographic conventions have been imposed. There is considerable variation in the punctuation, the identifications of titles, and the spelling of composers’ names. Non-Spanish names are often spelled irregularly. Preserving the original ‘look’ of the listings was maintained when the information would not be misunderstood. For example, the name Johann Strauss is often missing the second ‘s’ in his last name. The listing of works also shows a great deal of variation in the spelling of titles. One consistent editorial intervention was made with the genres of opera, operetta, and zarzuela. Composer’s names not provided in the papers are added within closed brackets.

**Table 1.** Sample band programs for each of the years 1871–1898.

24 January 1871

Comercio

Música. Mañana por la noche, la banda de música del Regimiento No. 8 tocará en el paseo de la Luneta las piezas siguientes:

1. Final del 4.º acto de *Il Trovatore* [Verdi].
2. Vals.
3. Dúo de tiple y bajo de Aroldo, *La Tarantela* [Verdi].
4. Cuarteto de la ópera *Marta* [Flotow].

15 May 1872

Comercio

Música. La banda de música del Regimiento No. 3 tocará mañana en el paseo de la Luneta, las piezas siguientes: 1. Sinfonía de la ópera *Nabucodonosor* [Verdi].

2. Polka, Ebreá.
3. Terceto en el 2.º acto de la ópera *Hernani* [Verdi].
4. Molinero de Subiza, jota.
5. Danza.

2 July 1873

Comercio

Música. La banda del regimiento núm. 4, tocará mañana de 8 á 10 en el paseo de Magallanes, el siguiente programa:

1. Danza.
2. Aria de bajo de la ópera *Los dos fóscaari* [Verdi].
3. Vals, obligado de requinto.
4. Final del segundo acto de la ópera *Ana la prie* [Battista].
5. *La mujer feliz*, polca.
6. Gran final del primer acto de la *Hebreá* [Halevey or Apolloni?].

1874 [No papers survive.]

20 March 1875

Comercio

Música. Mañana habrá música en Magallanes. La banda de Artillería es la encargada de ejecutar el siguiente programa:

1. *Rigoletto*, introducción [Verdi].
- 2.º Julia, polka.
- 3.º Roberto, fantasía.
- 4.º Tanda de valeses de Gungl.
- 5.º Norma, casta-diva [Verdi].
- 6.º La declaración, habanera.

2 September 1876

Comercio

Música. La banda del núm. 6 ejecutará mañana de 6 á 8 en el paseo de la Luneta el siguiente programa:

1. Obertura de la ópera *Poete et Paysan* [Franz von Suppe].
2. Jota *El Molinero de Subiza* [Oudrid].
3. Final del 2.º acto de la ópera *Macbeth* [Verdi].
4. *Carolina*, vals polca.
5. Dúo de tenor y barítono en el primer acto de la ópera *Finto Stanislaio* [Verdi].
6. *La Mestiza*, danza.

La del núm. 4 ha elegido para tocará de 8 á 10 en el paseo de Magallanes las piezas siguientes:

1. Final 2.º de la ópera *Lucia de Lammermoor* [Donizetti].
2. *La flor de Lis*, polca mazurca.
3. Gran sinfonía de la ópera *La pardon de Ploermel* [Meyerbeer].
4. Entre-acto *El Danza des Bachantes*, de la ópera *Philemon* [Gounod].
5. Fantasía 1.ª de la ópera *Fausto* [Gounod].
6. *Venus*, danza.

8 May 1878,

Comercio

Música. Mañana, en la Luneta, la banda del núm. 6: 1.º Escena y gran final 2.º de la ópera *AIDA* [Verdi]. 2.º Salve en la zarzuela *EL MOLINERO DE SUBIZA* [Oudrid]. 3.º Terceto y cuarteto final del 2.º acto de la ópera *UN BALLO IN MASCHERA* [Verdi]. 4.º “Alfonsina,” polca mazurca. 5.º Dúo de tiple y tenor de la ópera *SEMIRAMIS* [Rossini]. 6.º Bolero brillante.

24 December 1879

Comercio

Música. Mañana habrá música en los paseos. He Aquí los programas:

Núm. 3 en la Luneta.

1. A Rossini, gran sinfonía, por Mercadante.
2. Vals polca.
3. Dúo de tiple y tenor de la ópera *Marta* [Flotow].
4. *Bien amados*, tanda, por E. Waldteufel.
5. Obertura de la ópera *Mignon* [Thomas].
6. *El gueta*, redova.

Artillería en Sta. Cruz.

1. *Jone*, sinfonía [Petrella].
2. Vals polca.
3. *Arlem*, gran fantasía.
4. *Wein weib und Gesang*, tanda de valeses [J. Strauss].
5. *Paragrapah*, obertura [von Suppé].
6. Parada turca.

6 November 1880

Comercio

Música. Mañana habrá música en los paseos. He aquí los programas:

--Artilería en la Luneta.—

1. Sinfonía.
2. Tanda de Rigodones.
3. Sinfonía de *La prova de una ópera seria* [Mazza].
4. *Le petit duc*, principales motivos de la obra [Charles Lecocq].
- Concertante final de *Poliuto* [Donizetti].
- Jota de sitio de Zaragoza.

--Núms. 5 y 7 en Magallanes.—

1. Sinfonía de la ópera *Juana de Arco* [Verdi].
2. Polka.
3. Introducción de la ópera *Los mártires* [Donizetti].
4. Danza por P. Castañeda.
5. Aria de barítono de la ópera *Las educandas de St. Denis*.
6. Mazurca.  
[Núm. 7]
1. *Gran marcha indiana* [Meyerbeer].
2. Vals.
3. Fantasía sobre *Nabuco* [Verdi].
4. *Las perteneras*.
5. Dúo de *Los diamantes de la corona* [Barbieri].
6. Mazurca.

18 January 1882

Comercio

Música. Luneta. La banda del n. 3 ejecutará en la Luneta esta noche el siguiente programa: Sinfonía de la ópera *Caballo de Bronce*, Auber. Los últimos cartuchos, polka. Gran dúo de tiple y tenor de la ópera *Hugonotes*, Meyerbeer. Vals de tiple en la zarzuela *Picio adán y compañía* [Mangiagalli]. 2.º Polonesa de concierto de Marqués. La velada de los Ángeles, mazurca.

21 July 1883

Diario

Música. La banda del regimiento de infantería Iberia núm. 2, ejecutará hoy en el paseo de la Luneta á las horas de costumbre, las piezas siguientes: 1.º "Los hijos de la costa," obertura [Marqués]. 2.º "Gambrinus," vals, por O. Metra [rare to give the composers' name]. 3.º SONÁMBULA, introducción, coro y cavatina del primero acto [Bellini]. 4.º Polca-mazurca. 5.º AFRICANA, gran marcha indiana (bailable) en el cuatro acto [Meyerbeer]. 6.º Danza.

17 July 1884

Comercio.

Música. La banda del regimiento infantería núm. 2, ejecutará mañana en el paseo de la Luneta el

siguiente programa: "Aves y flores," tanda de valsés. "La serenata" de Gounod. HUGONOTES, dúo de tiple y tenor en el acto 2.º. Meyerbeer. "Seguidillas del 1.er acto de la zarzuela PERIQUITO [Rubio]. A. R. DON SEBASTIÁN, dúo de tiple y barítono 3.er acto, Donizetti. Danza.

3 March 1885

Oceanía

Música. Esta tarde de 6 á 8, ejecutará la banda del regimiento infantería Iberia núm. 2, con el siguiente programa: Vals polca. CABALLO DE BRONCE, sinfonía; (Auber.) PICIO ADÁN Y COMP., zarzuela en un acto; (C. Mangiagalli.) "Carnaval de Manila," tanda de valsés; (J. R. de Cartagena.) LOS HIJOS DE LA COSTA, zarzuela; (Marqués.) Danza.

1 September 1886

Comercio

Música. Luneta. Programa de las piezas que mañana ejecutará la banda de Artilería en la Luneta, de seis y media á ocho de la noche: 1.º "Rienzi," gran marcha.--Wagner. 2.º Obertura de "Frá Diávolo."--Auber. 3.º "La June Marice," polonaise.--Douad. 4.º "La corte de Granada," fantasía.--Chappi. 5.º "Recuerdos de Biarritz," valsés.--Waldteufel. 6.º "Marcella," mazurca.--Villapol.

7 December 1887

Comercio

Música. Luneta. He aquí los programas que han de ejecutarse mañana y pasado en el paseo de la Luneta. Regimiento núm. 3. Sinfonía de la ópera *JONE*. Petrella. "L'Estasi," vals brillante. Preludio del tercer acto e la zarzuela *EL ANILLO DE HIERRO* [Marqués]. Gavota "Rosario". Matta. "Gran marcha de las Antorchas. Meybeer. "Rose Marguerite," tanda de valsés. Waldteufel. Regimiento núm. 7. "Sebastiana," polca. "Romántica," habanera. "Paragraph III," obertura [Suppé]. "Ecos de África," mazurca militar [Meyerbeer]. "El Regreso," escena lírica. Branca. Tanda de valsés. Waldteufel.

3 March 1888

Comercio

Música. Malecón. Música. La banda de Artilería ejecutará mañana en el Malecón el siguiente programa: TOMA DE MALAKOFF, fantasía. Deshayes. Malagueñas. N. N. RAIMOND, obertura. Thomas. *EL HERMANO BALTASAR*, gavota. Martín. *ANA BOLENA*, fantasía. Donizetti. *CANTOS DEL SOLDADO*, vales. Gung'l. MAZZANTINI, paso doble. Giménez.

25 September 1889

Comercio

Música banda del n. 6 ejecutará mañana en la Luneta el siguiente programa: Paso doble. Dúo de tiple y bajo de la ópera RIGOLETTO, Verdi. “Les Sibaritas,” polca de los matasanos: Cueca. “La Espereza,” mazurca: Soto.

19 May 1890

Comercio

Música. Luneta. El regiménto Joló n. 73 ha estrenado un bonito y alegórico romo para anunciar las piezas de música que ha de tocar su banda en los paseos. España, representada pro una matrona, á un lado; en el otro el escudo, bajo este una palmera y esparcidos por diferentes sitios instrumentos y papeles de música. He aquí el programa para mañana e la Luneta; 1. Paso-doble. 2. Sinfonía de la ópera “Cellina Parigi,” Lauro Rossi. “Chants d’himenée,” vales, Czibulka. 3. Gran marcha de los Antorchas, número 1, Meyerbeer. 4. “Viscaya,” zortzico, Zabala. 5. “Bocaccio,” polca.

6 February 1891

Comercio

Música. Luneta. La banda de Artillería ejecutará mañana en la Luneta el siguiente programa: “A todo vapor.” galop: Govaert. “Trovador,” miserere: Verdi. “Gorro frigio,” canción del trompeta: Nieto. “Barbero de Sevilla.” sinfonía: Rossini. Ave María: Mercadante. “Las Sirenas,” vales: Waldteufel.

31 January 1892

Comercio

Música En la Luneta. Á petición de varias personas, esta noche, la banda del Regimiento de línea n. 73, ejecutará el aquel paseo, entre otras piezas, la grandiosa y magistral sinfonía de Rienzi, de Wagner, que por primera vez interpretó dicha banda ha pocas noches en el mismo paseo bajo la acertada dirección de don Rosalío Silos. También por primera vez se ejecutará otra sinfonía no menos notable del maestro Massenet, titulada Redre, de la que hemos oído hacer elogios. Recomendamos al público aficionado concurra á la Luneta par oír tan magníficas producciones musicales.

2 May 1893

Comercio

Música. Luneta. La banda de Artillería ejecutará mañana en la Luneta, el siguiente programa: “Gorro Frigio,” americana: Nieto. “Roberto el diablo,” fantasía: Meyerbeer. “Hebé,” vales: Waldteufel. “Adagio cantábile,” septimino de Beethoven. “Garin,” sardana: Breton. “Chaleco blanco,” paso-doble: Chueca y Valverde.

10 March 1894

Comercio

Música Luneta. La banda de Artillería, ejecutará mañana en la Luneta las piezas siguientes. **“Peña Plata,” paso-doble: Estella.** “Macbeth,” final 3.º: Verdi. “Ave María,” de Mercadante. “Anillo de Hierro,” sinfonía: Marqués. “La Bruja,” jota: Chapí. “Pomone,” vales: Waldteufel.

25 May 1895

Comercio

Música. Exposición. En los jardines de la Exposición, ejecutará esta tarde la brillante banda de Artillería, el programa siguiente: “Hebé,” vales: Waldteufel. “Mefistófeles,” prólogo: Boito. Serenata de Gounod. “Africana,” 2.a fantasía: Meyerbeer. “Pas de quatre,” Estrella. “Victoria,” paso-doble: Escobes.

7 June 1896

Comercio

Música. Esta tarde, de 6 y media á 8, la banda de Artillería ejecutará en la Luneta el programa siguiente: “Il Profeta,” gran marcha: Meyerbeer. “Mutta di Portici,” sinfonía: Aubert. “La Dolores,” jota: Bretón. “I Maestri Cantoria,” escena III del acto 2.º: Wagner. **“Polaca de concierto,” Cantó. “Microbio,” paso-doble: Villapol.**

14 May 1897

Comercio

Música en la Luneta. La banda del Regimiento núm. 70 ejecutará mañana en la Luneta, el siguiente escogido programa: 1.º **“El Harense,” paso doble: D. López.** 2.º “Agiaco Cubano,” R. 3.º “La media noche,” fantasía (1.a vez): Cardini. 4.º “Gran Wals,” concertante de varias óperas. 5.º “Largo Assay,” obra 74: Haydn. 6.º **“Escobar,” paso-doble (1.a vez): D. López.**

25 February 1898

Comercio

Música Luneta. La banda del regimiento de Artillería ejecutará mañana, de 6 y media á 8 y media, de la noche, en la luneta, el siguiente programa: ¡PUN! ¡PUN!, galop: Benavent. GUZMÁN EL BUENO, prólogo: Bretón. IL GUITARRERO, VALSES: N. RETRETA AUSTRIACA, fantasía: Belá. MARIONET, marcha: Gounod. ESPAÑA, paso-doble: **Valdes.**

Although the list above consists of a small sample of the programs, some standard features found in the concerts can be discerned. Most presented six individual works from different genres. Arrangements from opera, operetta, and zarzuelas are the most numerous. Within those general categories, overtures, extended dramatic scenes from opera, memorable marches, and bandstrated arias and ensemble numbers for soloists appear. A wide range of individual dance forms are also regularly on the programs, some derived from opera and zarzuela plus a significant, additional group of stand-alone waltzes and rigodones, to name just two. Many programs conclude with a popular dance the pasodoble.

During this era, concerted music composed expressly for wind bands was rarely produced by most European composers or the composers who resided in Manila, European or native born. Music that began life as purely orchestral/instrumental numbers, such as overtures and marches, therefore received priority. Rossini's overture to the opera *William Tell* is a staple found throughout the entire period. Verdi's overture to *Aida*, Bellini's to *La Sonnambula*, Gounod's overture to *Faust*, and Mercadante's to the opera *La Vestale* are also presented.

It is also important to note that these concerts were offered year-round because of the mostly benign weather in Manila, except, of course, for the cancellations necessitated during the rainy season, which usually lasted from July to September. The two most-utilized concert venues, the Luneta and the Paseo de Magallanes bordered the Bay of Manila and the mouth of the Pasig River, respectively [See Map A below]. The evening breezes off the water in both places, even today, are a particularly welcome relief from the heat and humidity of the typical daytime hours. Both locations were readily accessible to residents, had a bandstand, and were provisioned with some small comforts of chairs and benches for audience seating, plus a limited number of street lamps.

Columns in *El Comercio* also note that many attendees also made their way to the concerts in horse-drawn carriages, but never provide the number of people. Though the pattern varies from week to week, concerts took place on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday during the hours 5:30–9:30 PM. Performances could feature one or two bands. As the decades wore on, concerts were given in additional locations, the Plaza de Santa Cruz and the Plaza de Goiti, to name two.<sup>13</sup> The high level of regularity of these performances marks a unique artistic accomplishment in public, urban music making at the close of the 19th century.

Loyzaga made another fortuitous change in *El Comercio* in 1885. A preexisting official military column titled *Parte militar* also began to name the regimental bands performing evening, outdoor concerts during a particular week. No musical works or composers were supplied. Never more than one sentence long, this new practice did bring about a substantial increase in the number of band concerts announced in this paper. For example, 62 concerts were listed for the year 1883 in "Música." Three years later, 126 performances were provided by both columns. This simple modification revealed almost 50% more performances in *Parte militar*. The full impact of this one change can be seen in Table 2.

<sup>13</sup> See Map A below on p. 84. Special thanks to Dr. Cecilia Gaposchkin, Dartmouth College for the excellent editorial additions made to chart the parade routes taken by the eight regimental bands and their corps de cornets on both Maps A and B.

**Table 2.** Annual total of concerts per year.\*

Year	Concerts
1871	25
1872	54
1873	49
[1874]	
1875	71
1876	27
1877	74
1878	42
1879	83
1880	85
1881	180
1882	4
1883	110
1884	31
1885	62 (“Parte militar”)
1886	126
1887	170
1888	213
1889	181
1890	173
1891	234
1892	220
1893	245
1894	123
1895	47
1896	50
1897	90
1898	14
<b>Total:</b>	<b>2775</b>
* Because there are losses from the annual runs of the newspapers, these totals are provisional.	

When taken altogether for 1871–1898, the ‘Música’ columns and the data from *Parte militar* provide evidence for at least 2,755 free concerts.<sup>14</sup> There are losses from the runs of *El Comercio*, so the totals offered must be considered an undercount. Again, coming to grips with the full implications of this number of concerts will take additional time to evaluate and understand.

Some essential features of the work entailed in the free concerts can be discerned. First, they functioned as one stable, public component of the governmental promotion of colonial domination. Though the performers in the regimental bands were all individuals of local descent, virtually no representation of indigenous peoples’ music was featured in concerts until after the 1896 Filipino Revolution. All performances were free and open to the public in highly accessible

<sup>14</sup> These totals are derived from the Excel database document “Master list of Military Band Performances,” found on the Dartmouth College Computer Center site: Spanish Music Project.

- <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d34w2r>
- Download: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d31597>

locations, the largest number offered by any body of professional performers in the second half of the 19th century. After 1880, these outdoor venues became more accessible because of a mass transit, streetcar [tranvía] system constructed throughout the capital.<sup>15</sup> The regularity of the concerts was based upon the ethic of discipline cultivated throughout the Spanish military. While in no way a complete listing of the titles featured in all of the concerts, the hundreds given in ‘Música’ columns provide a reasonably fair and accurate sample of the pieces that were heard. In fact, they offer the only surviving window today on the repertory itself. Given the sparse data published on the regimental bands in the dailies published before *El Comercio*, we must remain eternally grateful to Joaquin de Loyzaga for this unique documentation.

### OPERA AND ZARZUELA EXCERPTS FEATURED IN THE BAND CONCERTS

A second total, equally staggering as the working totals of the free performances themselves, involves the many European operas, operettas, and Spanish zarzuelas performed in band excerpt arrangements. For just these popular genres alone, at least 200 titles and their composers have been identified. [See Table 3]

This prominent place that European opera and zarzuela occupied in the “Música” listings demonstrates conclusively that these genres held a central position in the bands’ work and, by extension, a privileged place in the concert life of the capital. The temporal and geographical diversity of these works also make us aware of another critically important fact, the scope of the vast amounts of published band music existing in Manila at the end of the 19th century. The complete loss of this incredible body of printed scores and instrumental parts is deeply tragic. Though these gaps may never be fully filled in, fortunately, there are surviving collections of contemporary band music surviving in Spain.<sup>16</sup> There are 19<sup>th</sup>-century publisher catalogs that can be consulted to help future scholars recover relevant information on some of the parts and scores themselves. Now, this daunting hunt can begin in earnest.

<sup>15</sup> For information on the *tranvía* [street car] system in Manila, see *Guía oficial de Filipinas*, Manila, 1892, Tipo-Litográfica de Chofré y Compañía, 1892, pp. 106–114, 119, 121–122. Ridership increased from 423,695 passengers in 1887 to 4,850,278 in 1891. Two lines converged at the Plaza de Santa Cruz and the Plaza Goiti. Multiple tram stops were positioned close to the Paseo de Magallanes. See Map A.

<sup>16</sup> One locally printed catalog from a Manila music shop was published in 1887. See *La lira: catálogo de las obras musicales que se expenden en la casa editorial de música de A. S. del Valle*, Manila, 1887, Establecimiento Tipog. de Rarmírez y Giraudier, pp. 25–27. All of the 57 band titles available for sale there were performed in public concerts by one or more of the regimental bands. A total of five hundred titles for musical works of all kinds are listed, as are the names of 241 composers and arrangers. A transcription of this catalog is available on the Dartmouth College Computer site mentioned above under the title *La lira*.

- <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3wc79>
- Download: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3rp41>

See also Ricardo Fernández de la Torre, *Historia de la música militar de España*, Madrid, 2014, Ministerio de Defensa, pp. 309–343. Documentation on a wide range of titles performed by Spanish regimental bands during the years 1850–1890 is offered including some limited information on the Cuban and Philippine theaters of the Spanish American War.

**Table 3.** European opera, operetta, and zarzuelas presented in band arrangement by the regimental bands.<sup>17</sup>**Adam, Adolph**

- *Si yo fuera Rey*
- *Giralda, ou La nouvelle psyché*
- *Si, yo, fuera Rey, [Si j'étais roi]*

**Apolloni, Giuseppe**

- *L'ebreo*

**Arrieta, Emilio**

- *La Prova di un'Opera Seria*
- *Conquista de Granada*
- *El dominó azul*
- *Llamado y tropa*

**Auber, Daniel**

- *Fra Diavolo*
- *Les diamants de la couronne*
- *El caballo de bronce*
- *La muette de Portici*
- *Le domino noir*
- *Marco Spada*
- *Haydée ou Le secret*
- *Le Duc d'Olonne*

**Audran, Edmond**

- *La mascotte*

**Barbieri, Francisco**

- *Jugar con fuego*
- *La vuelta al mundo*
- *Los Diamantes de la corona*
- *Robinson*
- *Pan y toros*
- *La espada de Bernardo*
- *Mis dos mujeres*
- *El barberillo de Lavapiés*

**Battista, Vincenzo**

- *Anna la Prie*

**Bellini, Vincenzo**

- *La sonnambula*
- *Norma*
- *Il Puritani*
- *Il pirata*
- *Beatrice di tenda*
- *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*

**Bizet, George**

- *Carmen*

**Boito, Arrigo**

- *Mefistofele*

**Bretón, Tomás**

- *Guzmán el Bueno*
- *Garín, o L'eremeita di Montserrat*
- *La dolores*

**Caballero, Manuel**

- *El siglo que viene*
- *Las Nueve de la Noche*
- *La gallina ciega*
- *El salto del Pasiego*
- *Los sobrinos del Capitán Grant*
- *El primer día feliz*
- *La viejecita*
- *Guzmán el Bueno*
- *La Dolores*
- *Chateau Margaux*
- *La Regenta*
- *La Marsellesa*
- *Raymundo Lladó*

**Camprodon, Francisco**

- *¡Flor de un día!*

**Cereceda, Guillermo**

- *Pepe Hillo*
- *La espada de honor*
- *Hijos de Madrid*

**Chapí, Ruperto**

- *La czarina*
- *La leyenda del monje*
- *Las hijas del Zebedeo*
- *¡Las doce y media y serno!*
- *El tambor de granaderos*
- *La Bruja*
- *La tempestad*
- *La czarina*
- *La leyenda del monje*
- *Las hijas del Zebedeo*

**Chueca, Federico**

- *El chaleco blanco*
- *Estrella del Norte*
- *Gran via*
- *Las zapatillas*
- *El arca de Noé*
- *El Año pasado por agua*

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 14.

**Delibes, Léo**

- *Sylvia* [ballet.]
- *L'ebreo*
- *Lakmé*

**Donizetti, Gaetano**

- *Linda di Chamounix*
- *Maria di Rohan*
- *Don Sebastian*
- *La Favorita*
- *Les Martyrs*
- *Poliuto*
- *Lucrezia Borgia*
- *Marino Falier*
- *Lucia di lammermoor*
- *L'elisir d'amore*
- *Marino Falier*
- *Paulina y Poliuto: Los Martires*
- *Gianni de Parigi*
- *Anna Bolena*

**Flotow, Friedrich von**

- *Martha*

**Gaztambide, Joaquín**

- *Los magiares*
- *Una vieja*
- *El valle de Andorra*
- *Las astas del toro*
- *El Lancero*
- *Las hijas de Eva.*
- *El secreto de la Reina*
- *Amar sin conocer*

**Gounod, Charles**

- *Philémon et Baucis*
- *Faust*

**Grillet, Laurent**

- *Graciosa*

**Halevy, Fromental**

- *La Hebreá*

**Hernández, Isidoro**

- *Torear por lo fino*

**Jiménez, Jerónimo**

- *Las mujeres*

**Jiménez, Pablo**

- *Soledad jerezana*

**Lecocq, Charles**

- *La fille de Madame Angot*

• *Giroflé-Giroflá*

- *Le petit duc*

**Lisle, Claude Roquet de**

- *Marsellesa* [*La Marseillaise*]

**Maillart, Aimé**

- *Dragons de Villar*

**Mangiagalli, Carlos**

- *Picio, Adan, y compañía Final*

**Marchetti, Filippo**

- *Ruy Blas*

**Marqués, Miguel**

- *El anillo de hierro*
- *Los hijos de la Costa*
- *El plato del día*

**Mascagni, Pietro**

- *Cavalleria rusticana*
- *L'amico Fritz*

**Massenet, Jules**

- *Phèdre*

**Mazza, Giuseppe**

- *Campanone* [derived from *La prova d'un opera seria*].

**Mercadante, Saverio**

- *Dos Figaros*
- *Pelagio*
- *Ipermestra*
- *La Vestale*

**Mermet, Auguste**

- *Roland à Ronceveaux*

**Meyerbeer, Giacomo**

- *Dinorah* [originally *Le pardon de Ploëmel*].
- *Roberto el Diablo*
- *Les Huguenots*
- *L'étoile du nord*
- *L'Africaine*
- *Le prophète*
- *Le prophète*

**Montfort, Benito de**

- *La flor de Aragon*

**Nieto, Manuel**

- *Certamen nacional*
- *El Gran Tamerlano de Persia*
- *El gorro frigio*

**Offenbach, Jacques**

- *Le Grande-Duchesse de Gerlostein*
- *Los dioses de Olimpo*
- *Robinson Crusoe*
- *Barbe-bleue*
- *Madame l'archiduc*
- *Les Brigands*

**Oudrid, Cristóbal**

- *El Postillón de la Rioja*
- *La espada de Satanás*
- *Moreto*
- *Nadie se muere hasta que Dios quiere*
- *El molinero de Subiza*
- *Sitio de Zaragoza*
- *La paz*
- *Robinson*
- *Memorias de un estudiante*

**Pacini, Giovanni**

- *Medea*
- *Saffo*
- *Il saltimbanco*
- *Temistocle*
- *Amazilia*

**Pedrotti, Carlo**

- *Tutti in Maschera*

**Peri, Achille**

- *Giuditta*

**Petrella, Errico**

- *Jone*
- *Marco Visconti*

**Planquette, Robert**

- *Les cloches de Corneville*

**Poise, Jean**

- *La Surprise de l'amour*

**Ponchielli, Amilcare**

- *La Gioconda*

**Ricci, Luigi and Federico**

- *Crispino e la comare*

**Robaudi, Vincenzo**

- *La confidente*, [arrangement of *La prova d'un opera seria*, Mazza]

**Rogel, José**

- *El rey Midas*

**Rossi, Lauro**

- *Cellini a parigi*

**Rossini, Gioacchino**

- *Il barbieri di Siviglia*
- *La gazza ladra*
- *Guillermo Tell*
- *Semiramide*

**Suppé, Franz von**

- *Dichter und Bauer* [Poet and Peasant]
- *Paragraph III*, [overture]
- *Donna Juanita*
- *Isabella*
- *Boccaccio, oder der Prinz von Palermo*

**Thomas, Ambrose**

- *Raymond*
- *Mignon*

**Usiglio, Emilio**

- *Le educande di Sorrento*

**Valverde, Joaquín**

- *Niña pancha*,
- *Los cocineros*

**Verdi, Giuseppe**

- *Il Corsaro*
- *L'Assedio de Arlem*
- *L'italiana in Algeri*
- *I due Foscari*,
- *Giovanna d'Arco*
- *I Lombardi*
- *Un ballo in maschera*
- *I Vespri Siciliani*
- *Stiffelio*
- *Simon Boccanegra*
- *I masnadieri*
- *Luisa Miller*
- *Rigoletto*
- *Il finto Stanislao*
- *Macbeth*
- *Attila*

**Wagner, Richard**

- "I Maestri Cantoria," escena III del acto 2.º:
- *Rienzi*
- *Tannhäuser*
- *Der fliegende Holländer* [Barco fantasma]
- *Lohengrin*

**Weber, Carl Maria von**

- *Der Freischütz* • *Oberon*

At first glance, key facts stand out. There are at least 200 individual works in this group composed by 60 composers. The representation is distributed among composers from the five western countries, Spain, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. For comparison purposes, it can be pointed out that at least 66 European operas by 29 different composers received at least 548 fully staged performances in Manila from 1865–1897. Thirty-two operettas by eleven composers were presented in 50 theatrical presentations during the years 1878–1890.<sup>18</sup>

Unknown to current scholarship is the fact that the Spanish zarzuela made its first appearance on a Manila stage in Luis Olona's *El Duende*, on 22 February 1851, as reported in the *Diaro de Manila*. The number of zarzuelas continued to rise slowly during that decade. By 1860 zarzuelas were a staple genre performed complete or in excerpts in multiple theaters for the remainder of the century. While incomplete, the band data reveal that the directors sought to entertain their audiences by providing both programming diversity and continuity with other performing theater companies working in the capital.

While the calendric regularity of the free performances was derived from the ethic of military discipline, their very ubiquity may also have blunted the journalistic desire to comment on most of these performances. A general absence of reviews makes it difficult to judge the impact or the quality of most of the concerts. There are also very few descriptions of the size or makeup of the audiences that gathered. Nonetheless, free band presentations provided a durable and dependable cultural foundation for live music. Fortunately, there are some rare and well-described special moments when the regimental bands received particular attention in the press for outstanding, unique contributions to this thriving metropolis' celebratory and entertainment life. We turn now to an examination of some of these memorable undertakings.

### MASSED REGIMENTAL BAND MANEUVERS AND CELEBRATIONS

Turning to the dailies again, we can observe some unique moments when the regimental bands received special recognition for outstanding contributions to the capital's celebratory and entertainment life. Through the military's hierarchical command structure, they were tasked to commemorate special events held in honor of the Spanish monarchy. The opportunity to bring the seven bands together in one location created a one-of-a-kind, sonic monument, reminiscent of those prominent, honorific, royal sculptures erected in the city's main paseos and civic squares.

#### ***A gran retreta militar***

One of these events took place on Monday, 15 April 1878. The seven regimental bands undertook a *Gran Retreta Militar* to celebrate and honor King Alphonso XII's royal wedding to the

<sup>18</sup> "The Calendar of Opera Performances in Manila, 1865–1897" can be consulted on the Dartmouth College Computer Center site: Spanish Music Project. "The Calendar of Operetta Performances in Manila, 1878–1890" can also be consulted on that same site.

#### 1865–1897:

- <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3mw23>
- Download: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3h59k>

#### 1878–1888:

- <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3cc7n>
- Download: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d37p4c>

Princesa María de las Mercedes.<sup>19</sup> Though that wedding had occurred months earlier in Madrid on Wednesday, 23 January 1878, it must be recalled that even as late as 1878 international telegraph had not yet linked Manila with Europe. By the fastest ship, typical, state, communications between the capitals still required an absolute minimum of four to five weeks. The interval of three months that passed between the original wedding and Manila's festivities was probably considered a reasonable delay by the central government in Madrid. For this pivotal event for the monarch and the royal family's growth, the regimental bands were joined by an eighth band from the city of Cavite, located just south of Manila along the south shore of Manila Bay. This gathering was the most extensive collection of ensembles combined for a civic ceremony ever reported in the press. The account published in *El Comercio* states:

Monday, 15 April 1878, *El Comercio*

At six in the evening on the fifteenth, the seven regimental bands, and another from the city of Cavite, gathered inside the walled city. They exited [in formation] through the Royal Gate and marched to the parade ground known as the Campo de Bagumbayan. This [area] was located next to the principal bayside paseo of the city known as La Luneta, a popular location for many of the free evening regimental band concerts. Full military discipline was maintained during the procession to the Campo de Bagumbayan. The massed concert commenced, with five of the directors taking turns conducting an individual number.

Programa de las piezas que ejecutarán las músicas reunidas.

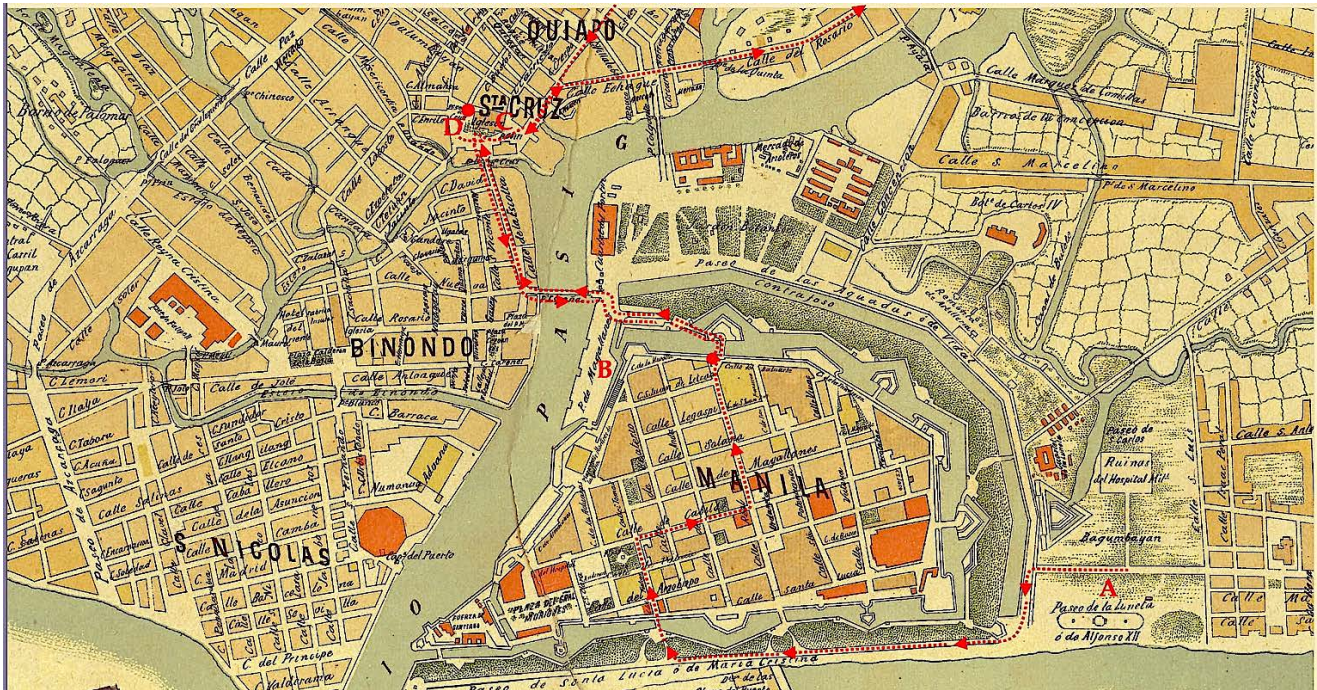
1. Gran fantasía de la ópera "Africana," Meyerbeer.  
"El hermoso Danubio," tanda de vales de Strauss.  
Cantares españoles, "Potpurri."  
Dirigidas por el músico mayor de Artillería.
2. Gran sinfonía de "Linda de Chamonix," Verdi.  
"Flora," mazurca, Strauss.  
Dirigidas por el músico mayor del Regimiento n. 2.
3. Gran marcha de "Aida," Verdi.  
Tanda de vales, Strauss.  
Dirigidas por el músico mayor al n. 3.
4. Gran marcha de "Le African," Meyerbeer.  
"Amazona," tanda de vales de Strauss.  
Dirigidas por el músico mayor del n. 4.
5. Sinfonía del "La Pardon de Ploërmel," Meyerbeer.  
Dirigidas por el músico mayor de. n. 6.
6. Una retreta para todas las bandas y cornetas tocaban paso dobles.

*El Comercio* continues with the following:

The Grand Retreat parade route [to the Royal Palace Malacañan] took the assembled regiments back through the Royal Gate, along selected streets in central Manila, and out of the walled city through the Parian Gate. They then crossed the Bridge of Spain [Puente de España] over the Pasig River."

<sup>19</sup> This marriage lasted until June 26, 1878, when Maria Mercedes died of typhus. See the details at this website: <https://www.madridiario.es/noticia/469502/efemerides/muere-maria-de-las-mercedes-de-orleans-y-borbon-cinco-meses-despues-de-casarse.html>.

**Map A.** *Plano de Manila y sus Arrables*, Francisco J. de Gamonedá; imp. lit. de Ramon Montes, Manila: original scale 1:10,000, 1898. University of Texas Libraries, Perry Castañeda Library, Map Collection.



**Legend.** The original city of Manila was walled by ca.1585. The walls are clearly visible in this 1898 map. The many buildings colored in orange are all military installations. The Bagumbayan Parade Ground, the starting location for this event, is located in the lower right corner of the map. The parade route followed by the massed regiments is plotted in red dashes and arrows moving into the city through the Royal Gate. After exiting the Parian Gate and crossing the Spanish Bridge, they arrived at the Plaza of Santa Cruz in the neighborhood of Binondo (See Figure A). The parade proceeded via Calle Echague toward Malacañan Palace (not depicted). The following sites for free regimental band concerts can be seen: Red-letter A: Paseo de La Luneta; B: Paseo de Magallanes; C: Plaza de Goiti; D: Plaza de Santa Cruz.



**Figure A.** *Puente de España* [The Spanish Bridge]. *Lithographies de Islas Filipinas*, 1859–60, Manila, Ramirez y Giraudier. In this 19<sup>th</sup>-century lithograph a military regiment marches in formation into the historic walled city of Manila.

**Map B.** Plano de Manila y sus Arrables, Francisco J. de Gamonedá; imp. lit. de Ramon Montes, Manila: original scale 1:10,000, 1898. University of Texas Libraries, Perry Castañeda Library, Map Collection.



**Legend.** The regimental bands marched from the Plaza de Santa Cruz toward Malacañan Palace via Calle Echague and others. Their return route [from the palace] follows the Calle de San Rafael to the Plaza of San Sebastián, through the neighborhood of Quiapo, past the Plaza of Santa Cruz, and back over the Bridge of Spain into the walled city. There the bands dispersed to their various barracks [orange-colored buildings].

The formal ceremony began after the collected regiments marched out of the city center to the parade ground known as the Campo de Bagumbayan. The massed concert featured ten works. The bandmasters of the Artillery Regiment, regiment numbers two, three, four, and six, conducted. Alas, these individuals were not named in the press account. The longer pieces, all well known, consisted of arrangements from operas, Meyerbeer's *La Africaine*, Donizetti's *Linda di Chamounix*, and Meyerbeer's *Le pardon de Ploërmel*.

After the concert concluded, the *Gran Retreta Militar* commenced out of the Bagumbayan, through the walled city out of the Parian Gate, and across the Spanish Bridge into the neighborhood of Quiapo. During the parade, the bands and the corps of cornets played unidentified pasodobles. As a particular point of interest, at least four of the regular, weekly concert sites utilized for the free concerts are identified on MAP A: the El Paseo de la Luneta (A), El Paseo de Magallanes (B), the Plaza de Santa Cruz (C) and the Plaza Goiti (D).

The impact of a celebration of this nature can be understood as an extended, moving pageant. Hundreds of bandsmen dressed in their formal uniforms, each led by a mounted squadron

flying their regimental flag passed through several important neighborhoods and their central, public, gathering places substantially expanding the opportunity for the citizens in these many neighborhoods to observe and also feel directly included in the celebrations for this Royal Marriage. The extraordinary power of massed music performance to elevate the human spirits and create a unique celebratory experience was a perfect tool to promote the important character of this royal event and reinforce the power of dynastic marriages for the survival and growth of the monarchy. The collective presence of so many Filipino bandsmen must have been very impressive.

### BIRTHDAY CEREMONIES FOR THE PRINCESS OF ASTURIAS, 1881

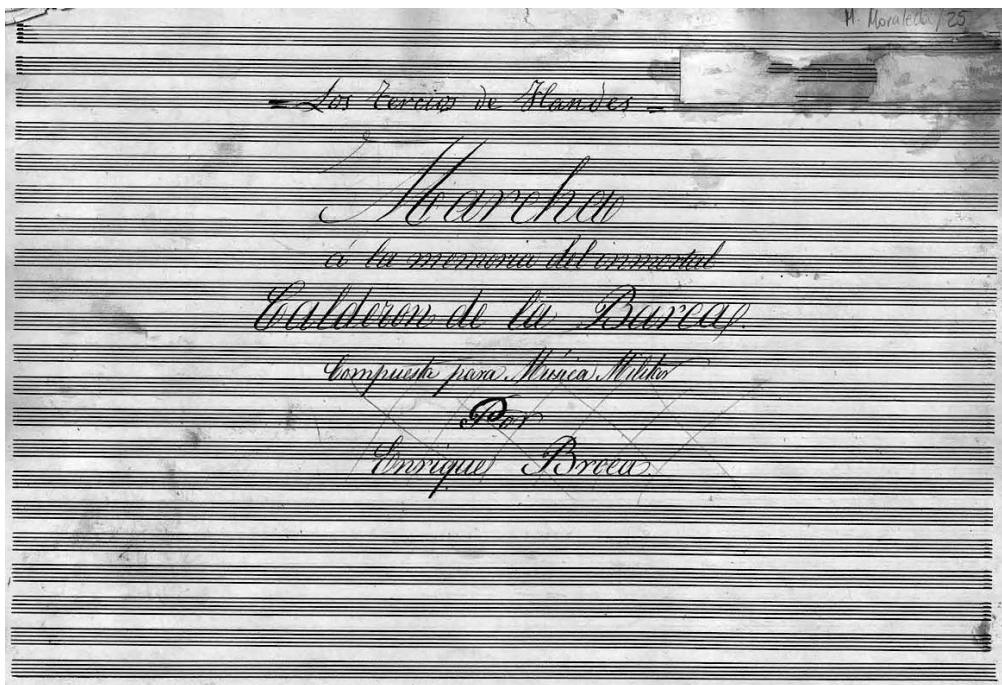
Less momentous state occasions, such as the annual celebrations of Royal Birthdays, were occasionally commemorated by the regimental bands' massed performances. On the morning of Sunday, 25 September 1881, the formal birthday celebration for the Princesa de Asturias, María de las Mercedes, began at 9 AM in the Manila Cathedral. Archbishop Pedro Payo y Piñero, O. P., presided. According to *El Comercio*, a solemn, orchestral Mass was sung, and a concerted *Te Deum* was performed at the end of the mass, both offering special thanks to God for the continuing good health of the Princess. Both unidentified musical works featured the Cathedral men and boy choir and orchestra conducted by Maestro Blas Echegoyen. All of the principal officials of the city attended, including the Governor-General, Fernando Prima de Rivera. That evening the birthday banquet took place in Malacañan Palace, also hosted by the Governor-General (See Photograph 1).



**Photograph 1.** Unidentified photograph of Malacañan Palace Boat Dock and Elevated Veranda (b. 1898).

The seven regimental bands were assembled in the Palace grounds in massed formation to perform an impressive, prize-winning march entitled “Los Tercios de Flandes” by Enrique Brea

before the interior ceremonies commenced (See Title Page below).<sup>20</sup> The *Músico mayor* of the Artillery regimental band, José Carreras, conducted.<sup>21</sup> This new composition had been featured at a special event in Madrid in 1880 when the Spanish capital's military regiments gathered to mark the dedication of the statue of Calderón de la Barca on the Plaza of Santa Ana, Madrid, dedicated to the famed poet and military man Pedro Calderón de la Barca. *El Comercio* noted that the performance of this march highly entertained the Governor and the distinguished members of the Manila Audencia, colonial officials, and other dignitaries. It appears to have been the capstone performance of a remarkable birthday party.



**Title Page.** “Marcha á la memoria del inmortal Calderón de la Barca compuesta para Música Militar por Enrique Breca.

<sup>20</sup> Enrique Breca, “Los Tercios de Flandes,” premiered in Madrid in 1880. The holographic score is held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, OCLC number 740313640.

This march was played for the 1880 inauguration of the monumental statue of de la Barca erected on the Plaza de Santa Ana in Madrid. The sculptor was Joan Figueras Vila. See Carlos Reyero, *MONUMENTALIZAR LA CAPITAL: LA ESCULTURA CONMEMORATIVO EN MADRID DURANTE EL SIGLO XIX*, Madrid, 1999, p. 46.

A brief discussion of the military retreat tradition can be found in Ricardo Fernández de la Torre, *Historia de la música Militar de España*, Madrid, 2014, Ministerio de Defensa, pp. 335–339.

<sup>21</sup> For biographical information on José Laureano Carreras y Roure (1848–1887) see *Diccionario de la música de España e hispanoamericano*, Madrid, 1991, vol. 3, p. 245. While little specific information appeared in *El Comercio* concerning the size and makeup of the audiences for the free concerts, these major events seem to have attracted large gatherings. Those few individuals mentioned by name or title are governmental officials and dignitaries. Again, without particulars, one can speculate that during the Gran Retreta, which passed through at least three major plazas within the neighborhoods, brought out large and diverse audiences.

Not at all coincidentally, the day before the birthday, the regimental bands appeared in mass formation on the paseo known as The Luneta, located just adjacent to the Campo de Bagumbayan, where the Gran Retreta had begun (see Map A). This expansive, civic prelude to the Princessa's birthday ceremonies also included all seven regimental bands. The numerous and distinguished audience included the Governor-General, the Archbishop, The General of the Marina, and the President of the Audiencia (city magistrates). The Grand March, *Los tercios de flandes* by Breca was played twice, with a fifteen-minute intermission taken between them. Some of the dignitaries made addresses to the large crowd, though the speakers were not identified.

These memorable contributions made by the regimental bands to Royal events, a wedding and a birthday, added a particularly European luster through the music and unique sonic monuments in honor of royalty's importance. While there were other annual occasions of state where one or more regimental bands participated, these two events were both the most complex and comprehensive of those written up in the press. They also were powerful reminders of the regimental bands' singular power to enact through spectacle the unquestioned importance of the hierarchy of colonial rule.

#### **A LANDMARK PAROCHIAL CONCERT SERIES**

Another regular feature of the reporting on the bands in *El Comercio* involved the printing of announcements for the forthcoming, local religious festivities of the larger parish churches scattered throughout the walled city and the expansive suburbs. In the midst of longer columns an individual regimental band, or perhaps two bands would perform on the feast day of a parish's patron saint. In the aggregate these performances further contributed to the musical life of the capital. Because these appearances take place irregularly, and *El Comercio* never identifies the music performed, it was difficult to generalize about their actual impact. Fortunately, we have substantial information about a series of seven concerts presented by the Artillery Regimental Band celebrating the feast of Immaculate Conception of Mary in 1883.

The historic parish church of St. Francis of Assisi, the first Franciscan church in Manila (1578), went to extraordinary lengths to commemorate the Novena and the feast. Beginning on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December and continuing until the 16<sup>th</sup>, this regimental band performed seven, consecutive evening concerts on the atrium of this 18<sup>th</sup>-century church (See Plate 4 below).



Plate 4. Saint Francis of Assisi Church, Manila, *El Oriente*, 31 July 1875.

Lest we think that these seven concerts comprised the entirety of the novena's celebratory activities, *El Comercio* informs us that the friars contracted some un-named professional bands to perform daily while processing throughout the streets immediately surrounding the church, both in the morning and afternoon hours. After each formal concert by the Artillery band from seven to ten PM, a professional fireworks display was released, lasting from 10 PM until Midnight. Because no other series of events of this diversity was ever described in the Manila press for a parish celebration, this musical triumph of the Artillery band calls out to be described in almost the same breath as the massed events discussed above.

**Table 4.** Concert programs for the seven concerts performed by the Artillery Regimental Band, St. Francis Church, Manila.

Performances on 10–16 December 1883, during the Novena for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

10 December 1883 [1]

- 1.º Obertura de la opera “Si yo fuera rey,” —A. Adam.
- 2.º “Le timbre d’argent,” vals venitienne—O. Metra.
- 3.º Fantasía de la opera “Rigoletto,”—G. Verdi.
- 4.º “Un día campestre,” polka,—José Pica.
- 5.º “Estephanie, gavotte,”—Czibulka.
- 6.º Jota.

11 December 1883 [2]

- 1.º Marcha de la zarzuela “El gran Tamorlan de Persia”—Nieto.
- 2.º “Le Tourbillon,” grande valse—Tito Mattei.
- 3.º “Une matinée, une après midi, une soirée á Viene,” obertura—Suppé.
- 4.º “Le reveil de la France,” quadrille.
- 5.º Entreacto et dance des bachantes de la opera “Philemon”—Gounod.
- 6.º Bonnebouche,” polka por Waldteufel.

12 December 1883 [3]

- 1.º EL CABALLO DE BRONCE, obertura. Auber.
- 2.º “Ferla de Alsacia,” polca. Domergue.
- 3.º Introducción de la ópera CARMEN. G. Bizet.
- 4.º “Tarantela, brindis y vito de la zarzuela ROBINSON. Barbieri.
- 5.º “Carmen,” polca mazurca. I. Massaguer.
- 6.º Terceto de LUCRECIA BORGIA. Donizetti.
- 7.º “Les cloches de Corneville,” valeses. Planquette.
- 8.º Jota y perteneras.

13 December 1883 [4]

- 1.º Overture sur opera “Les dragons de Villars—A. Maillart.
- 2.º “Sur le Bosphore: serenata oriental—Coard.
- 3.º Sinfonía de la opera “Marta”—Flotow.
- 4.º Cinco danzas: 1.a “Te vi, te Hablé y vencí;” 2.a Un beso nos dimos;” 3.a ¿Porque llorabas?; 4.a “¿Cuanto nos amábamos!;” 5.a “Nunca te olvidaré”—M. Puig.
- 5.º Fantasía de la opera “Un ballo in maschera”—G. Verdi.
- 6.º “O Schoner mail,” tanda de valeses—Strauss.
- 7.º “Marcha fúnebre á una marioneta”—Ch. Gounod.
- 8.º “Las Amazonas,” polka militar—Espino.

14 December 1883 [5]

- 1.º “La Giralda de Sevilla,” obertura—Adam.
- 2.º “Carmen,” polka mazurca, á la señorita D.a Carmen Lago—I. Massaguer.
- 3.º Fantasía de la opera “Sonámbula”—Bellini.
- 4.º Regenta.—Gavotte.
- 5.º Serenata, terceto y muerte de Valentín del 4.º acto de la opera “Faust”—Ch. Gounod.
- 6.º Vals y coro final del 2.º acto de la opera “Faust”—Ch. Gounod.
- 7.º Gran dúo del 4.º acto de la opera “Hugonotes”—G. Meyerbeer.
- 8.º “Turkische Schaarwache”—M. Gretry.

15 December 1883 [6]

- 1.º “Paragraph III,” obertura,—F. Suppé.
- 2.º “Le petite Mariée,” quadrille,—Lecoq.
- 3.º Fantasía 1.a de la ópera “Faust,”—Ch. Gounod.
- 4.º Gran marcha de la ópera “Aida.”—G. Verdi.
- 5.º “La corte de Granada,” fantasía morisca,—R. Chapí.
- 6.º “Golden mirthen,” tanda de valeses, “—Fahrbach.
- 7.º “Jota del sitio de Zaragoza.” Oudrid.

16 December 1883

- 1.º Obertura de la opera “Poete et poison,”—F. Suppé.
- 2.º “Le timbre d’argent, valse venetienne,”—C. Saint-Saëns.
- 3.º “La parada turca,”—Gretry.
- 4.º Dúo de tiple y tenor del 4.º acto e la opera “Hugonotes,” G. Meyerbeer.
- 5.º Introducción, (Stroje), le párlate d’amor, (Cavatina, Cual turbamiento in coro, Ch. Gounod.
- 6.º “Danse macabre,” Poeme symphonique, C. Saint Saïnes.
- 7.º “Le revile de la France,” Quadrille, Antoy Lamotte.

Excerpts from a total of fourteen operas and four zarzuelas were played. Ten of these were overtures. The Músico mayor, Laureano Carreras y Roure, conducted this unprecedented concert series featuring 34 different European composers and one Spanish Manila resident, Ignacio Massaguer y Campenye.<sup>22</sup> Massaguer's contribution, "*Carmen, Polca Mazurka I*," was a fantasy based upon Bizet's opera *Carmen*, further emphasizing opera's importance during this run of performances. The significant musical diversity could be viewed from one vantage point as a distilled microcosm of the broad repertory explored throughout the military band tradition itself. If this author's perusal of the dailies' data can be trusted, no band before or after this undertook this much music in such a compressed time frame. During those more than fourteen hours of music, the ambition and talent of the Músico mayor Carreras and the abilities of the bandsmen must have been tested to their very limits. Employing any criteria, this was an astonishing set of accomplishments. This series comprised a unique moment in the performance annals of the capital.

### THREE UNIQUE REGIMENTAL BAND PERFORMANCES IN MANILA'S THEATERS AND THE ROYAL PALACE

On three different occasions, a renowned European touring musical virtuosos led special events conducting members of the regimental bands in performances. The first, consisting of two concerts, occurred in the Sibacon Theater in 1855. The second took place in the gardens of Malacañan Palace in 1883. The last happened in the Teatro Zorilla in 1895.

The world-renowned French saxophone virtuoso, Ali-Ben Sou-Alle [Charles Jean Baptiste Soualle], who resided in Australia from 1853 to 1855, expanded his concertizing goals and traveled to Manila in late August or early September of 1855.<sup>23</sup> The local press does not provide his exact arrival date. It must have occurred with sufficient time to make the necessary arrangements before his first concert on Saturday, September 15th. While working in Australia, Soualle's concertizing habits found him billing himself as a virtuoso woodwind performer with an Arabic pedigree. He often appeared clad in appropriately exotic costumes (see Plate 5 below).

<sup>22</sup> For a recent biography of Ignacio Massaguer Campenye, see:

- <https://labellafilipinamassaguer.wordpress.com/biografia/>
- <https://www.philstar.com/entertainment/2020/10/25/2052008/tia-dely-magpayos-100th-birthday-la-bella-filipina>

<sup>23</sup> Soualle is a figure that has fascinated students of the saxophone. The website [adolphesax.com](http://adolphesax.com) published a biographical entry in 2008, which was unsigned.

- <https://www.adolphesax.com/index.php/es/actualidad/articulos/el-mecanico/365-adolphesax-the-saxofon-web/actualidad/articulos/compositores/245-biografia-ali-ben-sue-alle>

Soualle attended the Paris Conservatory of Music, winning a prize in 1844. He became a music director of French troops and later was in the orchestra of the Ópera Comica in Paris. He migrated to England, where he was the clarinetist in the Queen's Theater in London. This entry credits Soualle with improvements to the key system of the soprano saxophone. A recent website, *Australharmony—Ali-ben Sou Alle*, was authored in 2018 by Dr. Graeme Skinner. This valuable, ongoing study is devoted to documenting Soualle's travels throughout S. E. Asia and Australia. Skinner has also documented the presence of the British regimental bands in Australia in his study.

- <https://www.sydney.edu.au/paradisec/australharmony/>



Plate 5. [Ali-Ben Sou-Alle](#)

While in Melbourne, he often appeared in concert programs that regularly featured the participation of the 40th British Regimental band. This circumstance goes a long way toward explaining his desire to hire an ensemble of band musicians upon arriving in Manila. Typically, in his Melbourne performances, Soualle was one of several soloists, accompanied by piano or the regimental band. His Australian press reviews were generally very positive. Soualle's preferred instrument was the new and relatively unknown soprano saxophone, which he styled as the turcophono. It is suggested that he had modified it to enhance its expressivity. With his traveling companion, one Mr. Valere, they hired the Teatro Sibacon for two concert dates and contracted 120 regimental band members from the Artillery band and bands number six and seven.<sup>24</sup> Two MONSTER concerts, Soualle's billing name, were performed on 15 September and 13 October.

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<sup>24</sup> This theater had been built by the Spanish choreographer Antonio Appiani in the early 1850s. See Thomas C. Hernández, "The Emergence of Modern Drama in the Philippines, 1898–1912," PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1976, p. 61.

These undertakings were unique and just too important to omit from this narrative devoted to the regimental bands. Fortunately, they were advertised in another Manila daily paper, the *Boletín oficial*, and received two concert reviews of sorts (see Plate 6).

**CONCIERTO MONSTRUO**  
 DE  
 ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE  
 en el  
**TEATRO DE SIBACON.**  
 PARA HOY SABADO 15 DEL CORRIENTE.  
 Orquesta de ciento veinte músicos de las bandas de Artillería, núm. 6 y núm. 7, dirigida por  
 ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.  
 El cual tocará el nuevo *Turcophono*, con cuyo admirable instrumento obtuvo los mayores aplausos en París y Londres y el 1.º premio en la gran esposicion del año 1854, ante S. M. la Reina de Inglaterra y el jurado.  
 PARTE VOCAL=SEÑOR VALERE.  
*Aviso interesante.*  
 Visto lo largo del concierto romperá la orquesta á las 8 en punto:—Los billetes se venden en la Escolta en el Buen gusto y en Manila almacén de la Villa de Paris; desde las 3 de la tarde los billetes se hallarán en el despacho del mismo teatro.  
**PRECIO DE LAS LOCALIDADES:**  
 Galerías y lunetas 2 pesos.—Anfiteatro 6 reales

Plate 6. *Boletín oficial*, Friday, 14 September 1856.

Perhaps because this unprecedented performance by foreign performers was the first documented in the press to employ members of the regimental bands within a Manila theater, most especially in such a significantly large number, the advertisement perhaps can be forgiven for pointing to this feature and the unique instrument that Soualle would perform on, the *Turcophono*, instead of listing the individual titles of the pieces. To try to ascertain the details of the works presented, we can turn to a concert review published in the *Boletín oficial* from the 19th of September, Wednesday.

The unsigned column opens by noting the very positive press clippings that had preceded Soualle's arrival in Manila and his eminent reputation. A large, select, enthusiastic audience was assembled for the performance. At his admission, the journalist tells us he is not a trained musician, which explains why the opening number, an opera aria from *Lucrecia Borgia* [Gaetano Donizetti], is provided without composer attribution or the identification of the text that was sung. Of special importance for this study is the fact that his very next thought is to offer high praise for the indigenous bandsmen, especially for the quality of their musical response to the conducting of the formidable Soualle. The second piece was also an aria from the opera *Lucrezia Borgia*. Again, no

composer name or text cue is provided, a pattern he repeats for the last aria from the *Barber of Seville* [G. Rossini]. Mr. Valere's singing is described negatively. In fairness, it must be noted that no professional opera company had as yet visited Manila. That wouldn't happen for another decade in 1865. By contrast, Soualle's playing technique is described as brilliant. One could certainly have hoped for more specific information about the works he played. The story closes by repeating that the audience showed the highest enthusiasm for the performance.

The advertisement for Soualle's second concert appeared on Saturday, the thirteenth of October also in the *Boletín oficial*. It carried almost the same language as the first, with only some minor changes. Again, no indications are provided for what would be played. The review, published on Tuesday the sixteenth of October, reports first on the disappointingly small audience. An abundance of competing, dramatic events in the other theaters are offered as the explanation for the minimal crowd. No musical works are commented on, but Mr. Valere is now vigorously praised for his extensive vocal range and strong singing. Sadly, the bandsmen receive no mention.

Soualle's two mixed concert programs featured European opera excerpts by Mr. Valere, originally criticized but subsequently praised, and additional instrumental works conducted by Ali-Ben Soualle, though we never learn which were accompanied by the massed bands. Soualle was reputed to have played five instruments during the performances, but only the *turcophono* was explicitly named. Alas, the advertisements and the reviews leave many features of the performances without clear descriptions. The proposed third performance was abandoned, and Soualle and Mr. Valere departed Manila for Singapore. Again, that exact date is unknown. The Singapore newspaper *The Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce* places the two artists in that city on Tuesday, 13 November 1855.<sup>25</sup> On a positive note, one fond echo surviving from Soualle's brief time in Manila did appear in the form of his published musical work titled: *Souvenirs d'Australie y et de Manille*.<sup>26</sup> AliBen Soualle's unique moments of music making with the Manila regimental bandsmen did provide a brief but glowing first witness to the high quality of the performing skills of the Filipino bandsmen.

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<sup>25</sup> *The Straits Times*... can be consulted at this website:

<https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/BrowseNewspaper?nid=straitstimes>

<sup>26</sup> A modern edition of this work, edited by Paul Wehage, appeared in 2010, from the publisher Musik Fabrik, Lagny/Marne, France. This is available online at: <https://www.sheetmusicplus.com/title/ali-ben-sou-alle-souvenirs-d-australie-et-de-manille-for-soprano-saxophone-and-piano-digital-sheet-music/20405167>

## EDI REMENYI CONDUCTS AT MALACAÑAN PALACE 1886



*Edouard Remenyi, Musician,  
Litterateur, and Man*

Gwendolyn Kelley Hack, George Putnam Upton

**Plate 7.** *Edouard Remenyi, Musician, Litterateur, and Man*,  
Gwendolyn Kelley Hack and George Putnam Upton, eds.,  
Chicago, 1906, A. C. McClurg & Co.

Edi Remenyi's active Manila concertizing was regularly written up in *El Comercio* revealing that his reception by Manila's diverse audiences was robust, and that his teaching of young Filipino violinists was highly successful. During his stay, he presented ten grand concerts in the Teatro Español, and another four at two private girls' schools, another in a private social club, and the last in the governor's palace (see Plate 8 below). Come to find out, Manila was just one of many cities visited by Remenyi during his grand, three-year excursion throughout South East Asia.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The annual Excel database document for 1886, containing the listing of the many concerts given by Remenyi in Manila, can be consulted on Dartmouth College Computer Center: Spanish Music Project. "The calendar of *Ciro Cavalieri's Compañía de ópera italiana*"... can be consulted in the same location.

## 1886:

- <https://rcweb.dartmouth.edu/SummersW/footnotes/1886%20-%20El%20Comercio-PRIME,%20a.html>
- Download: <https://rcweb.dartmouth.edu/SummersW/footnotes/1886%20-%20El%20Comercio-PRIME,%20a.xlsx>

## CAVALIERI:

- <https://nzt.net/ark:/80373/d3vc70>
- Download: <https://nzt.net/ark:/80373/d3qp4q>

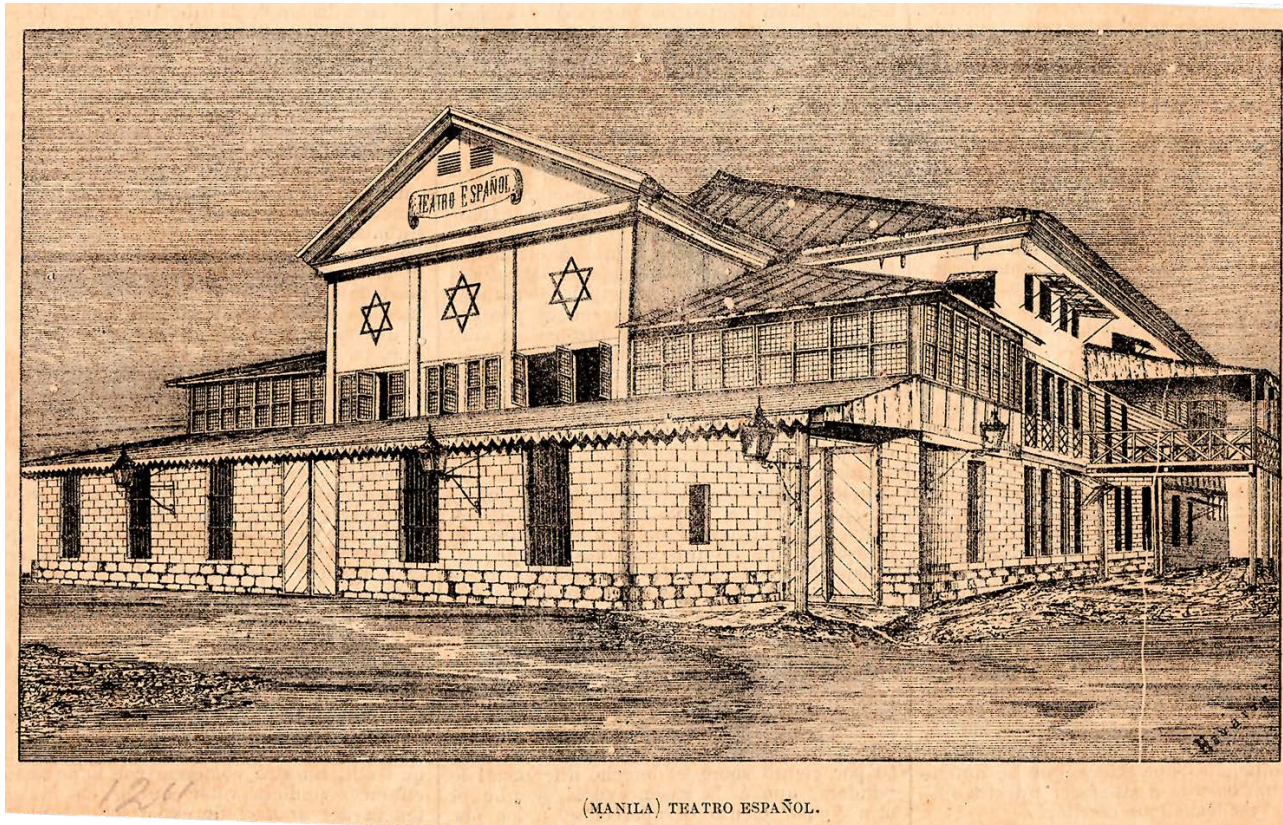


Plate 8. Teatro Español, *El Oriente*, 1876.

The Malacañan Palace performance took place on Thursday, 21 October 1886, organized by four of the Manila regimental bands, Artillery, Numbers 1, 6, and 7. As reported by *El Comercio*, Remenyi was invited to conduct the massed ensembles in an outdoor concert in the palace gardens (see Plate 9 below). Quite unusually, the Governor-General, Emilio Terrero y Perinat, opened this event to the public. Two hundred bandsmen performed. Each band, conducted by its own Músico mayor, played a work. Alas, only one of the conductors was identified, Teodoro Villapol. Maestro Remenyi conducted three of the four massed numbers.



**Plate 9.** Malacañan Palace, Boat Dock, Elevated Pavillion and Gardens. Anonymous, undated painting.

The first work played by the massed bands, the overture to the *La gran marcha de las Antorchas* by Giacomo Meyerbeer, was so enthusiastically applauded that the response forced Remenyi to promise the audience a repeat performance later in the program. Next came the overture to the opera *Robert le Diable* (Roberto el Diablo) by Meyerbeer, conducted by the Músico mayor, Teodoro Villapol. The third excerpt from Meyerbeer's opera *Les Huguenots* followed, but no conductor was named. Remenyi executed the encore and then closed the entire program by conducting "La Stella Confidente," by Vincenzo Roubaudi, in a band arrangement of this famous 1878 love song.

*El Comercio*  
21 October 1886

1. "La gran marcha de la Antorchas," Meyerbeer,
2. Overture, *Roberto el Diablo*, Meyerbeer, Regimental Band Number 6, Músico Mayor Villapol, conducting.
3. A scene from *Les Huguenots*, Meyerbeer, band and conductor not identified.
4. Number 1, for massed bands repeated.
5. "La Stela Confidente," V. Roubaudi [?], conducted by Remenyi.

During the interval that followed the works for massed bands, an award ceremony was presided over by the Governor-General. A highly esteemed Manileño, one Sr. Kartmann [again no first name is provided], was recognized for his significant and substantial contributions to the historic modernization of the regimental wind bands undertaken during the year 1851. Kartmann was honored for singlehandedly enlisting three Manila entrepreneurs Adolpho Roensch, Augusto

Elzinger, and Juan Agosto Guichard [& Sons], to obtain the most up-to-date band instruments available from the leading European manufacturers (A. Guichard's inventory of instruments available in 1851 can be seen in Table 5).

After this special recognition ceremony, the attendees were invited inside the Palace to hear Edi Remenyi and Isadore Luckstone, pianist, present additional works; unfortunately, the pieces are not identified in the newspaper. Though not stated expressly, there is some reason to conjecture that this unique event was set up by the Músico mayores of the participating bands through their respective regimental commanders to acknowledge both the quality of the bands and also to showcase a pivotal player in the history of the professionalization of the regimental bands in 1851, Sr. Kartmann. This was a fitting way to demonstrate gratitude for the early work of Mr. Kartmann by placing the spotlight upon the musical abilities of the contemporary bands, performing under the baton of one of Europe's most celebrated violinists, Edi Remenyi.

**Table 5.** Musical instruments for sale in the store owned by J. A. Guichard and Sons in Manila in 1851.

*Diario de Manila*, November 1, 1851

En la acreditada relojería joyería y almacén de efectos de D. J. A. Guichard é Hijos se hallan de venta instrumentos de música recién llegados, á los precios siguientes:

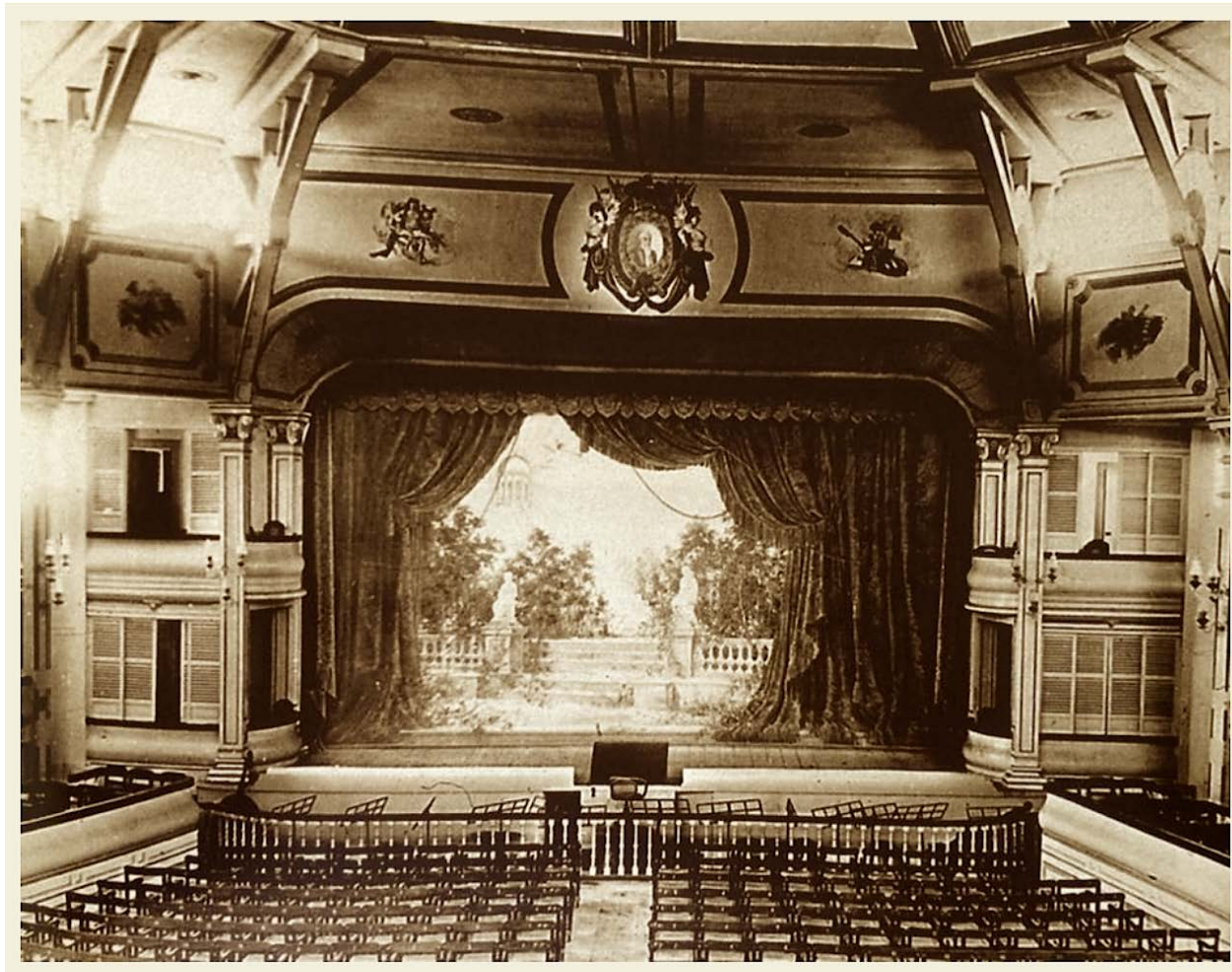
INSTRUMENTOS DE MADERA FINA.			
Clarinetes en si bemol.	7 llaves.....	Ps. 4	Se
Requintos.....	7 id.....	4	Fa
Clarinetes en si bemol.	7 id. virolas de márbol.....	6	Fi
Requintos.....	7 id..... id.....	6	Id
Clarinetes en si bemol.	7 id. montadas al aire.....	7	Fi
Requintos.....	7 id..... id..... id.....	7	Id
Clarinetes en si bemol.	10 id..... id..... id.....	10	Id
Requintos.....	10 id..... id..... id.....	10	Cl
Clarinetes en si bemol.	15 id..... id..... id.....	15	Ca
Requintos.....	15 id..... id..... id.....	15	Cl
Flautines de Box con bomba	1 llave de Laton.....	2	Bo
Id. de ébano bomba exterior	1 llave de plat.....	5	R
Id..... id..... id.....	5 llaves de plata y caja.....	8	Pl
Id..... id..... id.....	4 id. de platilla y caja.....	6	Id
Flautis de Box Bomba	5 llaves caja y cerradura.....	4	Cl
Id. de id. con il.	1 llave.....	2	Ca
Id. de ébano con 8 llaves de platilla	caja fina.....	12	
Id. de id. con 8 id. de plata fina	id.....	20	Se
Id. de id. con 10 llaves de nueva invencion	.....	56	Se
<i>Instrumentos de Laton.</i>			
Cornetas... de 7 llaves, en si bemol.....	.....	15	Id
Cornetines de 3 Pistones perfeccionados.....	.....	16	Bo
Id..... de 5 id.....	.....	15	B
Clarines de armonia con 5 Pistones.....	.....	15	N
Id. de id. derechos, con 7 tons.....	.....	10	Id
Trombones con campana movediza.....	.....	15	Bo

	Bulcenes con cabeza dorada, 7 posiciones.....	Fs. 18
4	Serpentones de si bemol.....	14
4	Fagotados.....	14
6	Figles Bajo en Do.....	25
6	Id. Requintado.....	20
7	Figles Bajo en si bemol.....	25
7	Id. en Do y si bemol con 11 llaves.....	27
0	Id. de id..... id..... 12 id.....	28
0	Clarinet con 5 Pistones.....	50
5	Cornetas de Infanteria la doce a 1s. 48, una.....	5
5	Clarinetes de Caballeria con sus tonos.....	8
2	Bombos con el casco de acero, armas españolas.....	25
5	Redoblantes il. il.....	16
8	Platillos de Constantinepla 15 pulgadas.....	50
6	Id. id. mas pequeños.....	12
4	Chinescos con adornos de cerda colorada de 1. <sup>a</sup> .....	20
2	Cajas de guerra con sus adherent-s 1. <sup>a</sup> superior.....	16
2	<i>Instrumentos de nueva invencion.</i>	
0	Sax-horns en si bemol (corneta de llaves).....	25
6	Saxotrombo ou Sax horn mi b tenor.....	26
	Sax-horns Boryten de 5 cilindros.....	52
5	Id. il. de 4 id.....	55
6	Bombardon contrabajo mi bemol.....	40
5	Bombardon contrabajo ut y si bemol.....	45
5	Neocor con cabeza dorada 5 cilindros.....	25
0	Id. con campana y tonos.....	20
5	Bombos de barrillas y torcillos (armas).....	40

3	Redoblantes de id. id. con id.....	Ps. 20
4	Clarinetes de la bemol agudo.....	12
4	Cornetines de 5 cilindros.....	16
5	Sax-horns en mi bemol soprano.....	15
0	<i>Instrumentos de cuerdas.</i>	
5	Violines muy buenos, cada uno con 2 arcos.....	5
7	Id. de primera id. id.....	6
8	Id. superiores con estuche id. id.....	10
0	Violas superiores.....	12
5	Violuchelles superiores estuche y 2 arcos.....	28
8	Pianos verticales de 5 cuerdas de 180 á.....	200
5	<i>Cilindros y organillos.</i>	
6	Cilindros de 4 tocatas españolas y extranjeras.....	15
0	Id. de 6 tocatas de 20 á.....	50
2	Id. de 8 id. de 50 á.....	55
0	Id. de 12..... de 40 á.....	50
6	Organos de caña con panderoa tocatas españolas y extranjeras de 55 á.....	50
5	N. B. aunque nuestro establecimiento en Paris haya logrado	
6	la notable rebaja que hacemos, y que procuraremos mejorar en lo	
2	sucesivo, en la fabricacion de los magnificos instrumentos que sur-	
5	ten nuestra casa de Manila, podemos asegurar que dichos instru-	
0	mentos son por su superioridad de los mas sobresalientes que pue-	
5	den construirse en Europa, y de los mismos que han sido admi-	
5	tidos para el servicio de los Regimientos de esta Capital.	
0	Guichard é Hijos.	

### OPERA AND A REGIMENTAL BAND

Last, but far from least, mention must be made of the appearance of the Artillery Regimental Band during four memorable performances of Richard Wagner's opera *Lohengrin*, mounted in the Teatro Zorrilla by a touring Italian opera company on Wednesday, July 31, Sunday, July 4, Thursday, July 8 and Saturday August 17, 1895 (see Plate 10).



**Plate 10.** Teatro Zorrilla, 1893, anonymous, permission to duplicate granted by the Lopez Museum, Manila.

Masterminded by the impresario, Ciro Cavalieri, this season's culminating presentations can only be described as the apotheosis of European opera cultivation in Spanish Manila. Unlike the other 23 operas, which Cavalieri presented in a rotating pattern of performances, Wagner was saved exclusively for the very last. The astonishing number of the musicians, dancers, and actors participating topped out at 118 individuals, among them being 80 instrumentalists, including 24 Artillery bandsmen. Wagner stipulated that the on-stage orchestra for *Lohengrin* include strings,

piccolo, triple flutes, clarinets, oboes, bassoons, English horn, bass clarinet, four horns, triple trumpets, trombones, and one tuba. The percussion were timpani, cymbals, triangle, and tambourine.<sup>28</sup> The Artillería bandmen were part of this on-stage ensemble. While we will never know the precise details of the contributions of the Artillery band, their presence completed the musical and dramatic impact of this opera upon the Manila audiences.

Lamentably, the only players not identified by name in *El Comercio's* write up were the *Regimiento de Artillería* players, a culminating slight to the perpetually faceless and nameless Filipino bandmen. *El Comercio's* Spanish music critic, Oscar Camps y Soler, who compiled the inventory, could not step quite far enough over the racist divide maintained in his paper to identify the regimental band players, even though the vast majority of the named orchestral players and chorus singers were known Filipino musicians.

**Table 6.** Performers list for Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin*[i], Manila 1895.

5 August 1895  
*El Comercio*

Oscar Camps y Soler, REVISTA MUSICAL

*Lohengrin*, Richard Wagner

Lohengrin:	Sr. Umberto Francesconi.
Elsa de Brabante:	Srta. Emilia Parodi.
Federico de Telramundo:	Sr. Antonio Puthod.
Enrico, Rey de Alemania:	Sr. Numa Giommi.
L'Araldo del Rey:	Sr. Luis Ferrajoli.
Ortruda Radbord:	Srta. Lucía Cavallini.
Godofredo hermano, de Elsa:	señorita Giulia Cinquegrani.
1.er paje de Elsa:	Srta. Chiara Cinquegrani.
2.º paje de Elsa:	Srta. Ernesta Cinquegrani.
1.er. paje de Ortruda:	Srta. Giulia Cinquegrani.
2.º Paje de Ortruda:	Srta. Agnese Cinquegrani.
Maestro concertatore é direttore.	Ciro Cavalieri
Maestros instructores de coros.	Caio Andreoli y José Estrella.
Pintor escenógrafo.	Roberto Ferrari.
Director de escena.	Gabriele Patierno.
Apuntado.	Guillermo Bocca.
[17]	

Coros.

Coristas: **sopranos y mezzo-sopranos** (8). Srtas. Giulia Chiapperini, María Socorro. Ersilia Vanniceli Sella, Patricia Natividad, Concepción Moya, Adela Frediani, Giuseppina Chiericothi, y Míguela Nena.

**Los tenores** (5). D. Balbino Carrión, D. Eugenio Chiapperini. D. Mariano Flores, D. Hermógenes Ilagan y D. Andrés Ciria.

**Los barítonos** (3). D. Eduardo Ciria, D. José Carrión y D. Santiago Manlapas.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Wagner, *Lohengrin, Romantische Oper in 3 Akten*, WWV 75, Klaus Döge and John Deathridge eds, Mainz, 2007, Schott Music, pp. x–xxi.

**Los bajos** (4). D. Carlo Pessina, don Prudencio González, D. Estanislao Espíritu, y D. Nicolás Mazzara.  
[20]

*Orquesta.*

**1.er violín concertino.** D. Guido Eckhardt.

**1.os violines** (10). D. Eugenio Tayag, D. Cayetano Sacob, D. Rafael Borja, D. Narciso Concepción, D. Pedro Gatmaitan, D. Antonio Custodio, don Juan Dimalanta, D. Guillermo Ortega, D. Pio Soriano y D. Venancio Reyes.

**2.os violines** (6). D. Guillermo Lisboa. D. Lino Flores, D. Gregorio Lisboa, D. Emiliano Rivera, D. Pablo Bigla y D. Juan S. Pedro.

**Violas** (4). D. Juan Tobías, D. Higinio Velázquez, D. Felipe Gaspar y D. Román Molauin.

**1.er violoncello.** D. Roberto Ferrari.

**Violoncellos** (2). D. Juan Antonio y D. León Vito.

**Contrabajos** (4). D. Venancio Tiller, D. Cecilio González. D. Manuel Adonay and D. Bartolo Natividad.  
[28 total strings]

**Fagotes** (3). D. Lorenzo Reyes, don Claro Marcelo y D. Ceferino Martínez.

**Flautas** (2). D. Alejandro Francisco. ¿

**Oboes** (2). D. Tibu[e,a]rcio Dan... y D. ... Toyag(?)

**Corno Inglés** (1). D. Juan Ca... as(?)

**Clarinetes** (4). D. Claudio Gonzáles, D. Francisco Ruiz, D. Benedicto de la Peña y D. Quintin Pulingtan.

**Clarinete bajo** (1). D. Félix Ledesma.

[13 woodwinds]

**Trompas** (4). D. Francisco M... (¿) D. Nemesio Terputo, D. Sagrundo (¿) Terputo, y D. Domingo Marceino.

**Cornetines** (4). D. Cosme Ramón, Don Faustin[o?] Bas.... D. Simeón Enriques y D. Basilio Su[a]milong.

**Trombones** (4) D. Francisco Lagui, D. Toroteo Vicente, D. José Aguilar y D. Mariano Sánchez.

[12 brass]

**Timbal.** D. Juan Santos.

**Bombo.** D. Andrés Barit.

[2 percussion]

**Músicos de Artillería en la escena,** 24 [no names].

81 Instrumentalists total

[118 total]

The accomplishments of the 1895 opera season were unprecedented and unsurpassed in Manila in the 19th century. Cavalieri had succeeded in performing twenty-four different operas over eighty performances in a season that stretched from Sunday, February 3rd to Saturday, August 17th. As mentioned above, his performing forces were the largest of all of the companies to play Manila. He was the first impresario to bring a professional ballet company to the capital, headed by the Italian choreographer Ercole Cinquegrani. Four of the nine dancers were himself, his two daughters, and one son. They formally re-introduced European ballet to Manila audiences forty-two years after Antonio Appiani had brought European ballet to Manila in 1853.<sup>29</sup> Without question, Cavalieri's cast members' critical reception was the most uniformly positive of the seventeen other European companies that visited between 1865 and 1897.

<sup>29</sup> See 19 October 1853, *Boletín oficial*, Appiani, choreographer, Dartmouth College Computer Center site: Spanish Music Project.

• <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3kw2s>

Cavalieri's strategic decision to save Richard Wagner exclusively for the final performances slowly built the audience's interest in *Lohengrin*. Even Oscar Camps y Soler, a confirmed anti-Wagnerian critic, contributed to this rising anticipation for a work and a composer never before heard on Manila's stages. Camps exhibited his concern aloud in *El Comercio*, speculating that the Cavalieri Company might prematurely complete their season with other audience-favorite operas before staging Wagner's highly challenging work.<sup>30</sup>

In the end, Camps published a ringing tribute describing the enthusiasm of the Manila audiences for Cavalieri's entire season, for Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin* and for the prima donna, Señorita Emilia Parodi, in a starring performance as Elsa de Brabante. He notes the extensive shower of flowers and doves that rained down on the stage, and also the lavish gifts presented to Parodi on closing night, her last benefit performance in the capital and the very last by the company.

6 August 1895

*El Comercio*

Revista Musical

Oscar Camps y Soler

... Antes de que nadie me tire de los cabezones vóime de *motu proprio* á hablar de la beneficiada y de los detalles de la noche.

La Srta. Emilia Parodi *prima donna assolutissima* de esta compañía de ópera italiana del Zorrilla ha tenido el buen acero de dedicar su *serata d' onore* á los señores von Móllendorf y por esto, por tratarse de una ópera de Wagner y por las simpatías con que cuenta en Manila la apreciable artista, el teatro se ha visto abarrotado de gente, la entrada general inclusive, en que estaban los espectadores apiñados como granos de uva en los racimos.

A la entrada del teatro había colgaduras y banderas de los colores nacionales de España, Italia y Alemania. La sala estaba engalanada con las acostumbradas colgaduras gualdas y rojas, con la novedad de haberse puesto en el antepecho del palco del General un busto al óleo del eminente maestro Wagner.

Ya, de haber hecho eso, podía haberse completado la delicada idea haciendo alternar también en la sala los colores nacionales con los alemanes y de haberse tocado por la orquesta, antes del preludeo del *Lohengrin*, la marcha nacional del imperio alemán.

La beneficiada se distinguió especialmente, como en la noche del estreno de esta ópera en la escena callada en que la interroga el rey, en la mística expresión con que cantó la hermosa melodía del sueño; se hizo notar en lo dramático de su actitud en el episodio de la llegada del caballero del cisne, en el arrebató de dicha de que mostró hallarse poseída al recibir á su campeón, triunfador en la mortal contienda.

<sup>30</sup> Oscar Camps y Soler took an active role in Madrid in the critical movement against Wagner's music during the years 1866–68. Camps contributions to the anti-Wagnerian discussions in Spain are detailed by José Ignacio Sobrino Sanchez in, "La recepción de la obra wagneriana en el Madrid decimonónico," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Oviedo, 2002, pp. 59–63, 106–7, 229, 240–246. Camps continued to be a critic of Wagner's music in Manila. See also *Diccionario de la música de España y latinoamericana*, vol. 2, pp. 1003–1004. These four performances of *Lohengrin* were actually his only live experiences of Wagner's operatic music after arriving in Manila in 1879.

En el segundo acto, delinee con pureza de estilo los delicados contornos de su romántico canto de amor. En el dúo con Ortruda—una de las páginas más inspiradas y más sentidas de la ópera—tanto ella como Lucía Cavallini alcanzaron momentos musicales y dramáticos, únicos.

En la escena muda del final de este acto, produjéronse ambas por so mímica, como se produce las grandes artistas...

En el primer intermedio recibió una entusiasta ovación al acabar de cantar en español el gracioso vals de Estrella “Los pájaros.” Hubo flores, papelitos converso y palomas para dar y tomar: no soso obscureció su persona pro la espesa andanada que de esas cosas llovieron en el escenario, sino que quedaron envueltos con ellos no pocos espectadores de as primeras filas y todos los músicos de la orquesta. Se repitió el vals después de llamado á la escena el autor en unión de la Parodi.

De los regalos que fueron le presentados en escena figuran:

Un cheque de \$200 del Sr. Cónsul alemán y del Club Unión;

1 sortija de oro, con un solitario;

1 precioso espejo de tres lunas con marcos de nácar;

1 estuche de cubiertos, de plata;

1 collar de oro, con medallón firma corazón y en él en brillantes, la letra E., dedicado á *Elsa*;

1 elegante abanico de encaje;

1 elegante trae de *surah* ye encajes, y 5 hermosas *corbeilles* de flores adoradas con cintas de seda.

El vals cantado anoche forma parte de la música de una zarzuela inédita del Profesor D. José Estrella que se titula *El Santo de la niña* con letra de los señores Abbad y Carvajal (D. Luis).

... Anoche, después de terminar el espectáculo, hizo el público una ovación entusiasta á los artistas y á Cavalieri, llamándose tres veces á los honores de la escena.

Cavalieri, along with a strong cast, chorus, actors, and dancers, also assembled an instrumental ensemble of the finest Filipino musicians in Manila, including the Artillería bandmen. Shockingly, one year after this company’s triumphant season closed, Manila’s civic life was set on a menacing trajectory in August of 1896, by the outbreak of the first organized and deadly revolt by Filipinos to terminate Spanish colonial rule.

### THE FILIPINO REVOLUTION

On Wednesday, September 23, 1896, in the port city of Cavite south of Manila, a sizeable group of indigenous military personnel rose up against the Spanish military garrison. A priest, a justice of the peace, and an assistant were murdered (*El Comercio*). A wave of police investigations was launched throughout the capital region, searching for suspected collaborators with the rebellion. This essay certainly is not the place to recount this complex story’s details, mainly because there are some competing iterations of the historical record.<sup>31</sup> Sticking to the descriptions given in *El Comercio*, a decidedly partisan, colonial voice, the response on the part of the regimental wind ensembles was their immediate public resistance to this menace, no doubt following the orders issued by the Spanish military leadership. The most visible, outward sign came in the free concert repertory. A

<sup>31</sup> For a popular account of the revolution still current today, see Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, *History of the Filipino People*, Manila, 1969, Malaya Books.

new focus was placed on playing pieces highlighting Spanish patriotic subjects, patriotic battles, and nostalgic topics from the Spanish motherland. We will return to some of these pieces below.<sup>32</sup>

Another of the Spanish military's invidious strategic responses to the rebellion was to create a new, Manila military regiment named *El Batallón de leales voluntarios de Manila*. We learn of its existence first, surprisingly, from a notice in *El Comercio* offering thanks to the Spanish Músico mayor of the Artillería band Leopoldo Villapol on Monday, October 12, 1896. The day before, he had presented a copy of his most recent music composition titled *Himno de los voluntarios* to *El Comercio*, for which the editor thanked him. This hymn was eventually premiered on January 29, 1897, in a concert performed by the Artillería band, conducted by Villapol himself.

With the creation of a new regiment, a band was assembled. The number of military bands in Manila rose to eight. This new company was intended to visibly demonstrate to the urban population that a large body of indigenous men had sworn their loyalty to the Mother Country and the Crown. It was also a not-at-all-subtle propaganda device to foreground indigenous heritage men enlisting to engage directly in the military conflict to protect the capital against their rebellious countrymen. As one might expect, under these precarious circumstances, the leadership of the new band was awarded successively to two Spaniards. On December 14, 1896, *El Comercio* identified Sr. Rafael Comas Arteta as the Músico mayor. Five months later, Sr. Francisco Barbat took over the leadership on May 4, 1897. Comas is more than likely the Spanish officer seated fourth from the right side in the second, full row in the photograph below. This image is the only photograph we have of a Manila regimental band at this point in history. Nevertheless, this lone plate provides some crucial points of information about this ensemble.

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<sup>32</sup> The impact of the revolution on the activities of the public, professional arts performance scene is significant and chilling. After fighting began on August 23, 1896 (first notice in *El Comercio* on August 29, 1896), no advertisements or notices appear in *El Comercio* for presentations by the Tagalog Theater companies, both the adult and youth companies. The Spanish language theater performances were reduced in number, and before the Peace Treaty was signed on December 27, the final European opera troupe, headed by Adela Agresti, had offered the last 26 performances of fifteen different European operas from March 30 to July 3, 1897. "The 1897 Calendar of the Agresti Italian Opera Company" can be consulted at Dartmouth College Computer Center site: Spanish Music Project. Cinema also made its first appearance in Manila on January 4, 1897, *El Comercio*. The complete annual database documents of *El Comercio* for 1886–1898 can be consulted on the same site.

- <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3g598>
- Download: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d3bc7b>



**Plate 11.** La banda de música del Batallón de Leales Voluntarios de Manila, 1896.

The 1896 original of this print resides today in the collection of the Instituto de Historia y Cultura Militar, in Madrid. It was first published in 2014 by Ricardo Fernández de Latorre.<sup>33</sup> This image appears to be a professional photograph, more than likely taken by one of several photographers advertising their services in *El Comercio* in 1896. Forty-two individuals are pictured in uniform, seated, and standing in five rows. While all of the players' instruments cannot be seen, in the front row, we find two side drums. Just behind them in the second row, reading from left to right, we see two flugelhorns, five cornetines and two Eb horns. In the third row, again reading from left to right, we see a bass drum, four valved trombones, the *Músico mayor* Rafael Comas Arteta, and one Bb baritone horn. Comas appears to wear an officer's hat and does not have the epaulets worn by the enlisted bandsmen. He is the only person not of Filipino descent. Again reading from left to right, we find cymbals, seven clarinets, and two flutes in the fourth row. In row five, two bass tubas (only their bell openings are visible) and four saxophones, two tenor and two alto, are pictured. In the absence of additional visual evidence for comparisons, this ensemble is probably typical for the times in several ways.

Some of the performances given by the Voluntarios band after their founding are noted by *El Comercio* and are collected in Table 7. There is every reason to believe that this total is an undercount. This new ensemble stepped into the eight regiments' performance schedule on Tuesday, 8 December 1896. This first appearance took place during the festivities for the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. They continued to present public performances until Friday, 18 March 1898, the last month that issues of *El Comercio* survive.

<sup>33</sup> See Ricardo Fernández de la Torre, *Historia de la música militar de España*, Madrid, 2014, Ministerio de Defensa, p. 330.

**Table 7.** Documented performances by the Batallón de los Voluntarios performance dates, 1896–1898. [These data are derived from the longer Table 8 given below which lists all of the performances made by the eight regimental bands.]

- 7 DEC 1896, EL COMERCIO, Feast of the Immaculate Concepcion.
- 11 DEC 1896, EL COMERCIO, del Gobernador general de este archipiélago al Excelentísimo Sr. Teniente general D. Camilo García, Polavieja, Marqués de Polavieja
- 14 DEC 1896, EL COMERCIO. Obsequio de los Voluntarios. Lanzada la idea, un grupo del batallón de Voluntarios la acogió con verdadero entusiasmo y dados todos los pasos en la tarde de ayer, á las ocho de la noche hallábase congregada en la calle de Palacio, frente al Palacio de Sta. Potenciana, la banda del batallón con objeto de tributar una serenata al Excmo. Sr. General Polvieja, nuevo Gobernador general de las islas.
- 4 JAN 1897, EL COMERCIO. En Teatro Zorrilla. Han empezado en el teatro Zorrilla, por la nueva compañía, los ensayos de la zarzuelas CÁDIZ, EL CAPITÁN DE LANCEROS y LOS ALOJADOS . La función inaugural, como dijimos á beneficio de los heridos y familias de los muertos que resulten de las operaciones contra los rebeldes, se verificará el sábado de la semana actual ó el martes de la siguiente. Amenizará ese espectáculo la banda de batallón de voluntarios.
- 21 JUNE 1897, EL COMERCIO. La fiesta del Santo Niño en Tondo.
- 28 JUNE 1897, EL COMERCIO. En honor del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús. Á las seis de la tarde salió...una lucida procesión... Una sección de caballería y un piquete de artillería daban guardia de honor en la misma y las músicas de este cuerpo, del de voluntarios y otras del pueblo también asistieron....
- 16 NOV 1897 EL COMERCIO. La música de los Voluntarios. En el sitio de costumbre publicamos un anuncio del batallón de leales voluntarios de Manila abriendo un concurso para la provisión de plaza con objeto de organizar la banda de música del batallón.
- 7 JAN 1898, EL COMERCIO En Sampaloc. Ayer como último día de la fiesta que venia celebrando el arrabal de Sampaloc fue extraordinaria la concurrencia al mismo.... La procesión de la tarde estuvo muy concurrida;... Asistieron á la procesión siete bandas de música, además de los voluntarios, y la de la Artillería que cerraba la procesión....
- 18 MAR 1898, EL COMERCIO, Música, Luneta. La Banda de Voluntarios ejecutará mañana en la Luneta el siguiente programa: MERCEDES, mazurca: Nosky. LA SONRISA, polca: N. LA AFRICANA, marcha indiana: Meyerbeer. LOHENGRIN, [Preludio de?] 2.º acto: Wagner. MI REINA, tanda de vals: Gootte. LA CZARINA, paso-doble: Chapí.

Returning our focus back onto all of the bands and the year and a quarter that the revolution lasted, from the fall of 1896 to late December 1897, we can observe apparent changes in all of the bands' performance habits. Taking a long view of the complete list of concerts in Table 8, we encounter a heretofore, unprecedented number of locally composed works featured during the free evening concerts. Individual, Spanish *Músico mayores* mostly penned these. The titles highlight memorable regional, successful military battles, such as those to capture the Muslim region of the island of Jolo and the town of that name in 1876.<sup>34</sup> Another work celebrates the successful

<sup>34</sup> A formal ball celebrating the victory of the Spanish military campaign led by Governor-General José Malcampo y Monge against the Muslim pirates in the city of Jolo on the island of the same name was held on January 18, 1876, in the

launching of steam rail service in the Philippines, a milestone Spanish engineering accomplishment.<sup>35</sup> Another carries the title of (the Spanish) “Sword of Honor,” while yet another celebrates the beauty of Spanish women. Loyalty to the (Spanish) Flag is expressed through music, and a work in honor of the Governor-General, the First Maquess of Peña Plata, was presented. Every month, four to six of these pieces were listed in the column “Musica.” Put simply, the regimental bands now took up the task of the war effort in the form of music as public propaganda supporting the crown against the rebellion. What a tricky and challenging position the revolution must have placed the Filipino bandsmen in, both within their extended families and also as they were forced to function under both the suspicious oversight of the Spanish military command and the civil police. Life for them had to have been perpetually dangerous.

**Table 8.** August 1896–March 1898, Calendar of Works by Local Composers played in Regimental Band concerts.

### 1896

- 24 August 1896, “Joló,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.
- 7 September 1896, “Blanco y Negro,” pas á quatre, Teodoro Villapol.
- 19 September 1896, “Ferro–carril,” Gran Potpourri, Damián López.
- 22 September 1896, “De Sevilla á Manila,” paso–doble, Villapol.
- 23 September 1896, “El asalto,” paso–doble, Damián López.
- 5 October 1896, “La espada de honor,” paso–doble, Damián López.
- 5 October 1896, “A las bellas españolas,” tanda de danzas, Damián López.
- 12 October 1896, “Himno de los voluntarios.” [El distinguido director de la banda de Artillería D. Teodoro Villapol nos ha dedicado un ejemplar del himno que ha compuesto dedicado á los leales Voluntarios de Manila. Mucho le agradecemos su obsequio.]
- 15 October 1896, “Juan Palomo,” Damián López.
- 15 October 1896, “Patria,” paso–doble military, Damián López.
- 21 October 1896, “Ripoll,” paso–doble military, Damián López.
- 21 October 1896, “Ecos de Andalucía,” fantasia, DamiánLópez.
- 24 October 1896, “Colonia Gaditana,” (1.a vez), Damián López.
- 24 October 1896, “El Ferro–carril,” potpourri, Damián López.
- 24 October 1896, “Patria,” marcha militar, Damián López.
- 11 November 1886, “Presentación,” polca, Damián López.
- 12 November 1886, “Luzón,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.
- 18 November 1886, “Cuba española,” paso–doble, Theodoro Villapol.
- 19 November 1886, “Lola,” tanda de vales, Damián López.
- 21 November 1886, “El andaluz,” paso doble (primera vez), Damián López.
- 27 November 1886, “Cantos infantiles,” fantasia, Teodoro Villapol.
- 2 December 1896, “Por la Bandera,” paso–doble, Blas Echevoyen.
- 10 December 1896, López, “Gloria á las Mujeres,” Damián López.
- 10 December 1896, “El marinero,” paso doble (1.a vez): Damián López.
- 14 December 1896, “Polca,” Rafael Comas, Músico mayor de la banda de Los Voluntarios. [This concert was in honor of the new Governor–General, Sr. General Camilo Polvieja.]
- 18 December 1896, “La noche buena en Madrid,” Damián López.

*Círculo hispano recreativo de Manila.* A Lithograph, published in *El Oriente*, February 15, 1876, depicts the ball. This image can be seen in Dartmouth College Dartmouth College Computer Center site: Spanish Music Project, in the file All Captures, *El Oriente*, 1876: <https://n2t.net/ark:/80373/d36p42>

<sup>35</sup> See *Guía oficial de Filipinas: 1892*, Manila, Chofré y Compañía, pp. 119–121. The rail line ran 115 kilometers from Manila north to the town of Dagupan.

- 19 December 1896, “Peña–Plata,” paso–doble, José Estella. [In honor of the Governor–General Sr. Marqués de Peña–Plata, (Ramó Blanco y Erenas).  
 20 December 1896, “Patria,” pasos–doble militar, Damián López.  
 22 December 1896, “Madrileño,” tango, Damián López.

### 1897

- 9 January 1897 “Ripoll,” paso doble militar, Damián López.  
 12 January 1897, “Campo Grande,” paso–doble primera vez, Damián López?  
 14 January 1897, “Luchar por la patria,” D.a Ánteles Gardyn. [... dicha composición musical es debida á la Srta D.a Ánteles Gardyn, alumna del inteligente profesor Damián López.]  
 15 January 1897, “El asalto,” paso–doble, D. López.  
 27 January, 1897, “Viva la Reina,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 29 January 1897, “Voluntarios ¡Viva España!, himno, Villapol.  
 1 February 1897, “Microbio,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 4 February 1887, “Doble Águila, paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 16 February, “Cuba española,” paso–doble, Villapol.  
 20 February, “Patria,” paso–doble militar: Damián López.  
 23 February, “Un viaje de incognito,” Damián López.  
 25 February, “De Sevilla á Manila,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 13 March 1897, “Matilde,” mazorca (1.a vez), Damián López.  
 13 March 1897, “Saludo á Bilbao, “ paso–doble (1.a vez), Damián López.  
 28 March 1897, “España,” paso–doble, Ramón Valdés.  
 2 April, 1897, “España,” paso–doble: Ramón Valdés.  
 19 April 1897, “Cantos infantiles,” fantasia, Teodoro Villapol.  
 19 April 1897, “Mariveles,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 22 April 1897, “Aguas Santas,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 4 May 1897, **Francisco Barbat**, Músico mayor, Ha sido nombrado músico mayor de la banda del batallón de voluntarios de Manila. [D. Francisco Barbat, que ya es conocido de este publico pues fue director de orquesta con la última compañía de zarzuela que actuó en el teatro Zorrilla.]  
 4 May 1897, “Moro–moro,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 14 May 1897, “El Harense,” paso doble, Damián López.  
 14 May 1897, “Escobar,” paso–doble (1.a vez), Damián López.  
 19 May 1897, “Cuba española,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 30 May 1897, “Peninsulares á Filipinas” (1.a vez), Damián López.  
 30 May 1897, “De todo un poco,” pout–pourri, Damián López.  
 3 June 1897, “Bicicleta Sport,” galop, por Teodoro Villapol.  
 3 June 1897, “Printemps,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 18 June 1887, “Recuerdos de Roma,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 9 July, 1897, “Blanco y negro,” pas de quatre, por Teodoro Villapol.  
 24 July 1897, “La cruz roja de mérito militar,” paso–doble, por Vicente Formentos.  
 2 August 1897, “España,” paso–doble, por Ramón Valdés.  
 18 August 1897, “La cruz roja de mérito militar,” paso–doble por Vicente Formentos.  
 23 August 1897, “Por España,” marcha, Ignacio Massaguer.  
 23 August 1897, “Iboleón,” paso–doble: Antonio García.  
 15 September 1897, **Sr. Francisco de P. Barbat**. [Sabemos que ha sido nombrado Músico mayor del Batallón de Voluntarios el inteligente profesor señor Barbat. En veámosla nuestra enhorabuena.]  
 22 September 1897, “El 73,” marcha militar, Antonio García.  
 14 October, 1897, “Microbio,” paso–doble, Villapol.  
 23 October, 1897, “Ripoll,” paso–doble, Damián López.  
 23 October 1897, “Á la Guerrilla del Casino Español,” pasa calle, Estrella.  
 26 October 1897, “Manolito,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.

- 29 October 1897, “La Hipico–taurin,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 30 October 1897, “El escudo de lealtad,” pasa–calle, Antonio García.  
 5 November 1897, “Un viaje de incógnito,” paso–doble, Damián López.  
 6 November 1897, “Por España,” paso doble, Ignacio Massaguer.  
 10 November 1897, “Cuba Española,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 13 November 1897, “Por España,” paso doble, Ignacio Massaguer.  
 19 November 1897, “La lira,” gavota, Ramón Valdés.  
 20 November 1897, “Exposición regional de Filipinas,” Tereso Zapata.  
 15 December 1897, “Los Voluntarios de Ilocos Sur,” himno paso–doble, Farré.  
 18 December 1897, “Los voluntarios de Ilocos sur,” himno paso–doble, Farre.  
 18 December 1897, “Bicicleta Sport,” galop, Teodoro Villapol.

### 1898

- 17 January 1898, Cebú, paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.  
 25 February 1898, “España,” paso–doble, Ramón Valdés.  
 5 March 1898, [El siguiente programa de aires filipinos: Lolay, de Visayas. Tabanua, de Paragua. Comintang. Fandango, Auit, tagalo. Bantayano Cebuano. Andante religioso. Bailiao de Cebú. Dalit de Morong. Zapateado de la Laguna. Bantayano de Zamboanga. Bailable de idem. Jele–Jele. Balitao de Iloilo. Moro–Moro.]  
 7 March 1898, “Guadalupe,” paso–doble, Teodoro Villapol.

Late in December 1897, the rebellion was halted, and both sides signed a peace treaty. On Friday, 24 December 1897, LA PAZ was formally declared and published in *El Comercio* on Monday, the 27th. This milestone in colonial history was commemorated a month later at Malacañan Palace on Monday, 24 January 1898. A magnificent celebration was presided over by the Governor–General, Fernando Primo de Rivera. That evening, special entertainment was supplied by the Artillery regimental band and the *Batallón de Voluntarios* band. How fitting.

Six days later, the Manila city government (Cabildo) publicly commemorated LA PAZ on Sunday and Monday, 30–31 January, and Tuesday and Wednesday, 1–2 February 1898. These elaborate pageants featured performances by almost every type of public performing ensemble found in Manila. All segments of the performing community were represented. [see Table 9] The goal was to “demonstrate” victory and a return to the normality of pre–uprising society. In addition to the twenty formally scheduled events, such as theater productions, a ball, and several horse and sporting races, many informal celebrations took place throughout the suburbs. Sadly, some unfortunate gaps in the run of *El Comercio* during January and the beginning of February 1898 prevent us from knowing most of what else the regimental bands might have contributed on or around these festival days.

**Table 9.** City Government Celebrations of La Paz.

*El Comercio*, 29 January 1898.

PROGRAMA  
DE LOS FESTEJOS

con que el Ayuntamiento de esta ciudad se propone celebrar durante los días 30 y 31 de Enero, y 1.º y 2.º de Febrero próximo, la complete pacificación de este archipiélago.

Durante dichos días recorrerán las calles de la población varias bandas de música, tocando piezas escogidas, desde el amanecer hasta los doce de sus noches.

También habrá cucañas en los distritos, adjudicándose varios premios, durante los mencionados días.

Los festejos populares se centralizarán en los cuatro días citados en el campo de Bagumbya, á derecha é izquierda de la calzada Real de la Ermita, calzada de San Luis y paseo de Alfonso XII (Cuneta), autorizando el establecer gratuitamente en dichos sitios puestos de feria, fondas, nos vivos, bazares rifas, teatro y circo al aire libre y todas las clases de diversiones y recreos.

**Primer día, Domingo, 30 de Enero.**

**POR LA TARDE, Á LAS CUATRO.**

**Regatas en el mar,**

frente el paseo de Alfonso XII (Luneta) con el siguiente programa.

- 1.a Botes de guerra con diez ó doce remaos; distancia una milla; premio pfs. 100'00.
- 2.a Botes de cuatro ramos, del Club Ingles de regatas; distancia una milla; premio 5 copas de plata para el primero.
- 3.a Botes con cuatro remos, de la Marina mercante; distancia una milla; premio \$80.
- 4.a Botes de bola del Club inglés de reatas; premio copa de plata.
- 5.a Canoas con remos de dos palas de Club Ingles de regatas; distancia media milla; premio un objeto de arte.
- 6.a canoas de guerra; distancia una milla; premio \$8.
- 7.a bancas con cuatro palas, distancia media milla; premio \$15.

Jurado.

Este se compondrá de los señores siguientes:

Presidente: Sr. D. Antonio Cano y Prieto, Capitán del Puerto de Manila y Cavite.

Vocales:

Sr. D. Roberto H. Wood, Presidente del Club Ingles de regatas.

Sr. D. Jesús Álvarez, Presidente de la Cámara de Comercio.

Sr. D. Juan T. Macleod, Directo Gerente de la Compañía Marítima.

Sr. D. Miguel J. Irizarry, de la comisión de festejos del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Manila.

Nota. La salida de la 3.a y 4.a regata será simultánea, por ser la cuarta de botes de vela y no poderse fijar la duración en las misma.

Otra. Los premios asignados á estas regatas han sido ofrecidos por la Compañía Marítima y por el Ayuntamiento de Manila.

**POR LA NOCHE.**

**Pagodas en la bahía.**

Frente al paseo de Alfonso XII, adjudicando \$100 y \$50, como premio á las que mejor iluminadas se presenten.

**Función de teatro**

al aire libre con el siguiente programa:

Acto 1.º

1.º Sinfonía POETA Y ALDEANO, por la orquesta.

2.º La gran jota titulada A. S. M. EL REY—VIVA ESPAÑA, cantada y bailado por la toda la compañía.

- 3.º Dúo de BETTINA Y PIPPO de la opereta LA MASCOTTA.
- 4.º Baile nacional titulado LA JOTA DE LA PAS, por Licería y otras.
- 5.º Dúo de la zarzuela LOS BATURROS, por niños.
- 6.º Escenas graciosas en un acto de MORO–MORO, por los niños que forma parte de la compañía.

#### Acto 2.º

- 1.º Gran baile mímico, en un acto, titulado EL POLO CONTRABANDISTA por Licería, Candelaria, y Rosita y los actores Albañez, Santos y Navoa.
- 2.º Dúo de la ópera bufa titulada CRISPINO É LA COMARE, por la señora García y el Sr. Flores.
- 3.º Dúo de la zarzuela VIVA MI NIÑA, por los niños de la compañía. 4.º Coro de ambos sexos de la zarzuela ROBINSON.

#### Acto 3.º

- 1.º Escenas graciosas, en un acto, de MORO–MORO, por la compañía infantil.
- 2.º Coro de ambos sexos con baile de la zarzuela LA CAZA DE OSO.
- 3.º Dúo de la zarzuela el DÚO DE LA AFRICANA Y JOTA.
- 4.º Bailando titulado EL BOLERO ES PAÑOL por Licería y el Sr. Albañez.
- 5.º Gran vals de LAS GOLONDRINAS, de la zarzuela titulada de MADRID Á PARÍS.

#### Acto 4.º

- 1.º El gracioso sainete en un acto titulada LA VUELTA DEL SOLDADO.
  - 2.º Paso doble de los voluntarios titulado VIVA ESPAÑA, corlado por ambos sexos.
- También habrá en esta noche funciones de circo al air libre en el citad campo de Bagumbya.

### Segundo día, Lunes, 31 de Enero

#### POR LA TARDE.

#### Carreras de caballo, humorísticas

que se verificaran en el paseo de Alfonso XII con el siguiente programa:

##### 1.a carrera.

Luzón. Á las cuatro de la tarde.

Para caballos de todas clases. Distancia una milla vuela á la Luneta. Premios \$15 al ultimo que ultimo y \$10 al penúltimo. Caballos de soritos: cinco con las siguientes divisas y jinete: encarnado y armarillo, jinete Alejandro Domingo de la propiedad de D. Sofronio Hernando; morado y valaco, jinete Mariano de la Cruz, de D. Tomás Madare; azul y blanco, jinete Francisco Usguerra de D. Silvario Mallare; encornado y azul, ginetes Máximo de la Cruz, de don Domingo Guerrero y Fuego, jinete Agustín García, de D. Antonio Franco.

##### 2.a carrera.

Doble Pequeña velocidad. á las 4 y media de la tarde. Para caballos de carromato. Distancia lo que puedan. Premios \$5 al que no pueda llegar y \$10 al último que llegue. Caballos inscritos: los mismos con iguales divisas y ginetes que las anteriores.

##### 3.a carrera.

Pas. Á las cinco de la tarde. Para caballos del país: distancia tres vueltas á la luneta. Premios \$20 al último que llegue, \$10 al penúltimo y \$5 al antepenúltimo. Caballos los inscritos en las carreras anteriores con los mismos ginetes y divisas.

##### 4.a carrera.

Consolación. Á las 5 y media de la tarde. Para caballos de todas clases. Distancia, dos vueltas á la Luneta. Premios \$15 al primer que llegue; \$15 al segundo y \$10 al tercero. Los cinco caballos que se han inscrito en las tres carreras anteriores con los citados divisas y ginetes.

Jurado.

D. Celestino Espinosa.

D. Enrique Barrera.  
D. Antonio Malveyh.

Nota. Los premios asignados á estas carreras han sido ofrecidos por el muy ilustre Colegio Notarial de esta capital y el Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Manila.

Carreras de sacos (sack).

Terminadas las carreras de caballos se verificarán las de sacos, adjudicándose tres premios, uno de pfs. 20 oro de pfs. 10 y el 3.º pfs. 5.

Nota. Los premios señalados para estas carreras han sido ofrecidos por el muy ilustre Colegio Notarial y el R. Ayuntamiento de Manila.

POR LA NOCHE.

**Función de gala en el teatro Zorrilla en honor al Ejército,**

remide adose las localidades al Excelentísimo señor Capitán genera para que las distribuya en la forma que tenga por conveniente, con el siguiente programa:

- 1.º La aplaudida zarzuela, en un acto CAMPANERO Y SACRISTÁN.
- 2.º La comedia en un acto de don Pablo Parellada, titulada LA CANTINA.
- 3.º El juguéis cómico, en un acto y cuatro actos titulad EL CABO 1.º

**Fuegos artificiales**

en el mar frente á la Luneta con las siguientes piezas píricas:

“Dos rosas jugueterías,” “Aspa de cobre movimiento,” Id. entre medida,” “Brocha y Turco,” “Estrella Polar,” “Rúela brillante,” “Válvula vertical,” “Abanico real,” “Dos figuras de dos de dos metros de alto cada una la primera con la bandera de la paz en la mano y la 2.a pidiendo coimeadla y un cuerpo de castillo, salio golfeo de doce varas en alto por seis de ancho.

**Función de aire**

al aire libre en el campo de Bagumbaya.

**Paseo de embarcaciones menores**

por el mar frente á la Luneta.

**Tercer día, Martes, 1.º de febrero.**

**Carreras de bicicletas,**

que se verificarán en la tarde de este día en el paseo de Alfonso XII con arreglo al siguiente programa:

1.a carrera.

Velocidad. Á las cuatro y treinta.

Distancia: una vuelta. Para carreristas nacionales y extranjeros. Premios: 1.º una copa, 2.º una pisa papel alegórico.

2.a carrera.

Manila. Á las cuatro cuarenta y cinco. Distancia: una vuelta. Para carreristas nacionales y extranjeros.

Premios: 1.º una copa alegórica, 2.º una bicicleta reloj.

3.a carrera,

Resistencia. Á las cinco. Distancia: cinco vueltas. Para carreristas nacionales y extranjeros. Premios: 1.º

Dos figuras alegóricas. 2.º Un pisa papel. 3.º Una cartera.

4.a carrera.

Extranjeros. Á las cinco y treta. Distancia dos vueltas. Premios: 1.º una copa repujada, 2.º una petaca ciclista.

5. Carrera.

Consolación. Á las cinco y cuarenta y cinco. Distancia tres vueltas. Para carreristas nacionales y extranjeros, que no hayan obtenido premio alguno en estas carreras. Premios: 1.º un reloj de plata: 2.º una cartera.

6.º carrera.

Obstáculos. Á las seis. Distancia una vuelta. Reservada exclusivamente para batas insulares. Premios: 1.º \$10 en metálico: 2.º \$5 y 3.º \$3.

Observaciones. Las carreras serán libres entendiéndose que podrán los carreristas usar cualquier clase de maquina y adoptara traje adecuado á esta clase de espectáculos en las carrera 1.a 3.a y 6.a. En las carreras 2.a y 4.a traje de paseo ó de carreras 2.a y 4.a traje de paseo ó de carrerista si así lo desean. Dadas las condiciones de la pista se prescinde del peso, clase y desarrollo de las máquinas.

La cuarta carrera incluida “Extranjeros”, será exclusivamente para estos señores, siendo necesario que so presenten por lo menos tres para que haya carrera.

La 6.a carrera, titulada “Obstáculos” será corrida por batas en su traje ó en camisa chinaca.

La comisión nombrada para este espectáculo designará las personas auxiliares que crea convenientes para el mejor orden de las carreras.

Las inscripciones serán gratis.

La de la 6.a carrera se cerrará cinco minutos antes de verificar se esta.

Nota. Los premios asignados á estas carreras han sido ofrecidos pro el Muy Ilustre Colegio Notarial y el Excelentísimo ayuntamiento de Manila.

POR LA NOCHE.

#### **Función de gala en el Gran circo filipino**

de la calle Norzagaray en honor del ejercito remitiendo las localidades al EXCMO. señor Gobernador general para que las distribuya en la forma que tenga por conveniente.

#### **Función de teatro**

al aire libre en el Campo de Bagumbaya con el siguiente programa:

ACTO 1.º

- 1.º Obertura de la ópera FRÁ DIAVOLO, por orquesta.
- 2.º Gran jotaailable titulada LA RONDALLA.
- 3.º Dúo 4.º de la zarzuela VIVA MI NIÑA, por los niños, que forman parte de la compañía.
- 4.º Dúo de los PARAGUAS de la zarzuela EL AÑO PASADO POR AGUA.
- 5.º Bailable nacional titulado la JOTA ARAGONESA.
- 6.º Escenas de MORO–MORO, por la compañía infantil.

ACTO 2º

- 1.º Tanda de valsés titulada ADELA Y PACITA, por la orquesta.
- 2.º Dúo de la zarzuela LA 2.a TIPLÉ, por la compañía infantil.
- 3.º Dúo de la zarzuela titulada SENSITIVA.
- 4.º Bailable titulado UN BESO EN CAMBIO DE UNA FLOR.
- 5.º Escena de MORO–MORO, por la compañía infantil.
- 6.º Coro de ‘bectis” y “coupleta” , de la zarzuela LOS APARECIDOS, por el Sr. Flores y coros.

## ACTO 3.º

- 1.º Tanda de vals por la orquesta.
- 2.º La opereta en un acto I FEROCCHI ROMANÍ.
- 3.º Bailable nacional titulado EL SOLDADO Y LA NIÑA.

## ACTO. 4.º

- 1.º Bailable LAS ALDEANAS FLORES. que echarán al público flores y perfumes.
- 2.º Dúo de la zarzuela A SANGRE Y FUEGO, por la compañía infantil.
- 3.º Escenas de MORO–MORO en tagalo por la misma.
- 4.º Dúo de la zarzuela EL HICIERON DEL ALBA.
- 5.º Coro de ? y ? de la zarzuela titulada COSAS DEL 91.

**Cuarto día, miércoles, 2 de Febrero.****FUNCIÓN DE CIRCO**

al aire libre en el campo de Bagumbayan.

Id. de teatro en el mencionado sitio con el siguiente programa:

## ACTO 1.º

- 1.º Obertura por la orquesta.
- 2.º Bailable LA REMARÍA DE LAS ORES.
- 3.º Escena de MORO–MORO, por los niños.
- 4.º Terceto de la zarzuela COMO ESTA LA SOCIEDAD.
- 5.º Dúo de los “Zangolotinos.”
- 6.º Baile mímico LA BRITANA MARINERA [Appiani].

## ACTO 2.º

- 1.º Jota de la zarzuela EL ALCALDE INTERINO.
- 2.º Baile nacional titulad LA JOTA SEVILLANA.
- 3.º Gran vals titulad LOS PÁJAROS, música del Sr. Estrella, y bailado por Candelaria.
- 4.º Dúo de la zarzuela PARA QUIEN ES D. JUAN.
- 5.º Baile grotesco mímico EL NEGRITO Y LA NIÑA.

## ACTO 3.º

- 1.º Escena de MORO–MORO por la compañía infantil.
- 2.º Coro de la zarzuela LUCIFER por la misma.
- 3.º Bailable mímico titulad LOS DOS AMANTES.
- 4.º Terceto de Leona, Tiburón y Mallabais, de la zarzuela ROBINSON CRUSOS.
- 5.º Quinteto de la zarzuela titulada CASCABELES

## ACTO 4.º

- 1.º La pantomima en un acto titulada LA DALAGA DE S. NICOLÁS Ó UN BALLO DE SUSCRIPCIÓN.
- 2.º Coro de ambos sexos de la zarzuela LA GRAN VÍA.
- 3.º Terceto de los ‘Maridos’ de la opereta BOCACCIO.
- 4.º Pasodoble titulado POR LA BANDERA, por la orquesta.

Balo de etiqueta en el Ayuntamiento.

Nota. Administración de festejos aprobados por la Corporación municipal ... con rancho extraordinario a los recursos en la Cárcel pública de Bilibid y á los asilados del hospicio de San José el día 30 de Enero, 1.º de los festejos, y con una merienda á los alumnos de Colegio de Looban (San Fernando de Dilao.)

Otra. La Camera de Comercio de esta capital ha ofrecido dos premios consistentes, uno en un objeto de arte y otros de 100 pesos, siendo destinados por el señor Alcalde, de acuerdo con la Comisión de festejos, é 1.º ó sea un objeto de arte, como premio á la iluminación mas ... y de más exquisito gusto en el adorno de la fachada de casa ó establecimiento, y el 2.º ó sean pfs. 100 en metálico para premiar la

mejor iluminación que ostenta cualquiera de las embarcaciones menores que concurren á la fiesta marítima ... que se ha de celebrar en bahía, frente al paseo de Alfonso XII. el 31 de actual, á cuyo efecto, terminados los fuegos artificiales es desfilaran por en frente del citado paseo cuantas embarcaciones concurren al acto.

Three months to the day after the last of the extensive celebrations of La Paz, the U.S. invasion forces, during a night-time, sneak attack, sank the entire Spanish Naval Fleet anchored in Manila Bay. That day Manila became an official theater of the Spanish-American War. Under these new circumstances, the Spanish forces and the government officials, aware of the apparent futility of armed conflict with the U.S., folded their respective tents with measured dispatch and incrementally fled the archipelago during the remaining six months. The still-simmering Filipino revolution for independence was never permitted to recommence fully by the new invaders, who were abetted by secret and public collusion from the Spanish military command to prevent the taking of Manila. Colonial domination of the capital passed uninterrupted from Spain to the U.S., only to be permanently ruptured in 1946.

One year after World War II, the U.S. signed the Treaty of Manila on Thursday, July 4.<sup>36</sup> The U.S. government abandoned its colony without the slightest whiff of an offer of cooperative and/or legal commonwealth status with the United States. Nothing more perfectly illustrated the evil mendacity of the entire U.S. colonial subjugation. Among the many indignities that the U.S. would continue to inflict upon this new, war ravaged nation was the profoundly scurrilous and honor less refusal to pay the wartime salaries owed to the conscripted Filipino soldiers who had fought so valiantly alongside their U.S. comrades in arms to rout the Japanese from the archipelago. At last, on Monday, February 23, 2009, 64 years after World War II, President Barack Obama signed into law the reparations action providing 198 million dollars to the now microscopic percentage of those conscripted Filipino soldiers who happened to have remained alive.<sup>37</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This introductory study, drawing on contemporary journalistic and government publications, has focused first on the here-to-fore undocumented 2,700+ public free concerts presented over twenty-seven years by the seven/eight regimental bands and also the identified titles and composers of hundreds of the opera, operetta and zarzuela excerpts performed during their free, weekly, public concerts. *El Comercio* also revealed additional information treating other aspects of the regimental band's musical impact upon Manila's performing life. The bands were, admittedly, a tool for the Spanish colonial military that had protected the Philippines from invasion by other predatory, European colonizers for more than three centuries. They also directly facilitated the

<sup>36</sup> *Treaty of general relations and protocol with the Republic of the Philippines: message from the President of the United States transmitting the treaty of general relations and protocol between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines*, signed at Manila on July 4, 1946, Government Printing Office, 1946.

<sup>37</sup> The bill for compensation for Filipino soldiers who served within the U.S. military during World War II was finally signed into law by President Barrack Obama on February 22, 2009.

- <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=101024302>

imposition of colonial Spanish culture upon the archipelago's indigenous population. That said, the bands contributed in unique ways to the public-concert spectacles of the capital. One could argue that they were a brightly "sounding" thread that ran throughout the civic, religious, and entertainment projects of a city of more than a quarter of a million people. The bands, as noted by Arwin Tan, were an enduring educational institution for musicians. Each ensemble became a significant consumer of large amounts of published music and substantial numbers of the most up-to-date musical instruments. The regimental bands also provided regular, secure employment for hundreds of the most active and widely heard professional performers in the capital.

While it has been over a century and a quarter coming to the light, this recovered journalistic information has appeared at a remarkably fortuitous moment in the history of scholarship. Comprehensive digitization projects of a myriad of historical publications of all kinds now available from the world's leading libraries are approaching completion, particularly the portions of their holdings devoted to nineteenth-century European music. Contemporary computer-assisted searching and research tools have also made available a significant percentage of the musical scores for the works themselves, especially many named in this study. These are electronically accessible for free research worldwide. This opportunity to view and hear sizeable portions of the identified music in an audio or video form lays before us a host of new and highly challenging pathways for additional scholarship, not to mention being a most welcome, massive reversal of the "sonic vacuum" that had obscured Manila's regimental band performance life from when they stopped in 1898 up until now.

Unlike the music history of the first three centuries of colonial music-making in the capital, where a tiny number of European musical works and their composers survived and are known, this staggering explosion of information, reporting on not only the bands but also all segments of the public, professional performance life of the final half of the nineteenth century is gradually being recovered directly from the colonial press. While the newspapers survive incompletely, their contents overturn many of the ravages of the losses from natural forces and those of warfare. These dailies survived as a rare accident of fate and are housed in library collections located in Manila and on two other continents. Because a durable journalistic industry had taken root in the capital in 1848, we can today seek evidence of the work and lived lives of Manileños of all stripes for this half-century. They provide a unique window to study modern Manila's urban life, especially the public and professional performances.

The seven, finally eight Regimental Bands participating in the final stage of the ongoing oppression and disenfranchisement imposed by a 333-year Spanish colonial occupation were not only making a very significant contribution to the soundscape of this immense city, but also consisted of un-named and faceless indigenous bandsmen. This anonymity starkly highlights their particularly exploitative disenfranchisement. Though operating as a tool of this colonial system, they also produced unique public moments of distinction through the medium of music. The bands and bandsmen, when they combined their forces, erected singular musical monuments. Singly, they also created individual musical undertakings of accomplishment. Now that we have some working knowledge of what they undertook, we can view and understand a new, clearer picture of the capital's artistic life and a bit more about the men who played this music. The immense work to grow toward a fuller understanding of this newly revealed information's scope and impact must now begin in earnest.

Drawing our zoom lens back for a final time to ponder the thousands of professional band performances noted in the capital's newspapers, I have come to believe that the free, weekly outdoor concerts, presented on the public plazas and paseos by the seven/eight regimental bands, comprised a unique chapter in the music history of the capital. "Manileños" of many stripes were entertained through a diversity of musical genres, including European opera and zarzuela, not to mention the wideranging body of imported and locally produced popular music. The diverse fruits of European music dominated this unique, public, urban stage outside of Europe in a southeast Asian capital; admittedly, one made possible precisely because the profound inequality of colonial capitalism always served first the colonists' desires. Today, because of the newspapers, we are left with new clarity in this performance history's details, yet also face a deeply refracted picture, much in need of extensive, dedicated study and disentangling.

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Summers, William John. "Before Their Music Stopped: Manila's Spanish Military Regimental Bands at the End of the 19th Century." *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review* 6, no. 2 (2021): 66–118.