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ESPAÑÓLES, INDIOS, AFRICANOS Y GITANOS.
EL ALCANCE GLOBAL DEL FANDANGO EN MÚSICA, CANTO Y DANZA

SPANIARDS, INDIANS, AFRICANS AND GYPSIES:
THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE FANDANGO IN MUSIC, SONG, AND
DANCE

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SOUNDS OF SPAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY USA: AN INTRODUCTION¹⁾

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Resumen

Este artículo analiza la introducción de la música popular española en EEUU durante el siglo XIX, utilizando periódicos, revistas y partituras de las editoriales de la época como fuentes primarias, y atendiendo especialmente al área de Nueva York. El carácter historiográfico de esta investigación tiene la intención de servir como un trabajo preliminar que permita una posterior comprensión de las particularidades de la música española en su contacto con la cultura norteamericana. El artículo se centra fundamentalmente en la música popular española, que aquí se refiere no solamente a piezas anónimas de origen popular sino también a aquellas producidas y distribuidas por la industria musical para una amplia audiencia. En este sentido se acentúan lo que considero las piedras angulares de la presencia de la música española en aquel país. En particular las sucesivas oleadas de bailarinas y bailaoras de escuela bolera y flamenca, la llegada de los guitarristas españoles durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX, la introducción de la canción de salón, de la ópera *Carmen*, de la zarzuela y del cante flamenco en los espectáculos escénicos y las actuaciones de The Spanish Students en el circuito del vodevil.

Palabras clave:

Música popular española, siglo XIX, teatro estadounidense, canción de salón, guitarra española, flamenco.

Sonidos de España en el siglo XIX de Estados Unidos: una introducción.

Abstract

This paper analyzes the introduction of Spanish popular music in the USA during the nineteenth century, using newspapers, magazines and scores released by North American publishing houses of the era as primary sources, with special emphasis on the New York area. With this historiographical research, I aim to lay the groundwork for a later understanding of the particularities of Spanish music in its contact with North American culture. This paper focuses primarily on Spanish popular music, not only anonymous pieces of popular origin but also those produced and distributed for a wide audience by the music industry, highlighting what I consider to be the cornerstones of the Spanish presence in U.S. music and dance. In particular, the consecutive waves of dancers of the *bolero* (balletic) and flamenco schools, the arrival of Spanish guitarists during the first

¹⁾ Este artículo ha sido realizado con la ayuda del proyecto de investigación emergente del Vicerrectorado de Investigación de la Universidad de Alicante con el título "España y los españoles en los inicios del cine en USA, Gran Bretaña y Francia (1889-1914) (GRE 12-26)

half of the nineteenth century, the introduction onto U.S. stages of Spanish art song, the opera *Carmen*, *zarzuela* (Spanish light opera) and *cante flamenco* (flamenco song), and the performances of Spanish guitar ensembles on the vaudeville circuit.

Keywords:

Spanish popular music, 19th century, American theatre, art song, Spanish guitar, flamenco.

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THE INTRODUCTION OF SPANISH DANCE ON THE NORTH AMERICAN STAGE: THE FIRST TWO WAVES

Although Spanish music and dance have been present since the sixteenth century in the conquered regions that would later form part of the southern territory of the United States, not until the nineteenth century did these artistic manifestations really begin to spread to the northern part of the country.²⁾ In 1795, a "Fandango Dance" was already prominently advertised as a grand finale to a pantomimic dance titled *Le Tuteur Trompe* at the New Theatre in Baltimore.³⁾ A year later, an operatic piece titled *The Mountaineers* was performed at the John Street Theatre in New York. A "Spanish Fandango" danced by two couples was interpolated into the opera, which was based on the adventures of Cardenio, a character from Miguel de Cervantes' novel *Don Quixote* (Figure 1).⁴⁾ Proof that the bolero, for example, already enjoyed certain popularity in 1814 is that it was performed by amateurs at social dances and balls.⁵⁾

²⁾ For a comprehensive trajectory of Spanish dance and Spanish dancers in the city of New York during the 19th century, see Bennahum 2013. For particular Spanish dancers in US of that era, like Pepita Soto, La Cuenca, and Carmencita, see Ortiz Nuevo 2010; Mora 2011; Navarro y Gelardo 2011; and Mora 2013.

³⁾ *Federal Intelligencer*, November 28, 1795, p. 3.

⁴⁾ *The Argus*, April 8, 1796, p. 3. On the influence of the fandango on the origin of the blues, see Obrecht 2010. In 1866 the guitarist Henry Worrall (1868-1902) published some arrangements for the instrumental guitar piece titled "Spanish Fandango" in St. Louis (Missouri). Worrall had an enormous influence on the development of guitar styles played by southern folk musicians and also on music styles such as country and blues. About the influence of the fandango on North American guitar and banjo players of this period and later, see Wade 2012: 213-218.

⁵⁾ *New York Evening Post*, March 29, 1814, p. 2.



Figure 1. Advertisement. “A Spanish Fandango” at the New York Theatre (The Argus, March 4, 1796, p. 3).

Bernardo Avecilla. This company, some of whose members had performed in Havana months before, presented the tragedy *Orestes* by Vittorio Alfieri at the Orleans Theatre (New Orleans) in April 1831. The dramatic cast, mainly from Cádiz, consisted of Rafaela García, José González, Diego María Garay, Bernardo Avecilla and Luisa Martínez. After the tragedy, “a bolero between Doña Louisa Martínez and Dn. Tiburcio López” was announced.⁸⁾ Therefore, although the Llorente Family was the first Spanish dancing troupe

⁶⁾ In the first decade of the 19th century, an acrobat company directed by Mr. Manfredi already offered Spanish dance numbers performed on a tightrope or over eggs in Baltimore and New York. Manfredi himself and a dancer nicknamed “Little American” was in charge of these acts. New York Evening Post, November 19, 1805, p. 6; American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, January 30, 1807, p. 3.

⁷⁾ “Announcements”, *New York Evening Post*, November 1, 1828, p. 1; “Announcements”, *New York Evening Post*, October 6, 1831, p. 1; “Dancing”, *New York Evening Express*, November 15, 1848, p. 1; “Schools”, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 27, 1850, p. 3; “Dancing School”, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 1, 1841, p. 1; “Amusements,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 1841, p. 3; “Art of Dancing”, *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, September 21, 1846, p. 3; “Dancing School”, *Columbian Centinel*, March 24, 1832, p. 1; “Amusements,” *Boston Herald*, January 29, 1853, p. 3; “Music and Dancing”, *Boston Herald*, September 29, 1857, p. 3; “Miss Shaw’s Annual Soiree”, *Albany Evening Journal*, April 13, 1848, p. 3.

⁸⁾ "Orleans Theatre", *L'Abeille*, April 6, 1831, p. 3.

to present bolero dances in the USA in mid-nineteenth century these members of the Avecilla troupe had actually introduced bolero dances on the US stage twenty years earlier.⁹⁾

Nevertheless, Spaniards who were professional Spanish dancers would not disembark in North America until the mid-nineteenth century. At the time, the most renowned bolero dancers began to tour northern Europe, but lesser-known Spanish dancers were obliged to expand their horizons across the Atlantic. For the first time the Llorente Family, Pepita Soto, and Isabel Cubas arrived to perform the romantic and orientalist ideals that had left European theatergoers speechless. This second wave, now of Spanish artists, would import to the U.S. a new type of performance that was starting to become fashionable in Spain. It was called the “*bailable español*,” advertised in the British and US newspapers as “Spanish Divertissement” or “Grand Spanish Ballet.” In the *bailable español*, the dance was no longer, as in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, a more or less exotic independent act interpolated between the acts of an opera or sometimes a burlesque embedded in a variety show. Now it was completely integrated into a longer, independent pantomimic act. (Mora 2015).

THE SPANISH GUITARIST IN U.S. EXILE.

As musicologist Louise Stein has pointed out, the scarcity of research on the presence of Spanish music in the Northeastern United States does not prevent one from considering the possibility that the Spanish guitar, because of its manageability and ease of learning, may have travelled northward from the southern states of the U.S. in the same way that it travelled from Europe to the Hispanic New World from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, this instrument seems to have become more visible in the northeastern press only at the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest notices are of music professors offering guitar lessons, and occasionally recitals as a strategy to advertise their classes.¹⁰⁾ Throughout the first two decades of the nineteenth century “the emblematic ‘genuineness’ of Spanish guitar music,” writes Stein, “brought the instrument ‘into the circle of fashion’ in Europe, especially in France, and this fashion spreads to the United States” (2009: 196). This meant that this vernacular instrument also began to infiltrate into circles of the cultural elite, who were more interested in the classical repertory and salon pieces. This created a demand for European musicians, some of whom not only offered interpretations of their personal arrangements of other people’s works, but also of their own compositions. The arrival of these artists, like that of other immigrants, was also driven by an improvement in the organizational system of shipping companies since, as

⁹⁾ “Amusements,” *Daily Alta California*, October 4, 1851, p. 3,

¹⁰⁾ Some examples include Mr. Capron in Philadelphia, Mr. Luby in New York, Mr. St. Armand in Newport (RI) and Mr. Dubois and Mr. Mallet in Boston.

Roger Daniels has noted, “there were no regularly scheduled transatlantic sailings until after the Napoleonic Wars” (2002: 49). Between 1813 and 1820, the first foreign-born Spanish guitar soloists would appear on tour along the Eastern Seaboard: Signor Pucci, Francis Masi, Charles Thieneman, George K. Jackson, and Luke Eastman.¹¹⁾

In the summer of 1818, a guitarist who at first anonymously and solely advertised himself in the Boston newspapers as “A patriot of South-America,” went on tour in the state of Massachusetts.¹²⁾ He was accompanied by two other guitarists: Antoine Mathieu and Mr. Scott. The trio’s vocal and instrumental repertory was composed of French, Italian, Scottish, North American, Hispanic American, and Spanish pieces.¹³⁾ Mathieu would end up settling in Boston where he would give classes and open a musical instruments store. The “patriot of South America” would continue his concert tour, performing in Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina under the name “Mr. Bruguera.”¹⁴⁾ The “South American patriot”/ “Mr. Bruguera” is none other than the virtuoso creole guitarist of Catalanian paternal kinship, Celestino Bruguera.

The bohemian and hazardous life of Bruguera, who as far as I know is universally disregarded in the history of the Spanish guitar, cannot be told in this article. On his North American journey, he always presented himself as an amateur guitarist, according to the press “obliged to appear in public on account of some particular circumstances.”¹⁵⁾ However, he had a large concert repertory with which he toured various cities in Great Britain and Germany between 1824 and 1829. An enthusiast who signed as “A *connoisseur*” and saw him play at some private *soirées* in the city of Baltimore, days before his last concert in the country in February of 1820, explained that Bruguera was more than just a simple amateur:

This Spanish gentleman possesses a talent the more to be admired...Before I heard him, I considered the guitar as only fit to accompany songs, but I never thought that sounds such as this gentleman draws could be expected from an instrument composed of six strings and that all other instruments could be imitated with the perfection this gentleman attained to.¹⁶⁾

¹¹⁾ For more on topics related to the Spanish guitar in the US that cannot be dealt with in this article, see Gansz 2013a.

¹²⁾ “Amusements,” Boston Intelligencer, July 11, 1818, p. 3.

¹³⁾ “Concert,” Salem Gazette, July 28, 1818, p. 3.

¹⁴⁾ “Musical Performance on the Spanish Guitar,” Augusta Chronicle, June 7, 1819, p. 3; “Grand Military

¹⁵⁾ “To The Lovers of Harmony,” American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, February 2, 1820, p. 2.

¹⁶⁾ Ibidem.

When Bruguera returned to Great Britain in 1824, critics were no less enthusiastic, stating that his performance “surpassed anything of the kind that ever came under our observation,” and that he exhibited “surprising skill and execution.”¹⁷⁾ Thus, when guitarist Trinidad Huerta performed in New York in 1824, he was not, as musicologist James Radomski’s essential study concludes, the first Spanish virtuoso concertist to perform in the United States (Radomski 1996).

DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK—PORT OF NEW-YORK.

I, *R. S. Macy*, do solemnly, sincerely and truly *swear* that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New-York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the *Ship Stephania* *from* *Spain* *So help me God.*

Sworn to, the *24th April* 1824, Before me, *R. S. Macy* *Notary Public* *Ship Stephania* *31st May* *whereof* *Tom.*

LIST OR MANIFEST of all the Passengers taken on board the *Ship Stephania* is Master, from *Spain* Burthen

NAMES.	AGE.		SEX.	OCCUPATION.	The Country to which they severally belong.		Died on the Voyage.
	Years.	Months.			The Country to which they intend to become inhabitants.		
<i>J. G. Granados</i>	<i>23</i>		<i>male</i>	<i>Merchant</i>	<i>Guatemala</i>	<i>Guatemala</i>	<i>Stone</i>
<i>Jos. Vico</i>	<i>20</i>						
<i>P. J. del Barrio</i>	<i>25</i>						
<i>J. M. Gutierrez</i>	<i>23</i>				<i>Mexico</i>	<i>Mexico</i>	
<i>E. Hernandez</i>	<i>21</i>				<i>France</i>	<i>France</i>	
<i>J. H. Doncourt</i>	<i>27</i>						
<i>Elizabeth Doncourt</i>	<i>22</i>		<i>female</i>				
<i>Antonio Huerta</i>	<i>20</i>		<i>male</i>	<i>Musician</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Spain</i>	
<i>G. F. Kohn</i>	<i>45</i>			<i>Merchant</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Germany</i>	
<i>George Smithers</i>	<i>21</i>			<i>Coachman</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>England</i>	

Figure 2. Passenger list of the ship Stephania (April 24, 1824). Trinidad Huerta was registered as “Antonio Hurtea” (line 8). National Archives and Record Administration, Washington DC.

¹⁷⁾Coventry Herald, August 27, 1824, p. 2; “Guitar Concert”, Caledonian Mercury, March 31, 1825, p. 3.

On his US tour, Huerta executed some pieces for the guitar composed by his teacher, Fernando Sor, and a potpourri of popular pieces that included fandangos, folías, cachuchas and boleros.¹⁸⁾ Under the sponsorship of the Philharmonic Society, he often performed at the City Hotel and at Washington Hall, both in New York.¹⁹⁾ His concerts were always attended by members of high society, who could afford the price of a dollar to listen to a repertory that, apart from the aforementioned pieces, primarily included guitar arrangements for operatic arias and other vocal and instrumental pieces performed by singers and musicians who had settled in the city (Figure 2).

The press was quick to praise the refined esthetic taste of his arrangements, pointing out “his superior excellence,” “the delicacy of his touch, the rapidity, and at the same time, the accuracy of his execution.”²⁰⁾ All confirmed by “real connoisseurs and respectable editors” and warning that “to those who only know the guitar from hearing it touched by ordinary performers may not disdain so humble an instrument, that under the fingers of Mr. Huerta it speaks delicious harmony.”²¹⁾ Although, in terms of his repertory and musical training, Huerta continued the academic tradition and techniques of the classical guitar, musicologists F. Núñez (2012), N. Torres (2014) and G. Castro Buendía (2015) have noted that he may have introduced some elements of flamenco guitar technique, as for example the *rasgueo* (strumming) in folkloric-influenced pieces such as the jaleo and the fandango, strength in left hand for *ligados* (making the strings sound by hammering down the fingers), and percussive finger-work on a tap plate.²²⁾ What seems to be clear is that his ability would exceed the expectations of the demanding audience with respect to what was considered at the time a virtuoso guitarist: Huerta would play “The Hymn of Riego,” attributed to him by some sources, “with the imitation of the Trumpet, Bugle, Drums and several other instruments.”²³⁾ This gimmicky technical display, which was also employed

¹⁸⁾Trinidad Huerta y Caturla (Orihuela, 1800 - París, 1874) arrived in New York on April 26, 1824 on the ship *Stephania*, which came from Le Havre (“Marine List”, New York Evening Post, March 26, 1824, p. 2). Huerta was registered under the name “Antonio,” one of his sixteen given names. In the USA, he held concerts in the Northeast, including New York, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, Washington, Saratoga and Orange Springs. In New York, Huerta earned a living by giving guitar lessons, advertised in the store owned by Mr. Meucci, a painter of miniatures, who had just become his father-in-law. His program also included some pieces performed on the piano by his wife, Sabina Meucci, with whom he would have a daughter, and whose relationship would eventually end in a contentious divorce at the end of 1825 (Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot, December 7, 1825, p. 3). For a biographical account on the life and works of Huerta, see Bone 1914: 153-155, and Suárez-Pajares and Coldwell 2006: 8-51. On Huerta’s stay in the USA, see Radomski 1996.

¹⁹⁾“Mr. Huerta’s Concert,” New York Evening Post, May 15, 1824, p. 3; “Mr. Huerta’s Concert,” The National Advocate, June 1, 1824, p. 2.

²⁰⁾ Baltimore Patriot, July 1, 1824, p. 2.

²¹⁾ The American, June 5, 1824, p. 2.

²²⁾ To listen to some of the pieces by Huerta that we refer to here: http://mvod.lvlt.rtve.es/resources/TE_SGUITAR/mp3/2/7/1364753933272.mp3

²³⁾ Grand Concert”, Daily National Intelligencer, December 11, 1824, p. 3

by Huerta's contemporaries such as Bruguera, seems more appropriate to the realm of variety shows than to the refined and serious surroundings of classical music.

Musicologist and guitarist Norberto Torres wrote about this sort of guitar piece:

Another technique used by classical guitarists of the Romantic era to jolt and excite upper-middle class audiences was to play a variation using only the left hand. This effect turned out to be amazing. While the right hand remained still, the left hand moved all along the neck of the guitar like a spider, inexplicably producing sound. For these great achievements two things were needed: instruments with low action as nineteenth-century classical guitars were constructed, and good technique and strength in the left hand for *ligados*. Flamenco guitar would inherit these organological and technical features, while classical guitar abandoned them, because they were thought to be in poor taste. Huerta, who wanted before all else to show off his virtuosity, used this technique very often... (2014: 133).

Antonio B. Martínez, another Spanish guitarist who arrived in the US at the end of the 20's, played a solo "holding [the guitar] behind him", and "a duet with two guitars, one in each hand."²⁴⁾ Tadeo Lacárcel performed his most sensational act, a "Finale a la Paganini," with "one hand and on one string only."²⁵⁾ These examples, and Torres' description may remind us of the showy stage techniques of the Rock "guitar hero." Hyperbole perhaps, but the question remains: Were these Spanish guitars involved with the development of the slide guitar technique in American folk music? ²⁶⁾

Lacárcel gave concerts in Albany, Baltimore and New York in 1843 and 1844. His repertory, which included pieces of his own composition, consisted of guitar solos like "Grand solo on the Spanish Guitar," "Guitar Overture," Fernando Sor's "Celebrated Waltz," "Grand Fantasía," "Spanish Retreat," "Variations on an air of *La Cenerentola*," and two operatic songs, "Los sepulcros de Atala" and "Corinna," which he sang while accompanying himself on guitar and piano.

²⁴⁾ "Grand Concert, Vocal and Instrumental", Daily Commercial Bulletin, December 27, 1838, p. 2; "Signior Martinez", Milwaukee Weekly Sentinel, February 1, 1843, p. 2.

²⁵⁾ "Baltimore Museum and Gallery of the Fine Arts", American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, March 21, 1844, p. 3.

²⁶⁾ or more on this topic, see Payne 2000.

Musicologist Celsa Alonso states that “the guitar gained considerable success in Europe, due to the activity undertaken by a numerous generation of Spanish guitarists, Frenchified liberals in exile: [Fernando] Sor, Salvador Castro de Gistau, Trinidad Huerta, and Dionisio Aguado” (1997: 163). Such is also the case of Antonio Bartolomé Martínez (Zaragoza 1805 – Detroit 1857) who, according to Charleston’s *The Southern Patriot*, was “formerly an officer of the Spanish Liberal Army, and obliged to leave his country for political causes.”²⁷⁾ Martínez gave concerts in New York, Washington, Baltimore, Richmond and Charleston between 1827 and 1835, when he announced his retirement.²⁸⁾ But, as guitarist Douglas Back states, “Martínez, like Huerta, seems to have been somewhat of a wandering minstrel type” (2003: 5) and between 1837 and 1841 he was announced in New Orleans and St. Louis. He married in 1841, and had settled in Cleveland by 1847, giving occasional concerts in Ohio and Michigan. Announced as “pupil of the celebrated Sor,” at the beginning of his US career Martínez often shared the bill with Spanish violinists Joan Comellas and Toribio Segura.²⁹⁾ Also a violinist himself, Martínez’s repertoire included “Riego’s March” (attributed to Huerta on the announcements), a solo entitled “A la Spagniole”, composed by Henry Bishop, a “Fantasía” and a “Spanish Retreat” of his own. In 1850 he opened an academy of music and foreign languages in Cleveland and died in an accident in Detroit, when he was returning home after visiting a friend.³⁰⁾

In addition to Bruguera, Huerta, Lacárcel, and Martínez, the factor of political exile, along with the progressive decline of the guitar in Europe in the following years brought several other outstanding Spanish guitarists to the US: Mariano Pérez, Francisco Benedit and, above all, Dolores de Goñi.

Writing about African American guitarist Justin Holland, Phillip J. Bone devotes a line to Mariano Pérez: “In 1833 [J. Holland] went to Boston where he remained for a short period only...It was in Boston that he met Signor Mariano Pérez, a Spanish musician, who was a clever performer on the guitar, and young Holland immediately studied this instrument under Pérez” (1914: 149). Douglas Back mentions that Pérez “published one known work, a lengthy and challenging although perhaps somewhat mediocre in quality, arrangement of the overture to the opera *Caliph of Baghdad*” (2003: 5-6), probably a Boldieu work adapted by Spanish composer and tenor Manuel García in 1813. Back places Pérez at Boston’s Lion Theatre during the early 1830’s, but William W. Clapp mentions the Spaniard at this theatre’s opening night as late as January 11, 1836 (1853: 420-421).

²⁷⁾ “Charleston”, *The Southern Patriot*, March 7, 1835, p. 2.

²⁸⁾ “Communicated”, *Charleston Courier*, March 20, 1835.

²⁹⁾ “Grand Soiree Musicale”, *Baltimore Patriot*, February 19, 1834, p. 3.

³⁰⁾ “Announcements”, *Plain Dealer*, September 6, 1850, p. 2; “Signor Martínez”, *Plain Dealer*, April 18, 1857, p. 3.

Probably one of the sons of Josef Benedid, a renowned guitar luthier from Cádiz, Francisco Benedid arrived in New York from Havana in 1839. He debuted with a guitar solo at New York's City Hotel on November 7th, in a program that included pianist Rudolph de Fleur as the principal artist.³¹⁾ Composer M. Soriano Fuertes wrote, "he has a remarkable ability to remember and repeat on the guitar the music he hears. He plays a lot, knows harmony and has transposed to the guitar a lot of instrumental and vocal music. Luck calls on Benedid to make our instrument be heard with dignity in the United States of America" (1859: 27). But Soriano Fuertes referred to him as "José" instead of Francisco. So, it is possible he was christened as "José Francisco" or "Francisco José"? One thing is clear: there are no notices of a José Benedid in the US press. In 1841 and 1843-44, Benedid played frequently in New York's Niblo's Saloon and Apollo Rooms. His standard repertory included Fernando Sor's "Los dos amigos" (duo for guitar with guitarist John B. Coupa), a fantasia on "La Cracovienne," and *Semiramide*'s overture arranged for twelve guitars.



Figure 3. Engraving. Madame Dolores Navarrés de Goñi, depicted with what is believed to be the very first X-braced acoustic guitar made for her by C. F. Martin in 1843. Courtesy of C. F. Martin Archives.

³¹⁾ "Grand Concert", New York Evening Post, 7-11-1839, p. 3.

MASS CULTURE, THE SPANISH GUITAR AND THE FEMININE VOICE: DOLORES DE GOÑI

Maria Dolores Esturias y Navarrés de Goñi (1813-1892), “one of the most prominent and talented guitarists of her time”, according to American guitar authority Dick Boak, arrived in New York on November 2, 1840 (2014: 17; Figure 3).³²⁾ She came from the port of Liverpool with Juan Goñi, her husband and also a guitar player, having spent three years in France and England. Dolores de Goñi debuted the following month, giving two concerts at the City Hotel.³³⁾ Her opening repertory included “a Fantasia from the opera *La France*”³⁴⁾, a “cachucha”, a “poutpourri” of popular tunes, the American song “Hail Columbia,” and two pieces which pay an obvious tribute to Trinidad Huerta: “Riego’s March” and the “Overture” for guitar of Rossini’s *Semiramide*.

Since the introduction of the Spanish guitar in concert halls, musical reviews from Western Europe and the US press reveal the prejudices critics had about the guitar as a solo instrument. Further, these reviews also bring to light the Romantic ideology that made of the guitar a metonym for an ambivalent image of Spain. This image held in tension notions of “primitive” Spain as seductive and charming on one hand and as base, unsophisticated, irrational, and incapable of the highest artistic merit on the other. A newspaper announcement of De Goñi’s first performance in New York City echoed a review published in the London *Morning Post* six months earlier that articulates the strict and severe limits for this instrument:

Madame de Goni [sic] is a performer of the highest order upon that most difficult instrument, the guitar, which in her hands becomes the medium of transferring to the senses of her pleased auditors a correct notion of the romantic and most charming music with which the loves and lovers of Spain are traditionally connected. We recognized with much pleasure that no attempt was made at a display of outrageous execution, which is altogether opposed to the nature and construction of the instrument. The guitar is only pleasing when it becomes the interpreter of sentiment or the support of the voice, for which latter its illimitable powers of modulation peculiarly adapt it. Madame de Goni [sic] appears to be fully aware of this, for her performances on the instrument were marked throughout by her confining herself of its legitimate application. But this application was characterized by a tone of deep pathos, such as, we believe, a woman only can feel

³²⁾Registers of Vessels Arriving at the Port of New York from Foreign Ports, 1789-1919. Microfilm Publication M237, rolls 1-95. National Archives at Washington, D.C.

³³⁾ De Goñi’s performances took place in December 10th and 29th (“Concert of the Spanish Guitar,” New York Herald, December 11, 1840, p. 2; “Concert of Madame de Goni,” New York American for the Country, December 28, 1840, p. 2; “Dona Dolores Nevares de Goni,” New York Morning Courier, December 29, 1840, p. 2.

³⁴⁾ An opera with such title does not exist. It must refer to *La Fiancée*, by Auber, as noted later by other newspaper’s announcements.

and express. This lady played three airs of her own composition, which were very beautifully written as well as executed. She also accompanied señor [sic] Echarte in a characteristic Spanish song by Gómez, in a way to induce us to listen more to the instrument than to the voice.³⁵⁾

Another review of a concert held by Madame de Goñi in Washington DC half a year later would note that “in her fair hands...[the guitar] becomes the breathing organ of various passions, but more especially of the tender sentiments.”³⁶⁾ Therefore, as can be inferred from the above quotes, if the guitar was only suited to interpret sentimental feelings as a solo instrument, then the “natural” “deep pathos” of women would make her the fittest player. This fragment is pure bourgeois ideology: it naturalizes a social convention in which, as Roland Barthes has explained, a whole nation (Spain) is associated with a musical instrument (guitar), then with a particular mood (the sentimental), and eventually with a specific sex role and gender (the feminine woman). From the male-oriented point of view that dominated cultural discourses of the time, Spain was the (dangerous and suspicious) Other.

But there is something else in the first quote that, in my opinion, should not be overlooked. It is the reference to the “legitimate” use of the Spanish guitar as a mere supporter of the voice. In his seminal article on gender and modernism, Andreas Huyssen stated that “the political, psychological, and aesthetic discourse around the turn of the [twentieth] century consistently and obsessively genders mass culture and the masses as feminine, while high culture, whether traditional or modern, clearly remains the privileged realm of male activities” (1986: 47). But the traces of the mass culture’s feminization already started to become apparent at mid-nineteenth century. The conflation between the guitar and the voice in art songs is an illustrative example. The rise of the sheet music trade beginning in the late 1820s, and the burgeoning growth of the entertainment business in the US in the following decades were favored by a pervasive demand for popularized songs and operatic arias arranged for a sole instrument. In this context, music publishers left a wide berth for the Spanish guitar, among other instruments like the violin, the piano and the harp. Among the roots of mass-market music can be found these art songs, which were salon pieces intended for the consumption of the middle classes, primarily women. Therefore, by mass music here I refer not to working class music or other residual forms of rural musical tradition. Rather, I refer to popular art songs, authored or anonymous pieces with modern arrangements—popular music not as a living tradition of the people but in the “passive” sense of being an object of widespread consumption.

³⁵⁾ “Musical-The Spanish Guitar,” *New York Herald*, November 7, 1840, p. 2.

³⁶⁾ “Madame de Goni [sic]-Mr. Knoop,” *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 17, 1842, p. 3.

Significantly, the critical discourse intending to circumscribe the Spanish guitar as purely an instrument for accompanying the (woman's) voice in art songs is also an attempt to reduce the guitar to the realm of the emergent mass culture, chiefly disregarded by the

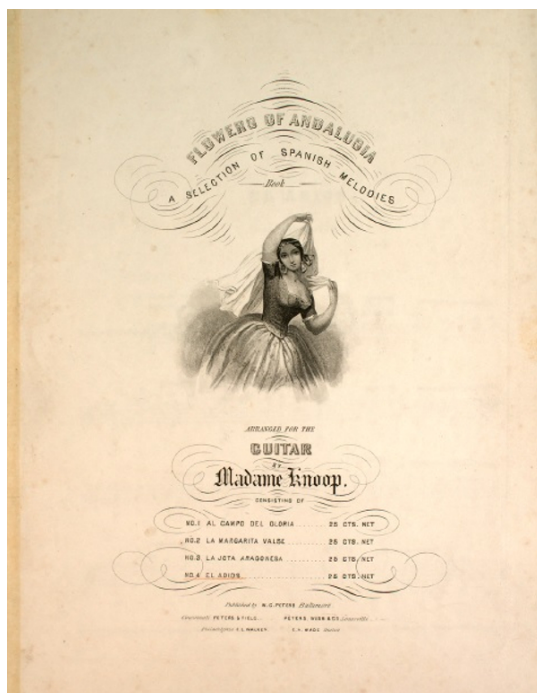


Figure 4. Sheet Music. *Flowers of Andalusia. A Selection of Spanish Melodies. Book arranged for the Guitar by Madame Knoop.* Several publishers, 1852. Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, John Hopkins University.

cultural elite. But in their arrangements, the Spanish guitar players also enhanced the voice, creating some space for the guitar to shine on its own merits. Therefore, when *The Morning Post* review says of De Goñi's interpretation of the song "El Beso", a regular piece in her US repertory, that she made the accompaniment "in a way to induce us to listen to the instrument than to the voice," it should be read, I think, rather as reproach than as a description of a simple fact.

Madame de Goñi toured the United States from 1840 to 1844. After a year of being assisted by her husband, De Goñi began a romantic and a professional relationship with George Knoop, one of the most prominent cellists of the day.³⁷⁾ From then on, the number of her performances increased significantly. She played throughout North America east of the Mississippi, from Quebec to New Orleans. President John Tyler went to see her in Madison, Wisconsin and Charleston, South Carolina.³⁸⁾ A collection of her works titled *Flowers of Andalusia* was published in the early fifties and signed by Madame Knoop (Figure 4). According to guitar historian David Gansz, De Goñi settled in Cincinnati between 1844-1847, married Knoop and retired.³⁹⁾

When De Goñi performed in upstate New York in December, 1842, preconceptions about the Spanish guitar seemed to have softened. At least this is what can be inferred from a Utica's press note: "Madame de Goni has taught us, for the first time, that the guitar may become a delightful solo instrument: that instead to be confined to accompaniment, by moonlight, of sentimental singers, it can be made, independent of such associations, to 'discourse most eloquent music.'"⁴⁰⁾

The introduction of the guitar as a suitable solo instrument in concert halls and its overwhelming presence in twentieth-century popular music in the US grew out of the work of these exiled Spanish guitarists, *liberales* who crossed the Atlantic between 1818 and 1840. In 1843, American guitar manufacturer C. F. Martin delivered a line model (the S1) with De Goñi's signature, the earliest X-braced guitar ever documented (Boak: 2014: 17). The guitar player had penetrated silently into the ranks of the rising star system.

ART SONGS

Art songs by Spanish composers, performed in their native language, translated into English, or arranged by foreign composers, would not become widely popular until mid-century.⁴¹⁾ However, already by the second decade of the nineteenth century "the vogue for

³⁷⁾ Of Juan Goñi, Dolores' husband, it has been written that "by the fall of 1842, the last recorded mention of him suggests he was a member of the Rainers, a touring of North European folk singers, who would be the immediate inspiration for the homegrown Hutchinson Family Singers in New Hampshire" (Gansz 2013b: 133).

³⁸⁾ "Senora [sic] de Goni and Mr. Knoop's Concert," Daily Madisonian, February 28, 1843, p. 2; "A Chapter on Music," Charleston Courier, May 9, 1843, p. 2.

³⁹⁾ When the couple broke up, she made a living by giving guitar lessons and probably traveled to Havana and South America. In 1849, a letter from guitarist John Coupa to the luthier C. F. Martin stated that De Goñi had gone to Mexico "abandoning her children and 4-month old baby." Other sources report that she later married Juan Ignacio Laborde, interim Spanish consul in New Orleans, where she died in 1892 (Gansz 2013b: 135-136).

⁴⁰⁾ "Mr. Knoop and Madame de Goni," Utica Daily Gazette, December 12, 1842, p. 2.

⁴¹⁾ In 1818, the Bolognese pianist and composer Stefano Cristiani (1768 – ca. 1823) went on tour around the US performing Spanish songs in Virginia, Georgia, and Maryland ("Mr. Cristiani's Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert," Baltimore Patriot, September 24, 1818, p. 3). In the first decade of the 19th century, Cristiani had performed some of his operas in Spanish for the first time in the Caños del Peral Theater in Madrid, until he later settled in Cuba, being one of the first promoters of the opera in that country.

Spanish guitar in the United States coincided with what was happening in Europe, where Spanish popular songs and dances had become quite the rage in easy arrangements as salon pieces” (Stein 2009: 196). In 1815 a “Grand Concert & Ball” was advertised at New York’s Washington Hall, where an artist called Mr. Perrosier “will sing a Spanish volero [sic], accompanied with the Spanish Guitar.”⁴²⁾ And in 1819, Celestino Bruguera would also present Spanish songs such as “Qué bonito” and “Yo soy de amor la victima.”⁴³⁾

It is very likely that the presence of Trinidad Huerta in New York paved the way, at least in musical terms, for the arrival of his friend, Manuel Garcia, in November 1825; “by including [the previous month] Italian arias on his programme, among them ‘Di tanti palpiti’” (Radomski, 2000: 189).⁴⁴⁾ García’s daughter, Maria Felicitas, among other members of his family, was in the cast of the opera company that he directed. Known in the USA as “The Signorina”, she would become the country’s first singing star, just a few years before Europe would rechristen her with the name by which she would become world famous: Maria Malibran. After the Garcia family left for Mexico in 1826, Malibran decided to extend her stay in New York, where she would perform regularly at the New York Theatre. On occasion, she would introduce songs composed by her father, like “*Bajelito Nuevo*” and other Spanish songs “accompanied on the guitar.”⁴⁵⁾

From the list of Spanish songs that sprang up in the USA between 1840 to 1900, those by Sebastián de Iradier are without a doubt the ones that were performed the most.⁴⁶⁾ However, works by other authors from the Iberian Peninsula were also sung by Spanish and other foreign artists, such as Rosina Picó, Pepita Soto, Marietta Gazzaniga, Fortunata Tedesco, Adelina Patti, Mrs. W. J. Florence, Gaetano Braga, Juliana May, Giovanni Tagliapietra, Drusilla Garbato, Marie Aimée, Nellie Cunningham, Selina Dolaro, Linda

⁴²⁾ “Grand Concert & Ball,” Commercial Advertiser, February 10, 1815, p. 3.

⁴³⁾ “Musical Performance on the Spanish Guitar,” Augusta Chronicle, June 7, 1819, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁾ “Grand Concert,” New York Evening Post, October 12, 1825, p. 1. Other Rossini excerpts performed that night were the overture of *La Gazza Ladra*, and the cavatina of *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*.

⁴⁵⁾ “Concert,” Commercial Advertiser, October 23, 1827, p. 3. Celsa Alonso (1997: 174-184) and James Radomski (2000: 6, 10-11) have pointed out the diversity of musical trends and literary references, both cultivated and popular, in Manuel García’s work. “*Bajelito Nuevo*,” lyric by Francisco de Quevedo, was included in a song collection entitled *Caprichos líricos españoles*, published in París in 1830. Mexican operatic soprano Rita González de Santa Marta would also sing it in New York’s Sacred Music Society (“Amusements,” Commercial Advertiser, June 12, 1832, p. 3). On the life and work of Manuel García, see Radomski 2000.

⁴⁶⁾ Iradier’s songs performed in the US include “La colasa,” “Juanita,” “El jaque,” “La cachucha,” “La naranjera,” “El charrán,” “Ay, Chiquita,” “La poderosa,” “El suspiro,” “La flor de la canela,” “A la luna,” and “La Paloma.” Other songs by Spanish composers include “El juicio final” (Miguel Albelda), and “La seguidilla” (Soriano). Other songs, whose authorship is unknown to me, or their titles are shared by pieces of different composers are: “La Criada” (Carnicer or Iradier), “El beso” (Sanz Torroba or Sánchez-Allú), “La Macarena” (Oudrid, Soriano or Iradier), “La Pepa” (Iradier or Soriano), “La calesera” (Iradier or Soriano), “Tu sandunga,” “El pandero,” “canción española,” and “Hijos de las Españas.” For a comprehensive view of the art song in nineteenth century Spain, see Alonso 1997 and Draayer 2009.

Bambrilla, and others. These modern songs, intended for entertainment, and adorned “with picturesque elements and, in some cases, with feats of vocal virtuosity,” were widely popular in Spain (Alonso, 1997: 223). Taken together, the Spanish songs most frequently performed in the US were influenced by Andalusian neo-populism and creole (mainly Cuban) exoticism. They exemplify musicologist Derek Scott’s statement about the nineteenth-century rise of an international market for popular music:

We find here ... [that] elements of European [and Hispanoamerican] national styles one might associate with attempts to establish musical identities contiguous with national borders actually appear to possess a wider appeal. The nineteenth-century commercial popular style managed simultaneously both to be local and to transcend the local, as did the styles marketed as “world music” in the closing decades of the Twentieth Century (Scott 2008: 44).

Thus, the artistic, geographic, spatial, and social context in which these songs appear is fundamental to understanding some of the ways in which they may be experienced: inserted as interludes between operatic acts or as pieces of a repertory in music festivals and in instrumental and vocal recitals, they highlighted their populist orientation; included within a variety show, along with Scottish, Neapolitan, Irish, French, or Polish songs, they revealed their exotic and “ethnic” aspect; confined to parties in the Californian villas of the old Spanish families or of the few newly emigrated Spaniards, they fed a profound nationalistic and/or nostalgic sentiment; played at the little meetings of Spanish-Caribbean exiles in New York, they voiced a strong political commitment; performed in the parlors of the East Coast’s financial and industrial elite, they emphasized their novel and cosmopolitan character.⁴⁷⁾

⁴⁷⁾ Writing about the first great wave of immigration to America in the nineteenth Century, historian June G. Alexander has written, “Basques...made their way to California in the 1850’s. Having first migrated from South America, these Europeans subsequently went North in search of gold. Once the early arrivals had established a foothold, emigration directly from the Basque country began and continued for several more decades. Instead of mining gold, however, Basques took up sheepherding. By the 1870’s they dominated sheepherding operations throughout California and were setting out for nearby states. They concentrated in California, Nevada and Idaho, but Basque sheepherders also moved into the other coastal and far western states. Because immigration statistics for this group were incorporated into figures for both France and Spain, it is impossible to determine how many Basques came to the United States” (2009: 18).

“La Paloma,” Iradier’s most famous habanera, deserves special attention. The US debut of the song is attributed by some sources to Marietta Alboni and Adelina Patti during the 1852-53 season, or to Adelina Patti in her 1857 tour of Cuba and Mexico, following her performances in the US the same year (Díez Aguirre 1956: 39; Draayer 2009: 83-84).⁴⁸⁾



Figure 5. Carte de visite. Marie Aimée (Lyon 1852 – Paris 1887). Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

(Both sources place Iradier as a leading musician in both companies.) One thing is certain: it was surely the French actress and singer Marie Aimée (1852-1887) who began to make “La Paloma” popular in the 1870s (figure 5).⁴⁹⁾

⁴⁸⁾ Díaz Aguirre wrote the following lines in a newspaper from El Paso (TX): “Iradier developed a close relationship with soprano Marietta Alboni, who was at the time putting together a theater company for an American tour, with nine-year-old prodigy Adelina Patti as the leading star. Upon Alboni’s invitation, Iradier joined the company, offering his services as organist, pianist, guitarist or, even if necessary, castanet player. Touring New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and The Havane, Iradier delivered on his promises, enjoying resounding success, such that, with the approval of the entire company, he was promoted to orchestra director. In late 1852, while he was in Havana with Alboni’s company, Iradier composed that now immortal song. ... Alboni’s company returned to New York and later travelled to South America, but Iradier stayed on in New York for several months. He supported himself by giving guitar lessons to millionaire mercantilists’ daughters, who didn’t want to be less than the Countess of Montijo.” Unfortunately, I have not found any primary source that proves Iradier’s stay in the US. On the debate about date, origin and nationality of “La Paloma,” see Faltin and Schäfler, 2008.

⁴⁹⁾ One of the first performances of “La Paloma” would be performed as a dance, “the celebrated danza cubana”, at New Orleans’ Variety Theatre in 1872 (“Amusements,” October 25, 1872, p. 1).

In 1874 Aimée, who probably learned the song on her Cuban and Mexican tours, premiered it at the California Theatre in San Francisco and, months later, at the Lyceum Theatre in New York, in the third act of Offenbach's comic opera *La Perichole*.⁵⁰⁾ A decade later "La Paloma" would become a regular act as much in private *soirées* as in philharmonic society recitals, open-air band concerts, and then nascent Vaudeville programs. In 1883, Aimée herself would captivate the audience at the New York Casino with this song "which she had to sing four or five times before they were satisfied."⁵¹⁾ Vaudeville and music-hall singing star Maria Vanoni sang "La Paloma" as a regular part of her act at the beginning of her career, as did the famous Gilmore's Band.⁵²⁾ In San José (California), a Hispano-North American quartet took the name "La Paloma Mandolin Club," and in Chicago, the Mexican Band used it as a hook, announcing to newspaper readers that it would be performed "at each concert" (Figure 6).⁵³⁾ Surely it is no



Figure 6. Sheet Music. La Paloma. As Sung at Gilmore's Garden with Great Success by Signorina Galimberti. Several publishers (US), 1877. Library of Congress, Music Division (Washington DC).

⁵⁰⁾ "Amusements," San Francisco Chronicle, June 22, 1874, p. 4; "Amusements," Commercial Advertiser, October 16, 1874, p. 3. With a libretto written by H. Meilhac y L. Halevi and based on a novel by P. Merimée (Le Carrosse du Saint-Sacraiment), Offenbach's operetta premiered in Paris' Théâtre des Variétés on October 6, 1868.

⁵¹⁾ "Concert at The Casino," New York Herald, October 8, 1883, p. 10.

⁵²⁾ "Amusements," New York Herald, September 19, 1882, p. 21; "From New York," The Capital, June 10, 1877, p. 6.

⁵³⁾ "A Valentine Party," The Evening News, February 15, 1893, p. 3; "Amusements," Daily Inter Ocean, June 24, 1888, p. 15.

coincidence that from 1889-1901, before the Edison National Phonograph Company would significantly increase the quality and quantity of its recordings, the US spectators had already had the opportunity to listen to nine different versions of Iradier's song on cylinder recordings produced by this company.⁵⁴⁾ Nor is it a coincidence that audiences listened to it through a kinetophone while contemplating the turns of the Spanish dancer Carmencita in Edison's short films shot in 1894 (Altman 2004: 82).⁵⁵⁾

THE SPANISH STUDENTS AND THE THIRD WAVE OF SPANISH DANCE.

The presence of the "estudiantinas," known on North American soil as "The Spanish Students," became a binding factor for the popularization of Spanish music. The first group debuted at Boston's Park Theatre in early January of 1880.⁵⁶⁾ That year, they would perform for nine weeks in Manhattan and Brooklyn.⁵⁷⁾ The Spanish Students' fifteen members were selected from the Estudiantina Figaro, formed two years earlier under the direction of Spanish composer Dionisio Granados for the 1878 Universal Exposition held in Paris.⁵⁸⁾ Theatre manager Henry Abbey had contracted the group to perform at the Covent Garden Theatre in London, after a tour that had taken them to most of the countries in Europe.⁵⁹⁾ In the United States they would form part of a huge pantomime and variety show titled *Humpty-Dumpty* that combined tightrope walkers, clowns, jugglers, harlequins, and magicians using complex scenographic tricks. Leading the ballet was the prestigious French ballerina Marie Bonfanti.⁶⁰⁾

⁵⁴⁾ "La Paloma" has been one of the most recorded songs in the history of the twentieth century pop music. Renowned US artists like Jerry Roll Morton, Jerry Lee Lewis, Elvis Presley, Perry Como, Bing Crosby and Charlie Parker belong to the list as well.

⁵⁵⁾ For a detailed study of Edison's two brief motion pictures, see Mora 2014.

⁵⁶⁾ "Music and the Drama," Boston Daily Advertiser, January 3, 1880, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁾ "Amusements," New York Herald, February 3, 1880, p. 2; "Dramatic and Musical," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, March 29, 1880, p. 9.

⁵⁸⁾ The passenger list of the steamer France departing from London includes the following names: I. [Ignacio] Martín; G. [Gabino] Lapuente; V. [Valentín] Caro; L. [?] Lapuente; J. [José] Rodríguez; J. [José] Fernández; M. [Melquiades] Fernández [sic, Hernández]; L. [Laureano] Fernández [sic, Hernández], E. [Enrique] Olibares [sic, Olivares]; A. [Antonio] Carmona; M. [Manuel] González; E. [Eugenio] Antón; J. [Juan] Ripoll; M. Fuster [?] y E. Fornés [?]. The latter two names do not show up on the press chronicles dealing with the arrival of The Spanish Students in the US. In their place, newspapers mention the names of Miguel López and José García, well-known members of the Estudiantina Figaro, who played regularly in their Latin American tour. ("Life in the Metropolis," New York Sun, January 2, 1880, p. 1).

⁵⁹⁾ The list includes Portugal, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Prussia, Romania, Russia, Hungary, Italy, and Holland (Andreu Ricart 2014; Martín Sárraga 2014).

⁶⁰⁾ "Humpty-Dumpty and The Spanish Students", Brooklyn Daily Eagle, March 30, 1880, p. 3.

One article claimed that the instruments used by The Spanish Students were “five guitars, nine mandolins and one violin,” but added that “the guitars have fourteen and sixteen strings and the mandolins twelve strings.”⁶¹⁾ In other words, The Spanish Students were playing neither mandolins nor guitars, but rather two traditional Spanish instruments fairly unknown in the USA: the lute and the bandurria, although, according to what can be deduced from other newspaper articles and, above all, from the poster that advertised the group, it is possible that they also used several guitars and a cello (Figures 7 and 8).

The success of the student music group caused the immediate creation of other student music groups of the same name led by Italian American artists Carlo Curti and Domenico Tipaldi, this time indeed substituting the Spanish instruments for the Neapolitan mandolin (Sparks 2003: 24-29).

Although the brand Washburn already manufactured bandurrias around 1893, at the end of the century a violinmaker named Orville H. Gibson was inspired by the Neapolitan mandolin.⁶²⁾ This instrument was more familiar to the many Italian immigrants who had



Figure 7. Theatrical poster. “The celebrated Spanish Students and Abbey’s Humpty Dumpty Combination”. Strobridge & Co. Lith., 1880. Library of Congress, Prints and Photograph Division (Washington DC).

⁶¹⁾ “Life in the Metropolis”, New York Sun, January 2, 1880, p. 1.

⁶²⁾ “Announcements,” Daily Inter Ocean, October 1, 1893, p. 20.



Figure 8. Bandurria (left) and Neapolitan Mandolin (right). Fundación Joaquín Díaz de Urueña, Valladolid, Spain.

come in the US, almost one million from 1881 to 1900 (Daniels 2002: 189). Gibson designed a new model “with a flat back and carved top, lengthening the scale and adding a cutaway to make the high positions more accessible” (Vollen 2013). By then, the mandolin had infiltrated numerous banjo clubs scattered throughout the country. Gibson’s design, together with the growing number of musical scores arranged for that instrument, greatly popularized its use in North American bluegrass and folk music.⁶³⁾ The Spanish bandurria and the presence of The Spanish Students in the US can be found at the origin of this whole process.⁶⁴⁾

After a yearlong tour, The Spanish Students’ music became so popular that the press points out that “there is a great demand for pianoforte arrangements of their charming selections.”⁶⁵⁾ Their repertoire, instrumental and vocal, contained polkas, marzurkas, waltzes, boleros and pasodobles by Spanish composer Dionisio Granados, zarzuela songs

⁶³⁾ One of the first noted mentions of mandolins outside Italian or Spanish music was U. S. blues historian and songwriter W. C. Handy. In 1903, he wrote of a Cleveland (Mississippi) colored blues local trio he encountered: “They were led by a long-legged chocolate boy and their band consisted of just three pieces, a battered guitar, a mandolin, and a worn-out bass. (...) They struck up one of those over-and-over strains that seem to have no very clear beginning and certainly no ending at all. The strumming attained a disturbing monotony, but on and on it went, a kind of stuff that has long been associated with cane rows and levee camps. Thump-thump-thump were their feet on the floor. Their eyes rolled. Their shoulders swayed. And through it all that little agonizing strain persisted. It was not really annoying or unpleasant. Perhaps ‘haunting’ is a better word...” (1991: 76-77).

⁶⁴⁾ In 1888 the Bandurria Club was created in San Francisco, of Hispano-North American origin. The club announced its first concert at Odd Fellows’ Hall. The music club was under the direction of the Valencian José Sancho, member of the Estudiantina Figaro in its Latin American tour. The rest of the Hispanic musicians were José Lombardero, also from the Figaro, and Luis Toribio Romero, a Californian of Spanish parents (“Footlight Flashes”, San Francisco Chronicle, December 2, 1888, p. 3). On the biographical information of J. Sancho and L. Toribio Romero, see Back 2003: 10-11. In 1894, José Sancho renamed the group as the Alhambra Bandurria Club (“Amusements,” January 28, 1894, p. 13).

⁶⁵⁾ “Personal Glances”, Watertown Daily Times, March 27, 1880, p. 3.

and other pieces by Federico Chueca and Dámaso Zabalza, as well as European songs and medleys of popular Spanish and North American songs.⁶⁶⁾ In sum, The Spanish Students popularized popular Spanish airs (songs in the Andalusian one-act farces and zarzuelas), as well as instruments like the bandurria, the lute and the Spanish guitar on stage, all of which were very unusual in North American vaudeville.⁶⁷⁾

Later, in the last third of the century, a new wave of Spanish dancers arrived on the East Coast: Trinidad Huertas “La Cuenca”, La Bella Otero, Carmencita, Rosita Tejero and Consuelo Tamayo La Tortajada” (Figure 9). They would introduce flamenco dance in North America, although this does not mean that the Spanish dancers who arrived in the mid-nineteenth century did not use certain techniques typical to this music and dance genre in their repertory.⁶⁸⁾ Nevertheless, these late-nineteenth century artists would reinterpret styles already performed at mid-century, such as dance pieces of the zarzuela repertory, and dances in the contemporary flamenco and escuela bolera repertoires, such as peteneras, sevillanas, seguidillas, soleares, malagueñas, caracoles, and panaderos. The emergence of these new dances in Paris and, above all, Carmencita’s overwhelming success in New York caused the demand for Spanish dancers to skyrocket. It is Carmencita and the rest of Spanish dancers mentioned above to whom we must attribute the revitalization and the modernization of Spanish dance in the USA. Until then, the Spanish dancers that performed in this country had to settle for the accompaniment of Spanish music arranged for and played by North American orchestras. But now, the frequent presence of The Spanish Students, some of whose members had studied in Spain with flamenco guitar masters, provided music with an unmistakable “Spanish flavor.”⁶⁹⁾

⁶⁶⁾ At the Cincinnati’s Highland House, for example, they accompanied the members of the English Opera Company in songs such as “I love but Thee” (A. G. Robyn), “Turkish Patrol” (T. Michaelis), “Babies on Our Block” (D. Braham), and “Good bye, Sweetheart” (J. Hatton) (“The Spanish Students”, Cincinnati Daily Advertiser, July 20, 1880, p. 6). They also presented in Boston “Teresitamia” (M. Nieto), “Me gustan todas” (J. Rogel), “My Mary Ann” (M. Tyte), “Hail Columbia” (P. Phile), and, in New York, the blackface minstrel song “Dixie’s Land.”

⁶⁷⁾ According to Nicholas Tawa, the usual music instrumentation of this kind of show was as follows: “A pianist was mandatory; if two musicians could be afforded, a drummer was usually added; if three, a violinist or cornetist. If several instruments could be afforded, a clarinet, trombone and string bass were added to the four already named” (1990: 74). Famous American light opera singer Fay Templeton would become one of the few groundbreaking women playing the Spanish guitar in US vaudeville shows (“Amusements,” San Francisco Chronicle, September 26, 1884, p. 4).

⁶⁸⁾ In fact, it is in the last two decades of the twentieth century when the word “flamenco” began to appear in the US press, linked to a certain type of Spanish dance. In New York, besides the pantomimic dance of the bullfight that made her famous, La Cuenca presented a dance announced by the press as “el baile flamenco” (“The Theatres Waking Up,” New York Herald, July 22, 1888, p. 16).

⁶⁹⁾ The Spanish Students’ line-up which assisted Carmencita in her 1891 American tour was made up of eleven musicians: Pablo Echepare (dir. and guitar), Juan Anzano and Eugenio A. Urraca (guitars); Valentín Caro, Alesandro Renneses [sic, Alejandro Meneses], Gonzalo Aparicio, Manuel Corredera, Pedro Celorrio, José Tassies [sic, Olagüenaga] (bandurrias); Juan Ripoll (violin) and Julián Fernández (cello) (“Next Week’s Play Bills,” Kansas City Times, September 13, 1891, p. 17). On Carmencita’s US tours, see Mora 2011.



Figure 9. Engraving. “‘La Cuenca’, the graceful Spanish dancer and bullfighter.” From a photograph by William H. Leeson. *National Police Gazette*, July 28, 1888, p. 4.

OPERA AND ZARZUELA (SPANISH OPERETTA)

Spanish presence in the opera was well established in US theaters of the nineteenth century; In fact, many scholars consider that it was the Spanish-Italian company owned by Sevillian Manuel García that truly brought European opera to New York. Thus, on November 29, 1825 Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* premiered at the Park Theatre, “the first full-length, foreign language opera to be heard in New York City”, according to theater historian Glenn Hughes (1951: 130).⁷⁰⁾ This is not a coincidence given that the operas and operettas in the nineteenth century European repertory frequently included Spanish themes, characters or melodies.⁷¹⁾ Yet, even though the companies on tour in the United States performed this repertory because of its European origin, some of the most famous operettas in the autochthonous repertory also contained an Spanish accent (*Doctor of Alcantara* (1862) by Julius Eichberg, *Cassilda* (1870) by William Bassford, *The Smugglers* (1882) and *El Capitan* (1896) by John Philip Sousa, *Don Quixote* (1889) by Reginald de Koven, *The Triumph of Columbus* (1892) by Silas G. Pratt...etc).

Without a doubt, the first premieres of Bizet’s *Carmen* by two separate companies, one in New York and another in Philadelphia in October 1878, constitute an important point of inflection, situated chronologically between the second and third waves

of Spanish dancers mentioned above. After the Civil War ended in 1865, the years dedicated to Reconstruction (1865 – 1877) had left little margin, both financially and psychologically, for the performance of foreign grand operas. But, suddenly,

⁷⁰⁾ “Amusements,” *New York Daily Advertiser*, November 29, 1825, p. 2.

⁷¹⁾ Among them, Bishop’s *John of Paris*; Strauss’ *Don Quixote*; Beethoven’s *Fidelio*; Auber’s *Massaniello*; Donizetti’s *La Favorita*; Massenet’s *Le Cid* and *Don Cesar de Bazán*; Offenbach’s *Don Quixote* and *La Perichole*; Kreutzer’s *A Night in Granada*; Mozart’s *La Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*; Verdi’s *Il Trovatore* and *Ernani*; Rossini’s *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*; Arrieta’s *Marina*; Wallace’s *Maritana*; Weber’s *Preciosa*...etc.

Americans saw an opera very different from anything they had seen before on an operatic stage. George Bizet's *Carmen* made a powerful impression. Harsh, brutal, shocking—contemporaries were correct in sensing its importance, for it marked the end of operatic romanticism and the appearance of an epoch-making kind of realism on the operatic stage (Dizikes, 1995: 214).



Figure 10. Carte de visite. Minnie Hauk as Carmen, 1878. Photograph by N. Sarony. George Eastman House Collection, International Museum of Photography and Film (Rochester, NY).

From then on and during the following three decades, the *Carmens*, *Escamillos*, *Don Josés*, and *Micaelas*, whether in operas or in versions adapted for burlesque, whether respecting the original story or using similar motifs, characters, and sets, would be a regular ingredient in the New York theater programs (Figure 10).⁷²⁾ An example of the last case is the comic opera *The Contrabandista*, by Arthur Sullivan. Performed in London in 1867, it debuted at the Broadway Theatre in New York just a few months after the debut of *Carmen* under the title *I Ladroni*.⁷³⁾

And the influence of Bizet's opera was not limited to theater. Just two years after *Carmen*'s US debut in 1878, it is difficult to attribute to chance the celebration of the first bullfight in New York in the summer of 1880 (Figure 11). During the first season of that year, *Carmen* was performed on numerous occasions at Booth's Theatre, under the direction of Max Strakosh and with the Russian mezzo-soprano Ana de Belocca in the lead role.⁷⁴⁾ Later, the opera performances would be repeated at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn during the fall season.⁷⁵⁾ Thus, the bullfight constituted a very appropriate

⁷²⁾ To cite only the most renowned, Clara L. Kellog, Minnie Hauk, Anna de Belocca, Zelia Trebelli, Lilli Lehmann, Adelina Patti, Zèlie de Lussan, Emma Calvé and Mira Heller embodied the protagonist in New York in the late nineteenth century.

⁷³⁾ "Amusements," *New York Herald*, February 27, 1879, p. 1.

⁷⁴⁾ "Record of Amusements," *New York Times*, January 25, 1880, p. 7.

⁷⁵⁾ "Dramatic and Musical," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 19, 1880, p.



Figure 11. Poster. A Bullfight in Central Park. July 31, 1880. Museum of Modern Art, NYC.

interpolation, given that it offered the New York spectator a real experience, although softened, of the story line and the scene of an opera that would be very much present in the billboards throughout the entire year. The event, amply covered by the city's press, was held on July 31 in Central Park in a portable bullring big enough to hold nine thousand people, and featured the Spanish bullfighter Ángel Fernández "Valdemoro."⁷⁶

Regarding the zarzuela (announced as "Spanish operetta"), the turning point in relation to this genre is considered to have occurred at the end of 1917, with the premiere of *The Land of Joy* by Quinto Valverde at the Park Theatre in New York (Sturman, 2000: 60). But already in 1880, the Orrin Brothers & Co. already included Subira's Zarzuela Troupe in its lineup. It seems, however, that the Zarzuela Troupe met with little success, because surely language constituted a significant obstacle for US audiences. During the 1880s, when zarzuela music was performed, it would be only instrumental, or included as independent songs within a varied musical program. At the end of 1889, violinist Pablo de Sarasate would interpolate at the Metropolitan "some habaneras that he himself arranged on motifs from the zarzuela *El hombre es débil*." Nonetheless, due to the ever-growing presence of exiled Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, zarzuela slowly penetrated in New York from the beginning of 1890. That year the Criterion Theatre in Brooklyn presented an entire zarzuela performance that could have well been the first of its kind offered in the city (Figure 12):

A performance of a novel character will be given at the Criterion Theatre, under the direction of Toledo, Delgado and Cairo, next Monday night, when of the four parts into which the programme is divided three will be given in the Spanish language. One of this is the one-act comedy, "Asirse de un cabello" (clinging to a hair) in which Mme. and Prof. Toledo will take part. Another is the one-act Spanish operetta "Música Classica [sic]" (classical music), with señora De Ors, Senor V. Toledo and Senor Gimens [sic,

⁷⁶ Ángel Fernández Pérez "Valdemoro" (1840-1915) debuted in the Plaza de Toros de Madrid in 1872; the bullfighter Cayetano Sanz Pozas was the padrino, and Salvador Sánchez Povedano "Frasculo" witnessed the event (Cossio, 1995: 436). But Central Park's bullfighting experience was not completely real. Henry Beigh, president of The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, forbade the lances of the picadors and the killing of the bull section. No iron was used for the banderillas and the horns of each bull were carefully tipped with leather-covered pads ("Torreros [sic] in Many Colours", New York Sun, July 31, 1880, p. 1; "The Bullfight", New York Sun, July 31, 1880, p. 2). Michael A. Ogorzaly devotes some lines, not always accurate, to this event (2006: 52-53).

Jimeno]] in the cast. The one-act comedy “Tom Noddy’s Secret” will be presented in English, and the one-act operetta “El Hombre Es Débil” (Man is Weak) in Spanish. On this occasion Senora De Ors will make her first appearance before an American audience. She



Figure 12. Photograph. Payton’s Theatre (former Criterion Theatre) in Brooklyn, NYC, ca. 1900.

is well spoken of. During the interim between the acts Senora De Ors will sing some Spanish songs and Senor Arencelia [sic] a ballad.

Two years later, in October 1892, a similar meeting on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America had reunited a Cuban cast at New York’s Chickering Hall for the premiere of *Las ventas de Cárdenas*, an Andalusian one-act farce by Tomás Rodríguez Rubí. The show, which was repeated two more times, included the presentation of “the great novelty of the day, the genuine Andalusian songs, presented for the first time in New York by the famous Andalusian cantaor, Antonio Grau.” The *New York Herald’s* announcement is wrong about his Andalusian descent since he is an artist from Callosa del Segura, a village in the province of Alicante. Known in flamenco circles as “El Rojo el Alpargatero”, he accompanied himself on the guitar that night, as was also usual in his performances in Spain. Months before he had toured the Southern states with his sister-in-law Carmencita and The Spanish Students, with whom he also performed in Boston, Rochester and Buffalo. El Rojo was one of the greatest exponents of the “cantes de Levante” and is considered by critics to be the creator of a form of fandango referred to as “cartagenera.” Therefore, it can be said that the introduction of flamenco in New York, now completely codified for its use in theatrical productions as much for song as for guitar and dance, happened in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

When the Edison Phonograph Works published its *Catalogue of Musical Records* between 1889 and 1892, it included a “Spanish fandango” and the “Santiago Waltz” performed by the First Regiment Band of New York. From then up until 1901 the Edison National Phonograph Company would release more than four hundred pieces related to Spain. The majority of them were those disseminated through scores, opera performances, promenade concerts, and vaudeville shows in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the USA. The rest of them were zarzuela songs widely known in Latin-American countries, intended mainly for Spanish speaking people of the southern states, the few immigrants starting to settle in the north, as well as the most cosmopolitan members of the middle classes. The role of Spanish music in the nineteenth century USA must be studied in depth. This may also help us to see the first years of the American music industry’s history in a new light. This article reveals just the tip of the iceberg.

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