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**The Path to Trade Unionism:
Musical Work in Chile (1893-1940)**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Culture and Creative Arts

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between music as art and music as work has been a perennial issue in musicians' working lives. It has provoked longstanding debates not just in academia but also in musicians' practice and their organisations. Little is known, however, about the social history of musicians' organisations, particularly outside the Anglophone world. This thesis addresses this issue by reading a broad range of documents written by musicians who worked in music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Valparaíso, Chile. I call them working-musicians, in contrast to those who made music for the sake of it without expecting payment in exchange. These working-musicians gathered in collective organisations that followed the model of the labour movement, such as mutual aid societies and trade unions. Behind the creation and functioning of these organisations lie complex and variegated decisions that the musicians made themselves. Analysing their discussions and processes of decision making embedded in the wider context of postcolonial Chile sheds light on how these working-musicians and their organisations coped with the changes in the ebullient music industries of the port city of Valparaíso and the rising labour movement. Through case studies and document analysis, this thesis brings together perspectives from labour history, Latin American studies and musicology, and contributes to conversations on the study of musical labour. Overall, it tells a part of the social history of Chilean music from a labour perspective.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis wouldn't have been possible without the help and generosity of many people. First, I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof Martin Cloonan, Dr Eva Moreda Rodríguez and Dr John Williamson, for guiding me over the years with their encouragement, friendly and wise criticism. Advice given by Dr Henriette Partzsch and Dr Eamon McCarthy was also of great help.

I am grateful to the archivists, scholars and musicians who facilitated access to unique documents, shared information and pointed me in the right direction during my fieldtrips. I owe a great thanks to my friend Cristian Molina, who generously helped me finding documents in Chilean archives. I want to say thanks to Pia Settimi for her help in digitising Césari's documents, for her trust and warm hospitality. I thank my friend and colleague José Manuel Izquierdo for giving me valuable insights on earlier versions of some chapters.

Ideas contained in this thesis took shape at several conferences. I thank the organisers and participants who gave fruitful feedback. Earlier versions of some chapters were published as articles (Karmy 2017 and Karmy & Molina 2018). Thanks to the reviewers and editors of these journals. Some of my archival trips were supported by the RSA of the College of Arts of the University of Glasgow and the Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS). My doctoral studies were funded by CONICYT - Becas Chile scholarship.

I thank my fellow doctoral researchers, staff and students at Glasgow who enriched the experience academically and socially. I extend my special thanks to Gabrielle Kielich for being a fun travelling companion, a good friend and for helping me in proofreading this thesis. Any errors are, of course, my own. Big hugs go to my dear friends in Edinburgh who helped me feel at home and keep things in perspective: Penny Stone, Margaret Bremner, Hala George, Kathy Jenkins and Liz Elkind took me out to the streets to sing for a better world with PiH and Wildfire. Rosa, Yenny, Serguey, Felipe, Valeria, José, Andrea, Santi, David and Charlotte for the *onces* and laughter.

I thank my parents and my brothers for their love, constant support and encouragement. I dedicate this work my niece and nephews: Antonina Sirín, Oliver Valentín and Ian Salvador. Finally, my thanks go to my partner Martín, who has been constantly wonderful during the entire journey. From moving to the other end of the world, his consistently intelligent and enthusiastic comments on my work, to taking the road together to other refreshing musical adventures.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDC. *Alianza de los Intelectuales por la Defensa de la Cultura.* Alliance of Intellectuals for the Defence of Culture.

ANC. *Asociación Nacional de Compositores.* National Association of Composers.

ANCS. *Asociación Nacional de Conciertos Sinfónicos.* National Association of Symphonic Concerts.

CDM. *Centro de Documentación e Investigación Musical.* Centre for Music Document and Research at Facultad de Artes Universidad de Chile, Santiago. It hosts **FPG** and **FDS**.

CTCh. *Confederación de Trabajadores de Chile.* Workers' Confederation of Chile.

DIC. *Dirección de Informaciones y Cultura.* Direction of Information and Culture.

EC. Executive Committee.

FDS. *Fondo Domingo Santa Cruz.* Domingo Santa Cruz Collection.

FOCh. *Federación Obrera de Chile.* Workers' Federation of Chile.

FPG. *Fondo Pablo Garrido.* Pablo Garrido Collection.

IEM. *Instituto de Extensión Musical.* Institute for Music Promotion.

MMValpo. *Memoria Musical de Valparaíso.* Musical Memory of Valparaíso.

OSN. *Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional.* National Symphony Orchestra.

PCA. Pedro Césari Family Archive, Manziana, Italy.

POS. *Partido Obrero Socialista.* Socialist Worker Party.

SB. *Sociedad Bach.* Bach Society.

SCCh. *Sociedad de Compositores Chilenos.* Society of Chilean Composers.

SIMUPROVAL. *Sindicato de Músicos Profesionales de Valparaíso.* Professional Musicians' Union of Valparaíso.

SINAMUARCHI. *Sindicato Nacional de Músicos de Artistas de Chile,* National Musicians and Artists' Union of Chile.

SIPO. *Sindicato Profesional Orquestal.* Professional Orchestral Union.

SMB. *Sindicato de Músicos de Banda.* Marching Band Musicians' Union.

SMSMS. *Sociedad Musical de Socorros Mutuos de Santiago.* Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Santiago.

SMSMV. *Sociedad Musical de Socorros Mutuos de Valparaíso.* Musicians' Musical Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso.

SPCM. *Sindicato Profesional de Compositores de Música de Chile.* Professional Union of Composers of Chile.

SPMV. *Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso.* Professional Musicians Union of Valparaíso.

INTRODUCTION

Pero cuando el show se acaba, soy otro humano cualquiera.

But when the show is over, I am human like anyone else.

Rubén Blades, “El Cantante”

PROLOGUE

I would like to start this thesis by returning to the time when I began thinking about it, applying for the PhD position and writing up the research proposal. It was 2014 and I had just finished six-months of exploratory research on the contemporary working conditions of musicians in Chile, which not only revealed their precariousness, but also the lack of public policies towards it and the weakness of musicians’ organisations (Karmy et al. 2015). Among the public policies was the bill that asked for a quota of twenty per cent of Chilean music in radio broadcasting¹, which provoked great debate between radio broadcasters and musicians. It struck me that in this debate radio broadcasters were united in the Association of Radio Broadcasters (ARCHI), whilst musicians were dispersed in a wide array of organisations. Among these SINAMUARCHI emerged as a new musicians’ union in 2013², showing an exceptional trend after the return of

¹ The bill was approved after six years of discussion in Parliament, in 2015, as Law on the Promotion of Chilean Music, asking for a minimum of twenty per cent of Chilean music to be broadcast on radio. The bill represented an exceptional policy of a subsidiary state that seek to promote the growth of the music industries without offering protection to musicians (Karmy et al. 2015, p. 39).

² SINAMUARCHI seeks to “unite music and entertainment professionals in a collegiate body” pursuing to “represent members in their rights as workers and to guarantee, even in a short term, an employment field that allows to keep music professionals working, even though our trade does not have a regular hiring party” (SINAMUARCHI 2013, para. 1-2).

democracy in 1990³, when most of the musicians' organisations were copyright and composers' societies and associations of artists without guild character.

A key event, however, was finding the archival documents of the musicians' union of Valparaíso (SIMUPROVAL) whilst researching the development of tango orchestras in that port city (Molina & Karmy 2012). Dating from 1893, these documents contain a unique and invaluable source for the research on musicians' organisation and musicians' working lives in Valparaíso. They opened new research questions about musicians' working lives, the politics of musicians' organisations and the perennial issues of musical work.

This previous research made evident the need to trace the history of musicians' unions, highlight their role in the music industries and understand their connections with the labour movement, if there were any. This history needs to be studied in order to get a comprehensive account of musicians' working lives and the industries they worked in. Through the prism of musicians' unions and using the archival documents of SIMUPROVAL, this thesis provides insight into musicians' working lives, their conflicts and challenges. It shows that musicians' unions played a pivotal but rather unexplored role, intertwined with the music industries and the wider labour movement. The perspective of labour, and treating musicians as workers, delves into the perennial debate surrounding music-as-art versus music-as-work. It also tackles the differences and conflicts among musicians working across genres and their relations with both non-musical workers and non-working musicians.

1. RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The purpose of this archive-based research project is to gain insight into musicians' working lives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Chile. The specific emphasis is to explore how working-musicians organised

³ Pinochet lead a dreadful civilian-military dictatorship from 1973 to 1990 marking "the end of an era of the Chilean labour movement" (Alvarez 2010, p. 328). The regime focused on deactivating the grassroots movement linked to the labour movement and leftists' politics through repression, banning the right to strike, establishing severe restriction of meetings, the end of elections in trade unions, among other measures (ibid., pp. 332; Campero & Valenzuela 1984, p. 171).

themselves, analysing how their organisations shaped musicians' self-definition as artists, as workers, or as a combination of both. It is also relevant to understand how successfully these organisations coped with working-musicians' issues.

Through the prism of musical work, this thesis focuses on the oldest musicians' organisations founded in Valparaíso by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even though these functioned locally, their contribution went across the country. Through exchanges and agreements with other organisations, of musicians and non-musicians, from the same city and beyond, the contribution of these working-musicians' organisations interweaved between the music industries and the labour movement.

With the subjects of study being the working musicians of Valparaíso who joined either the Musicians' Mutual Aid Society (SMSMV) or the Musicians' Union (SPMV) between 1893 and 1940, this thesis aims to understand *why* musicians organised themselves collectively, and *how* they did so. Second, by focusing on these musicians, this study aims to analyse how successfully the SMSMV and the SPMV coped with the twofold changes in the music industries and the labour movement that affected them during this period. In this regard, a third objective of the study emerges: to analyse the extent to which these musicians' organisations drew aspects from both the music industries and the labour movement, and how this shaped, if at all, the (self) definition of musicians in the broader debate of music-as-art or music-as-work. For this, it is essential to analyse how these organisations outlined a music profession and how this changed over time, drew from and contributed to, on the one hand, the music industries, and on the other, the broader labour movement.

This study sheds light on musicians' working lives, illustrating the main problems they faced when trying to make their living from music and how their organisations helped them. It contributes to understanding how musicians organised themselves in Chile, from mutual aid societies to trade unions, from regionally to nationally, looking collectively to protect and improve their living and working conditions.

In sum, this thesis examines musicians' guild organisations and their impact on musicians' working lives, conflicts, and success and failures. It contributes to making visible the social history of working musicians, which is barely addressed in Chilean music historiography. Furthermore, this thesis shows the peculiarity of the Chilean case, in the context of the growing scholarship on musicians' working lives and musicians' unions, especially in the Anglophone academy. It shows, for example, that musicians in Chile chose to organise in the form of regional trade unions rather than a national one, as the British and the North American unions did. It also outlines the impact that working musicians' organisations had on the labour movement and the music industries of the time.

This thesis asks about the reasons behind the omissions of the working-musicians' organisations in the Chilean music literature, and reflects on the consequences of thinking of musicians as workers and the extent to which their artistic status is jeopardised when considering them in such a way. By highlighting 'hidden' musicians working in Valparaíso, whose working conditions have been largely overlooked by music scholars, this thesis asks about their contribution towards two collective organisations based in Valparaíso, the SMSMV and the SPMV.

In light of all that, the following questions guide this study:

- What role did the musical work, musicians' class, gender and nationality play in the way they define themselves as artists, as workers, or as a particular combination of both?
- Why and how did musicians organise themselves collectively? How successfully did these organisations cope with the twofold changes in the music industries and the broader labour movement?

2. SCOPE

To contain the range of the study to a scale manageable and appropriate for a PhD thesis, it is limited to the two different but interrelated above-mentioned case studies. It also has a scope in terms of time and place. The time period ranges from 1893, which marks the foundation and first meeting of the Musicians' Mutual

Aid Society of Valparaíso (SMSMV), to 1940, when the first Musicians' Congress of Chile took place in Santiago (see appendix 1). In terms of place, it covers what at the late nineteenth century was considered the province of Valparaíso, including the port city and new neighbouring towns that would gain relevance after the turn of the century, such as Playa Ancha and Viña del Mar. This is consistent with the organisations' membership criteria, open only to those working in the province of Valparaíso. This local scope follows the underpinning aim of this thesis of making visible the social history of musicians' organisations from the perspective of the provinces and not necessarily from the capital, as is often done in scholarship from centralistic countries such as Chile. However, as one of the key musicians in this study moved from Valparaíso to Santiago, joining the musicians' union there, the scope of the thesis moves to Santiago without losing sight of the working-musicians based in Valparaíso. It does so principally by analysing the First Musicians' Congress that took place in Santiago, but that gathered musicians from all over the country, including those from Valparaíso.

Overall, the thesis analyses musicians' working lives, with a historical focus on the two main organisations of musicians of Valparaíso formed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examining the debates towards musical work. It includes detail of other musicians' organisations, when relevant, but it does not provide an exhaustive account of them (see appendix 8).

3. DEFINITIONS

The term 'working-musician' is used here for clarity and refers to those who sought to earn their living from music, either full-time or part-time, whether this was complemented with other income sources or not, and with no distinction of what sort of job was undertaken in the music industries. They could be instrumentalists, conductors, composers, teachers, arrangers, etc., generally working in popular music, but not exclusively. Specifically, this thesis is not about *all* working musicians but those who gathered in working musicians' organisations, particularly in the SMSMV and the SPMV. Despite the differences between mutual aid societies and trade unions, they both are understood here as 'workers' organisations' because they gathered musicians who *worked* in music, hence

focused on protecting and improving musicians' lives and work as workers rather than solely as artists. Therefore, the members of these two musicians' organisations based in Valparaíso are the focus of this study. This is coherent with the membership criteria of these organisations indicating that even 'passive' members were potential 'working-musicians'⁴. In addition, it ensures capturing a sample of working-musicians often overlooked and mostly absent from music history literature.

The role of different social categories in the definition 'the musician' comes into play. These categories are: the type of musical work undertaken by musicians, their belonging to a certain class, gender and nationality. Altogether, these shaped musicians' self-definition, as workers, as artists, or as a particular combination of both. They also help to highlight the differences among musicians, specifically relating to the changeable and unstable definitions of professionals, amateurs, *aficionados* and working musicians. These differences were not addressed neutrally but understanding them as the seed that brought inequalities among them. These inequalities would take especial relevance when the state began to support one or another type of musician.

Although this issue is discussed further in chapter 1, it is essential to note here that most of the musicians studied in this thesis are unknown in Chilean music historiography. There are others, however, that are relatively well-known such as Pedro Césari and Pablo Garrido. Yet, when they are addressed in music literature their characteristics as workers are neglected and remain hidden whilst their characteristics as artists – far from mundane problems – are highlighted, avoiding naming them as 'mutualist' or 'unionist' and building a romanticised image of

⁴ Both the SMSMV and the SPMV defined five categories of members: active, passive, retired, honorary and founding members. The first corresponded to those who fulfilled all the criteria for joining and likewise enjoyed all the privileges and obligations of membership. Passive members were those who did not fulfil all the requirements to join, because, for example, were younger of what was required, and enjoyed some benefits of membership. Retired members were those who, for age or trajectory, were exempted of payment but enjoyed all benefits of membership. Honorary members did not enjoy the benefits of membership, but neither were required to fulfil any requirements. In general, these were those who supported the organisation financially or with services, such as lawyers. Finally, founding members were those who were part of the founding meeting and inauguration of the organisation. These could be also active, retired and honorary, and enjoyed all the benefits of membership.

musicians closer to the idea of ‘genius’ rather than to the one of ‘worker’. This study, via understanding these musicians as either mutualists or unionists, points out the industrial side of music history, and addresses the division of labour in the musical work. By locating these ‘maestro’ musicians more closely to ‘regular workers’ rather than to the genius artist, it reveals the link that these musicians established between the music industries and the labour movement of the time.

For the purposes of this study I will refer to the Chilean music industries as a dynamic industry that from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth, consisted mostly of the commercialisation of musical instruments, the development of sheet music and music careers in performance and composition (González & Rolle 2005, p. 173). As in most places, the Chilean music industry changed dramatically in the 1920s with the emergence of the recording, radiophonic and film industries, reaching an unprecedented development (ibid., pp. 39, 43). Without ignoring the variety of components of the music industries, this thesis focuses on live music and, to a lesser extent, songwriting and composition, as particularly relevant working places for the musicians under scrutiny here.

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach and draws on elements of academic fields related to Latin American studies, musicology, social history and labour studies. It examines musicians’ working lives, why they joined a working-musicians’ organisation and the tensions and conflicts among musicians in different fields and organisations.

4. STRUCTURE

The thesis is structured around two different but related case studies: The Musicians’ Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso (*Sociedad Musical de Socorros Mutuos de Valparaíso* or SMSMV) and the Professional Musicians’ Union of Valparaíso (*Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso* or SPMV). The former was established in 1893 and the later in 1931, both in the port city of Valparaíso.

This thesis is in three parts. The first presents the theoretical and methodological framework. Chapter 1 addresses in-depth the theoretical discussion of musical labour (Kraft 1996; David-Guillou 2009; Stahl 2013; Roberts 2014; Cloonan 2014; Williamson & Cloonan 2016). Chapter 2 explains the methods used in this research, and addresses fundamental questions of case studies, document analysis and the challenges of attempting to reconstruct the history of popular musicians' working lives (Thornton 1990; Finnegan 2007).

Part two analyses the role of the SMSMV and its successor, the SPMV. It outlines musicians' working lives by including snapshots of key musicians whose contributions were vital for these organisations. By analysing the aims, activities and membership of these organisations, this part delves into its contribution towards the labour movement and the music industries. This part is divided into three chapters: Chapter 3 focuses on the rise and plenitude of the SMSMV from its origin in 1893 to the economic crisis of 1914, highlighting the role of Valparaíso as a cosmopolitan port city and of working-musicians as labour aristocrats. Chapter 4 analyses the new challenges for the mutualised musicians in the new era of decline of mutualism and discusses the conceptual dichotomy of musicians as artists and musicians as workers. The transition from a mutual aid society to a trade union of musicians is examined in chapter 5. By contrasting the changes in technologies and the labour legal framework, this chapter asks to what extent these changes had an impact on musicians' working lives and the transformation of their organisation into a trade union.

Part three moves from the case studies of the musicians' organisations of Valparaíso to a national focus, delving into wider debates around musical labour. It is divided into three chapters: Chapter 6 focuses on the pivotal role of Pablo Garrido, musician and member of these organisations. Garrido's contribution to making the problems of musical work visible and preparing musicians for their first Congress, that took place in 1940, is analysed in chapter 7. Chapter 8 contrasts two different projects on music and musicians, including the perspective of musicians gathered in artistic associations and their role in the creation of state-funded institutions to promote music as an art, such as the Institute for Music Promotion (IEM).

PART I: DEFINITIONS

CHAPTER 1

I am a musical worker, I am not an artist. The people and time will say if I am an artist. At this moment, I am a worker. And a worker with a defined [political] consciousness.

Víctor Jara

(Jara 1973)

This chapter provides the context for the empirical work and examines existing literature in three areas. It goes from the broad theoretical approach of musicians as workers to the specific context of Chile, including: a) thinking of musicians as workers; b) historiography of the labour movement in Chile; and c) musicians' working lives, with a focus on Chile. The chapter argues that little attention has been paid to musicians as workers and their organisations. In recent decades, however, scholarship on musical work has grown and the focus on musicians' organisations, especially in Anglophone academia, has been of particular interest. The increasing literature on musicians' working lives has established a significant common ground to the field, contributing to understanding musicians' working lives and their organisations. However, with these studies being focused on the Anglophone and European contexts, they are not always applicable to the Chilean case because of the particularities of each. Being that this is the first study that explicitly considers musicians as workers and focuses on working musicians' organisations in Chile, the challenge becomes evident, which is further explained throughout this chapter.

1. THEORETICAL APPROACH: UNDERSTANDING MUSICIANS AS WORKERS

Among Anglophone academics the issue of working in music, and therefore, thinking of musicians as workers, has been a growing concern in recent years. Although the focus on different contexts and eras of previous research challenges to find an agreed definition of ‘working musicians’, it is possible to find common ground and give a summarised account of some level of consensus.

At the first Working in Music Conference, *The Musicians’ Union, Musical Labour and Employment*, held in Glasgow in January 2016, there were not only a broad range of papers but also they were from various places, from Anglophone and non Anglophone contexts⁵, which illustrates the international relevance of this topic of broad interest (Cloonan & Williamson 2017). There were papers about the history of musicians’ organisations, about musical work at different music scenes, past and contemporary, and about the working conditions of various sort of musicians⁶. As Simon Frith (2017) highlights, these papers had in common the underlying question of whether musicians are workers or not, and if so, what are the particularities of their work (p. 111).

These questions have been previously addressed by several scholars, who broadly understand musicians as “particular sorts of workers seeking paid employment” within music (Williamson & Cloonan 2016, p. 8), such as Attali (1985), Becker (1974, 1982), Ehlirch (1985), Kraft (1996), Loft (1950), Stahl (2013), among others. These scholars have stressed the main issues that musicians deal with when thinking of their activity as work. Among their main concerns is the protection of their jobs and the improvement of their working conditions, especially exacerbated when technological changes threaten their workplaces. These concerns result in the formation of collective and protective organisations of musicians, such as mutual benefit societies or trade unions. David-Guillou (2009)

5 Such as Britain, USA, Australia, New Zealand, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Galicia and my own from Chile (see, for example, Perrenoud & Bataille 2017; Deniz Silva 2017; and Karmy 2017).

6 After this Conference a special edition of *Popular Music and Society* was published in 2017 under the topic of *Popular Music and Labor: Popular Music and Society*, 40 (5), pp. 493-604.

argues that as musicians' working conditions deteriorate "many started to consider the possible benefits of unionization" (p. 287). In other words, as traditional labour history, musicians' organisations emerged when their working conditions worsened, and they find more effective to seek for the protection or improvement of their conditions collectively rather than individually. This argument will be discussed here, concerning the emergence of the SMSMV and, particularly, of the trade union of musicians in Valparaíso (SPMV). In both cases, musicians organised collectively seeking for mutual protection of their living and working conditions. However, this aim was not the only cause that triggered the formation of these collective organisations, as it is analysed in this thesis.

In his detailed study of musicians' organisations in the USA and various European countries, Loft (1950) illustrates that the main problems that contemporary musicians' unions have in common with the ancient ones are: i) their attempts to control working conditions for members; ii) to combat competition; iii) to adjust to new conditions imposed by technological innovations; iv) to ensure a living wage; v) to regulate the requirement for admission; and vi) "to extend the geographic area in which the organization exerts control" (p. 2). These issues have been studied by other scholars, in specific contexts and eras, when some of these are more relevant than others. For example, Kraft (1995, 1996) focuses on the USA of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, analysing trade unionism and the impact of technological changes in musical work. He argues that "the most important objective of the unions in the late 19th century was to establish and maintain uniform wage scales" (Kraft 1996, p. 12). Stahl (2015) argues that the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) emerged "amid a struggle over the meaning and status of the musician" revolving around the perennial question if musicians are artists or workers (p. 137). Efforts to organise a union had to overcome the "persistent notion that it was undignified and inartistic for musicians to constitute a trade union" (Loft 1950, p. 392). Whilst in the early days of the British Amalgamated Musicians' Union (1893-1918), the discussion whether musicians were workers or not followed the debate on professional versus amateur musicians, recognising the later as competitors and a threat to their job as well as military and foreign musicians (Cloonan & Brennan 2013; Williamson & Cloonan

2016, pp. 36-59). In this regard, the debate of art versus work appears as a critical topic in all these studies. As David-Guillou (2009) argues:

“[the opposition between art and labour in music] is quite unique, even within the artistic field. Music, unlike painting for instance, is originally immaterial and thus historically it did not have a value. Court musicians would receive a pension to allow them create freely. It was never a payment in exchange for a production. Only the vulgar street musician was paid for his song. It may seem to be a rhetorical subtlety, but the distinction is in fact essential” (p. 209).

The way musicians perceive themselves (as workers, as artists, as a combination of both) interweaves with how they choose to organise, what their main challenges are, and with what sort of workers they establish exchanges with and communicate most. For example, in the late nineteenth century USA “while not denying that musicians were artists and professionals, the AFM embraced the strategies and tactics of skilled trade unions in pursuing its objectives” (Kraft 1996, p. 28). In this regard, Loft (1950) argues that to understand musicians’ need for protection it is necessary to understand the nature of their work, as a social art and connected with all sort of activities. In the same vein, Williamson & Cloonan (2016) state that what “becomes important is the sort of work they undertake, the places in which it takes place, and who is funding and controlling such places” (p. 8).

The focus on work is vital in the study of musicians’ collective organisations and, following Frith (2017), to understand the extent to which these organisations have “been shaped by the problems of determining which music makers are ‘working musicians’ and which are not?” (p. 112). Addressing music under the prism of labour “has the potential of democratising and expanding the scope of practitioners represented in music scholarship” (Miller 2008, p. 438). It also can contribute to “historicise and remain sensitive to the effects of the Western valorisation of musical works over musical work, composition over performance” (ibid. p. 439). Moreover, focusing on musical labour shows how these organisations have shaped our understanding of musical labour (Frith 2017, p. 112). In this regard, it is essential to point out two different but interconnected issues. First, not all musicians are considered workers, either by themselves or by the unions.

Second, not all musicians join collective and protective organisations, such as mutual aid societies or trade unions. These issues point out the differences between musicians that are considered to be workers and those who are not. These differences tend to have an impact on both, musicians that are (either explicitly or implicitly) excluded from these organisations, and musicians who do not join these organisations and create their own.

Among those excluded at different times and in different places were women, amateurs and foreigners. An example of the first, was the partial absence of women from musicians' unions in the USA and Britain, at least until the first decades of the twentieth century, similarly as in the Chilean musicians' mutual aid societies of the time. The exclusion of amateur musicians that was common in the USA and Britain was not an issue in the Chilean case. Musicians' mutual aid societies and unions accepted a broad range of people working in music, including amateurs. Notable is the varying definition of professionals and amateurs, which not only changed over time but also is interconnected with the issues of music instruction and the requirements established by the same musicians' organisations. Foreigners were not only excluded from the musicians' unions of the USA and Britain but considered their main competitors, whilst musicians' organisations in Chile – at least before the 1929 downturn – did not show any problem with them. Even though, both the SMSMV and the SPMV allowed membership to foreigners and some of them played vital roles within their organisations.

The question of musicians who did not join and formed other organisations, such as artistic societies to promote a certain type of music, has to do with what Kraft (1996) addresses as for their “own reluctance to recognise and act on their common concerns as workers” with trade and skilled workers such as carpenters of the late nineteenth century (p. 8). In addition, it is connected with what David-Guillou (2009) noted as the reluctance among some musicians' unions to adopt the term ‘union’ “for fear it would tarnish the respectability of their members” (p. 295). Golding (2018) exemplifies this reluctance with music teaching organisations in the late-nineteenth century Britain that outlined their aims and regulations following the model of “other professional occupations, drawing music away from

any possible comparisons with labour trade unions” (p. 133). Again, the tensions between art and labour become evident, and the artistic status of musicians vary thereof. Golding (2018) found that one of the reasons why some musicians preferred a professional association to a trade union was that they believed that the former would serve music as an artform and thus the general public, whereas the latter, was to serve the self-interest of workers (pp. 145-146). The “conflating of interests of art and labour” would threaten musicians’ status and respectability, therefore the use of the word ‘union’, was simply unbearable to most of them” (David- Guillou 2009, p. 296).

Taking into account the grey zones in between, those who considered themselves workers joined protective organisations, such as mutual aid societies and trade unions, whilst those who saw themselves more as artists than workers preferred to congregate in associations that aimed to spread this art but have nothing to do with working conditions. For example, in his analysis of the music profession in Britain, Ehlirch (1985) distinguishes between ‘gentlemen’ and ‘players’, adding the issue of social class to the discussion. He argues that the former were those musicians who primarily worked in universities and conservatoires. They sought to control the music profession, establishing “specialized training, assessment, and validation, to acknowledged, and eventually mandatory standards” to protect both, the public but also their profession from musicians of lower standards (Ehlirch 1985, p. 130). They were “men of the organ-loft and classroom, not the concert-hall, and still less the theatre” (ibid., p. 140). Contrarily, he labels as ‘players’ those orchestral performers, who “have generally been anonymous creatures” and were “lowly placed in this labour force, their services rarely considered, by public and management, as central to the entertainment” (ibid., pp. 142, 143). ‘Gentlemen’ formed professional associations, whilst ‘players’ trade unions, which were paved by their working conditions (ibid., p. 145).

The inclusion of the category of social class is vital here and it is discussed throughout the thesis. Although the dichotomy of ‘gentlemen’ and ‘players’ is relevant to the Chilean case, some definitions need nuance and clarification. Those musicians who could be considered as ‘gentlemen’ in Chile defined themselves as artists and promoters of certain classical music. They did not always

think of themselves as ‘professionals’ but as ‘*aficionado*’ or ‘cultured amateurs’, who did not necessarily make a living from music but from other liberal professions. These musicians formed associations (such as *Sociedad Orfeón* and *Sociedad Bach*) with the common aim of promoting a particular type of music and not for the protection of the profession nor the improvement of their living conditions. ‘Players’, or who made a living from music, called themselves ‘professionals’ or ‘music teachers’ (using the Spanish word *profesores*). As this thesis shows, due to their living and working conditions, they formed organisations to, first, collectively assist in the improvement of their living conditions (mutual aid societies) and, then, to protect their working lives (trade unions). Both forms of organisation contributed to protecting their profession, but that was rather a consequence of their actions than a direct aim.

It is essential to understand that although these definitions changed over time, as Vera (2015), Izquierdo (2011, 2017) and Rojas (2017) analyse, it was after the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928, that those conceptualised as ‘*aficionados*’ became the valid music professionals, whilst, the former professionals, became the ‘popular musicians’ or the neglected ‘players’. Although this process of re-conceptualisation of ‘the musician’ is analysed in the third part of this thesis, it is vital to clarify that among those generally named as ‘players’ were also some composers, such as Pedro Césari and Pablo Garrido. The reform of 1928 left behind the ‘players’ and some ‘gentlemen’ – composers of classical music and teachers of the old Conservatoire –, such as Enrique Soro, widely analysed by Izquierdo (2011) and Doniez Soro (2011).

Apart from the competition that the artistic associations meant for the unionised musicians, what is relevant here are the differences among musicians’ status. It seems that the artistic status of those who defined themselves as workers, and therefore joined protective organisations, was jeopardised. Similar things happened to dance and jazz musicians studied by Becker (1974, 1997), who recognised themselves as workers, but also played a type of music considered rather ‘light’ by other (more serious) musicians. This is relevant in this study, when those who led the formation of the first musicians’ unions in Chile and

organised the Musicians' Congress, where precisely those who played jazz and other genres of popular music for dancing.

Following Williamson & Cloonan's approach (2016), I treat "musicians not simply as workers, but as *particular sorts* of workers seeking employment opportunities in industries wherein freelance working – often on very short contracts – is the norm and a wide range of working practices and contractual arrangements exist" (p. 10, original emphasis). Differences with the Chilean case, however, follow specificities relating to stable employment possibilities, such as the way that musicians' unions organised and addressed musicians' competition, the eventual creation of state-funded institutions, and the shape that the broader debate of art versus work had.

As the vast majority of the musicians who joined the organisations analysed in this thesis have been somewhat invisible to music scholars, Finnegan's study (2007) is also vital to this work. Similarly, the issue of hidden or invisible musicians is addressed here in two meanings (*ibid.*, p. 4). For several reasons, most of the musicians of this thesis are still hidden in Chilean music historiography, which is explained in the last section of this chapter. Besides, these musicians were not recognised by 'stars' or the big names of the music industries of the time because they were mostly session or back-up musicians whose work was crucial to sustaining a show but taken for granted and overlooked.

So, to understand musicians as workers, this thesis considers the common definitions of the various approaches, considering as working-musicians all those who undertake a musical activity seeking income, being composers, arrangers, teachers or performers, whether this was complemented with other employments or not. It follows that the working-musicians organisations are defined by their aims and membership, including all those who follow to protect musicians' living and working conditions, such as mutual aid societies and trade unions formed by and for musicians. Despite the significant omission of both working-musicians and their organisations in historical accounts of Chilean music, they have been of ongoing interest not only by Anglophone scholarship, and, in the late years, by scholars from other regions. As the second Working in Music Conference held in

2018 showed, the topic is of interest to scholars studying musicians in France, Switzerland, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Croatia, Greece, Bolivia, Chile and Japan.

2. THE HISTORY OF THE CHILEAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

Labour scholars have paid little attention to artists and musicians' organisations in Chile and elsewhere. Still, as David-Guillou (2009) points out, "the history of musicians' unions has to be put into the broader perspective of the history of traditional labour organizations" (p. 290). They "follow a similar pattern" evolving from "mutual protective associations to closed elitist craft unions then to more opened industrial groups and finally confederations" (*ibid.*). However, due to the particularities of the musical work and the complexity of the music industries as a working place, musicians' organisations do not always follow the same patterns as traditional labour organisations. For example, Grez (1993, 1994, 1995, 2007), establishes 1924 as a turning point for mutual aid societies and trade unions, because of the promulgation of the 'social laws' that year. These laws stipulated that: i) trade unions administrate the pension and retirement funds of their members; and ii) all industrial and professional workers join a trade union to enjoy their pension and retirement funds. Workers could still be members of mutual aid societies, but very few could afford the payment of their membership duties to both organisations. Therefore, Grez argues that from 1891 to 1924 the "plenitude years of Chilean mutualism" took place (1994, p. 305) and "reached the peak of its expansion and prestige" (1993, p. 39). The social laws affected industrial and artisan workers' mutual aid societies in a great deal, going from a golden age into a sharp and irreversible decline in 1924, which was not precisely the case for musicians. Although the social laws also hit musicians' mutual aid societies, it was not until the end of the decade when their decline was evident, following the legalisation of trade unions in 1928, as chapter 4 analyses. Although the SMSMV was affected by the social laws, it did not stop functioning because of them, as most of the 'regular' workers' mutual aid society did. It seems that the law on unionisation of 1928 was more important for musicians' organisation, as chapter 5 analyses.

Another difficulty in establishing direct parallels between musicians' organisations and the wider labour movement lies in the subjectivities of the nature of the musical work and the identification of musicians as workers, artists or a particular combination of both. When combined with the issue of class, this becomes especially relevant. Hobsbawm (1984) highlights the relevance of understanding the subjectivities when analysing the labour movement. He argues that this helps to identify differences regarding status among workers, depending on the work they do, the places in which they work, and the broader meanings of their trade. Hobsbawm discusses the concept the "aristocracy of labour" (ibid., p. 367), which is central to this study since working-musicians fit in a twofold situation, in some regards better than industrial and mining workers, but worst than those non-working-musicians. In some aspects, their conditions can be compared to artisans, that Hobsbawm characterises as the skilled craft workers of the nineteenth century, who "considered themselves a privileged stratum or aristocracy of labour [and were] separated by an abyss from the 'labourer'" (ibid., p. 355). As Barr-Melej (2001) analyses, the "middle classes that coalesced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century" (p. 5), played a pivotal role in the process of democratisation of the country, combined with cultural policies and collective action of grassroots organisations. Working-musicians share characteristics with other intellectual labourers, contributing to the blending of the middle class.

Notwithstanding the above difficulties and musicians being barely visible in traditional labour historiography, academic literature on the Chilean labour movement is vital to this study. Although they do not consider musicians' organisations in their scholarship, the studies of Grez (1994, 1995, 2007), Illanes (2003) and Garcés (2003) help to locate musicians' mutual aid societies into the broader mutualist movement. These scholars contrast different sort of workers, the political ideologies they followed, and the contribution of mutual aid societies in the wider labour movement. For instance, Grez (1994) highlights that Chilean mutualism was a forerunner for this form of association in South America, and that together with the broader labour movement "unleashed a unifying effort of Latin American mutualism" (p. 314). DeShazo (1983) supports this idea, arguing that the social and labour laws of 1924 - passed as a consequence of the labour movement's demands - were also the first of its kind in Latin America (p. xxii). All this suggest

that Chilean musicians' mutualism was a precedent for the eventual formation of mutual aid societies of musicians in South America. With regards to the particularities of Chilean mutualism, labour historians highlight their democratic and volunteer-based structures, which laid the groundwork for the later trade union movement, also characterised by fraternity values. As chapters 3, 4, and 5 analyse, these characteristics were common in musicians' organisations.

The transition from mutual aid societies to trade unions from the particular context of Ibáñez's dictatorship⁷ (1927-1931) analysed by Rojas (1993) is a crucial precedent to this study, even though he does not include musicians' organisations. Following David-Guillou (2009, p. 290), evidence gathered in this study suggests that musicians' organisations followed the similar path that 'regular' workers' organisations did, embedded in the new legal framework established under Ibáñez's regime. Considering that musicians' trade unions emerged under a dictatorship, the lack of minutes and archival sources of the first years of the musicians' union of Valparaíso becomes understandable.⁸ Within this same period, the arrival of the 'talkies' – the 'talking' films or sound film technologies – and its impact on musicians' working lives and their organisations becomes a key matter to analyse. One of the arguments of this thesis is that whereas the arrival of the sound film technology seriously harmed musicians' working lives their organisations were already changing because of the unionisation laws put in effect in 1928. It was not the changes in technology that triggered the creation of musicians' unions but the law on compulsory unionisation under a dictatorship.

Detailed accounts of the broader labour movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Chile, such as Jobet (1955), Ramírez Necochea (1956) and DeShazo (1983), offer a Marxist perspective on the topic, even though they also focus on industrial and urban workers, excluding any sort of working artists from their analysis. They analyse the rise of various workers' organisations and

⁷ Although Colonel Carlos Ibáñez was elected President in 1927 –with no other candidates–, his government was in practical terms a dictatorship. He ruled until 1931 following an authoritarian style, with repressive measures towards opposition, censoring the press and co-opting the trade union movement.

⁸ As chapters 4 and 5 explain, state oversight and censorship towards trade unions was a strategy to control the labour movement. The SIMUPROVAL archive has a gap of documents corresponding to the early years of the union. More detail is provided in chapter 2.

the arrival, emergence and popularisation of different ideologies, locating them in a central place of Chilean history the working and proletarian classes. They argue that the early years of the twentieth century “witnessed a dramatic change in the power and influence of the Chilean working class” (DeShazo 1983, p.xxii), challenging the economic and political power. Jobet (1955) and Ramírez Necochea (1956) locate the origins of the Chilean working class in the exportation industry, based on the nitrate exploitation of the Northern regions of the country, highlighting the role that the new left-wing political parties had in that process. Contrarily, DeShazo (1983) moves the origin of the labour movement geographically to Santiago and Valparaíso, considering these two cities economically interdependent. Urban workers from these cities “were the driving force of the organized labor movement in early twentieth-century Chile” (ibid., p. xxv), rather than the nitrate workers of mining towns of the North, as Jobet (1955) and Ramírez Necochea (1956) state. DeShazo (1983) argues that these cities concentrated “the majority of Chile’s industrial workers and manufacturing establishment” of the time, which were also where the “most successful labor unions took root” (p. xxii). Being Santiago and Valparaíso located at the centre of the country, where Chilean political leaders lived – who could personally measure the effect of labour rallies – was a fundamental fact for their successfulness (DeShazo 1983, p. xxiii).

DeShazo (1983) acknowledges the horizontality and class independence of the labour movement, highlighting the role of the resistance societies [*sociedades de resistencia*], instead of the political parties. In addition, he argues that the autonomous development of the working class was a unique characteristic of the Chilean labour movement, different from the Argentine and Brazilian, for example, where the influence of immigrants in constructing a local working-class was stronger. The fact that the mutual aid societies of musicians and musicians’ unions of this period were based in precisely in Santiago and Valparaíso, is coherent with this idea. The influence of immigrants in the formation and functioning of these musicians’ organisations analysed in this thesis, discusses DeShazo’s argument, adding new perspectives about the emergence of the labour movement when including musicians’ organisations.

Between 1890 and 1930, the power and influence of the Chilean labour movement saw a dramatic change, in both the growth of organisations and their success. Regarding numbers, Garcés & Milos (1988) estimate that by the late nineteenth century, there were 240 mutual aid societies in Chile (p. 15). In 1900, 196 mutual aid societies participated in the Social Workers' Congress [*Congreso Social Obrero*] representing 10,000 members (ibid.). About the success of the Chilean labour organisations, DeShazo (1983) argues that they “rose from near insignificance” from the beginning of the twentieth century “to become a challenger for economic and political power” (p. xxii). Moreover, the years between 1902 and 1927 were crucial in the development of organised labour in Chile, reaching significant size and importance during the 1920s (ibid., p. 260). This development, however, was unsteady and went through four phases of expansion and decline in size and effectiveness (see table 1).

Table 1 Expansion and decline in the size and effectiveness of the labour movement

Period	Expansion and Decline
From May 1902 to 1907	Expansion
From June 1907 to 1909	Decline
From August 1910 to 1914	Expansion
From September 1914 to 1916	Decline
From August 1917 to 1921	Expansion
From September 1921 to 1923	Decline
From June 1924 to 1925	Expansion
From July 1925 to 1927	Decline

Source: DeShazo 1983, p. 243.

DeShazo (1983) counts 372 working-class organisations in 1909 and 463 in 1912-13 in the whole country (p. 130). He compares these numbers with the trend that took place in Valparaíso (see table 2), where labour organisations grew from 85 in 1909 to 116 in 1912-13 (ibid.).

Table 2 Estimates of the Number and Total Membership of Working-Class Organisations in the Provinces of Valparaíso and Santiago and Chile, 1909 and 1912-13

Year(s)	Number of Organisation	Total Membership
<i>Valparaíso</i>		
1909	85	10,551
1912-13	116	20,886
<i>Santiago</i>		
1909	72	9,796
1912-13	97	17,931
<i>Chile</i>		
1909	372	65,136
1912-13	463	91,609

Source: DeShazo 1983, p. 130.

About the third period of expansion (1917-1921) DeShazo (1983) states that “labor unions in Santiago and Valparaíso contained more members in 1919-20 than at any other time before 1927” (p. 243). However, he does not give exact numbers of labour unions of this period, because “no reliable figures exist for the size of the organized labor movement in Chile at this time” for several reasons (ibid., p. 164)⁹. One of them lies in the decentralisation that characterised the Chilean labour movement; thus, none national workers’ federation could claim accurate membership numbers (ibid., p. 245). For instance, during the organisational drive of 1917-20, “the organization which most successfully united workers of several industries” was the Workers’ Federation of Chile (FOCh) (ibid., p. 153). However, in 1917, it “contained only 400 members in Valparaíso and 200 in Santiago” (ibid.). Data gathered by Garcés & Milos (1988) show that in the national meeting of FOCh in December 1921, 128 delegates participated representing 102 organisations and approximately 80,000 workers, nationally (p. 30). DeShazo (1983) argues that FOCh was a unified and national organisation in name only, but not in practical

⁹ DeShazo (1983) states that getting reliable numbers on labour organisation is challenging because “government officials of the 1920s also tended to believe the false figures given them by the unions” and that modern historians have often repeated these unreliable figures, contributing to further perpetuate “the myth of labor’s numerical strength” (p. 195). For more detail of this discussion on the number of labour unions and membership, see DeShazo 1983, pp. 194-200.

terms. Even though its strength in the coal mining zone and some northern ports was considerable, FOCh had “fewer members than they claimed” (ibid., p. 195) and its local branches in Valparaíso and Santiago “exercised minimal influence as economic entities” (ibid., p. 245). Another reason of the difficulties of getting reliable figures for the labour movement of this period, relies on the fluctuant official membership of labour unions: “[t]he chronic difficulty workers faced in meeting basic expenses for food, shelter, and clothing” made them reluctant to pay their membership dues (ibid., p. 244). Moreover, “rampant inflation assaulted the urban worker during much of the 1902-27 period, a factor which ironically stimulated labor union activity while at the same time it limited the ability of union members to pay their dues” (ibid., p. 245).

Despite these difficulties, Garcés & Milos (1988) offer figures of labour unions and their membership of 1925 (see table 3). Some of them were affiliated to FOCh and others to other federations, reaching a total of 207 trade unions with 197,000 members in 1925 (p. 41). They considered all these as “*sindicatos obreros*” or (manual and industrial) workers’ trade unions, and none of them represented any artistic or artisanal trade.

Table 3 Federations and Labour Unions, 1925

Federations and Labour Unions, 1925	Unions	Members
Federation of Railroad Workers (affiliated to ISR)	30	15,000
Unions of coal miners (affiliated to FOCh)	12	10,000
Unions of metallurgy workers (only some affiliated to FOCh)	15	16,000
Unions of nitrate workers (affiliated to FOCh)	40	40,000
Unions of dock workers (divided between FOCh and IWW)	30	11,000
Unions of rural workers (affiliated to FOCh)	10	5,000
Other unions affiliated to FOCh	50	60,000
Other unions non-affiliated to FOCh	20	40,000
Total	207	197,000

Source: Garcés & Milos 1988, p. 41

During the 1930s, the number of organised workers expanded dramatically in Chile. The tendency was the growth of legal unions, which went from 421 legal

unions with 54,801 members in 1932 to 670 with 84,699 members in 1936 (*ibid.*, p. 51). Labour unions, although legal, remained “with the leftist political parties, not military men or populist caudillos, leading the way” and kept “independent of state domination, although the application of the labor laws of 1924 eventually limited the role of labor unions as economic entities” (DeShazo 1983, pp. xxix, xxx). With the foundation of the Workers’ Confederation of Chile (CTCh) in 1936, and the politics of the Popular Front Government, the increase of unions, was explosive. Garcés & Milos (1988) count 1,593 legal unions in 1942, which represented 194,049 workers (*ibid.*, p. 51).

Besides the merits of writing from the point of view of the mass of the people, rather than from the point of view of the dominant classes, criticism has been made towards these classic Marxist historians. Mainly for not including subjective characteristics when defining the belonging to a class. Scholars from the New Labour History and the New Social History consider common costumes, values, and experiences decisive for the popular and collective action (Thompson 1968, 1991). Neither intellectual workers nor the cultured working-class, as the working’ musicians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, might be considered, are even mentioned in either of the classic Marxist historians’ accounts of the emergence of the labour movement in Chile. Following this line of thought, Salazar & Pinto (1999a, 1999b, 2017) and Salazar (2017) offer an insight to understand social movements’ historical trajectories and political projections from the perspective of what they call the popular classes (in plural). They broaden the notion of the working-class exclusively linked with the industrial workers, including the displaced and exploited masses. They conceive that solidarity is the chief good and tool of the popular classes, and in solidarity and from below a political project of the country is being built. Similarly, Garcés (2003) and Illanes (2003), had included other social subjects, usually ignored by classical Marxist historians of the labour movement, such as peasants, unemployed, children and women, always highlighting solidarity as the pivotal element of the popular classes and their organisations.

Although this thesis does not claim to be a comparative study, Bethell (1991), Skidmore & Smith (1997) and Del Pozo (2002) provide contemporary insights to

understand the problems addressed here with a Latin American perspective. These accounts include comparisons of processes that occurred in different Latin American countries, including the popular classes as relevant subjects of study as well as artistic cultural developments. Because of the regular contact that musicians based in Valparaíso had with migrants, foreigners, and touring musicians is essential to analyse their working lives in context with Latin American politics. It is also relevant to understand how the legal framework that affected working-musicians, was shaped and somewhat influenced by the state regulations of other Latin American countries, particularly Argentina and Mexico. Without being a gender study, this thesis needs to include such perspectives to critically understand the musicians' working lives and their organisations' processes since the overwhelming male participation in the music industries and membership. For contextualisation of women's working lives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Latin America, the works of Morant Deusa et al. (2016) and Lavrin (1995) offer a substantial account of this topic. They provide the background to think about the musical work of this era with a gender perspective, shedding light on the reasons behind the large exclusion of women from working-musicians' organisations.

To summarise, labour movement historians have largely excluded intellectual and artistic workers, such as musicians, from their accounts. Fortunately, newer perspectives, such as Social History and New Labour History, have offered fresher lines of thoughts that allow thinking about subjective characteristics of belonging to a class, such as costumes, values and experiences. In these, solidarity has been considered one of the key elements of the popular classes and their organisations by scholars of the Chilean labour movement. Mutual aid societies and trade unions, being voluntary-based organisations, consider solidarity as their core value, including working-musicians' organisations. Valparaíso is considered one of the principal cities for the emergence of the labour movement in Chile, where the working-musicians shared living conditions, social and cultural development, with their fellow citizens, such as industrial, artisans and urban workers. The political and economic situation of other Latin American countries becomes important for this study when musicians from Valparaíso encountered migrants and touring musicians from other South American countries such as Argentina and Uruguay.

Legislation related to labour laws, copyright and music promotion, is also relevant to analyse them in context with other Latin American countries that might have been influential in the local legislation. The role of women as workers and as musicians is understood here by critically analysing musicians' working lives and the overwhelming male dominance of their organisations.

3. CHILEAN MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the same way that labour movement scholars have paid little attention to musicians' organisations, Chilean music historiography has followed a similar trend by overlooking musicians' working lives and their unions. Following Kraft's (1996) study on musicians working in the USA, I also consider that, in the Chilean context, the few publications that trace the emergence of mass culture in modern societies and address musicians' organisations, "invariably overlook musicians as workers in the new realm of leisure" (p. 4). Following Rondón's (2016) definition of Chilean music historiography as "the written and published production by national authors within or outside our territory, with copies publicly available in the national system of libraries" (p. 118), the treatment of musicians' working lives and their organisations has been both fragmented and superficial. Very few consider musical work and working-musicians' organisations.

Rondón (2016) analyses how Chilean music history has been told, characterising published accounts of Chilean music of any genre or style¹⁰. He divides the Chilean music historiographic universe into three groups: i) art or academic music (classical); ii) popular music; and iii) traditional music (folklore). Many of the accounts focus on the second group, studying, for example, the music industries or different genres, but the majority is dedicated to musicians' biographies and microhistories (Rondón 2016, p. 121). Each group, he argues, is approached predominantly from three different analytical categories. Table 4 shows the

¹⁰ The study was developed between 2014 and 2016 analysing published books of wide circulation about music of any kind. It included bibliographic analysis of complementary publications, such as historical accounts of the arts in Chile, of music in Latin America, and general Chilean historiography. It excluded publications of academic circulation, such as thesis and papers in journals (Rondon 2016, p. 117).

percentage of historiographic coverage and analytical categories found in Rondón's study.

Table 4 Percentage of historiographic coverage and analytical categories¹¹

	Art or academic music (classical)	Popular music	Traditional music (folklore)
Predominant Analytical categories	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Composer 2. Work and style 3. Institutional relationship (academy) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Performers 2. Repertoires 3. Phonographic industry 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Cultores</i> (singer, singer-songwriter performer) 2. Gender 3. Cultural context
Coverage	15%	48%	37%

Source: Rondón 2016, p. 121.

Different from the Marxists labour history historians' lexicon, the word 'popular' in popular music studies study implies mass reproduction and consumption rather than working-class and grassroots movements. It follows that that popular music is defined as all music that is "mediatised, mass-reproduced and modern" (González & Rolle 2005, p. 26).

González & Rolle (2005) offer a prominent study on the social history of Chilean popular music that contributes to giving relevant insights about musicians working in the country between 1890 and 1950. They argue that the processes of urbanisation and diversification of Chilean society that took place from 1890 to 1930 involved an increasing need for sociability and leisure activities, resulting in a growth of venues for entertainment and the offer of new genres and shows. Musicians had more job opportunities with the emergence of orchestras for dancing and popular music composition during this period (ibid., p. 39). Only after the advent of recording, radiophonic and film industries of the 1920s, can the Chilean popular music industry be considered "modern mass culture" (ibid., pp.

¹¹ Table translated and taken from Rondón (2016, p.121). The historiographic universe in Rondón's study consists of a total of 165 items (ibid.). Percentages are approximate, because there were cases that overlapped more than one category. Similarly, both the historiographic coverage and the analytical category, should be understood only as predominant trends, since in each group he observed exceptions (ibid.).

39, 43). In that respect, González & Rolle (2005) state that four pillars sustained the dynamic development of the Chilean modern popular music industry of the first decades of the twentieth century: the phonographic industry, the radio industry, the sound film industry and the star system (pp. 173-268). I will, however, add live music and songwriting as essential components of the music industries of the time because of their relevance for the musicians of the SMSMV and the SPMV.

As discussed subsequently, the majority of members of the SMSMV and the SPMV worked in live music, in orchestras, performing in theatres, music halls and cinemas. This was not that different to the situation of musicians working in the USA and the UK studied by Kraft (1996), Ehrlich (1985) and Williamson & Cloonan (2016), where although working conditions varied among venues and cities, theatre and venue managers focused on suppressing costs instead of improving musicians' conditions. It is also important to bear in mind that despite the specific context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Valparaíso, working musicians analysed here worked under the capitalist mode of production similar to other capitalist societies of the time. As musicians were exposed to the dictates of others, "to maximize profits, reduce production costs, or control labor", such as exploitation and their replacement with new technologies, it will be essential to make visible the tensions between musicians and their 'bosses' working in a variety of "places of private enterprise" (Kraft 1996, p. 5).

Although González & Rolle (2005) do not analyse musicians' working lives from the perspective of labour, they discuss how a musical craft is developed differently in the various components of the music industries. In this regard, they stress how undertaking different musical activities followed certain strategies and flexibility, exemplifying this with the idea that "music is the art of combining schedules" (ibid., p. 265). They raise the question of musicians as workers only when the arrival of the sound cinema technologies irrevocably threatened their workplaces by the early 1930s (ibid., p. 237).

Rondón (2016) defines the corpus of research that addresses specific themes not included in the foundational histories as "thematic historiography" (p. 120). This

includes research in each of the categories that traditionally conform the musical universe in classical (erudite), popular and traditional music, in the form of monographs, microhistories and biographies (*ibid.*). Among these are publications that include prominent musicians that organised unions and societies and analyse their musical work concerning the development of a specific music scene.

For example, research on film music during both the silent and the sound eras provides detail on the musical work and include names of musicians that contributed to musicians' organisation (Purcell & González 2014; Farías 2018 and 2019). One of them is Paul Salvatierra, an orchestral conductor and pianist, highlighted as one of the most prominent silent film musicians for Valparaíso and widely absent from other accounts of Chilean music history. Purcell & González (2014) suggest that musicians, such as Salvatierra and his orchestra, were able to attract the attention of the audience to a similar extent as films (p. 94). The public not only followed the films, but also the musical spectacle associated with them, so that the public sometimes looked for the musicians who were performing at the theatre rather than choosing a film by its name (*ibid.*). Salvatierra is of interest to this study because of his participation in the SMSMV by the mid-1920s, which is omitted or unknown by Purcell & González (2014).

Another example of accounts of the thematic historiography is given by Menanteau's (2006) history of jazz in Chile that includes both musicians who significantly contributed in the development of the jazz scene and specific venues and institutions that emerged towards this genre in Santiago and Valparaíso. In his study, Menanteau (2006) analyses the musical work of Pablo Garrido, as a promoter of jazz, but his role in musicians' organisations is barely mentioned, though he acknowledges it in a press article, commemorating the centenary of Garrido's birth (Menanteau 2005, p. E18). In the latter, Menanteau highlights Garrido's multifaceted personality, addressing his contribution in the jazz scene, in classical composition, folklore studies and ethnomusicology, and as musicians' rights promoter (*ibid.*). However, this last feature is dated from 1944, after Garrido abandoned jazz and focused on composing classical music, developing talks, researching folklore and undertaking "guild activity" (*ibid.*)

Contrarily, this thesis traces Garrido's participation in such activities earlier, when he joined the SMSMV in 1925. This thesis shows that many of prominent jazz musicians of Valparaíso were members of the SMSMV and the SPMV by the mid-1920s and early 1930s, such as the above Garrido, the Davagnino brothers, and Ricardo Romero. This suggests that these workers-musicians' organisations contributed to both the development of the jazz scene in Valparaíso and the protection of the working conditions of these musicians. In addition, that thinking of these prominent jazz musicians, such as Garrido, as workers and not only as artists, helps to understand the reasons why they joined such organisations, shedding light as well on their working conditions.

García (1990) wrote a comprehensive account of Garrido's life and work, including his trade union work, which is a core contribution to this study. Similarly, Salinas' (2011) account of percussionist Jorge Canelo informs about his musical work, as a member of SIPO, the Symphonic Orchestra and performer in some of Garrido's orchestras. She highlights the performer as a valid subject of study for Chilean musicology, which has also been vindicated by Vera (2015) and Rojas (2017).

In his study, Rondón (2016) states that the value of originality, although it is present across all the music categories he analyses, it is especially relevant for art music (p. 126). In this regard, any history of classical or art music, would have at the centre the figure of the composer and the artwork, valuing in the first place, the creative act (ibid.). In the same line of thought, Vera (2015) and Rojas (2017) discuss the predominance of studies focused on composers rather than on performers, arguing that that undertaking various roles and working in different scenes was a common characteristic of the professional musician of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Vera (2015) delves in the conceptual construction of the 'professional musician' in Chilean historiography, stating that two milestones were crucial in the transformation of this concept: the reform of the National Conservatoire in 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940. Composer and lawyer Domingo Santa Cruz and his *Sociedad Bach* led these events, changing how the professional musician was re-conceptualised, from a working musician (as a performer, composer and teacher) to a composer of classical music, beyond good and evil (Vera 2015, p. 108).

The re-conceptualisation of the professional musician resulted in leaving behind and neglected the profile of a working musician who interchangeably composed and performed for a living (Vera 2015, Rojas 2018). In opposition to that profile, the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940 promoted the figure of the artist in abstraction and isolation, considering the composer of erudite music as the first pillar of the musical production. Before 1928 and from all the nineteenth century it was common – and accepted – that musicians worked across genres as composers and performers, pursuing a monetary payment in exchange for their musical work (Vera 2015, p. 104). This thesis follows Vera’s argument, from the perspective of the working musicians who organised collectively to better their working and living conditions.

Literature corresponding to associations that gathered musicians to promote a specific type of music, such as *Sociedad Bach* and *Sociedad Orfeón* (Merino 2006, 2009, Peña & Poveda 2010, Escobar 1971) provide pertinent information to this study. Although they are about organisations that emerged “to spread and propagate music as a science and art” (Merino 2009, p. 16) and not to better the living conditions of its members, like those addressed in this thesis, they help to understand the connections and conflicts that emerged between these two different types of musicians and their organisations.

Bustos (2015) is one of the few that analyses the role of women in classical music of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Chile. Her book includes the role of women musicians in music education, academic teaching, orchestras and choirs, musicology and other music scholars. She argues that the vast majority of women musicians were teachers, instrumentalists (mainly of harp and piano), and singers. Women musicians’ work is relevant for this thesis, where they were either explicitly or implicitly excluded from the SMSMV, and then, slowly accepted in the SPMV. Notwithstanding the exclusion in membership, women musicians performed in the social activities of these organisations, such as concerts and other events. This contradictory situation is analysed in chapter 4, with the example of the first woman musician, a singing teacher, that asked to join the SMSMV but was not accepted, even though the President of the EC sponsored her.

During her research, Bustos (2015) encountered the problem of the absence of these musicians' names in published sources. This problem is similar to the one encountered by Finnegan (2007) in her study about contemporary amateur musicians, who are not only absent from systematic research, but also invisible to professional musicians (p. 4). Bustos (2015) stresses the overwhelming unbalance of research about composers and performers (p. 150) acknowledged by Rondón (2016) and Vera (2015). García prefaces Bustos' book by stating that the main protagonists of classical music historiography are composers: "only a reduced group of performers is mentioned, unless some of them, are also composers" (Bustos 2015, p. 9). Music teachers, promoters, and institutions face the same fate in Chilean music historiography, therefore "the majority of histories of music that we can find in bookshops are, basically, narratives about composers" (ibid.).

The absence of performers in classical music historiography is understandable following Vera's (2015) argument that the conceptual construction of the composer of classical music as the legitimate professional musician was one of the consequences of the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940 (ibid., pp. 127-133). This issue is coherent with Rondón's analysis (2016) that shows that in studies of art or academic music, one of the predominant analytical categories are composers (see table 4). As Rondón (2016) illustrates, it is vital to broaden up the perspective beyond classical music as the only valid subject of study, because, in fact, studies on art or academic music represent only 15% of Chilean music historiography, while research on popular and traditional music, represent the 82% (p. 121). In both cases, the main analytical categories are performers. Considering research outside classical music, the focus on performers rather than on composers is predominant, however, the perspective of musicians as workers has barely been included.

An example is given by previous publications, such as Pereira Salas (1957), Noziglia (1978), González & Rolle (2005), Guarda & Izquierdo (2012) and Céspedes (2016) that shed light on the various roles Pedro Césari accomplished during his musical life in Chile. All these show the diverse aspects of his career as an attribute to highlight his versatility and genius, rather than consider it as a common characteristic of the working musician of the time. They are useful to this research

as they provide specific information about Césari's musical work in Chile. Of these, only Céspedes (2016) mentions Césari's participation in the EC of the SMSMV, although she overlooks his versatility as a common characteristic of working musicians of the time.

It is notable that although Césari is relatively well-known in Chilean music historiography, his role as a mutualist has been omitted, either ignored or hidden¹². The above publications address Césari as a maestro or a talented and creative artist, but not as a working musician nor one of the founders of the SMSMV. These publications – except Céspedes 2016 – include no references for his role as a mutualist. For instance, Pereira Salas (1957) highlights the figure of Césari as an artist with multiple talents, a maestro with extraordinary musical gifts (p. 271). In the last chapter, about musical creation, Pereira Salas (1957) acknowledges: “It is very little what I can add that I had not said before with respect to the figure of maestro Pedro Césari, who played in Valparaíso a significant role of organiser and educationist” (p. 372). Yet, he only describes his role in forming various orchestras and bands, such as the *Orfeón Municipal* and the band of the Navy, but he does not give any mention to his role as one of the founders of the SMSMV. Considering that the SMSMV regularly published announcements in the local newspapers – the same press accounts quoted in Pereira Salas' study (1957) – this omission is striking. Césari's participation in the SMSMV is an example of how music scholars have “hidden” in plain sight (Finnegan 2007, p. 4) his role as a mutualist, as a working-musician, while highlighting his artistry.

This thesis does not concentrate on composers or performers, nor classical or popular music, but tries to consider all those musical traditions that were important for the working-musicians and their organisations. All the above studies are an essential precedent to this research, although none of them focuses on musicians' working lives. For this reason, the thesis is built on a range of existent literature and draws on a wide range of sources, including the work on musicians'

¹² About the large omission of Césari's role as a mutualist in Chilean music historiography, I gave a more detailed account in a paper presented at the Latin American Music Seminar on 27th May 2017 (ILAS, University of London).

working conditions, the history of the labour movement, and studies of genres relevant for those who joined the *SMSMV* and the *SPMV* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Valparaíso.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

The methodology chapter sets out the strategy followed to systematically interrogate the core research questions posed in the introduction, illustrating both the gaps identified and the aims of this thesis. This chapter describes and evaluates the approaches used to fill the gaps identified in the literature review. It does so by explaining *how* this research was done and *why* it was done in this way. It sets out the methods and approach used to collect, record and interpret the data. It also presents the challenges, limitations and difficulties of the methods and approach and clarifies the decisions made towards the problems faced while conducting the research. It discusses the possibilities and limitations of reconstructing the past of a denied or hidden music history, of who worked in music and gathered in labour-type organisations, such as mutual aid societies and trade unions.

1. CASE STUDIES

The primary research method used is case studies, which are “an in-depth inquiry to a specific and complex phenomenon (the ‘case’), set within its real-world context” (Yin 2013, p. 321). This method allows, at the same time, to “properly acquire knowledge of the phenomenon from intensive exploration of a single case” (Becker 1971, p. 75) while arriving at comprehensive developing “more general theoretical statements about regularities in the observed phenomena” (Fidel 1984, p. 274). Theory is a central aspect of case studies, which Yin points out for helping to select the cases to be studied, “specifying what is being explored”, to define a complete and appropriate description, and for “generalizing the result to other cases” (2003, pp. 4-5). Case studies are the best approach to accomplish the aim of understanding the issues that musicians experienced regarding their working lives, understanding *why* and *how* they formed certain organisations. This research includes two different but interrelated case studies: the Musicians’ Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso (SMSMV) and the Professional Musicians’ Union of Valparaíso (SPMV). These two cases provide thick information about musicians’

working lives, especially considering them as: a) voluntary-based organisations created and formed by people working in music; b) hubs that congregated musicians seeking the protection of their jobs; and c) workers' organisations that lobbied for the promotion of the profession.

An important reason for choosing these case studies was the availability of sources for data collection. Even though they were not selected only following “a *convenience sampling* strategy”, availability was a key criterion (Schreier 2018, p. 8, original emphasis). More importantly was the uniqueness of the sources of data collection that is explained in due course. Although producing a representative sample is not the purpose of this study, it was essential to select case studies that could ‘talk about’ other similar phenomena and shared common characteristics with other cases, from other cities or even countries. For example, the fact that the case studies are based in Valparaíso, one of the main ebullient industrial port cities of the country, and – during the first period addressed in this thesis – of South America, is relevant. The proximity and connectivity of Valparaíso with the capital city, Santiago, is also pertinent. Both characteristics allow to compare and transfer its main findings with other cases with similar contexts, located on industrial port cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The in-depth exploration of the two case studies analysed provides rich and thick information that can be suitable “for analytic generalization” and to generate and build theory (Schreier 2018, p. 13).

It was developing the research with an in-depth and detailed examination that the relation between both case studies became evident. This resulted at the same time in a methodological decision and a key finding of the research. Methodologically, this finding meant the inclusion of both case studies in equal terms as sources of data collection for the analysis. However, as the finding shows that the SPMV emerged from the SMSMV in the late 1920s and that even both organisations functioned in parallel for some time, the case studies were not contemporary¹³. Therefore, the research was done chronologically, beginning with

¹³ The SMSMV continues to exist after the foundation of the SPMV, even until present days. Its legal personality has been maintained, however, in practical terms, its existence has been limited to its legal character rather than to practical.

the SMSMV, the transition from one to the other, and finishing with the SPMV and its relationship with other contemporary musicians' unions of the country.

Case studies involve “the use of multiple research methods”, or triangulation for data collection (Woodside 2010, p. 6). Triangulation refers to “the combination of different methods, study groups, local and temporal settings, and different theoretical perspectives in dealing with a phenomenon”, shifting its focus from “a strategy for validating results” to “further enriching and completing knowledge” (Flick 1998, pp. 229-230). Schreier (2018) states that “in actual research, advanced decisions are often combined with modifications as they emerge during the research process” (p. 7), and this study is not the exception. The plans and methods were adapted, complemented and, in some cases changed, to gain sufficient thick and rich information to answer the research questions. The findings that emerged while developing case studies challenged the methodology and data collection strategies proposed in the earlier stages of this research. Namely, several gaps found in the archival documents challenged the research. The way this challenge was coped with, and the specific characteristics of the archival documents are explained further on.

2. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The data was primarily collected by the strategy of document analysis. This strategy considers as a ‘document’ “a potentially broad spectrum of materials, both textual and otherwise” (Coffey 2019, p. 2). It includes “‘official’ records of various kinds”, such as organisational documents “designed as records of action and activity” and “everyday documents of organisations and lives” (ibid.). Being documents “pervasive in organizational and social life” they embody “individual actions, interactions and encounters within social settings” (ibid., p. 3). Coffey (2019) defines documents as “literary, textual or visual devices that enable information to be shared and ‘stories’ to be presented” (ibid., p. 4). Understood in that way, all documents are “artefacts that are created for a particular purpose, crafted according to social convention to serve a function of sorts” (ibid.). In that sense, analysing documents provide an “understanding and making sense of social organization practices” (ibid., p. 2).

Documents studied here include published and unpublished primary sources, such as press accounts and legislation, legal personalities, rulebooks and minutes of meetings of musicians' organisations. Understanding that "all documentary accounts are just that – a constructed account rather than necessarily an 'accurate' portrayal of complex social reality" (ibid., p. 13) it was necessary to use a dense network of different sort of documents. These were produced by different institutions and individuals for various purposes. Thus, it was relevant to consider the "knowledge that documents 'contain' about a setting" and "their role and place in settings" (ibid., p. 5). The array of documents analysed here helped to gain rich and thick information about the social setting of musicians working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Valparaíso, Chile.

Now I turn to describe the documents analysed here, the sort of information they provided, and the different "levels of formality and informality in the production and intention of such documents" (ibid., p. 3), including legislation, minutes of meetings, personal letters and handwritten drafts. They were also different in terms of language, register, form and structure, constituting and conforming "particular *genres* with specific styles and conventions" (ibid., p. 6) and displaying "a distinctive *register* [...] associated with a particular group, occupation, activity or organization" (ibid., p. 7). I begin by discussing the availability of such documents as a relevant issue for a research like this one, about Chile but conducted in Scotland.

Some of the documents analysed in this study were already digitised and available online, but others were only available in physical copies at public libraries and private archives in Chile. Digitised documents were available online via the digital repository of the National Library of Chile and *Memoria Chilena*. Here a substantial number of press accounts, leaflets, photography and books were available. For example, the magazine *Sucesos*, an exponent of modern journalism in Chile, was available to download. It was published weekly between 1902 and 1932, covering the national and foreign contemporary news, primarily through photography, literary writings and cartoons. Here some of the few photographs of the members of the SMSMV were published. *Ecran*, the first national magazine on cinematographic and theatrical issues was also a relevant source available in

Memoria Chilena, published from 1930 to 1969. Another key digital archive was *Cine Chile*, made by a group of film scholars, that hosts digital copies and transcription of an array of articles from newspapers and magazines, that covered the various aspects of film production and reception in Chile (Cine Chile 2009a, 2009b).

Regular newspapers were mostly physically available in libraries and archives in Chile, which I visited during my fieldtrips between 2015 and 2018. These included newspapers published in Valparaíso, such as *El Mercurio (Valparaíso)* and *La Unión*, which covered international, national and regional news as well as advertisement of both products and musical events. The former circulated from 1827 and the latter from 1885 in Valparaíso. Both circulated daily in the province of Valparaíso. In these newspapers some formal announcements of the SMSMV and the SPMV were published, as well as advertisement of musicians' performances relevant for this study.

Unpublished archival documents included those corresponding to the musicians' organisations and key musicians studied here. These were held by SIMUPROVAL in Valparaíso, CDM in Santiago and the Césari family in Manziana, Italy. The following section describes the type and characteristics of the documents held in these archives. Then I move to explore the challenges of document analysis and the gaps encountered in these archives and collections.

3. UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

a) SIMUPROVAL Archive in Valparaíso, Chile

The main archival documents of this research were the unpublished archival sources corresponding to the SMSMV and the SPMV, held in the offices of the current musicians' union of Valparaíso (SIMUPROVAL). These documents include books of meetings, statutes, accounts on membership payments, letters and photographs of both, the SMSMV and the SPMV (see appendices 2 and 3). These were essential to the research, in that they provide unique information about the internal affairs of both the SMSMV and the SPMV, such as discussions among

members, agreements held in meetings, exchanges and collaborations with other organisations. There were also internal rules, accountability documents and membership records that helped to outline the institutional wealth over time.

The members themselves wrote all of the documents, some handwritten, others, typed. The oldest documents date from December 1893 corresponding to the foundational meeting of the SMSMV, whilst the newest are from 1992 (see appendices 2 and 3). Most of these correspond to routine documentation of these musicians' organisations, such as regular meetings happening on a fortnight basis. Others, however, are exceptional documents that were only written once, such as agreements with other organisations.

Of these, books of meetings from the SMSMV, letters and statutes were the most relevant for the purposes of this study. Archival gaps corresponding to the SPMV challenged the data collection strategies, pushing to seek for other sources that could provide complementary information to fill this gap. These challenges are explained in due course.

b) Pablo Garrido and Domingo Santa Cruz Collections at CDM in Santiago, Chile

Other relevant archival sources for this thesis were the *Fondo Pablo Garrido* and the *Fondo Domingo Santa Cruz*, held by CDM in the Department of Musicology of *Universidad de Chile* in Santiago. At the time of writing, the collections are partially catalogued, with no digital copies available, nor an electronic catalogue. All these documents are only accessible physically and in person after arrangement with the convenor of CDM. Some of the documents are easy to find, following the partial catalogue, whilst the content of some boxes and folders remains mysterious.

The documents at the Pablo Garrido Collection, were collected, organised and donated by Garrido to the university before his passing in 1982. The archive includes a wide variety of documents, most written by Garrido, and others collected by him about topics of personal or academic interest. The array of

materials includes press accounts and cuttings, letters, music scores, essays, book drafts, pamphlets, concert programmes and photographs. Some of the documents are typed whilst other handwritten, some of them completed whilst others are work-in-progress drafts. Although the majority of the materials are still unpublished, some of them are published¹⁴. However, for clarity and practical reasons, for this study, I consider them as unpublished documents, because the papers analysed for this study were those original materials held at this collection, and not the print nor digital reproductions of some of these. This is coherent with the citation system used in this study when referring to documents from this archive. However, in relation to the data collection and its significance, it is essential to bear in mind that some of the documents were in effect published and widely circulated in newspapers, magazines and leaflets. This consideration is vital concerning the circulation of ideas, information and demands analysed in this study, especially in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Frustratingly, page numbers have not been retained for many of the newspaper's cuttings cited; while every effort has been made to locate page numbers, some are consequently missing from this thesis.

The documents at the Domingo Santa Cruz Collection were deposited Santa Cruz himself. These include the internal rules, annual memories and books with minutes of meetings of the *Sociedad Bach* and the IEM, and official accounts the institutions created under this institute, such as the National Symphonic Orchestra. By chance, among the *Fondo Domingo Santa Cruz*, I found valuable and barely known original documents corresponding to the first Musicians' Congress, organised by Garrido from the late 1930s, which are not available elsewhere. This last finding also illustrates one of the advantages of working with material culture and archival sources for this research, when "documents endure" and "may possess a special relevance to those who would hope to study", whose voices and

¹⁴ Some of the press accounts written by Garrido are available at the National Library in Santiago, but only those published in 'traditional' newspapers and magazines in Santiago and that are not currently in a process of restoration or digitalisation by the Library. Those published in newspapers in other cities, might be available at the corresponding regional Library.

histories, for different reasons, have been silenced, denied or hidden (Weinberg 2002, p. 263).

c) Césari Family Archive in Manziana, Italy

A third primary source for this thesis were the documents of Pedro Césari, held in Manziana, Italy, by his great-granddaughter, Pia Settimi¹⁵. Césari's family has preserved these after his passing in 1902. The documents are not catalogued and include Césari's self-made scrapbook, letters, scores, certificates, photography and other objects. Similarly as with Garrido's press accounts, most of the documents cut and pasted in Césari's scrapbook were published in newspapers and magazines in the different countries where he toured and lived, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, and indeed some of them are available at public libraries of such countries. However, for practical and methodological reasons this study refers to them as part of the unpublished scrapbook that Césari made, following the understanding that these correspond to a selection made by himself, depending on the availability of the documents. For example, the cuttings are not in chronological order in the scrapbook, suggesting that Césari pasted them when the newspapers came to his hands. Only some of the cuttings have a date and publication's name associated.

Additionally, it is essential to understand the scrapbook as a selection of documents that Césari made outlining his artistic profile. When analysing the scrapbook, it became evident that Césari omitted the SMSMV, but not the musical work he developed with some of its members, like those playing in orchestras and *orfeones* in Valparaíso. Taking into consideration the uses the scrapbook may have had at the time, for example, as an artistic portfolio of Césari's musical career rather than an archive, these omissions are understandable. In this sense, the selection of the materials as a portfolio followed an artistic criterion. This was at the same time a finding whilst a methodological challenge, encouraging again to complement with other relevant sources and distinguishing archival materials by

¹⁵ After the visit to this archive I wrote a blog post with some reflections about my experience undertaking this research trip. See Karmy 2018.

“whether the text was prepared to attest to some formal transaction” or to be read or seen by others (Hodder 2012, p. 171).

Correspondence with his sons and wife were in this regard essential, as documents “prepared for personal rather than official reasons” (ibid.). With the letters it was possible to sketch a profile of Césari in the private sphere to get a deeper understanding of his artistic profile. The letters, written in both Italian and Spanish, show him discussing contemporary politics, such as Italian colonialism in Africa in the late 1800s; giving musical advice to his son David, who also worked in Chile; and arguing about money and properties with his lawyer in Italy. Here, the combination of private documents, such as letters, and materials prepared for being shown to others, like the scrapbook, helped a great deal to have a comprehensive understanding of Césari as a working musician, considering both, his preoccupations about mundane issues concerning his living conditions and constructing his public image as a working artist.

4. CHALLENGES OF DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The process of data collection from unpublished documents varied concerning the conditions, length and availability of the archives, described above. The general approach here was to collect and analyse the information from unpublished and published primary sources corresponding to the musicians who were members of the SMSMV and the SPMV. The amount and depth of the data varied considerably between archives and collections, as well as their quality and completeness regarding their preservation status.

The vast majority of the unpublished documents corresponding to the timeframe of this thesis, were handwritten, reducing any chance to undertake any digital searches. It was necessary to read all the documents, transcribe them, and translate relevant passages into English to include here. The transcription was made by myself and systematised in relevant datasheets. Most of the published documents were typed and some of them digitised, and available online, as discussed above.

Another characteristic of these documents is that they were written following the grammatical rules and writing style of the time, using words and phrases that are no more in fashion nor grammatically accepted. This offered a particular flavour of the time, allowing the reader to “examine those cultural and organizational features that are implicitly invoked when records and documents are produced and used” (Coffey 2019, p.8). Understanding the social and cultural context of the musicians who wrote them, as well as their particular place in society, allows documents to “tell us something about the social setting or social practice under consideration” (ibid., p. 7). This feature offered information about both, the context of the time and the cultural and educational level of those who wrote these documents.

Moreover, understanding the writing style of the time provided insights on subtleties used by musicians when discussing musical work and defining themselves as workers or artists – or a combination of both. For these reasons, original words and sentences are presented between brackets when relevant.

Using unpublished documents as the primary data collection sources for this research had advantages and disadvantages. The most remarkable among the former is the uniqueness of the documents as invaluable sources that contain rich and unique information. This is especially important for the archive of the SIMUPROVAL, being currently the only known musicians’ union in Chile that preserves its ancient documents. In conversations with archivist Rodrigo Sandoval (2017) it became clear that this kind of documents, those that still survive, remain private. Nor the National Archive neither the National Library of Chile had any similar materials in their catalogues¹⁶.

Two of the three archives used here are private and not catalogued, so they are not generally open to researchers; consequently, the research made in these was unique. It is also relevant to note that navigating and delving in these large

¹⁶ The most similar documents held in the National Archive is the collection *Archivo de la Sociedad Civil de Valparaíso, República de las Artes y Oficios*. This consist of a digital archive of minutes of meetings and rulebooks of mutual aid societies of different crafts based in the port city, but does not include any musicians’ organisation, such as the SMSMV.

number of boxes, folders and papers became a challenge in itself, at times distressing, especially considering the limited time for the fieldworks, the large geographical distance between Scotland and these archives. Another downside of using these archives as the primary data collection sources for this research is that, as they were produced, collected and, in some cases preserved, by either the organisations (SMSMV and SPMV) or the musicians themselves (Garrido and Césari), in most cases they represent the ‘official’ point of view. In the case of the archive of SIMUPROVAL, it represents the institutions’ official voice, either the SMSMV or the SPMV, holding exclusively documents produced by and for these organisations. The same can be said of Césari’s archive, with the subtle difference that he did not produce the newspaper cuttings but selected and preserved them. To counteract the possible bias of only using these ‘official voices’, a large number of press accounts and official documents were analysed. Particularly, contemporary newspapers and magazines’ articles about the music life of the city of Valparaíso and legal documents, such as legal personalities, rulebooks and laws.

Two issues are essential to highlight here. Firstly, the contemporary musicians’ union of Valparaíso is the same legal entity registered in its early days in 1932, but informally modifying its name from *Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso* (SPMV) to SIMUPROVAL, an acronym of *Sindicato de Músicos Profesionales de Valparaíso*. The fact that they have inverted the order of the word ‘professional’, from an adjective of the union itself (professional union) to an adjective to musicians (professional musicians) is at the same time a finding of this study and a methodological challenge. The former is explained in detail in chapter 5 when analysing the legal changes in unionisation of the mid-1920s and finding out that workers were compelled by law to form either an industrial or a professional union. The latter challenged the data collection strategies and required flexibility for collecting information about any musicians’ union of the province of Valparaíso, whatever name appears in the literature. For example, González & Rolle (2005) mention a “*Sindicato de Músicos Profesionales*” (Professional Musicians’ Union) founded in 1931 (p. 266), that might refer to the SPMV, being one the few mentions of in the local music literature.

Secondly, the archive that includes original and unique documents has an important gap (see appendices 2 and 3). Besides the documents of the SMSMV it was not possible to find archival documents corresponding to the musicians' union between 1928 and 1952. There are no clear reasons for this gap in the archive, partially because it has not been catalogued nor previously researched. Here, it is relevant to stress that usually material culture evidence, such as these documents, has "no living participants who can respond" to the interpretative approaches that often need to be made in "dialogue with spoken critical comment from participants" (Hodder 2012, p. 185). Put differently, these documents understood solely as material culture "may not be able directly to 'speak back,' but if appropriate procedures are followed there is room for the data and for different levels of theory to confront interpretations" (Hodder 2012, p. 186). The appropriate procedures followed in this regard were the analysis of published documents, such as press accounts and legal documents, and exploratory interviews with relevant agents, which is discussed further on.

These procedures offered some information about this gap in the SIMUPROVAL archive. This gap may be a consequence of the lack of preservation policies for these documents, which could have easily been lost over time, and conditions of conservation that have been under the care of the SIMUPROVAL with its own resources and knowledge. However, there may be another reason. I am referring here to the lack of minutes of meetings between 1928 and 1952. During the 1920s the mutual aid society founded the musicians' union of Valparaíso in 1931. When searching the archive it became evident that some of the meetings were not registered in the union books, especially those that took place during the first years of the union, a period that coincides with the military and fascist-shaped dictatorship of Ibáñez (1928-1931). Fortunately, among the documents, a draft of the musicians' union statutes dated in 1928 was found. This is a crucial finding of this study that allows demonstrating that although the SPMV was founded in 1931, the members of the SMSMV drafted the statutes of the union in 1928. This finding supports the argument that the change from a mutual aid society to a trade union was legally rather than technologically driven. More about this finding is discussed in chapter 5.

The situation of Garrido's archive is more complicated, because it contains both kinds of documents: those created by himself, such as essays, letters, scores, and even press accounts, and those produced by others but collected by him, such as letters, leaflets, and press accounts not written by him but about matters of his interest. In this case, the collection does not necessarily represent the 'official' point of view, but the broad array of topics that were of interest to Garrido that varied from ethnomusicology to composition, from musicians' working lives to international politics, from the local jazz scene to dogs. For this study, only a small selection of this wide variety of documents was analysed, particularly those written by or to Garrido, such as letters, press accounts (cuttings in scrapbooks), essays, and drafts of discourses and lectures. About Garrido's scrapbooks the situation is quite different from that of Césari's cuttings. These scrapbooks were not made as an artistic portfolio as Césari did but to collect all the cuttings of Garrido's writings published in newspapers and magazines. These were pasted in four identical scrapbooks, in chronological order and signposting dates and the publications' name, by the people involved in the creation of the collection after Garrido donated all his documents to the university.

All the data collected was produced, mostly in Spanish and some – particularly those held in the Césari family archive – in Italian and Portuguese. All the translations into English were made by myself, unless stated otherwise. Some translation issues were problematic during the whole process of the PhD. The perennial problems of translation can be summarised into two main topics. The transcription and translation of archival documents, especially those unpublished. This issue was problematic concerning time and workload, that regularly doubled the time of transcription from manuscripts and press accounts. Also, textual versus interpretative issues when translating. The priority was given to the content rather than the style of the writing, so that the meanings were not lost in translation. A way to counteract the loss of the writing styles, was the decision to include notes of original concepts between brackets. This was because written “texts have to be understood in the contexts of their conditions of production and reading”, and they should be considered as “embedded within social and ideological systems”, produced under “certain material conditions” (Hodder 2012, p. 172). The writing style, the chosen words, and if the documents were typed or

handwritten, informs about the author, regarding their social class, education, access to technology and other resources.

Translation raised the issue of multi-semantic words. It was essential to bear in mind the context in which words appear, and that it has not always been a single equivalent. Words can have different meanings depending on the context in which they are said and can have a multi-semantic nature. Typical examples in this thesis are the Spanish words *pueblo*, *popular*, *trabajadores* and *obreros*. The first two are of multi-semantic meanings. *Pueblo* can refer either to the ‘people’ (in more neutral terms), to the ‘working class’ (highlighting the classist component), and to a small ‘town’ or ‘village’. *Popular*, similar to English, can refer to both popularity or something widespread and to ‘the working class’ or the ‘common people’. Subsequently *música popular* can be translated similarly as the Anglophone concept of ‘popular music’, following the criteria of popularity. But it can refer to ‘folkloric music’, in association with the ‘people’ as a synonymous with ‘plebeian’, in opposition to gentle or noble people. It also can refer to the music and celebrations of marginalised classes and indigenous population depending on the context (Jordán & Smith 2011, p. 24). Folklore, or the music that followed traditional local roots was called *música típica* and Chilean music [*música chilena*] at the time, adding complexity to this conceptualisation (González & Rolle 2005, p. 43.)

Trabajadores and *obreros* are usually translated as ‘workers’ and as ‘manual, industrial or factory workers’, emphasising the physical work. However, these two can be easily interchangeable, especially in the labour movement and Marxist lexicon, when associating the ‘workers’ with the working class and not necessarily with another sort of worker in broader terms. This was problematic when finding textual evidence of self-definitions of musicians as workers, or of music as work, because of the political burden of these words in Spanish. In the archives music is addressed as *actividad* (activity) and *oficio* (trade) rather than overtly as *trabajo* (work) except for the politicized era of the 1930s and 1940s.

To overcome the issues of translation it was essential to have a clear understanding of the context in which such words are used before attempting any

English translation. It was key to discuss the possible translations in supervision meetings, considering the original and comparable context and proper explanations. To remind the reader of different possible meanings and the translation issues, relevant notes are included when appropriate, presenting the original word in italics and a short explanation or translation between brackets. A list of acronyms is included to facilitate the reading (see list of abbreviations).

One of the main disadvantages, and a political issue, when trying to reconstruct the popular past corresponds to the conditions of the archive itself. The core archival sources used in this study, the documents held by SIMUPROVAL are at the same time too old to be well conserved but not publicly recognised as essential to ‘deserve’ a safe place at a national or regional library to be appropriately preserved¹⁷. In an effort to counteract this, in parallel to this research, a colleague and I developed the project *Memoria Musical de Valparaíso*, building a digital archive on musicians’ organisations in Valparaíso and creating the website www.memoriamusicalvalpo.cl where short notes, photographs and recordings were posted¹⁸. The issue of donating these archival documents to a local library was raised, but, at the time of writing, the EC of the union have not yet transferred their documents to any public institution. However, this study aimed to contribute to understanding musicians’ working lives and their collective organisation rather than directly making these archives visible. In the meantime, the digital archive *Memoria Musical de Valparaíso*, which is far from complete, is the only public ‘place’ where people interested in such documents have open access.

¹⁷ Dated from 1893, hosted in a rented office in city centre of Valparaíso, with typical conditions of humidity of any coastal city.

¹⁸ I developed this project together with Cristian Molina, musician and popular music scholar based in Valparaíso, Chile. The project was funded from 2015 to 2018 by the Chilean Ministry of the Cultures, Arts and Heritage. This project digitised the vast majority of the documents corresponding to the SMSMV and the SPMV. It contributed to making visible part of the social history of such organisations by giving a public presentation every year in both Valparaíso and Santiago. This involved some appearance in the local press and the participation of the EC of the musicians’ union.

5. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The exploratory and semi-structured interviews were a complementary data collection strategy. Semi-structured interviews are a broadly used method to collect qualitative data where the researcher seeks to “reveal depth, detail and nuance” about crucial aspects of the research (Rubin & Rubin 2005, p. 129). With the interviews I aimed to gain further advice about other possible data collection sources. For this, I interviewed key individuals who contributed to or were well-informed about the development of the musical institutionalisation and the creation of the first musicians’ unions in Chile. In this regard the interviewees were both musicians who had participated at musicians’ unions, and scholars and archivists who were able to give further advice on this research¹⁹.

The interview process was pretty straightforward. There was a small number of interviewees, all of them were based in the same city, Santiago, and all were keen to participate²⁰. One of the achievements of the interviews was the possibility to contrast and complement the information gathered during the first stages of the research. Mainly, to ensure that the archives of the SIMUPROVAL are the only ones of its kind known at the time of writing. Former members of the SIPO stated that although that trade union still legally exists, it is uncertain if their documents endure, because the union stopped working in unclear circumstances (Núñez 2016, Salazar 2015). It was also essential to talk with jazz scholar Alvaro Menanteau and archivist Rodrigo Sandoval and follow their suggestions about other archives and sources to consult. In sum, all of these interviews were not more than a complementary source to the core pillar of data collection of this research: document analysis.

¹⁹ The fieldwork proposal was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow, stating that it was necessary to name the interviewees due to their crucial role in these processes. I asked the interviewees their permission for being interviewed and named, and to have their signed consent for the subsequent publication of any extract of these interviews of this PhD thesis. I offered them the opportunity to comment further, amend any inaccuracies and withdraw any comments of the full transcription of their interviews. None of them revised nor revoked any comments. The interviews, consent forms and transcriptions were made in Spanish. Only relevant passages were translated into English by myself.

²⁰ For questions and interviewees see appendices 4, 5 and 6.

CONCLUSION: EVALUATION OF CASE STUDIES

Case studies in qualitative research are problematic in that they are not intended to generalise results as quantitative studies usually are. The statements in qualitative research “are often made for a certain context or specific cases and based on analysis of relations, conditions, processes, etc., in them” (Flick 1998, p. 233). It is this attachment to contexts that allows qualitative research a specific expressiveness and that makes the attempt to generalise the findings problematic. Qualitative methodological scholars have largely discussed this issue, regarding the “‘transferability of findings from one context to another’ and ‘fittingness as to the degree of comparability of different contexts’” (ibid.) Various possibilities have been discussed to allow the researcher to reach a certain generalisation, clarifying “which degree of generalization is sought and is possible to obtain with the concrete study”; cautiously integrating different cases and contexts where “the relations under study are empirically analysed”; and the “systematic comparison of the collected material” (ibid.) In the same line of thought, Yin (2013) states that to understand the case or cases, they “should not be limited to the case in isolation but should examine the likely interaction between the case and its context” (p. 321).

In qualitative research, generalisation is understood as “the gradual transfer of findings from case studies and their context to more general and abstracts relations, for example, a typology” (Flick 1998, p. 235). Following this, the purpose of this study is not “to generalise to a population or to other instances, but to build a theory” (Schreier 2018, p. 5). However, this theoretical generalisation is nuanced with the corresponding specific context of the case studies, namely, the industrial port city of Valparaíso, Chile, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Considering the context, building theoretical generalisations required organising a sampling strategy accordingly, which is favoured by “instances that are *information rich* with a view to answering the research question” (p. 7, original emphasis). The case studies chosen for this research ensured “thick descriptions”, allowing an in-depth analysis and lending “themselves well to generalization” in the sense of transferability” (ibid., p. 13).

In sum, this study is about the working lives of musicians based in Valparaíso and their collective organisations. By using case studies, it allows transferring some of the findings to similar contexts, such as Santiago and Concepción, where the first musicians' unions of Chile were founded between 1928 and 1932 (decree 1905, 1932; decree 2941, 1932; Valenzuela 1932, p. 19; El Mercurio, Santiago, 11 June 1928, p. 13). Although not port cities, both the capital of Chile, Santiago, and the biggest city of the South, Concepción, were similarly vibrant and culturally active as Valparaíso at the time. The connections found between the two case studies with other organisations and musicians from the same city and others also validate this idea. This is not to say that the characterisations, typologies, and definitions built upon the findings of this research are universally suitable. Rather, they are transferrable to similar contexts.

PART II

MUSICIANS' GUILD ORGANISATIONS IN VALPARAISO

The melodies of the *orfeón* were just the background music – like the piano notes at the local cinema – of the romantic film that each of them screened every Saturday and Sunday evening in the town *plaza*. After that, everyone would go to the workers' philharmonic hall to dance at the rhythm of the same *orfeón*, which has now become a cheerful jazz-band.

(Rivera Letelier, 2011, p. 208/3663)

Part II is divided into three chapters, covering the emergence of the Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso (SMSMV) amid the turbulent rise of the wider labour movement, its decline and subsequent transformation into one of the first musicians' trade unions in Chile. The turning point that separates chapters 3 and 4 is the economic crisis of 1914 that came after the historical juncture of the opening of the Panama Canal, the impact of the First World War, and the Chilean nitrate industry downturn. This greatly affected industrial cities, and especially Valparaíso, which ceased to be the main port city of South America. Chapter 3 focuses on the first two decades of the SMSMV, delves into its aims, and unveils what sort of musicians needed to join such an organisation. Chapter 4 analyses how the 1914 crisis affected the working musicians in Valparaíso, their collective organisation, and their coping strategies. The transition from mutualism to trade unionism is analysed in chapter 5, examining the changes in the legal framework and technologies that challenged musicians' working lives.

Membership is analysed to shed light on musicians' living and working conditions. Unfortunately, detailed membership data of the SMSMV is only available from 1922 (see appendix 2). The data from the previous period was obtained from the minutes of EC and general meetings of the SMSMV (SMSMV Book 1; SMSMV Book 2; SMSMV Book 3; and SMSMV 1925a). Although this information is scant, analysing

participation in voting procedures, members' attendance to the Society's activities and the few annual reports registered shed some light on members participation. The limitation of this information challenges making any quantitative comparison on the characteristics of the SMSMV membership. Such data, if obtainable, would help to understand the Society's membership in context, comparing it with other mutualist organisations of the time, and trace its trajectory in numerical terms, as it is for the following period. From 1922 members' names and type of membership (e.g., founding, retired or active members) are available, providing rich and unique information, which allows comparing membership from year to year (SMSMV Book 4).

It is important to note that the numbers shown in table 5 correspond to the members registered in the SMSMV books, and it does not mean that all of them participated in the Society's activities nor that all were up to date with their membership fees. For instance, even though in 1926 there were 240 members registered, less than 30 attended the regular meetings (e.g., 06 November 1926, SMSMV Book 3, pp. 183-185). Also, in December 1927, only 31 members (the 15%) voted at the EC elections out of 209 (SMSMV Book 3 p. 337).

Table 5 SMSMV Membership numbers by year

Year / Number of members	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Founding members	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Retired members	9	11	11	9	14	15	14
Active members	116	118	121	169	225	193	196
Total membership	126	130	133	179	240	209	210

Source: SMSMV Book 4.

All these shed light on the complexities of studying the membership of a collective and grassroots organisation. Even when official numbers are available, they do not necessarily reflect the accurate participation of members. Nevertheless, being this the only information available, by crossing references and analysing qualitative data, it was possible to outline the SMSMV membership. One strategy

was to put the few figures in context to understand the processes of expansion and decline of the Society. Another was to include snapshots of key working musicians to understand their working lives.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide a snapshot of key working musicians who joined the SMSMV. Based on the availability of sources, some of them are addressed at length and others very briefly. Their limited inclusion in the music literature is consistent with the argument that most of the members of the SMSMV were common musicians, who worked as ‘back-up’ or ‘session’ orchestral performers. The difficulty of finding their names in the local press of the time mirrors the social division of musical labour, where their contribution was taken for granted. As an attempt to make visible their role in the country’s music industries and musicians’ organisation, I prefer to introduce them even with a brief and incomplete snapshot. All of them, those well-known and unknown musicians, were prominent members of the SMSMV whose trajectories, characteristics and working conditions exemplify the situation of working and mutualised musicians in this period.

Chapter 5 compares the old SMSMV and the new musicians’ union (SPMV) by analysing musicians’ working lives, the aims, the membership and the activities of both organisations. By doing this it contrasts how they defined and promoted a certain music profession of musicians working in the vibrant live music scene in Valparaíso. The debates on the arrival of sound film technologies and the proliferation of radio broadcasting are analysed highlighting their impact on musicians’ working lives and the challenges presented for the musicians’ union.

The main argument here is that the Society and the new musicians’ union existed at an intersection between the labour movement and the music industries. The working musicians in these organisations identified, at times, as artists, especially when it came to providing music instruction and performances in the city. At other times, they identified as workers as they undertook similar actions that workers’ organisations of other trades undertook. The debates among these musicians concerning their self-identification as workers or artists are analysed through the discussions, they held at the SMSMV meetings and the connections they established with contemporary institutions. Contrasting how many of these represented the

music industries and how many belonged to the broader mutualist movement points out the type of organisations the SMSMV communicated with the most.

What labour historians understand as the “plenitude years of Chilean mutualism” corresponding to the period between 1890 and 1924, should be expanded when considering working musicians and their organisations as part of the labour movement (Grez 1994, p. 305). Grez explains that, during this period “mutualism gained its maximum expansion and prestige” (ibid.) which was harmed by a combination of the rise of popularity of left-wing ideologies, such as anarchism and socialism, and the consequences of the new labour and social legislation of 1924. The analysis of musicians’ organisations suggests that this period of plenitude should be extended until 1928. This is because, despite the challenges, musicians’ mutual aid societies, such as the SMSMV, enjoyed a relatively stable situation until the law on trade unions was put into effect in 1928, and began its transformation into the Professional Musicians’ Union of Valparaíso (SPMV), founded in 1931. The legal changes of 1924 indeed hurt the mutualised musicians, but they were able to cope with them successfully. What they were unable to cope with was the combination of the promulgation of the decree on trade unions in 1928, the global downturn of 1929 and the arrival of sound cinema technologies in 1930, whose impact exacerbated and accelerated the decline of the SMSMV. This leads to the third argument of the section: that the foundation of the musicians’ unions of the 1930s responded to the new legal framework rather than only to the changes in the music industries that challenged musicians’ workplaces. In other words, as chapter 5 analyses, the creation of the SPMV was legally rather than technologically driven.

CHAPTER 3

RISE AND PLENITUDE OF MUSIC MUTUALISM IN VALPARAÍSO (1893 - 1914)

By considering musicians as a particular type of workers, the chapter analyses the first twenty years of the Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso (SMSMV), formed by and for musicians, as part of the wider Chilean labour movement. It presents the context in which the SMSMV was founded – amid the rise and plenitude of mutualism and the critical phenomena of the Social Question occurring in Valparaíso and other industrial cities throughout the country. Valparaíso's status as a port city was crucial for establishing international connections, which were significant to the foundation and functioning of the SMSMV. In this chapter I argue that the SMSMV was influenced by and contributed to both the labour movement and the music industries. The extent to which the SMSMV was related to labour organisations and music institutions is discussed here, also considering how that relationship changed over time. By delving into the aims and activities of the SMSMV, this chapter shows the shape that the debate about music and labour took among the members and how they developed a music profession that combined their characteristics as workers and artists. By contrasting the notion of “players” and “gentlemen” (Ehrlich 1985) and the situation of women musicians within the SMSMV, the chapter concludes that the Society primarily gathered male performers from middle-class backgrounds. The concept of “labour aristocrat” (Hobsbawm 1984) helps to understand these musicians as part of the Chilean “‘cultured’ working class” (Salazar 2012, p. 322), and to unveil the position where the SMSMV stood in relation to the labour movement.

1. THE EMERGENCE OF THE MUSICIANS' MUTUAL AID SOCIETY OF VALPARAÍSO AMID THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

On 5 December 1893 the SMSMV was founded amid the emergence of the labour movement. The Society was founded in Valparaíso, the main port of South America at the time, by a group of forty musicians. One of these musicians was the Italian

conductor, composer, violinist and teacher Pedro Césari²¹, who arrived in Vaparaíso as a touring musician with the Ciacchi opera company, in 1884. The other founding members were musicians whose names remain unknown to Chilean music historiography but are registered in the minutes of meetings of this Society. Some of them are addressed later in the chapter. All these facts provide relevant information about the geographical and social context in which this organisation emerged. They also inform about the musical life of the time, the characteristics of this mutual aid society and the working and living conditions of its members, as well as the way that these musicians faced the changeable context in which they were immersed.

The context in which the SMSMV was founded was one in which, from the mid-nineteenth century, workers began to organise collectively within the burgeoning artisan and service industries that gradually developed to satisfy the needs of urban life in Chile. These processes accelerated due to the expansion of agricultural exports and the development of the mining industry via an oligarchical system that was criticised by both the liberal elite and the growing labour movement. Workers slowly became politically conscious of their class allegiances and began to organise collectively in the form of mutual aid societies to address their direct concerns respecting their precarious living conditions. Grez (1995) discusses these conditions in the context of the Social Question, which he describes as “the social, labour and ideological consequences of increasing industrialisation and urbanisation” (p. 9). Although the entire population was exposed to the consequences of the Social Question, the working classes were most affected, being vulnerable to diseases related to their working and living conditions. As the state did not provide any welfare services, most workers lacked essential social protection and could not afford – as the wealthier did – to pay for those services on their own.

Chile experienced socio-economic change similar to that of nineteenth-century Europe, the United States, and neighbouring Argentina, which saw the

²¹ Italian Pietro Cesari became Pedro Césari in Chile because, at the time, foreign names were translated into their Spanish equivalents.

transformation of the country's human geography with urbanisation. As an industrialising and port city, Vaparaíso was particularly impacted by developments in trade unionism and experienced socio-economic change similar to that of nineteenth-century Europe, the United States, and neighbouring Argentina, which saw the transformation of the country's human geography with urbanisation. Following Barr-Melej (2001), rural to urban migration in pursuit of better jobs and living conditions was a key factor where thousands of peasants "moved to Santiago, Vaparaíso and other industrializing cities in search of higher wages" (ibid., p. 33). It was in these urban spaces where parts of the middle class coalesced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "as sectors indelibly linked to capitalist modernization and 'classical liberal' projects that fostered international trade, domestic commerce, and internal migration" (ibid., p. 5). This situation, coupled with the lack of state provision of social wellbeing services, led workers to create organisations seeking improvement of their situation. In this context, three types of organisations emerged: mutual aid societies, trade unions, and anarchist-led resistance societies. Of these, it is the first type that is most relevant to this study, since musicians gathered in this sort of organisation, but also because Chilean mutualism was the "pioneer and benchmark for this form of association in South America, and the seed of the labour movement [...] which led the Latin American mutualism unifying effort" (Greze 1994, p. 314).

The ideas promoted by the *Sociedad de la Igualdad* (Egalitarian Society), founded in 1850 in Santiago by a group of young republicans, intellectuals and artisans, inspired successive mutual aid societies. This Society promoted fraternity and brotherhood values, taken from the ideals of the European Revolutions of 1848. Following this model, the new mutual aid societies began seeking physical wellbeing of their members, and later extending their reach into collective interests such as intellectual development. Illanes (2003) states that mutual aid societies were "an autonomous corporate entity, typical of the artisan and working class, which aimed to maintain the physical wellbeing, and promote the intellectual, social and material development among members" (p. 293). Mutual aid societies were "non-profit voluntary associations" that gathered people who were committed "to pay contributions towards a capital formation" (Greze 1994, p. 295). These funds were set aside to help their associates or their families when

one them suffered “one of the risks defined by the statutes (sickness, unemployment, disability, death, etc.)” (ibid.).

By the late 1880s, after Chile’s victory in the War of the Pacific, state coffers were relatively full, and an alliance of Liberal and Conservative parties ensured political stability, although ruled by an oligarchy with economic growth based on foreign trade. Hundreds of European migrants were attracted by this situation, settling in Valparaíso and facilitating international connections and the arrival of musicians and music from different parts of the world. Shortly thereafter, Valparaíso became a vital trade centre connecting Britain, the Eastern Pacific Ocean and Asia. As a place of arrival and departure for seamen and migrants, Valparaíso became “a ‘diaspora space’, a contact zone between different ethnic groups with differing needs and intentions as transients, sojourners or settlers” (Belchem 2008, p. 5). By the late nineteenth century, Valparaíso was considered “the nation’s doorstep” and the “true economic capital of the country,” particularly receptive to European and North American ideas, consumptions habits and practices (González & Rolle 2005, p. 30).

Valparaíso’s proximity to Santiago is also significant²², being one of the reasons that international musicians touring in Chile used to perform in both cities (Pereira Salas 1957, p. 112). Good transport connections between Valparaíso and other South American cities enhanced the international connections and the arrival of migrants to this port city. A special role played the train – “*El trasandino*” (inaugurated in 1910) – which connected the Argentine city of Mendoza to Santiago and Valparaíso. The railway “kept open an early migratory flow of Argentine musicians travelling to Chile and vice versa” (González & Rolle 2005, p. 485). It was not only Argentine, but also European musicians who would come to Chile by way of Argentina²³.

²² Valparaíso is located at about 125 km (77 miles) to the west of Santiago.

²³ This migratory movement was part of the government program to attract European settlers, in place from the mid-nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth, in the belief that a larger population would increase the economy, and that a population of European settlers would be better for the country” (Cano & Soffia 2009, p. 132).

2. WHY DID MUSICIANS NEED A MUTUAL AID SOCIETY?

The efforts of workers to organise collectively served as a catalyst for social change, to which musicians in Valparaíso were not indifferent when they founded the SMSMV. At this point other artistic societies and musical clubs already existed in the city. These initially aimed “to spread and promote music as a science and an art” (Merino 2009, p. 16). For example, the *Sociedad Orfeón de Santiago* was committed to offering periodical public recitals (Pereira Salas 1957, pp. 125, 128). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these musical clubs, along with artistic, scientific and intellectual societies, played an important role in the discussion of the renewal of cultural development²⁴. To answer the above question, it is necessary to understand these musicians as workers, or more precisely, “as particular sorts of workers seeking paid employment” (Williamson & Cloonan 2016, p. 8). The working musicians of Valparaíso sought to create a mutual aid society to address the problems of their living and working conditions collaboratively. The form of the mutual aid society allowed them to discuss and look for solutions together, specifically as musicians. In addition, by establishing agreements with mutual aid societies of other trades, and collaborating with other workers, they acted similarly as other (non-musicians) workers.

Analysing musicians’ working lives, the activities that the SMSMV undertook and its regular communications with other organisations, sheds light on the context in which these mutualised musicians were immersed. They were part of the broader context of the growing labour movement, in which mutualism was gaining strength. This movement was framed in the Social Question, in which the musicians of the SMSMV shared similar living conditions with other workers from different trades. Thirdly, these musicians worked in the burgeoning musical life of Valparaíso, highlighted by its cosmopolitanism. A revision of the SMSMV membership, including who could and who could not join the organisation, illustrates the music profession that this Society promoted. It also outlines a profile of the working musicians that gathered here.

²⁴ For other artistic associations, see appendix 8.

3. MUSICIANS' WORKING LIVES IN VALPARAÍSO

Musicians who gathered in the SMSMV were those who often developed their skills across different genres, rather than being confined to just one. Unfortunately, no information is available on how much these musicians earned. This is due to several reasons. The most important relies on the characteristics of musical work, where informal working conditions were the norm. Not having formal contracts nor a regular and stable income makes finding data on musicians' salaries challenging. However, this section provides information about where these musicians worked and how their working lives were.

Most were involved in more than one music scene, performing at various venues and audiences. By the early twentieth century, Valparaíso and Santiago continued to be the centres of the musical activity in the country, enjoying a varied music scene, based mostly on live music. Music from abroad was often preferred in public gatherings and motion pictures, at dance halls, and on records, where jazz, polka and tango were played. Barr-Melej (2011) dates the preference for foreign music back to the early nineteenth century when Latin American elites followed Western European cultural models, which they regarded as “refined cultural ways and commodities” (p. 43). Although the preference for music from abroad was present during the whole period, this issue only became a relevant topic among musicians starting in the 1930s (see chapters 6 and 7).

Some of the members of the SMSMV performed classical or concert music, which was supported mainly by wealthy families who funded individual composers, live concerts and artistic projects (Pereira Salas 1957, p. 362). As well as individual support, several organisations, such as artistic societies and musical clubs in the main cities, as well as those created by groups of immigrant musicians also supported the provision of music. Others worked as opera orchestral musicians which, similar to other countries, was the most sought-after music in Chile at the time. The municipal theatres in the main cities offered a variety of shows, thus laying the groundwork for the orchestral musician's life, which were mainly teachers from the National Conservatoire of Music (*ibid.*, p. 356). For example, the Victoria Theatre in Valparaíso was a central venue in this regard, followed by

other theatres such as *Odeón* and *Imperio*. It was in the Victoria Theatre that Césari conducted an orchestra of amateur musicians to perform a short version of Haendel's *Messiah* on 20 September 1895 (Cesari Scrapbook, p. 33). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find who were the 'amateur' musicians who formed that orchestra and made this performance possible. However, considering Césari's connections with a broad range of (amateur and professional) musicians, it is reasonable to state that some of them were his pupils and others were members of the artistic and immigrant societies in which he participated, with some associates of the SMSMV²⁵. It was in this theatre where the *Orfeón Municipal* premiered Pedro Césari's waltz *Adiós a Valparaíso* [Farewell to Valparaíso], conducted by his son David at his farewell concert in 1895 before travelling back to Italy (ibid., pp. 31, 32).

Cinemas were another key source of employment for musicians. By the late nineteenth century popular music was being widely performed in cinemas, at festivities in public spaces and in dance halls in the major cities (González & Rolle 2005, p. 22). The province of Valparaíso was a key place for cinema development, hosting film exhibitions and local productions. In 1900, for example, the first local cinematographic view was launched: *Carreras de Viña del Mar* [Horse-races in Viña del Mar], a documentary film entirely filmed and produced in the coastal town of Viña del Mar (Cine Chile 2009a). Two years later, on 26 May 1902, the first national cinematographic production, entirely filmed and manufactured in Valparaíso, was launched. The film is *Ejercicio general del cuerpo de bomberos* [Firemen General Exercise] and shows the annual showcase of the fire brigade of Valparaíso, where the audience witnesses the parade, competitions and the 'baptise' of new members (Cine Chile 2009b). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find records about the musical spectacle associated with this film. Press accounts describe that a "good number" of people attended the premiere, but the film "could not be greatly appreciated due to some flaws of the electric light" (El Mercurio Valparaíso, 27 May 1902, p. 4). Cinemas were a relevant working place

²⁵ Since his arrival into Valparaíso, Césari also participated at the *Círculo Musical de Valparaíso* and *Sociedad Musical Polyhymnia* (of German migrants in Valparaíso).

for the mutualised musicians but also musicians were an essential attraction for the public of the silent cinema. Following Smith (1998):

[O]ne way that exhibitors [of silent films] could differentiate themselves was by promoting the musicians themselves as a kind of special attraction. Musicians typically earned their reputation either through the quality of their performances or through the character of their personality (p. 27).

Emilio Baesler, one of the founding members of the SMSMV, who served at the EC several times, worked in theatre orchestras in theatres in Valparaíso, likely performing for silent films, opera and other spectacles. Benjamín Toledo, director of the EC by 1900, and Manuel Núñez, president of the EC in 1889 and director in 1900, had similar jobs, performing in the orchestra of the *Teatro Nacional* in Valparaíso. Segundo A. Acha, a founding member of the SMSMV and director of the EC in repeated occasions, worked as an orchestral conductor in theatres *Nacional* and *Odeón* by 1900, conducting operas and variety plays. These types of jobs allowed them to relate to a wide network of orchestral musicians and conductors, to whom they could call upon for the concerts that the SMSMV organised. For instance, members of the SMSMV fell back on musicians working in theatre orchestras, even though not all of them were members, to perform for the concerts that they organised to raise funds for the Society.

Musical instruction was an essential provider of work for musicians, primarily because the only formal institution was the National Conservatoire of Music inaugurated in 1850 and based in Santiago. Some musicians provided private lessons, which were affordable mostly by people from wealthy families; they mainly focused on singing, piano, violin and composition. Musicians such as Segundo A. Acha and Pedro Césari were exemplary of this. They taught different genres for different groups. Acha, besides his work at the theatre orchestras, directed the Saint Cecilia Musical Academy in Valparaíso, where both women and men could learn to play instruments, such as piano, viola, violin, violoncello, double bass, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, timpani, mandolin, *mandola*, and *bandurria* (Sucesos, 8 April 1909). In 1909, this Musical Academy had a “selected group of teachers from both sexes” and offered “musical instruction” focused on “theory and sol-fa” and “string instruments for *estudiantinas*” (ibid.). As the

chapter shows in due course, this Musical Academy played an essential role for the SMSMV.

Césari taught *bel canto* to upper-class young women, with Rosita Jacoby and Enriqueta Crichton standing out and going on to perform on renowned South American and European stages of the lyric world (Pereira Salas 1957, p. 252). He organised, directed and conducted the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso*. *Orfeones*, or marching bands, were a relevant workplace where musicians could teach, conduct or play. These bands accomplished a key role in the provision of music instruction because they gathered together amateur musicians, of middle- and working-class origin, who could learn to play music via participating in these *orfeones*. There was a range of groups, including marching bands supported by the municipalities, immigrants' *Orfeones*, and Workers Federations' *Orfeones*. All of them were funded by different entities, such as the state, the municipality or private companies, thus making it affordable for musicians to perform and learn in such bands. The musical instruments used were affordable and the repertoire they performed was not just military music, but also concert, religious and secular music²⁶.

Orfeones had a crucial role in cheering up public spaces, such as bandstands and *plazas*, accompanying dancing at festivities and promoting the symbolic representation of the nation playing patriotic and civic anthems. Whilst Pereira Salas (1957, p. 297) and González & Rolle (2005, p. 276) state that the *orfeones*' repertoire consisted mainly of popular rather than military music, Pedemonte (2008) argues that the *orfeones* had a crucial role in the patriotic promotion of the nation, especially after the War of the Pacific. It was common that *orfeones* performed military marches that heightened the role of certain Chilean heroic

²⁶ For example, in the concert that the Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso gave to raise funds towards the SMSMV on February 1894, the programme announced was the following:

“1° Military march.

2° Guarany Symphony (Gomez)

3° Great Fantasy of Trovatore (Verdi)

4° Waltz *Kaironan* (Pericat)

5° Selection of *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer)

6° Polka *Scherzo*, Piccolo flute (Biferno)

7° Waltz *España* (Waldteufel)

8° Military march” (El Mercurio Valparaíso, 5 February 1894).

figures. Of these, the War of the Pacific martyr, Arturo Prat, inspired numerous pieces, composed to be performed by *orfeones* (Pedemonte 2008, p. 134). Césari himself composed two military marches dedicated to Prat: *Canto a Prat* (1886) and *Marcha Fúnebre* (1888)²⁷. Of important note is that the Municipality of Valparaíso bought 150 copies of the score of *Canto a Prat* to distribute in public primary schools across the province. As a newspaper dated May 1888 explained, the motivation for the purchase was that the piece was “perfect for developing morality and good habits to the schools’ pupils, replacing *cueca* and other songs of the [folkloric] genre” (Cesari Scrapbook, p. 27).

There were *orfeones* across the country and they were especially relevant in industrial and mining cities. Musicians who played there had a controversial relationship with their fellow workers. As they performed to cheer up workers and public places, they were highly appreciated, but at the same time, as they were economically supported, they were criticised by manual workers and miners in more precarious living conditions. In his novel based in a nitrate mining town of the early twentieth century, whose main characters are the musicians of the marching band Cecilia Band, Rivera Letelier (2011) describes this animosity as follows:

The only downside of the Cecilia Band was that the Company discounted one peso from the salary of each worker to keep the band functioning. Therefore, during the *retretas*, the most annoying and pestering men [*los viejos más huachuchos y hostigosos*] of the mining town did not stop bothering the musicians, asking them, vociferously as arrogant and intolerant businessmen, to play this or that song of their preference. “Squeeze the peso, *barretas!*” they shout them loud. *Barreta* in mining towns was used to name those who were economically maintained (p.238/3663).

Two milestones in music instruction occurred at the end of the nineteenth century that were relevant for the *orfeones*. In 1892 the National Conservatoire of Music was incorporated into the *Universidad de Chile*, the main public university of the

²⁷ Césari composed *Canto a Prat* for the inauguration of the monument to the Navy in Valparaíso that took place on 21 May 1886. In similar fashion he composed *Marcha Fúnebre* for the ceremony of reception in Valparaíso in 1888 of the human remains of Prat and his crew deceased in combat in 1879. Other works of similar style were *Himno a los Bomberos* with lyrics by poet Rubén Darío (Cesari Scrapbook, p. 34) and *Honor i Gloria a los Héroes de la Patria* (Céspedes 2017, p, 17). Some of these pieces can be listened to on MMValpo 2015a.

country but located in Santiago. This reform meant not only an attempt to democratise the study of music in higher education but was also key in the provision of an important number of trained musicians for orchestras and groups across the main cities. The Conservatoire even offered a class where students could learn to play wind and percussion instruments and so was likely to train musicians for marching bands, including those in the *orfeones* (Pereira Salas 1957, pp. 266, 291; González & Rolle 2005, p. 275). In 1893 the Chilean government issued a decree to standardise military marching bands, splitting them into three subcategories: Cavalry Bands, Artillery Bands, and Infantry Bands. The last type corresponded to those *orfeones* who performed in public spaces for entertainment purposes, such as the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso* conducted by Césari. With this reform, a new tuning system was adopted for military bands, resulting in the “tuning fork problem” between orchestra and band systems (Pereira Salas 1957, pp. 296- 297). To solve this, the government hired Césari, who was touring South America and decided to stay in Chile for a more extended period. The importance of this for the SMSMV becomes apparent when thinking of Césari as a working musician rather than solely as an artist, and when analysing the contribution of the *Orfeón* towards this Society. Both issues are examined later in the thesis.

4. THE MUSICIANS’ MUTUAL AID SOCIETY: AIMS, ACTIVITIES AND MEMBERSHIP

a) The Aims of the Musicians’ Mutual Aid Society

The SMSMV pursued the aim of mutual aid, which was understood as the assistance that members could offer each other and was defined as follows in their internal rules: “the mutual aid of its members [is] main objective [of the Society]” (SMSMV Book 1). The statutes detailed the benefits that the SMSMV offered. For example, as described in article 18th, it offered to ill members medical and pharmacy services, and “a minimum daily supplementary wage of one peso if the illness disables the musicians from working” (ibid.). Considering the expenses that a members’ death could mean for their family, the SMSMV offered payment for funeral expenses, which included an urn, the right to a burial, “a first-class

hearse; death notices and an entry in the obituaries of each local newspaper where the burial takes place” (ibid.).

The benevolent aims of this mutual aid society represented fraternity and philanthropic ends, which can be contrasted to what Loft (1950) characterises as protective associations. The cooperative action among the mutual aid society musicians did not “signify any attempt on the part of musicians to urge their ideas about working-conditions, rates of pay, job-security, etc.... on their employers” (Loft 1950, p. 271). In other words, the SMSMV helped working musicians by providing them with welfare services, rather than taking on negotiations with their bosses or employers to better their working conditions. This should be treated with caution for two reasons. The particularity of musicians’ working conditions made it unclear who should address their demands, as most of them were self-employed, worked independently, or were hired temporarily. This is comparable to the situation of artisans, stressed by Salazar (2012), when arguing about the overlooked political relevance of mutual aid societies, which leads me to explain the second reason.

Mutualism followed the doctrine of political neutrality, which the SMSMV stated in the second article of its internal rules: “The Society does not seek any political aim; therefore, it is strictly prohibited to directly or indirectly address any issue related to politics within the organisation” (SMSMV Book 1). Political neutrality, understood as a refusal to ascribe to political parties or explicitly adhering to an ideology, was not a particularity of this Society but a general trend of mutualism (Illanes 2003, p. 312). Considering that during the ruling oligarchy totally controlled the elections, with systematic electoral bribery [*cohecho*], radical free-trade and continuous military repression to the labour movement, “it did not make any sense to the ‘cultured’ working class (the mutualists) to be involved in this sort of politics” (Salazar 2012, p. 322). I agree with Salazar in that, for a mutual aid society, pulling away from institutional politics “was a way of constituting itself as an autonomous and sovereign political subject”, which was, precisely, a way of being inherently political (ibid.).

The fact that mutual aid societies – and the SMSMV was not the exception – administered their own funds provides evidence towards this argument. Mutual funds were not only used towards members' assistantship, but also towards the acquisition of an office, the establishment of schools or academies, the organisation of “educative evenings” [*veladas educativas*] among other grassroots aims (ibid., p. 323). That is why mutualism meant far more than only the assistantship among members. They pursued initiatives of popular education, cooperatives and, even some of them, workers' demands, anticipating the trade union action of the twentieth century (Grez 1994; Illanes 2003; Salazar 2012).

Correspondence between the SMSMV and other societies illustrate their mutual collaboration under the umbrella of mutualism. For example, when the *Centro Social Obrero* asked to borrow from the SMSMV their lottery roller to organise a raffle to collect funds, the Secretary of the SMSMV wrote on 5 September 1900 that the EC agreed on lending it “considering that the duty of every mutual aid society is to be mutually supportive” (SMSMV Book 2). It is notable how they shared and exchanged information of their applicants to membership, as it happened on 21 October 1898 when the *Sociedad Protectora de Empleados* asked information about José Francisco Avendaño, who was applying for membership at this Society after leaving the SMSMV. On this occasion, the EC agreed to inform that Avendaño had left the SMSMV because of not paying his membership fees (SMSMV Book 2). Exchanging this sort of information was a way of collaborating between mutual aid societies of different trades, but with similar aims.

The members of the SMSMV wrote and discussed the statutes during meetings throughout the organisation's first couple of years and continued to revise and reform them over the years. This shows that mutual aid societies provided to its members the opportunity to develop a political experience at a grassroots level, especially in the context of an oligarchic political system, even though they were allowed to vote for the general elections of the country, they not necessarily did

so²⁸. The petition that seventy members, out of 115, signed to reform the statutes of the Society on 15 July 1912 gives an example of their political participation (SMSMV Book 3, p. 50). Among this reform undertaken during the following semester, an essential decision concerned their election system, which was modified on 12 March 1913, from a “show of hand” to ballot papers and prohibiting that people from the same family participated in the same committee (father, son, uncle, brother), making the SMSMV more democratic than before (ibid., p. 70). As self-ruled organisations, mutual aid societies allowed members to organise themselves independently, “with sovereignty, to autonomously administrate their own funds, and ultimately, to experience a different way of living, the commonwealth, the socialist, way of life” (Salazar 2012, p. 326). A crucial move in the administration of their funds was that in August 1913, under the presidency of Manuel Briceño de la Paz, members of the SMSMV began to create their own Social Workers’ Pharmacy [*Botica Social Obrera*], using it to provide, with autonomy, welfare services to their fellow members (SMSMV Book 3, p. 84).

Mutual aid societies were not only concerned with the physical wellbeing of its members, but also with their intellectual development. Following the model of the *Sociedad de la Igualdad*, which pursued the creation of a school to provide literature, art and music classes (Illanes 2003, p. 293), mutual aid societies, including the SMSMV, knew the importance of education. Notably is that as early as 1906 the Social Workers’ Congress [*Congreso Social Obrero*] invited the SMSMV to join to the Fifth Social Workers’ Convention [*Convención Social Obrera*] to discuss the need for the promulgation of the law on compulsory education²⁹. In the letter they highlighted the crucial role that societies could develop towards education, stating that: “mutual aid societies are nowadays the only institutions averagely educated, and that had the noble mission of taking care and defending

²⁸ From 1874 all males over 21 years old, who also known to write and read, could vote for the national elections in Chile. Due to the high illiteracy rate, that was higher than the literate, a big proportion of the Chilean society did not participate in the elections. Women were also excluded. Only in 1934 women could vote in Municipality election, and in 1949 in the national elections (Memoria Chilena 2003).

²⁹ In 1885 the Social Workers’ Congress was held, after the proposal of the *Sociedad de Artesanos La Unión de Santiago* to achieve the permanent coordination among the workers’ societies of the country. Here the need to protect the national industry, establishment of cooperatives, mutual aid societies and collective saving accounts was proposed. The Fifth Social Workers’ Convention took place on 17 September 1906 in the southern city of Concepción.

the interests of workers belonging to the workers' masses, unable to defending for itself" (SMSMV Letters, 1906, 15 July). As Garcés (2013) states, self-organisation and self-education were the backbones of mutualism, which allowed the working class to "assert their possibilities of social change. Both factors [...] would also constitute a strategic asset of the Chilean popular movement" (ibid., p. 35).

b) Activities

The social events that the SMSMV undertook shed light on to what extent they defined themselves as part of the broader music industries or the labour movement. One of the regular activities that the SMSMV organised was the public celebration of Saint Cecilia, the patron of music. This celebration consisted of the participation of the SMSMV musicians in the mass-concert held at some of the Catholic churches of the city, organised by the church, by late November or early December each year. These were popular social activities, with attendance of some important politicians, where the public could participate in the mass and enjoy live music with an orchestra and choir conducted by a relatively renowned musician. For example, when describing the Saint Cecilia celebration of 1905, a local magazine stated that "at 8:30 am, the temple of the *La Merced* was tightly packed" (Sucesos, 1 December 1905, see figure 1). On this occasion, maestro Mario La Mura conducted the orchestra, who was a well-known orchestral conductor of *Teatro Victoria* but not a member of the SMSMV. The evidence suggests that musicians' participation in this activity was voluntary and did not involve any payment. Performing here meant social exposure and the eventual opportunity to be hired for further activities (e.g. figure 2).

As early as 1898, members knew the impact that such activities could have in the city towards the promotion of their own musicians and the Society. Because of this the EC proposed to officially organise this activity, rather than only performing when they were invited. In the EC meeting of 12 December 1898, Segundo A. Acha stated that participating at "this celebration is crucial to make known the orchestral musicians [*profesores*] and amateurs" from the Society (SMSMV Book 2). Atilio Martínez seconded him by saying that, the mass in honour

of Saint Cecilia, “must be to unite and make known the musical art, but also the Society to which we belong” (ibid.). Despite this clarity, it was only in 1911 that the SMSMV agreed to officially organise the celebration of Saint Cecilia in Valparaíso (SMSMV Book 3, p. 41).



Figure 1 General view of the packed church after the mass in honour of Saint Cecilia (Sucesos, 1 December 1905).

They also decided to celebrate annually the Anniversary of the SMSMV, for which members should pay a minimum of 2 pesos to cover some of the expenses of the activity (SMSMV Book 3, p. 41). From this year onwards, the SMSMV Anniversary and the Saint Cecilia celebrations were part of the official activities of the Society, which they commemorated annually with a public celebration until the early 1920s. It consisted of the participation of the SMSMV, as an institution, in the mass service in a Catholic church of the city. They organised an orchestra and choir to perform and, sometimes, members composed musical pieces especially for this occasion, such as the mass composed by Juan de Dios Soto in 1914, discussed in the next chapter (Sucesos, 26 November 1914).



Figure 2 Musicians who performed at the Saint Cecilia festivity in Valparaíso, described as “renowned maestros of the SMSMV” (Sucesos, 25 November 1904)



Figure 3 Lunch reception for the new EC of the SMSMV with representatives of El Heraldo and Sucesos (Sucesos, 29 January 1904).

The SMSMV hosted an annual celebration for the inauguration of the newly elected EC, in a similar fashion as other contemporary mutual aid societies and musical institutions. This celebration was held in January and consisted of a private gathering, with some notable guests. For example, as figure 3 shows, in 1904, members of the local press were invited to a lunch to celebrate the new EC. The strategy here was that inviting journalists, assured some appearance of the SMSMV in the local press, which was important as a means to promote their musicians.

For the Centenary of Independence, in which the whole country was involved, the SMSMV also organised events for the national celebrations. One of them corresponded to the welcoming of foreign musicians that arrived in Chile for the Centenary festivities, which was discussed in the meeting of 25 July 1910, under the EC presidency of Abraham González (SMSMV Book 3, p. 31). One proposal was to organise a celebration where the SMSMV members would perform, but in the end, they did not carry out this idea.

Collaborative relationships with orchestras and theatre companies were carried out regularly, primarily to raise the Society's funds. For instance, on 19 February 1894 the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso* performed to gain incomes for the Society. This time the *Orfeón* was not conducted by Pedro Césari, but by his son, David³⁰ (El Mercurio Valparaíso, 5 February 1894). The invitation to the concert made explicit that profits would be for the SMSMV, stating that:

The Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso, recently founded, have organised a great festival [...] that will take place at the Municipal Park of this city on Monday 19 February. The outputs are for the benefit of the Society' funds (El Mercurio Valparaíso, 19 February 1894).

The newspaper announcement, signed by the EC of the SMSMV, highlighted that the attendees would be able to enjoy “selected music” while making a monetary contribution “to benefit a corporation that follows such noble aims” (ibid.). As an expression of gratitude for the concert, the members offered the *orfeón* musicians the chance to join the Society without paying membership fees, or,

³⁰ Italian Davide Cesari, became David Césari in Chile. David Césari accomplished a key role teaching music at the Navy, where he formed his own orchestra (Noziglia 1978, p. 405).

instead, to receive a payment in exchange. Nine of the twelve musicians accepted the invitation and joined the SMSMV on 16 February 1894 (SMSMV Book 1)³¹.

The SMSMV continued to rely on other orchestras to raise funds. Theatre orchestras were vital in this regard, since various SMSMV members worked there and could ask their colleagues and friends their support. For example, on 25 April 1898 Segundo A. Acha agreed to ask Mr. Solari, administrative of the *Teatro Nacional*, “if they could use for free the theatre for giving a concert in benefit of the Society” (SMSMV Book 2), task that he did again in July 1910, asking for collaboration to various theatre companies, to increase the SMSMV funds (SMSMV Book 2).

Other activities put the SMSMV closer to the broader mutualist movement rather than to the music industries as the above. For example, in 1910, in the context of the national celebrations, the EC was photographed to be included in the book of memories of the first national centenary (Ugarte 1910). What is interesting here is that the picture was published in the chapter of benevolent organisations of Valparaíso, together with other mutual aid societies, and not in the chapter of “science, arts and literature”, where intellectuals, artists, literary, social clubs, theatres, sport, press and musical institutions appear (Ugarte 1910, p. 293). In this last section, however, some of the musicians of the SMSMV are highlighted as outstanding musicians in Valparaíso. Here, among others, are mentioned “the family Filomeno”, “the Cesaris” and “R. Lopez Mellafe” (ibid., p. 288.) Miguel Filomeno applied to join the SMSMV on 20 June 1894 but was rejected for exceeding the maximum age required for active membership, 50 years old and was given Honorary membership in 1899 (SMSMV Book 1). After his death, on June 1900, his family accepted some of the welfare services from the SMSMV, such as the death fees. Pedro Césari and Ricardo López Mellafe were both founding

³¹ The *orfeón* musicians who accepted the invitation and joined the SMSMV were: Santiago Michelle, Viviano Luna, Juan Balteo, Juan Alberto Sandoval, Francisco Libano, Jorje Howler, Bernardino Navarro, Bartolomé Ampuero and Nicasio Zúñiga. Those who did not join the SMSMV, but accepted the payment were: David Segundo Silva, Manuel Vega and Juan Salas.

members of the SMSMV. Césari served as President in 1894 and López Mellafe as Secretary on the same year, and as President in 1895.

This finding illustrates the complexity of situating these musicians between the mutualist movement and the music industries. It shows that, when thinking on the organisation, they were considered as a workers' organisation, similarly as mutual aid societies of a wide range of trades, such as hairdressers, drivers, theatre workers, drinkable water workmen, steamboat crewmen, and typesetters (Ugarte 1910, pp. 219, 223, 228, 231). On the contrary, when considering only some of the outstanding members, such as the above, they were addressed similarly as other artists, like literary authors and intellectuals from liberal professions, such as lawyers and doctors. All these musicians, however, were aware of what section of the book their picture would appear in. They agreed, in their meeting of 25 July 1910, on a date to be photographed to be included in the Centenary book "with all the other mutual aid societies and organisations of the city" (SMSMV Book 3, p. 32).

Regular communication that the SMSMV established with contemporary organisations shed light on the double contribution that made to both workers' organisations and music institutions. Between 1893 and 1914, the SMSMV exchanged correspondence with other societies and institutions, with invitations to events and celebrations, and information about activities and new EC elected. During this period most of the SMSMV's correspondence was with other mutual aid societies (22), including 18 based in Valparaíso, one in Santiago, and three regional and national confederations of mutual aid societies³². With organisations linked to the music industries, the archive registers only five letters. These were with the *Orchester Verein Polyhymnia* (Pedro Césari was also a member); *Academia Musical Santa Cecilia de Vaparaíso* (conducted by Segundo A. Acha, also a member of the

³² The mutual aid societies from Vaparaíso that exchanged correspondence with the SMSMV included trades as painters, carpenters, typesetters, plumbers, cigar makers, hairdressers and the above mentioned the Protectionist Society of Employees. At a national level, the SMSMV wrote to confederations such as the Exposition of Industrial Manual Workers [*Exposición Industrial Obrera*] and the League of Manual Workers' Societies of Valparaíso [*Liga de Sociedades Obreras de Valparaíso*].

SMSMV), *Centro Victoria Musical*, the Musical Club of Vaparaíso, and Juan Filipi, who offered string instruments classes.

The fact that the SMSMV sent more letters to other mutual aid societies of different trades rather than to institutions related to the music industries illustrates that, even though their members did not share the same working lives, they shared the same mutual aid aims and living conditions. With the above activities, the SMSMV undertook actions similar to both other music and workers' organisations, showing that that albeit musicians, they were artisan workers.

c) Membership

i. Eligibility for membership

The statutes of the SMSMV detailed some specific requirements that musicians had to accomplish to join this organisation. To apply for membership, an applicant should be recommended by a member, who was based in Valparaíso, in good standing and who had belonged to the SMSMV for at least six months. This requirement ensured that applicants were suitable for the organisation and the aims of mutual aid by an internal process of peer recommendation³³. Other qualities asked of applicants were that they should be active and committed to the organisation, adhere to the values of fraternity, the goals of mutual assistance, and respect their peers. The concern expressed by the EC for a member suffering from illness is a good example of what was meant by fraternal values. In these situations, members would form committees to visit the ill person, and offer them medical and pharmacy services. In this same spirit of fraternity, members could invite other musicians to join the Society, what they did after the benefit concert for the SMSMV where the *Orfeón* performed in 1894 and, as an

³³ In February 1912 a new requirement was established, ensuring members collaborate in boosting the membership numbers of the SMSMV. Article 14 of the Society's statutes asked all members in their first year to invite a new candidate to join. Those who did not comply with this requirement faced a fine of \$5 (SMSMV Book 3, p. 63).

expression of gratitude, such musicians were invited to join the SMSMV (SMSMV Book 1).

Joining the SMSMV involved different costs, which changed over time with the eventual reform of the internal rules. Some of these costs were one-off payments when applying for membership or participating at some of the Society's activities. Others were paid monthly. For instance, during the first year of the SMSMV, applicants to membership paid a one-off joining fee of 3 Chilean pesos (which in July 1894 increased to \$5); \$1 for the right to burial vault, and another \$1 for the right to statutes and membership diploma (SMSMV Book 1). By the end of 1912, the joining fee was \$4; in addition to \$1 for the right to burial vault and \$2 for the right to statutes and membership diploma (SMSMV Book 3, p. 62). Monthly payments in 1894 corresponded to a membership fee of \$1 and an eventual death fee of \$1 for each member that dies during the year (SMSMV Book 1). By the end of 1912, however, the monthly membership fee was of \$2 and the eventual death fee was \$3 (SMSMV Book 3, pp. 62). There were also other sorts of payments, which corresponded to the eventual organisation of activities. For example, in the meeting of 17 July 1911 it was agreed that members who wanted to participate at the celebrations of the anniversary of the SMSMV should pay a minimum of \$2 to cover some of the expenses of the activity (SMSMV Book 3, p. 42).

Table 6 Comparison of membership fees between 1894 and 1912

Years	1894	1912
One-off payment (in Chilean pesos)		
Joining fee	3	4
Right to burial vault	1	1
Right to statutes and membership	1	2
Total one-off payment (when joining)	5	7
Monthly payments (in Chilean pesos)		
Membership fee	1	2
Death fee	1	3
Total minimum monthly payments	2	5
Total minimum annual payments	24	60

It is difficult to tell whether these payments were expensive for members because there is no available data on musicians' income. Similarly, there are no reliable

records of the living costs before 1928 when the Central Office of Statistics created the *Índice del Costo de la Vida* to measure the living costs in Chile that year (Correa, Monckeberg & Rivas, 1999, p. 241). However, comparing these costs with the average salaries of ‘regular’ workers allow us to get an idea of how expensive or cheap the SMSMV membership costs were. For example, in 1900 urban skilled workers earned \$3,8 for a working day of 10 and half hours whilst unskilled workers, earned half of it for the same working hours (ibid., p. 58). Considering that, it does not seem too expensive that urban skilled workers who earned a monthly salary of \$114, allocated near \$2, or the 1,8 %, for monthly membership payments. Similarly, post office workers in 1910 earned annually between \$1,400 and \$600, depending on the hierarchy (ibid., p. 59). Allocating \$60 to membership fees per year it was somewhat affordable for those earning annually \$1,400 (the 4,3% of their salary). However, it was not for those earning \$600 per year allocating \$60 (or the 10% of their salary) to membership fees.

In addition to these requirements there were also some restrictions – some explicit and others implicit – concerning forms of behaviour that the Society would not tolerate of its members. As for the explicit exclusions, the sixth article of the internal rules stated that no one with one of the following conditions could be admitted:

First, a person who had been penalised by the justice system with an egregious or infamous punishment; second, one who has acquired the habit of drunkenness, or any another pernicious or degrading vice; and third, one who suffers from a contagious chronic or incurable disease (ibid.).

These exclusions must be understood in the context of the time, in which the Social Question affected a large proportion of the population. As Barr-Melej describes, “[h]ousing for the working class, for example, varied from unhealthy to truly squalid. Workers crowded into one- and two-story *conventillos* (tenements) in the capital and Valparaíso” (2001, p. 34). Moreover, there were fatal diseases to which the wealthier classes were also susceptible, “but working-class neighborhoods, many of which had sewer water draining down their streets, were zones of extreme risk. Compounding the situation were preventable maladies,

such as alcoholism and venereal diseases, that swiftly made their way through the urban working class” (ibid., pp. 34-35).

These exclusions made sense considering that the resources of the SMSMV were focused on the health of its members and to help the family of a deceased associate financially. It is important to understand the economic reasons behind these decisions, which also affected the permanent membership. As the ninth article stated, the SMSMV did not guarantee permanent membership, because a member could be expelled for missing fees payments (SMSMV Book 1). To reach their benevolent aims, mutual aid organisations were operated and maintained exclusively by their members. Put differently, if a member did not pay membership fees, the Society received less income which it would use to help their associates. Therefore, there were the members themselves who were tasked with growing and developing the mutual society, because the very aim of mutualism included mutual contributions as well as benefits.

ii. Women musicians and the issue of social class

The limited participation of women in the SMSMV is an important issue. It helps to understand how musicians defined who were part of their profession and unveils the social class of the SMSMV members. During its first twenty years, the rules of the SMSMV about the situation of women were not explicit. The minutes of the meeting of 16 February 1894 illustrates a critical event, after which it would be implicitly understood that women were not allowed to join. For the very first time a woman, the singing teacher Carolina Zúñiga, applied to join the Society, sponsored by the current president of the EC, Pedro Césari (figure 4). The other members of the EC, however, did not accept her proposal. The secretary wrote the explanation as follows: “it has not yet been decided if the Society can admit ladies, so the proposal will be left to a second deliberation” (ibid.). Nevertheless, this second chance had to wait a long time and no woman was incorporated in the

SMSMV until the second half of the 1920s, after the creation of the Orchestral Section in 1925³⁴.



Figure 4 Portrait of Carolina Zúñiga (Sucesos, 1 September 1910).

From 1912 to 1913 a new reform of the statutes took place, making explicit the male-centred membership of the SMSMV. It was created the category of “passive members”, that corresponded to “all males younger than 16 and older than 8 years old, sons of members who had accomplished their novitiate, presented and sponsored by their fathers or representatives” being able to join as “active members” when getting the age of 16, after the approval of the EC (SMSMV Book 3, p. 58). Despite this exclusion, some women participated in the SMSMV – most of them as direct beneficiaries of the social benefits that the Society offered to the widows or daughters of deceased members. Put differently, the participation

³⁴ As the next chapter explains, through the Orchestral Section an important number of women joined the Society.

of women was that of beneficiaries rather than active agents of the organisation, as the male members were.

As Cano & Barrancos (2016) state, “in the construction of modern spaces of sociability the participation of women in elections was excluded, tacitly or explicitly” (pp. 560-561). Due to the lack of real participation in politics, women from wealthy families found a space to politically act in religious organisations and private female societies, where they sought charity aims and intellectual development (ibid., p. 561). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these women actively participated in *tertulias*, libraries, philanthropy organisations and other spaces of the modern sociability in Latin America³⁵. Here, women addressed the relevance of education and access to several professions (ibid., p. 555). At the same time, women of working-class origin began to be accepted into some workers’ organisations, especially after the creation of *Sociedad de Obreras de Socorro Mutuo de Valparaíso* in 1887, formed by seamstresses. This Society led the way “women’s mutualism”, with the emergence of mutual aid societies formed by female urban workers (Grez 2007, p. 611). When Carolina Zúñiga applied to the SMSMV, other mutual aid societies already had women members and, because of the contribution of women’s mutual aid societies, workers began to have a more positive attitude to the participation of women in the labour movement. This did not mean, however, that women were equally accepted in workers’ organisations nor that they could join mutual aid societies of any trade. This had to do with the gender segregation of labour, where some jobs are considered for women and others for men, which was especially noted in the context of industrialisation when women were undertaking new urban jobs. Gender segregation was also important in the rejection of Carolina Zúñiga as a member of the SMSMV.

Music had been traditionally considered to be a men’s occupation, even though there had actually been women musicians. By the late nineteenth and early

³⁵ *Tertulias* were social gatherings, commonly held in a private venue or house, where literary, artistic and musical activities took place. *Tertulias* played a substantial role in “the conformation and interaction and consolidation of elite intellectuals and artists, from the colonial period, throughout nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the twentieth” (Peña & Poveda 2010, p. 26).

twentieth centuries, women musicians in Chile developed their music skills mostly in the confines of the *salón* in the context of *tertulias*. Bustos (2015) demonstrates that in the gender division of musical labour, women were mostly teachers, singers and instrumentalists of harp and piano (p. 150). Female musicians faced considerable discrimination. For example, “the female presence in Chilean orchestras was scant, and practically all the teachers of the National Conservatoire were men, whereas more than half of the students were women” (González & Rolle 2005 p. 322). The more conservative groups considered women’s work to belong within the domestic sphere, especially at a time when male chauvinism went far beyond the field of music. The situation of female musicians in the nineteenth century Europe can be compared to the Chilean context in that “women were generally constrained from entering public professional artistic arenas, since it was socially unacceptable for ‘respectable’ women both to earn money in the public workplace and to perform in public” (Doubleday 2008, p. 16). Thus, music developed intra-household to entertain social gatherings and to show the supposed female gifts a woman possessed as a hobby rather than a job. This also helps to explain why women had a significant presence in *tertulias*, in that they constituted intra-household social activities (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 46).

Values associated with the role of women in the domestic sphere, in addition to the preconceived notion of music as public entertainment, would leave women immersed in that environment – like work or hobby – facing considerable prejudice. It would also leave those working in music, excluded from workers’ organisations, such as the SMSMV. As Cano & Barrancos (2016) explain, by the late nineteenth century “in the Latin American states, married women had to stay most of the time at their homes, because wander around the streets was considered not-respectable; the city was a male-space and only men enjoyed the privilege of wandering alone by squares and streets, without being censored” (p. 522). They also note that the “difference among private and public spheres was stronger in the ruling classes and ‘notable’ families rather than in the Latin American popular sectors” (ibid, p. 561). Thus, the idea of women developing their skills intra-household, was widespread among the middle and upper classes, more so than the working class. With the contextual backdrop of the Social

Question, working-class women had to earn money to make a living, regardless as to whether the job was carried out inside or outside the home. Taken together, these findings suggest a correlation between the exclusion of women and the social class of the members of the SMSMV.

Similarly to the difference between trades that are traditionally understood as male's or female's, it is relevant to consider also the difference between musical activity as a hobby or as a job. Women who dedicated to music as intra-household entertainment mostly came from wealthy families. As such, they did not need to join a mutual aid society but could participate in artistic societies and musical clubs that sought for social entertainment or to provide charity to the most disadvantaged groups. Nevertheless, not all who needed to join a mutual aid society necessarily came from the working class.

To outline the social class identity of the members of the SMSMV it is useful to analyse Carolina Zúñiga's proposal to join. The information available about this event shows that, differently to the women musicians described above, she worked in the music trade, and not only performed intra-household. She studied at the National Conservatoire and worked as a singing teacher at public schools. Her job was regarded in the press in 1907 in the Southern cities of Concepción and Talcahuano, and in 1910 in Valparaíso (*La Revista de la Asociación de Educación Nacional* 1907; *Sucesos*, 1 September 1910). This shed light on the social class origin of Carolina Zúñiga, who probably was part of the middle class that was blending in the main urban centres of the country. Considering that at the time, teaching was "one of the few honourable professions for middle-class women, despite their salaries being lower than those assigned to their male colleagues" (Cano & Barrancos 2006, p. 549).

Three other facts provide information towards this argument: First, the trade in which Zúñiga worked – music – that contrasts with others of working-class tradition, such as, seamstress. Second, her intention to join an organisation with a mutual aid character, and not an artistic association or a charity club, discards her belonging to a wealthy family, because she needed the social and economic support that the SMSMV could bring her. And third, her intellectual and political

interest, which takes her to participate in the First Women's Conference [*Primer Congreso Femenino*], in Buenos Aires in May 1910 (*Asociación Universitarias Argentinas 1911*, p. 29). Her participation at this conference, together with her teaching activities, illustrate her interest in the intellectual development of women, which was the core aim of this meeting³⁶. As the SMSMV also sought to enhance the intellectual development of its members, she probably thought that this would be a place for her intellectual development as well.

d) Snapshots of mutualised working musicians

This section presents snapshots of musicians who were members of the SMSMV to outline a profile of the membership and propose a categorisation of different sort of musicians participating in the same organisation and working in the same city. It aims to understand how musicians' lives and working conditions were, and sheds light on their contributions towards the Society.

i. Emilio Baesler: orchestral theatre player.

Emilio Baesler was a founding member of the SMSMV and served at the EC several times, but never as president. His name is invisible in music historiography and press accounts, representing the sort of "hidden" (Finnegan 2007) musicians in music literature. His snapshot symbolises the common musicians, the "anonymous" players (Ehrlich 1985). Baesler worked as an orchestral musician in theatres, established connections between different organisations and contributed in the SMSMV in several ways. For example, he undertook a relevant part during the Centenary celebrations in 1910 creating links between the SMSMV and other artistic organisations like the Apolo Theatre, where he worked. From 1911, when the SMSMV agreed to officially organise the Music Day to commemorate Saint Cecilia with a mass-concert at the cathedral, Baesler joined the committee that regularly held this celebration. In the same year, he joined

³⁶ At this conference, she read a paper about her role as music teacher and organiser of female choirs at schools. During her presentation she stated that her "only aim, as a Chilean feminist, lover of her homeland and progress, is to contribute [...] to the great struggle that in the whole world we are committed to, to obtain the balance and equity of jurisdiction and rights between man and woman" (*Sucesos*, 1 September 1910).

the Orchestral Society [*Sociedad Orquestal*], establishing agreements and exchanges with the SMSMV. For instance, in 1914, the Orchestral Society donated to the SMSMV a significant amount of music scores and the SMSMV leased its hall to this society.

The 18th anniversary of the SMSMV was celebrated at Baesler's house, where he and his family catered the members after the EC meeting of 8 January 1912. It was written about this event that "this celebration was only a matter of pride for the musical trade of this port city, where joy and cordiality were the mottoes" (SMSMV Book 3, pp. 49, 50). This illustrates that he was a committed and respectable member of the SMSMV, who had the confidence to invite his fellow members to a private gathering at his house. Despite being unknown in the music literature, he enjoyed a certain economic status to be able to provide "a sumptuous meal [*magnificas onces*] to his fellow members" (ibid.). He was declared Retired Member on 10 August 1914 (ibid.).

ii. Evaristo Gómez and Anjel Jeria Oros: double membership.

Evaristo Gómez was part of the EC several times and participated in another mutual aid society. Even though it has been impossible to find further information about this organisation, it illustrates that the SMSMV allowed double membership. This shed light on two main issues. As Gómez was asked to collaborate in the writing of the reform of the statutes of 1913, for his experience at this other society, it follows that the SMSMV echoed the model of other mutual aid societies. They had done that since their early days when they borrowed the statutes of the SMSMS to write their own (SMSMV Book 1). Double membership had two implications: the SMSMV did not ask for exclusive membership and, at the same time, these musicians either had two different jobs, or their jobs corresponded to two different trades at the same time. For example, a musician playing in a theatre orchestra could join a musicians' organisation and theatre's organisation.

Anjel Jeria Oros, an active member and secretary of the EC in 1900, provides more evidence on the double membership. He was also a member of the Protective Society of Employees, which shows that as a musician he was considered an employee (teacher, orchestral performer, or conductor) of some private

institution such as a theatre or an academy. A fact that illustrates his commitment to the SMSMV occurred on 8 January 1900, when Jeria was reported ill but did not accept the welfare services that the Society offered him, “because the funds of the Society were a bit scattered” (SMSMV Book 2). He, together with other five members, went to the funerals of the deceased member Manuel Filomeno on behalf of the Society on 13 June 1900 (ibid.) and on 3 October, he gave a gift to the SMSMV consisting of “28 pens and a box of feathers” (ibid.). Evaristo Gómez was a declared Retired Member³⁷, on 10 August 1914 and Anjel Jeria in 1922, a status that he enjoyed until his death in 1947 (SMSMV Book 4, p. 1).

iii. Segundo A. Acha: Uruguayan maestro and mutualist promoter.

The Uruguayan musician, Segundo A. Acha, was one of the founding members of the SMSMV in 1893 and served at various posts in the EC. As a foreigner, he embodies the internationalism of the city of Valparaíso, which is mirrored in the SMSMV itself, as an institution open to both national and international musicians. The internationalism of the Society was regarded in *Sucesos* for the lunch with the members of the press, when they highlighted that the “dining room was artistically decorated with flags of different nations” (Sucesos, 29 January 1904, see figure 3). In this regard, the only requirement was that the member was based in the province of Valparaíso (SMSMV Book 1).

Acha directed the Saint Cecilia Music Academy in Valparaíso and conducted theatre orchestras. He was also a composer, writing, for example, the march “*Sucesos*” in 1903, named after the local magazine *Sucesos* to celebrate its first year of issued (Acha 1903)³⁸. Together with maestro Padovani, he wrote the music for “*Valparaíso alegre*” a variety play that was performed at theatres *Nacional* and *Odeón* in 1902 and 1904³⁹. In 1910 Acha joined the committee to organise the

³⁷ This meant that these members had reached the majority of age that was accepted to be an Active Member, but it was also an honour because, as retired members, they could keep enjoying the benefits of the SMSMV but with not paying their membership fees.

³⁸ The score of this march was published in Acha 1903. A midi recording of this piece can be listened on: MMValpo 2015b.

³⁹ With lyrics of Enrique Villalón.

celebrations of Saint Cecilia, together with Emilio Baesler and others (SMSMV Book 3, pp. 34, 35).

His contributions towards the Society were not limited to his musical skills and his connections with theatre orchestras. Acha participated in a great deal in the activities of the SMSMV. His name is written in the minutes of meetings from its foundation in 1893 to 1920, serving at the EC for several years and volunteered for different activities.



Figure 5 Segundo A. Acha (Sucesos, 8 April 1909).

By the end of 1898, Acha helped to sort out different renovation works of the cemetery on behalf of the deceased members of the Society, showing his commitment with the fraternal values and mutual aid aims of the Society (SMSMV Book 2). In 1913 he took part in the reform of the statutes, along with Gómez, and in 1914, he was declared Retired Member but he kept collaborating in the SMSMV. For example, in 1918 Acha was elected president of the accounting committee and from 1919 to 1920, he directed the Music Academy of the SMSMV were young

people from Valparaíso, both male and female, studied. The role of this academy is analysed later in the chapter, but it is important to note here that it contributed to increasing the membership of the SMSMV and, at the same time, enriched the intellectual development of its members, a core aim of mutualism.

iv. Pedro Césari: the Italian maestro, the *orfeonista* and co-founder.

The Italian maestro, Pedro Césari, was also among the founding members of the SMSMV in 1893 and the first president of the EC, a post that he served between 1893 and 1895. He resigned his membership in 1896, before travelling back to Italy (SMSMV Letters, 1896, 9 March), where he died in 1902 at the age of 66. Having accomplished a considerable amount of musical work in Italy, Spain and Portugal, he toured South America visiting Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile⁴⁰. After settling in Vaparaíso from 1884, he pursued his music career overlapping different jobs. He composed military music, patriotic anthems and several pieces for piano and vocals; he taught bel canto; and he was especially renowned as a conductor of orchestras and *orfeones*. At the time when, together with others, he founded the SMSMV, Césari was the director and conductor of the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso*, a semi-orchestral band, that following Guarda & Izquierdo (2012), in terms of musical performance, “was a key example for the diverse bands of the central zone of Chile” and that stood out at the Mining Exhibition of 1894 in Santiago (p. 75). Apart from founding and presiding the SMSMV during its early years, one of his main contributions towards the Society also concerned this marching band (figure 6).

The fact that a musician such as Césari, had at the same time conducted an *orfeón* and helped to organise a mutual aid society for musicians it is not trivial. Even though Césari was involved in a variety of musical activities in Chile, his work in the marching band put him in direct contact with musicians of working-class origin besides those of wealthier backgrounds, such as those with he shared at the

⁴⁰ In Italy Césari studied violin, conducted marching bands, orchestras and composed military marches, religious music, and some symphonies. In Paris he conducted concerts in 1878 and was in charge of the Police and Military Band in Portugal (Guarda & Izquierdo 2012, p.75). He wrote the book *Storia della Musica Antica*, which was translated and re-published in Spain, and re-edited in Chile as *La Música, Historia y Teoría* in 1896 (Vetro 2011).

Polyhymnia Society in Valparaíso, where he was also a member or his *bel canto* students. Even though the musicians of the *orfeón* did not have professional qualifications, they can be considered as professional musicians because they made their living from music. The fact during his time in Chile Césari wrote pieces of patriotic character such as the above “*Canto a Prat*” and “*Marcha Fúnebre*” shows him as a working musician rather than solely as an artistic maestro, as he has been regarded in Chilean music historiography (Pereira Salas 1957; Noziglia 1978; González & Rolle 2005; Guarda & Izquierdo 2012 and Céspedes 2016). He probably wrote these patriotic marches on request, and if not, Césari certainly adjusted his trade’s skills to the fashion of the time, allowing himself to make a living from music.



Figure 6 Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso, conducted by Pedro Césari, seated at the centre with his arms crossed (Pereira Salas 1957, p. 296).

One interesting finding is that Césari wanted to sell to the Municipality of Valparaíso 300 copies – although only 150 were bought – of the score of his most known patriotic marching piece, “*Canto a Prat*” (Cesari Scrapbook, p. 27). This finding provides further evidence to the argument that he was a working musician. His letter to his son Augusto dated 19 April 1896 illustrates his craftsmanship and his knowledge about the musical life in Chile and the jobs that were needed at that time. Concerned about the working situation of his son David, he wrote that

“the best thing he could do is to accept the post as conductor of a military band, because he is very competent on that”, which he did and became the conductor of the band of the Chilean Navy (Cesari Letters).



Figure 7 Pedro Césari portrayed in Valparaíso (Cesari Scrapbook).

Another letter dated 6 March 1896, show his political views and economic conditions, that helps to understand why he was involved in a mutual aid society. Here, he complains about the Italian government, suggesting to his son Augusto not to be too much involved in politics, because “in our times there are too many ignorant people in our country” and modestly concludes by saying: “Consciously, being an artist and a poor, I do say this with pride” (Cesari Letters). Perhaps he was exaggerating in defining himself as a poor artist, but certainly, his economic situation was not a wealthy one. The variety of jobs he undertook and the offer

he accepted to work in Chile, while leaving (and missing – as the letters show⁴¹) his wife and sons in Italy, provide evidence towards this argument.

Being immersed in the diverse aspects of the musical life of Valparaíso, Césari established connections between different sorts of musicians, some playing in orchestras, others in *orfeones*, some making music as a hobby and others to earn their living. As a foreigner he established connections with the Italian and other European societies of settlers in the city, helping to highlight the relevance of Valparaíso as a port city and its international links for the foundation of the SMSMV. Even though Césari did not participate for a long time in the SMSMV as the above musicians, his figure symbolises the first years and values of the SMSMV, proposed through the statutes. It is worth keeping in mind that in 1928 the SMSMV still maintained a portrait of Césari in its office, a fact that illustrates how his contribution was recognised over generations (SMSMV 1928b). The contribution of Césari establishing and leading this mutual aid society is a significant finding of this research. Despite that he is recognised in the literature on Chilean music as a well-known composer, instructor and conductor, he has not previously been addressed as a mutualist.

5. THE SMSMV MEMBERS: PLAYERS AND GENTLEMEN (BUT WITH SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS).

Upon revision of the trajectory of the above musicians it is possible to sketch a profile of the members of the SMSMV. As some members performed in the *orfeón* in Valparaíso and others in theatre orchestras, it is possible to state that the mutualised musicians worked in the field of what now is understood as the popular music of that the time (González & Rolle 2005, pp. 39, 43, 276). Those who played at *orfeones*, were instrumentalists performing in public spaces where people gathered to dance. Others, such as Emilio Baesler and Evaristo Gómez were orchestral musicians performing in theatres, most likely for opera and silent films.

⁴¹ For example, in a letter dated 6 March 1896, Cesari wrote to his son Augusto that he was looking forward to going back to Italy, but he had to wait for the concert of the Polythymia Society to take place in Valparaíso. After crossing the Cordillera, he planned to travel by ship from Buenos Aires to Genova and arrive home around mid-June (Cesari Letters).

A third group were orchestral conductors, teachers and composers, such as Pedro Césari and Segundo A. Acha whose orchestras performed in both, main theatres and small orchestras for private gatherings.

Following Fernanda Vera's (2015) definition of the professional musician of the nineteenth century, evidence suggests that all these musicians were of that kind, even though not all of them had professional music degrees.

The professional musician of the nineteenth century was who, to make a living, performed different instruments, composed utilitarian repertoire, made musical arrangements to different ends and line-ups, while teaching privately or at schools, and participated at concerts. This musician made a living from music performance, being creation only one aspect of his/her activity. The creative process was seen as an inherent aspect of the musical work, besides to be a totally functional process of his/her behaviour in society (p. 104).

In summary, the musicians of the SMSMV had overlapping jobs and worked in a diverse music scene in terms of genres. This finding can be contrasted to Ehrlich's (1985) analysis of "players" and "gentlemen" (pp. 121-163), since the common musicians of the SMSMV would fall into the first category (such as Baesler, Gómez and Jeria), whilst the *maestros*, such as Césari and Acha, into the second one. However, these "gentlemen", in opposition to those who assembled (only) in artistic societies and musical clubs, had a social (and perhaps political) consciousness towards those who did not enjoy the same living and working conditions as them. Césari and Acha, as co-founders of the SMSMV, followed certain political aims. Instead of promoting classical music to safeguard the prestige of the profession, they sought to improve musicians' living conditions. On the other hand, Baesler, Gómez and Jeria represent those anonymous working musicians, who played to make a living and came together in organisations to better their living conditions rather than to achieve social recognition in the music profession.

6. WORKING MUSICIANS BETWEEN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE MUSIC INDUSTRIES.

To reflect on how the SMSMV drew aspects from the music industries and the labour movement it is useful to analyse its membership in terms of who could and could not join, considering as well those who joined. The Society accepted a broad range of musicians as members, but, at the same time, their admission depended on the EC. Prior studies have noted the relevance of a definition for the music profession within musicians' organisations (Ehrlich 1985; David-Guillou 2009, p. 295; Loft 1950, pp. 389, 393-394). Such a definition can protect the artistic status of the profession by, for example, limiting access and improving the privileges of members (Loft 1950, pp. 2-3). It is interesting to contrast this membership criterion with the situation of other musicians' organisations around the world. For instance, one of the first organised mutualist societies for musicians in South America, the *Sociedade Beneficiencia*⁴², was opened to anyone who in Rio de Janeiro wished to "exercise the profession of musicians, being a singer or an instrumentalist" (Cardoso 2011, pp. 433-444). It allowed membership for both singers and instrumentalists, but specifying the idea of 'profession' (whatever this word meant for the Society) and not considering the amateurs. Musicians' organisations in the USA, Britain and most European countries, did not accept amateur musicians (David-Guillou 2009, p. 295; Williamson & Cloonan 2016, p. 45). By the late nineteenth century, musicians' unions were established in Britain, France and the United States by orchestra members (David-Guillou 2009, pp. 289-291). Although the comparison is made between different types of organisation, it illustrates the relevance of their definition and protection of the music profession.

The SMSMV is not directly comparable to the above musicians' unions because of two reasons. First, at the time there were not yet musicians' unions in Chile and, second, the musicians' mutual aid societies of those other countries were replaced

⁴² Although not a mutual aid society, this organization was focused in the mutual support. *Sociedade Beneficiencia* was founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1833, and followed the statutes of the Saint Cecilia Brotherhood, created in the same city, alongside the church *Nossa Senhora do Porto* in 1784 (Cardoso 2011, pp. 433-444).

by musicians' unions. What both types of organisations had in common was that they were created by musicians themselves that wanted to protect their members, by offering welfare services, as the SMSMV did, or protecting their workplaces, as trade unions aimed. Other musicians' societies in Chile at the time, like *Sociedad de Santiago*, while also being created by musicians, sought to spread classical music and gather together musicians with wealthy backgrounds who did not make a living from music (see annexe 8).

The first article of the internal rules of SMSMV states the following:

Under the denomination *Sociedad Musical de Socorros Mutuos de Valparaíso*, an association composed of musicians, amateurs and artists in the art of music [*en el arte de la música*], as well as all those admitted by EC, is established in this city (SMSMV Book 1).

This article outlined a definition of the music profession for working musicians that included amateurs, accepting them for membership. However, the rules of the SMSMV did not define who these “musicians, amateurs and artists in the art of music” were (ibid.). Hence, the Society was able to accept a wide variety of men and women “in the art of music,” whether they were professionals or amateurs, composers or performers, instrumentalists or singers. As the chapter has shown, not all musicians, however, were eligible for membership. The working lives of those who joined the SMSMV illustrate significant findings. The musicians who joined the SMSMV can be characterised as, firstly, working musicians, working in different scenes of the musical life of Valparaíso, some across genres, others, across different musical jobs. Secondly, male musicians, from a humble but educated middle-class origin, some self-trained, others with professional music studies, some regarded as outstanding *maestros*, others working as common orchestral musicians at various theatres. Thirdly, even though some were regarded as outstanding maestros, most had living conditions similar to those of working-class origin. The need for a mutual aid society shed light on their economic conditions. Even though these musicians could afford regular payment fees, most of the members could not afford medical or pharmacy services in times of illness, as their descendants could not afford a coffin or funerary services when one of these musicians die.

The debate that the invitation to participate in the *Exposición Obrera* [Workers' Exhibition] triggered among members on 15 May 1899, illustrates the twofold affair of these musicians, some thinking of themselves as artists and others as workers. Manuel Núñez, as president of the EC considered that the SMSMV “has the duty to be represented” at this Exhibition, to what Adolfo Salas, vice president of the EC disagreed. He stated that the SMSMV should not participate at this Exhibition arguing that “music is art and not a craft [*oficio*] and the *Exposición Obrera*, as its name says: it is only to represent the industry, such as machines and products of this country” (SMSMV Book 2).

CONCLUSION

Based on an analysis of the SMSMV's membership during its first years, this chapter had found that it gathered male musicians, who worked mainly as instrumentalists in the live popular music scene of the time, or to borrow Ehrlich's term, as “players” (1985, p. 121-163). Some members worked as conductors and composers on orchestral music, especially in theatre orchestras and *orfeones*, that Ehrlich would call “gentlemen” (1985, pp. 128-141). The latter were also who served key posts in the EC, such as presidents or vice-presidents, enjoying the highest status inside the organisation, such as Pedro Césari and Segundo A. Acha. On the other hand, the ‘players’ who performed as instrumentalists in theatres and cinema halls, served in the EC, but in posts of less prestige, as secretary, treasurer or directors, like Emilio Baesler and Evaristo Gómez. This shed light on possible conflicts and differences between the mutualised musicians of the same organisation.

Considering the convergence of three key characteristics of the SMSMV membership, it gathered mainly male musicians working in music who belonged to the emergent urban middle class. The relevance of the marching bands as working places for these musicians provides evidence towards this argument since these bands were vital in the provision of music instruction, their instruments were affordable, and they offered a job with a stable income to musicians from working- and middle-class origin. The exclusion of women from SMSMV membership is a relevant point that supports this argument. As discussed above,

the only woman who applied for membership in this period, Carolina Zúñiga, was from a middle-class origin. She worked in the musical trade, a fact that contrasts with traditional jobs in which women from the working class worked – such as seamstress – and with women from the aristocracy who only performed music in the private sphere as a hobby.

The above three elements combined with the fact that the middle class was coalescing throughout lively industrial cities, such as Valparaíso, shed light on the living conditions of these musicians, and explains in part why they needed such an organisation. As part of the emerging middle class they had a precarious living condition, but not as precarious as other workers of the time, like nitrate miners or industrial workers belonging to the working class. However, at the same time, their living conditions were worse than those musicians who gathered in artistic societies or musical clubs to disseminate classical music rather than offering welfare services to their members.

Altogether, these working and mutualised musicians, with their differences and discrepancies, can be considered as petit-bourgeois men with working-class problems. Although they maintained regular communication with fellow organisations formed by workers working outside the music industries, such as tinsmith and carpenters, and undertook similar activities as other mutual aid societies did, when it came to participating hand in hand with these workers' organisations, they denied, as happened with the 1899 Workers' Exhibition. In short, these musicians can be addressed as Hobsbawm (1984) did when analysing the artisans as part of the broader labour movement, as labour aristocrats, but, I would add, with proletarian problems.

CHAPTER 4

NEW CHALLENGES FOR THE WORKING MUSICIANS: THE DECLINE OF MUTUALISM (1914-1928)

This chapter delves in the troubled years between the economic crisis of 1914 – caused by the combination of the crisis of the nitrate in the North of Chile, the impact of the First World War, and the opening of the Panama Canal – and the definite decline of the SMSMV in 1928. The economic crisis that gives the starting point to the chapter deeply affected the country, and especially Valparaíso, due to its position as the main port of South America. The strategies the Society followed to cope with this complex and changeable context are analysed, together with the impact of the growing differentiation that the labour movement began to address between mutualism and unionism in the SMSMV. The technological changes of the music industries are examined, especially the consequences of radio broadcasting for the working musicians. The chapter concludes by stating that the SMSMV suffered the same fate as other Chilean mutual aid societies (both, of musicians and manual workers) after the labour and social laws of the 1920s were passed and declined as a mutual aid society. The success of mutualism meant, paradoxically, its stagnation, which affected the working musicians gathered in a mutual aid society. The chapter argues, however, that how musicians embraced the challenges is not equally comparable to mutual aid societies of other trades. The working and organised musicians followed their own processes and sought their solutions; analysing these in-depth sheds light on their characteristics as workers and as artists. It also helps to outline the extent to which they defined themselves as part of the broader mutualist movement and as part of the music industries.

1. TROUBLED YEARS

In 1914 two international events radically transformed the configuration of the international trade: the First World War began and the Panama Canal was opened. These events directly affected Valparaíso, which lost its status as the main port of South America and started to exhibit symptoms of economic decline, which

affected workers' lives and the city's musical life. Simultaneously, Santiago began to consolidate itself as the centre of economic activities in the country. Even though Chile had a neutral position during the First World War, its economy was seriously harmed due to the German development of synthetic nitrate that exacerbated Chile's post-war depression. The nitrate industry was the backbone of the national economy, from 1880 onwards, based on raw material extraction and international export. In addition to the consequences of the crisis on the whole country, Valparaíso, as an industrial port city, witnessed the arrival of hundreds of unemployed workers, migrating from the nitrate regions in pursuit of new opportunities. This migratory movement was supported by state institutions that provided shelter to these workers especially in Santiago and Valparaíso (García & Muñoz 2015, p. 12). At the same time, Chile experienced the arrival of Europeans fleeing the war, mainly Germans, Austro-Hungarians and British. The influx of migrants from the nitrate industry and those from post-war Europe to Valparaíso led to the rise of popularity of ideologies that stimulated the labour movement and propitiated the growing differentiation between mutualism and unionism.

The wartime period in Chile, was characterised by a number of important strikes, most of which were successful (Alexander 1965, p. 86). DeShazo (1983) argues that the frequency of strikes in Santiago and Valparaíso, mirrored the growth and decline of the labour movement in this period. As organised labour declined, "few strikes took place as the effects of the 1913 recession and depression to follow completely undercut the bargaining position of workers throughout the country. By 1916, the urban industry began to recover, employment rose, and strike activity increased again" (ibid., p. 136). The revival of the nitrate production after the depression of 1914, the wage cuts of 1914-15 and the rise in the cost of living between 1916 and 1917 stimulated the radicalisation of labour unions in urban Chile between 1917 and 1920 (ibid., p. 147). Until 1927 labour organisations in Santiago and Valparaíso "achieved sufficient institutional stability to survive the kinds of economic fluctuations and employer counterattacks", which were suppressed under massive repression directed by the authoritarian government of Carlos Ibáñez (ibid., p. 146).

The rise of popularity of anarchist and socialist ideologies gained terrain among the labour movement, which proposed new forms of struggle, different from the one that mutualism have addressed from the mid-nineteenth century in Chilean industrial cities. Mutualism sought for the assistantship, fraternity and welfare, whilst unionism was far more political and pursued class struggle and direct action. Those who were attracted to anarchism and socialism were mainly manual workers, dock workers, and miners, who organised the first trade unions in industrial cities by the early twentieth century. The foundation of the Socialist Worker Party (*Partido Obrero Socialista* or POS) in 1912 was a precedent of this trend, which “sought radical social change through proletarian activism and, after its first congress in 1915, actively engaged in the organization and radicalization of trade unions” (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 25).

Contrariwise, those who remained loyal to mutualism were the artisans, employers and the emerging middle class (Greze 1994, p. 307). The evidence of this study suggests that the SMSMV members were closer to this group, and not to those aiming to achieve class struggle. The SMSMV established connections with other mutual aid societies that gathered artisan workers, such as painters, carpenters, typesetters, tinsmith and plumbers (SMSMV Letters). In the few instances when the SMSMV was invited to participate in congresses, federations or other activities organised by radical organisations, they did not attend. One exception was when the SMSMV joined the League of Manual Workers’ Societies of Valparaíso [*Liga de Sociedades Obreras de Valparaíso*], which is discussed in detail later in the chapter. The activities that the SMSMV undertook to survive as an organisation, in times when trade unionism was gaining popularity, is relevant evidence for this argument. During this period, the SMSMV made several attempts to deepen the mutual aid action among its members rather than moving towards trade unionism, as the most radical sectors of the labour movement were.

The expansion of organised labour had important repercussions in the presidential election of 1920. Most of the labour organisations supported Alessandri⁴³, who was

⁴³ President Arturo Alessandri ruled the country during two periods (1920- 1925 and 1932 -1938), supported by Liberals and progressive democrats, reforming the political system with a new Constitution in 1925.

elected by a narrow majority and promised the enactment of a labour code, “which would not only provide protective legislation for the country’s workers but would also extend legal recognition to the trade unions for the first time” (Alexander 1965, p. 87). Protective labour legislation and state provision of welfare services were the main demands that the labour movement, including mutual aid societies, asked for since its early days. However, as mutual aid societies managed to provide welfare services to their members, this new legislation would have a contradictory impact. As Illanes argues (2003), the success of mutualism meant, paradoxically, its own stagnation.

The deep political crisis in which the country was immersed since before the 1920 election, came to a head in 1924, when, after Congress showing no hurry to enact the labour and social legislation promised by Alessandri, a military junta forced the enactment a series of seven labour laws and dissolved Congress, whilst Alessandri abdicated and went into exile (Alexander 1965, p. 88). In January 1925 a new military *coup d’etat* led by Marmaduke Grove and Carlos Ibáñez, summoned Alessandri, who came back by mid-March and appointed a commission to write a new Constitution, which was approved by mid-1925. This new document made presidential power stronger and separated church and state. More significant than the constitutional change for the labour organisations, were, however, the efforts to put into effect the labour code passed on September 1924.

Labour historians argue that the labour code “splinter the labor movement into isolated, impoverished, and employer-dominated legal unions of negligible effectiveness in defending the economic interests of their members” and placing “the government in control of what had previously been a laissez-faire industrial relations system” (DeShazo 1983, pp. 119, 220). For example, law 4057 set up a system where “[u]nion revenues were to be derived primarily from a profit-sharing plan with employers and all expenditures came under the strict control of the government” (ibid., p. 220). Logically labour unions vehemently opposed. In consequence, labour resistance heightened, and the government put down any strike with the intervention of army troops. Alessandri again resigned in September under pressure of his minister of interior, General Carlos Ibáñez, who would finally co-opt the labour movement during his dictatorship (1927-1931).

2. THE MUSICAL LIFE IN VALPARAISO AND THE NEW LABOUR LEGISLATION

Amidst all these economic and political changes, the musical life of Valparaíso was enjoying a variety of live music for dancing, such as tango and jazz, as well as diverse artistic and musical performances in clubs, societies and theatres. The Victoria Theatre continued to be the main centre of artistic performances in the city. The Ateneo Theatre was also an important venue, especially for theatre performances, opera and films in Valparaíso. As announced in the previous chapter, the SMSMV's musicians mainly worked in the live music industries of the time, performing in marching bands, theatres (as theatre, opera, variety shows and silent films), and in orchestras to play in social gatherings as *tertulias* and other private celebrations. They also worked as music instructors in academies, schools and teaching privately. This situation changed slightly with the beginning of radio broadcasting which took place in Chile during the early 1920s.

The first radio broadcast took place in 1922 in Santiago and the first radio station, *Radio Chilena*, was established in 1923 in the same city. It followed *Radio Cerro Alegre*, established in 1924 in Valparaíso. After this, radio stations multiplied throughout the country mainly due to the initiative of private entrepreneurs. This illustrates the relevance that radio broadcasting had for the music industries and the working musicians. This new industry originated problems about the broadcasting of national music versus foreign music (especially from the USA and Europe). State institutions and legal regulations will be established afterwards, like the National Service of Radiobroadcasting created in 1930. Radios were a threat to live music, but they rapidly became a new working place for musicians, who would work in radios stations as instrumentalists and conductors of the new orchestras formed to perform in the radio auditoriums (González & Rolle 2005, pp. 218-231). There is no mention of this topic, however, in the minutes of meetings of the SMSMV of this period, a fact that shows that for the mutualised musicians it was not necessarily a relevant issue.

The film industry was still an important source of work for orchestral musicians. González & Rolle (2005) state that “[m]usicians could gain up to 50% of their

incomes from the box office. Pianists, chamber groups, small bands (piano, violin, drums), variety musicians, *criollo* [folkloric] groups, and choral groups” (p. 232). Silent cinema had produced a brilliant live music performance, providing an essential source of work to musicians. Various members of the SMSMV performed in theatres where silent films were projected, including the pianist Paul Salvatierra and conductor Pablo Garrido, whose working lives are presented in snapshots in the next section.

Musical life showed a certain continuity from the previous period, despite some changes in the music industries. The turning point for the SMSMV came, however, in 1924 when the social laws and the labour code were promulgated, followed by legalisation of trade unions by the new Constitution of 1925, but put in effect only in 1928. This new legislation meant the beginning of the irreversible decline of mutualism in Chile. Workers hoped that the social laws and the labour code would better their living conditions, primarily through health, pension and welfare services ensured by the state. Nevertheless, there were several negative consequences for workers in regard to these laws, and especially for mutual aid societies.

The most unpopular piece of legislation was the Obligatory Social Security Law 4054 “which deducted 2 percent of a workman’s wage each month for social security fund”, laying the basis of the country’s social security system by usurping a crucial function of the mutual aid societies and therefore undermining their *raison d’être* (DeShazo 1983, pp. 215, 219). This law was much resisted by workers and mutual aid societies because, in practical terms, the payment of compulsory insurance meant an extra expense that workers could not afford. This was because they already paid their fees to their mutual aid society, and now, they had to make a deposit also to the local branch of insurance fund [*caja de seguro obligatorio*]. In consequence, as they were compelled by law to deposit an amount of their salaries to this insurance fund, most of them prioritised for that and ceased to pay to their own organisations.

It is worth bearing in mind here that not all the new laws applied to the mutualised musicians, because most of them were pertinent just for industrial workers,

excluding agricultural, domestic, small shops and independent workers, as most of the musicians were. But law 4054 was indeed applicable to all kind of workers and the mutualised musicians shown preoccupation about it (Law 4054, 1924). As discussed earlier, the social context of this period was that of struggle by the labour movement and great control and repression by the state institutions. As an example, in 1925 the International Workers' Day was declared a national holiday, but the same year the Central Office of the Social Information Services was created under the General Direction of the Police. The last one had the role to “control the creation, functioning and all the activities of manual workers’ societies [*sociedades obreras*], especially those that followed class struggle as a form of resistance” (La Revista Católica 1925, p. 606). In 1927 General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo seized power and established a dictatorship until 1931, prioritising social legislation, following the Italian model of corporatism and functionalism. Legal structures that facilitated social harmony between capitalists and workers were understood as a move towards the corporative system. As a mechanism to gain national unity, avoid class struggle and social conflicts, the government put into effect most of the social and labour laws previously passed, and began to extend legal recognition to unions, which affected not just the SMSMV but all mutual aid societies of the country (Rojas 1993, pp. 19, 49; Alexander 1965, pp. 89-90; Law 4054, 1924; Law 4059, 1924; Law 4053, 1924; Law 4057, 1924).

3. THE WORKING MUSICIANS: ‘PLAYERS’ AND ‘GENTLEMEN’ BRIDGING CLASSICAL AND POPULAR MUSIC SCENES.

This section shows a snapshot of members of the SMSMV who worked in the music industries of this era. Most of them are relatively unknown musicians, whose names are barely addressed in the Chilean music historiography, such as Sabino Villarroel and Paul Salvatierra. Of these, Pablo Garrido is the only musician broadly discussed at the local music literature; however, his contribution towards the SMSMV and the new musicians’ union of Valparaíso has been overlooked. The following snapshots offer information about these three musicians, whose names are written in the minutes of SMSMV meetings and considers both the jobs they

undertook and their roles in this organisation. As in the previous chapter, the selection of these musicians aims to provide information about the membership of the SMSMV and to sketch a profile of the working musicians. This qualitative analysis of musicians' working lives also helps to cope with the limited data regarding their incomes.

a) Sabino Villarroel: an agent of continuity

Sabino Villarroel was a music instructor and ancient member of the SMSMV and as such, embodied the continuity of the organisation in this time of changes. He undertook the organisation of the Saint Cecilia celebrations that the Society used to do since its early days, he was part of the EC during nearly the entire period, and he took a leadership role during the directory meetings. A key aspect to highlight is that, similarly as Evaristo Gómez and Anjel Jeria (chapter 3), Villarroel enjoyed a double-membership, also participating in the Mutual Aid Society of Theatre Workers, *Sociedad Unión Teatral* of Valparaíso. This fact points out three issues: i) he had likely worked as an orchestral performer in theatres to accompany plays, opera and silent film, like Emilio Baesler did (chapter 3); ii) each one of the two different organisations that he joined, represented a different 'side' of his job; and iii) because of the particularity of his musical work, he was part of both the music and theatre trade. Because of this, it is essential to understand his musical work in a comprehensive manner, including composition, conduction, performance, music instruction and all other necessary tasks to the theatre work of the time.

The SMSMV allowed their members to enjoy double membership and it was benefited from the actions of Villarroel and his membership in *Sociedad Unión Teatral*. For example, Villarroel led the establishment of a reciprocal agreement between both societies in 1919. He also represented both organisations in the Mutualist Congress of 1925, which was the first participation in politics of the SMSMV. Again in 1925 Villarroel led the creation of the Orchestral Section [*Sección Orquestal*], a branch organisation "to promote the mutual aid among the musicians and the musical art", with which the SMSMV gained new members, a

key achievement of the troubled years of the mid-1920s, as it is addressed in the last section of this chapter (SMSMV Book 3, p. 156).

b) Paul Salvatierra: cinema musician and committed to the SMSMV

Paul Salvatierra worked as a pianist, organist and orchestral conductor for silent films exhibitions, performing in the most popular theatres of Valparaíso, such as *Brasil* and *Setiembre*. He was one of the few musicians of the silent cinema era that was highlighted in the local press for his musical work. He was especially regarded when in 1919 *Teatro Brasil* bought from the USA an “orchestral-keyboard” with a large collection of imitative sounds, such as sounds of fire bells, buzzers, gunshots, racehorses, car horns, birds singing, among others, to “liven up exhibitions with good music” (La Semana Cinematográfica, 7 August 1919). The article noted that once the theatre got this instrument, the main problem was to find “a musician able to handle it” (ibid.). At first, the theatre impresarios thought on bringing a performer from the USA. Instead of that, they decided to hire “maestro Paul Salvatierra, whose talent and enthusiasm has been appreciated by the public” (ibid.).

Even though the film press reviews rarely mentioned the musicians, Salvatierra was acknowledged on several occasions for conducting orchestras and ensembles to accompany silent films. He even received compliments by a member of the public, noting his friendly treatment to the audience as a relevant issue in her cinematic experience: “Another thing that I love of my cinema is the music. There is a splendid trio. Maestro Salvatierra is very kind and several times he asks [to the audience] what pieces to perform” (La Semana Cinematográfica, 29 June 1919). Purcell & González’s analysis suggests that the compliments reflect merely Salvatierra’s charisma (2014, p. 100). Reading these compliments with the lens of musical work, however, they shed light in that Salvatierra developed his musical skills in the fashion of the time, when film musicians elsewhere “became known for their ability to ply the audience with familiar melodies” (Smith 1998, p. 28). When analysing the work of film musicians in the USA Smith points out that “[s]atisfying a particular audience sometimes meant soliciting requests, playing currently popular songs, or matching the musical accompaniment to the specific

composition of the audience” (ibid.). Salvatierra acted in a similar fashion, understanding that his musical work was not limited to perform, but also, please the audience and gain popularity.

His orchestra was still renewed by the mid-1920s. In 1924, when Salvatierra worked at *Teatro Setiembre* accompanying the exhibition of the national film “Un grito en el mar” a local newspaper announced the launch of this film as follows: “The magnificent orchestra under the baton of maestro Salvatierra, will perform, with synchronic accompaniment, a brilliant musical programme especially adapted” (La Estrella, Valparaíso, 30 December 1924). In 1926, when the national film “Una lección de amor” was premiered in Valparaíso, his musical work as an arranger and orchestral conductor was praised in the local press as: “the splendid musical accompaniment adapted by maestro Mr. Paul Salvatierra” (El Mercurio, Valparaíso, 3 March 1926).

By the end of 1924, Salvatierra was elected Secretary of the EC of the SMSMV, a post he held during 1925. He joined several committees for specific functions, such as the organisation of the Saint Cecilia’s celebration in November. This event was significant as it was the first time that the celebration also meant a resting day for the working musicians. Apart from organising the celebration and the mass concert in honour to Saint Cecilia, the committee was commissioned to request to “all the theatres and venues owners where orchestras work[ed]” to respect this musicians’ holiday. The task was achieved successfully because “none of them [venue owners] protested in any sense” (SMSMV 1925a, p. 15). During this year Salvatierra cooperated with the SMSMV supporting the applications of new members in critical times for the organisation. For all these he was acknowledged by his fellow members, who congratulated him “for his interest in the Society, sponsoring an important number of applications” and for “offering to move the Society’s office to his private residence, when there was much discomfort due to the lack of own premises” (ibid., pp. 14, 15).

These findings show that Salvatierra was a working musician who was well aware of the fashion of the time to successfully develop his musical skills meeting the requirements of his trade. He worked as an orchestral conductor and instrumental

performer in silent cinema theatres, covering the various roles that this musical scene needed. About his contribution towards musicians' collective organisation, Salvatierra put forward several activities that helped to both promote the music profession in Valparaíso – such as the celebrations of Saint Cecilia – and to enhance musicians' organisation. This had two key consequences in a troubled time for the mutualised musicians, not only sponsoring those in need to join but also helping the Society to raise their funds by augmenting its membership.

c) Pablo Garrido: the influence for change

Pablo Garrido was a violinist, conductor, composer, writer and music researcher, whom we will meet again in the next chapter, because of his contributions towards the enhancement of musicians' organisation. He joined the SMSMV via the Orchestral Section, directed by Villarroel, in 1925, when he was 20 years old and was studying privately with academic musicians. Garrido composed futuristic and avant-garde pieces, and in January 1925 presented the first concert of futuristic music in Chile with attendees from both Valparaíso and Santiago (García 1990, p. 19). He was also interested in jazz and became one of its leading promoters in Chile. By the end of 1925, he was elected the second secretary of the EC of the SMSMV, post that he served to help Salvatierra. At the time, Garrido was conducting his Royal Orchestra, a jazz big band, which performed for the first time in 1924 in Valparaíso (in both *Salón Victor* and *Confitería Colón*). Because of his interests and music instruction, he built bridges between classical and popular musicians, developing his career in both fields. As a connector between classical and popular musicians, and between musicians based in Valparaíso and Santiago, he signed in 1926, among others, the reciprocity agreement of solidarity between the SMSMV and the *Sociedad Unión Musical*, an artistic association from Santiago. Because of his connections, it is reasonable to state that he not only signed this agreement but also was a key influence for it.



Figure 8 A twenty-year-old Pablo Garrido portrayed in Chuquicamata, 1925 (FPG, CDM).

Garrido's contribution to Chilean music is known in a more isolated rather than in a comprehensive way. For example, he is known as the leading jazz promoter in the 1920s in Chile and he is recognised by jazz scholars for his contribution in that field (Menanteau 2006, pp. 29-39). He is also acknowledged for his research on folklore and his contributions in the field of ethnomusicology that he carried out from the 1940s (Donoso & Tapia 2017, p. 137; Ramos 2012 pp. 100-101).

Beyond these, Garrido developed a vital role as a working musician towards musicians' collective organisation. It is interesting to note that earning his living exclusively from music was a conscious decision that he made in 1923, by giving up his job as a white-collar bank worker, which is analysed later in the next chapter. He developed his musical work combining different jobs and working across different genres. This led him to understand the musical work comprehensively, working fluently in classical and popular music, as composer and performer, and as arranger and conductor. All this probably led him to put forward fundamental ideas about musicians' working conditions, especially during the critical years of the late 1920s, when the global economic downturn and the arrival of the sound cinema technology resulted in the musicians' unemployment crisis. As chapter 5 shows he would be one of the founders of the Professional

Musicians' Union of Valparaíso and its President of the EC from 1935 to 1937, a pivotal contribution that has not yet deserved a place in Chilean music literature.

4. NEW STRATEGIES OF THE SMSMV: WORKERS OR ARTISTS?

The tensions embodied in the three above musicians were part of the broader and changeable context in which the SMSMV was immersed in. This organisation functioned looking to survive during these troubled years, seeking a balance between its aims and the harsh situation of some of its associates. Even though the SMSMV functioned continuously during this whole period, 1924 undoubtedly marked a turning point. As explained above, this was the year when the crisis on mutualism began in Chile. It is essential to clarify that the economic downturn of 1914, and the subsequent post-war crisis of 1918 affected the SMSMV in financial terms, but it did not affect its functioning, in terms of its *raison d'être*, as the labour and social laws of 1924 did. It was only when the government put into effect law 4054 that mutual aid societies “emerged from their lethargic state” (DeShazo 1983, p. 215) and the SMSMV would enter into a severe crisis stage from which it would never recover. The document analysis suggests that the economic crisis of 1914-15 had no severe impact on the activities of the SMSMV, however, it did have some repercussions, especially with regard to its economy, which the EC handled through different actions. What the SMSMV would not be able to overcome was the implementation of the new labour laws, especially put into effect by the end of the 1920s. The following pages show the strategies that the SMSMV undertook to cope with this challenging situation. These are divided into two sections, the first one, analyses the activities and discussions that followed the 1914-15 crisis, and the second, those that sought to cope with the new labour and social laws, implemented by the second half of the 1920s.

5. OVERCOMING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The strategies that the working musicians gathered in the SMSMV followed to overcome the financial crisis can be analysed considering two aims. One, explicitly concerned the survival of the Society in terms of meeting the mutual aid aims

challenged by the financial crisis. The other regarded the promotion of the music profession in the port city on behalf of the members of the Society.

a) Economic Crisis versus Members' Commitment

One of the logical actions that the SMSMV undertook to face the economic crisis was to reduce the Society's expenses by increasing membership costs, expelling defaulting members and looking for solutions to maintain the Society's income. As early as 9 March 1914, the EC approved adding a new payment of 50 *centavos* to active members for covering the printing costs of the internal rules (SMSMV Book 3, p. 90). However, as not all members were able to afford new payments, this agreement was reconsidered on 10 August 1914, leaving new members exempted from it (*ibid.*, p. 91). In the same meeting, fifteen defaulting members were removed from the Society, and another twelve were notified to pay their dues the soon as possible to maintain their membership active (*ibid.*, p. 91). The EC also decided to hire their hall at a lower cost to keep that income, offering it monthly for \$40 instead of \$45 as it was before (SMSMV Book 3, p. 91).

The general economic crisis became evident to the SMSMV in 1915, when its Secretary wrote down in the minutes of the meeting of 10 January 1916 that "it was impossible to deposit the incomes of the Society due to the many expenses incurred during 1915" (SMSMV Book 3, p. 104). Also, some of the Society's projects, such as the creation of the Music Academy [*Escuela de Música*] in 1916 had to be on hold due to the economic crisis and only reactivated in 1918 (SMSMV Book 3, p. 112). With the postwar crisis, the financial situation was getting worse for the Society. Logically, the economic crisis was accompanied by an increase of petitions of social benefits by members. This situation was not unique for musicians as it happened to all workers' organisations during much of the first two decades of the twentieth century when inflation affected urban workers and stimulated labor union activity. At the same time, however, economic constraints limited their abilities to pay their membership costs (De Shazo 1983, p. 245).

The effects of this crisis were assessed by the outgoing EC President Manuel Briceño de la Paz in January 1918, when addressed the members analysing the

situation of the SMSMV of the last five years. On the one hand, he highlighted “with great satisfaction” the reform of the statutes that took place in 1913; the creation of the Music Academy in 1916; and that the SMSMV reached 104 members and \$1,935.25 in the social funds in 1918 (SMSMV Book 3, p. 112). However, Briceño de la Paz also mentioned the pending matters that his EC could not put forward and hoped that the incoming EC would be able to do so. One of them was the reactivation of the Music Academy, for which he proposed to find a state subsidy [*subvencion estatal*] to backing the project (ibid.) The Society’s Mausoleum also needed repairs for which the incoming EC should organise social activities to gain incomes for that matter (ibid.). He called all members to help the new EC, because “they would not be able to do anything alone”, but collectively, and concluded stating that “every effort should be cooperative” [*mancomunado*] (ibid.)

In 18 January 1919, the EC President, Manuel Castaño read the annual report, stating that “there have been a lot of ill members” and the Society has given the correspondent benefits “but with no result”, because members are “too busy” to participate in the Society’s activities (ibid., p. 118). By the end of the year, a relevant debate took place among the directives about the financial crisis that affected the Society. Members proposed different actions to face the situation. They argued for and against various suggestions, including to increase membership fees, cut benefits offered to members, and organise solidarity activities that would directly benefit members in need. As the organisation was a mutual aid society with the primary aim to support members in need, and with incomes derived solely from members, this debate was a delicate matter. In consequence, the EC held an extraordinary meeting on 11 October 1919 to discuss this situation.

Here, treasurer Evaristo Gómez (snapshot in chapter 3) explained that there was a debt of 500 pesos in three months and that there are members who ask for too many benefits, “others whose sickness is not so serious and they asked for the benefit of ‘medical prescription’ even three times per week while being currently working” (SMSMV Book 3, p. 126). In this context, two main proposals were made: to suspend the provision of benefits to members and to organise activities to gain incomes for the Society. Various arguments were put forward toward these

proposals, making evident the tensions that this crisis created among members. Among the first initiative, secretary Manuel Jorquera proposed to suspend the provision of benefits to members for, at least, six months, to balance the financial state of the SMSMV. He added that:

[O]ther options would just harm the situation, because when we organise solidarity activities, the members do not participate, and if we increase the membership fees it is unlikely that [they] will pay them, especially now when we had to dismiss several defaulting members (ibid., p. 127).

Pedro Ortiz, president of the EC, seconded this proposal, suggesting that to “help members only with one prescription per week” because some of them asked up to three per week” (ibid.). Contrarily to this initiative, Segundo A. Acha (snapshot in chapter 3) stressed the relevance of the statutes and the history of the SMSMV. He demanded to comply with the statutes and proposed to exclude “all the defaulting members”, adding that “it is a shame that current members cannot get the Society’s assistantship, considering that it was founded with only 20 members, got its own burial vault and gained a good financial background” (ibid., p. 126). He clearly stated that he believed in organising activities to increase funding instead of cutting the members’ benefits (ibid.). In response to this, Ortiz clarified that the problem was that, following the statutes, the SMSMV should increase the membership fees to face the crisis, but the current financial situation does not allow such increase, so he suggested “to suspend the welfare aids” (ibid., p. 126).

Vicente Villarroel, the Society’s vice president, claimed that “it is impossible to offer assistantship to members because there are currently no funds and the Society has a considerable debt” (ibid., p.128). Following this, he argued in favour of the cuts to benefits “until the situation is bettered because trying to solve the situation by doing solidarity activities is useless” (ibid.). To prove his point, he recalled the solidarity activities carried out during 1917, after which the SMSMV lost money “due to the lack of willingness of the associates” (ibid.). He also recalled a pending solidarity activity that members were committed to organising but “it has not been possible to carry out due to the lack of enthusiasm of the members” (ibid.). He continued by explaining that:

[I]n this Society there is some antagonism, and that is why only a few works towards the Society. This happens in all aspects; there is even no will to attend the burial of a fellow member. Let us remember the last funeral of our diseased member Mr S. Vasquez (R.I.P), which was attended by only four members when the membership of this Society reaches more than one hundred (ibid.).

It was not possible to achieve an agreement at this extraordinary meeting, so it continued during the next one on 25 October 1919. Here, Carlos Hurel, also part of the EC, made a call towards commitment and reciprocity, arguing in favour of increasing the membership fees, asking to keep in mind that:

[I]n the aftermath of the economic crisis of 1914, we agreed to temporarily reduce the membership fees to \$1 (one peso). As the Society decided that back then to help its members, now it is time that the members accept the Committee's plea of increasing the fees to \$3 monthly, while this situation lasts (ibid. p. 129).

As the members were supported in the past by the Society, it was now expected that, in this convoluted period, they should now help the Society. During hard times, criticism about the participation and commitment of the members towards the SMSMV become evident. The economic crisis implied more demand for resources from the members to their organisation. At the same time, the Society – that was solely funded by its members – also needed the members' participation and payment of their fees. The vicious circle of a crisis, as in the post-war one, not only harmed the incomes of the SMSMV but also saw its expenditures increase, due to the assistantship of its members in need. Even though some members were tempted to put an end, at least temporarily, to the mutual assistantship, they were keen to argue, listen to each other and achieve an agreement. This willingness mirrored the core aim of the mutualism, which followed the respect among the associates, and the last word was given to the majority by a voting procedure. Put differently, after a substantial economic crisis, the common ground of assistantship and solidarity among the members was threatened but not lost.

b) Enhancement of the Music Profession and intellectual development

The creation of a Music Academy was another action undertaken by the SMSMV during these convoluted years, which contributed to the music instruction in the city and attracted new members. The Music Academy of the SMSMV was founded in 1916 but only came into effect in 1918 under the direction of Sabino Villarroel. It aimed to provide a workplace to any members of the SMSMV as instructors and anybody in the city could study music there. In addition to the contribution towards the music life of Valparaíso that this Music Academy made, the increase in the SMSMV membership was relevant too. The Academy was created as a branch organisation, under the direction of the SMSMV and it was open to the public. As such, it worked by their own means, but its director must be part of the EC of the SMSMV. The students of the Academy were not necessarily members of the SMSMV, but it contributed to increase membership by inviting their male students to join the Society. The findings suggest, however, that the main contribution of the creation of the Academy concerned the participation of women in the SMSMV. Although they were not yet allowed to join, they participated in several of the Society's activities as students of the Academy, such as performances, parties and especially in the celebrations of the Music Day. In the solemn meeting of 18 January 1918, when the SMSMV celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary, five women performed pieces that they had learned at the Music Academy: Ana Rosa Yhupe, Raquel Galdames P., Ángela Burgos, Gertrudis Lillo and Emeliva Villarroel (SMSMV Book 3, p. 120)⁴⁴.

The intellectual development of members was the backbone of mutual aid societies, as explained in chapter 3 (Illanes 2003, p. 293; Garcés 2013, p. 35). Being this Academy an instance for music learning, it also sought for the intellectual development of the members of the SMSMV, enhancing among them the core values of mutualism: self-organisation and self-education. As for mutual aid societies formed by industrial and mining workers, Bergquist (1986) argues

⁴⁴ The male students who performed at this concert, were: Teodoro Acha, Rosendo Musso, Manuel Segundo Jorquera, and Juan de Dios Donoso, who would be elected Secretary of the EC in 1937 (SMSMV Book 3, p. 237). It was likely that Teodoro Acha, Segundo Jorquera and Emeliva Villarroel had their fathers in the EC of the SMSMV (ibid., p. 120).

that through these cultural and social activities “workers developed – however incompletely and imperfectly – autonomous tools of organization and socialization and cracked the cultural monopoly of the Chilean ruling class” (ibid., p. 49). Perhaps the impact of these activities was more evident in the education of industrial workers, who were mostly illiterate with far worse working and living conditions than these educated musicians. However, that does not diminish the contribution of this sort of activity for those working in music. I would add that the contribution of these activities mainly for the SMSMV was manifold: enhancing the intellectual development of the members, providing them musical jobs and promoting the music profession in the city.

The annual celebration of the Music Day was another activity that the SMSMV undertook during this period, where Sabino Villarroel accomplished a key role. This was a continuous activity of the SMSMV from its early days, and its main contribution was to show to the public of the port city the relevance of music and the musicians from this Society. This activity still consisted of participating in the mass of the celebration of Saint Cecilia of the Catholic church of Valparaíso, with a choir and orchestra conducted by members of the SMSMV. For example, the Celebration of Saint Cecilia of November 1914 was acknowledged in *Sucesos*, as “splendid” (*Sucesos*, 26 November 1914). It was highlighted that the “main performances were conducted by the distinguished maestros Soto, Rivera, Quezada and Gómez” (ibid.). These were all members of the SMSMV, and three of them also served in the EC of 1914: Juan De Dios Soto was one of the directors of the EC; Pedro Ortiz served as Treasurer; and Juan de Dios Rivera as Vice President⁴⁵.

The same magazine published three pictures of this festivity. Figure 9 was presented as “General group of members of the SMSMV that organised a festivity in the *La Matriz* Church to sanctify the name of the saint patron of music” (ibid.). What is interesting here is that the magazine highlighted those who organised the

⁴⁵ Emilio Quezada was not part of the EC but an active member of the SMSMV. About Gómez, in 1914 there were two members of the SMSMV with that surname (Félix Gómez and Evaristo Gómez). As the press account did not provide the complete names on these musicians, it is impossible to know which he could be.

activity, with no distinction between those who performed and who did not. Although it is not explicit in the magazine, it is plausible to state that those who were photographed here were only the members of the SMSMV, including passive members⁴⁶.



Figure 9 SMSMV's members portrayed in a local magazine (Sucesos, 26 November 1914).

Two years later the Saint Cecilia festivity organised by the SMSMV was reported again by *Sucesos*. This time, the magazine presented two images. The first portrayed the “ladies who were part of the choir” that sang in the religious service (*ibid.*; figure 10). The other (figure 11), portrayed the SMSMV, describing it as follows: “General group of members of the SMSMV who participated in the festivity of Saint Cecilia, carried out in the Church of *Doce Apóstoles* of Valparaíso – In an angle: maestro Juan de Dios Soto, author of the mass” (*Sucesos*, 23 November 1916). These images contributed not only to make visible the activity of the SMSMV

⁴⁶ As the statutes' reform of 1912-1913 established, passive members corresponded to males younger than 16 and older than 8 years old (SMSMV Book 3, p. 58).

in Valparaíso, but also to make known the musicians who were members of this organisation, as they were named and photographed by this magazine.



Figure 10 Women's choir that performed at the Saint Cecilia festivity (Sucesos, 23 November 1916).



Figure 11 SSMV's members at the Saint Cecilia festivity in Valparaíso. At the right a portrait of Juan de Dios Soto, composer of the mass and director of the EC (Sucesos, 23 November 1916).

The form of this celebration changed in 1923, when the SSMV instead of organising a public festivity together with the Catholic Church of the city, began to hold private gatherings just for their members and their families. These gatherings consisted of a day trip [*paseo*] to the countryside or a neighbouring spa town where the members and their families could enjoy their leisure time. Figure

12 gives an example of this activity, dated in 1926 and described as “3rd Anniversary of the Music Day and 33rd Anniversary of the SMSMV 1893-1926”.



Figure 12 SMSMV's members and their families on a day trip, 1926 (SIMUPROVAL Archive)⁴⁷.

The continuity of the organisation of the Saint Cecilia's celebration and the Music Day in Valparaíso meant that despite the economic problems that challenged the SMSMV, the members kept participating in these activities because they considered them to be highly relevant. As they decided, through meetings and voting processes, what was the better path to follow to enhance their mutual aid organisation it seems that this annual festivity was deemed positive for the SMSMV, as a musical institution of Valparaíso. Considering the press coverage of this activity, it is possible to state that the SMSMV was not just one more mutual aid society of Valparaíso, but a key music institution, which represented the music profession of the city. This fact coupled with the creation of a Music Academy shows that the SMSMV sought for enhancing the music profession by making visible their contribution to the musical life of the city. They established a fluid circuit of musicians between this Academy and the public activities that the SMSMV organised, such as the Music Day's celebrations, where some of the students of the Academy performed.

The change from a public to a private celebration of the Saint Cecilia festivity highlights the relevance that music had for the members, as a special day with a special saint patron, even when this was not a religious organisation⁴⁸. This move was followed by the attempt to make it a resting day in 1925 when the committee represented by Salvatierra requested that theatres and venues owners consider it

⁴⁷ For a larger visualisation of this picture, see MMValpo 2015c.

⁴⁸ The SMSMV was a secular organisation that, in the second article of its reformed statutes of 1913 established that “it was prohibited to address, within the Society, any topic related directly or indirectly with politics or religion” (SMSMV Book 3, p. 58).

a resting day for musicians (SMSMV 1925a, p. 15). This was one of few days that musicians could enjoy a day off. Rest and leisure time came to be relevant for workers, especially for those who worked independently, as most musicians did. It was also understood that, as well as physical and intellectual development, rest and leisure time was vital for workers' health. Being that the Society focused on ensuring welfare to their members, achieving a resting day for musicians was a particularly relevant task, that was successfully achieved in 1925, but it was not always that way. This is the reason why Pablo Garrido's attempts to bring back this tradition in the late 1930s, becomes relevant, and as such, is addressed in chapters 6 and 7.

In intersection the music industries and the labour movement, the SMSMV was challenged – and influenced – by these two forces. The next section delves into the main changes that these two arenas offered to the working musicians.

6. ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT THE EMINENT DECLINE OF THE SMSMV

After 1924-5, the SMSMV went through a stage of severe decline, reflected in the lack of participation of members. Although official membership figures show a relatively stable increase between 1924 and 1928 (see table 7), members' participation in general meetings, voting procedures and the Society's activities decayed. The EC had to suspend eleven sessions between 1925 and 1928 as they were not quorate (SMSMV Book 3). For example, even though in 1926 there were 240 members registered, less than 30 attended general meetings (e.g., 06 November 1926, SMSMV Book 3, pp. 183-185). Also, the number of members who voted in the election of the EC decreased from 95 in 1926 to 31 in 1927 (SMSMV Book 3 p. 191). Moreover, these numbers represented a fraction of the total membership considering that only 95 members out of 240 (the 39,5%) voted in 1926 (SMSMV Book 3 p. 191) and the 31 members that voted in 1927 represented just the 15% of the total membership (SMSMV Book 3 p. 337).

Table 7 SMSMV Membership numbers by year

Year / Number of members	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Founding members	1	1	1	1	0
Retired members	11	9	14	15	14
Active members	121	169	225	193	196
Total membership	133	179	240	209	210

Source: SMSMV Book 4.

This period was that of the search for new sources and strategies to better their situation. The actions that the SMSMV members undertook to prevent the decline of their organisation are presented into two groups. One, corresponding to the creation of sub-organisations under the umbrella of the SMSMV seeking to enhance the assistantship among its members and to better its financial situation. The other was the establishment of reciprocity agreements that followed to strengthen the links with other organisations.

a) The Orchestral Section

On 28 August 1925, the SMSMV proposed creating a branch organisation called Orchestral Section (SMSMV Book 3, p. 156). This section provided several benefits to the SMSMV such as an increase of funds and membership⁴⁹. For instance, by the end of 1925, the SMSMV gained 1% of the profits received by the Orchestral Section, which functioned similarly as the Music Academy did, with their own funds, not affecting the SMSMV's budget (SMSMV 1925a, pp. 10, 17). In contrast to the Music Academy, to be a member of the Orchestral Section, it was necessary to join the SMSMV. Here is where its impact on membership becomes relevant.

The Orchestral Section was opened to both male and female, and by the end of 1925, 67 new members registered, 11 of which were women (ibid.)⁵⁰. It follows

⁴⁹ It was required that two members of the EC of the Orchestral Section were also members of the EC of the Society. With this, the Society assured having some control over the Orchestral Section.

⁵⁰ The female members who joined the SMSMV in 1925 were: Raquel Muñoz Vera, Idilia Lafarga, Olivia Lafarga, Inés Ruiz de N, Emma Sphur de Casella, Reinaldina Kennedy, Sara de Jaksa, Aminta de Lafarga, Hortensia Sandoval Vidal, Sarah Robledo de Lefevre and Berta del C. Jorquera (SMSMV 1925a p. 17).

from the above that the main contribution of the Orchestral Section was its turn to female members. Through this branch organisation, for the very first time in its history the SMSMV made clear the situation of women within the Society. As chapter 3 illustrated, the exclusion of women in the SMSMV's membership was implicit rather than explicit. As the Annual Memory of 1925, signed by Vicente Caballero, stated that "considering that the first article of the rulebooks does not prohibits female members to join" it was agreed to accept as members female individuals, and offered to them "the same benefits and aids that the male members enjoy, except for maternity and similar cases" (ibid., p. 12). During this period, several women studied music in the Orchestral Section and that they performed in the social activities of the SMSMV. However, their participation was just as regular members and not serving in the EC until by the end of the 1930s, when the first woman was elected to hold a position in the committee⁵¹.

Sarah Robledo and Emma Sphur were among the women who joined the Society after this crucial change. The former, in a similar fashion as Paul Salvatierra, worked, at least since 1908, as a pianist of silent cinema in *Teatro Edén* in Valparaíso (González & Rolle 2005, p. 233). However, different to him, she only was allowed to join the Society in 1925. The latter worked as a violinist in *Teatro Alhambra*. With her Sphur Trio, she had previously performed in some SMSMV celebrations, such as the concert of the students of the Music Academy held six years before, on 18 January 1919 as part of the theatre Alhambra's orchestra (SMSMV Book 3, p. 119). Significantly, she was the violin teacher of Pablo Garrido, who also joined the SMSMV through the Orchestral Section, and whose contribution is addressed in the next two chapters. In summary, the Orchestral Section, administrated by Sabino Villarroel, not only increased the SMSMV's membership but also made explicit the situation of women and allowed them to join. Notwithstanding this crucial contribution, it was declared dissolved in February 1928 because of its inactivity.

⁵¹ Only in 1937 a woman would be elected as Assistant Treasurer. She was Rosa Fürth de González, who joined the SMSMV in 1927. Perhaps the fact that she was also the wife of Abraham González, the President of the EC at that time, helped her to hold that position. It can also be related to the fact that from 1934 women were partially incorporated to the electoral system of the country.

b) Connections with other organisations

The SMSMV established connections with some organisations formed by artists and others by manual workers⁵². The SMSMV also maintained regular communication with organisations such as the Union of Hotel Employees and the Santiago Wanderers Football Club, with which established club reciprocity in 1925 that consisted of borrowing from the Football Club their hall, whilst they could use the Society's piano (SMSMV 1925, p. 10). Further cooperation was made with the Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Santiago (SMSMS) in the form of exchanging correspondence and membership (SMSMV Book 3, pp. 122, 176, 177, 181). This action was a symbol of continuity because the SMSMV maintained correspondence exchanges with this fellow mutual aid society of Santiago from its early days, when they borrowed the statutes from the SMSMS to design their own in January 1894 (SMSMV Book 1).

One of the artists' organisations with which the SMSMV was linked was the mutual aid society *Unión Teatral*. As stated above, Sabino Villarroel was also a member of this organisation as a theatre musician. The relevance of this connection lies in two issues: first, that the mutualised musicians did not have exclusive membership with the SMSMV and they could join other organisations, which highlights a central characteristic of the musical work. It allowed the mutualised musicians to belong to two professions or crafts. In the case of Sabino Villarroel, he was probably a full-time musician who worked in theatres and was a member of two organisations, one of musicians and the other of theatre employees.

Second, the connection between these two organisations meant the very first participation in politics of the SMSMV. This occurred in 1925 when the Mutualist Congress [*Congreso Mutualista*] took place. The conclusions of this Congress will "determinate the long-awaited reform of the law 4054, which directly harmed the mutual aid societies" (SMSMV 1925a, p. 13). This was because their very aim was to provide welfare aid to their members; thus, when this assistantship began to

⁵² Some of the organisations that the SMSMV was connected to in 1925 were: *Sociedad Femenina de Protección Mutua*, *Sociedad de Jubilados de la Marina y Ejército de Chile*; and *Sociedad de Señoras Cerro Yungay*, all of them of mutual aid character.

be provided by the state, mutual aid societies lost their fundamental purpose. Their second participation in politics took place in 1926 when Sabino Villarroel represented the SMSMV in the election of the Mutualist Institutions' chair for the local committee about law 4045 on compulsory insurance (SMSMV Book 3, p. 181). As stated above, this law was resisted by the mutual aid societies, and the mutualised musicians sought to counteract its impact.

Their third participation in politics happened in 1926 when the SMSMV joined the League of Manual Workers' Societies of Valparaíso which was founded in the port city in 1888 as a collective organisation for the manual workers' societies of Valparaíso (SMSMV Book 3, p. 180). It is important to recall that the SMSMV was invited to join this League in 1908 but declined. This League, however, was far from being inspired by the protests and claims that, at the time of its foundation, encouraged manual workers; "it was a purely mutualist entity; with its merits and defects" and relatively indifferent to the struggles of manual workers of Valparaíso and the whole country (Ramírez Necochea 1956, p. 258). Put differently, this connection, rather than a political action towards the broader mutualist movement, was of self-interest. They wanted to know how to face the new legal situation and, in this respect, the League was a key institution for getting networks and information on this matter. It is worth noting that, despite the long history of this League, the SMSMV turned to it only in 1926, when it was passing through tough times, and for the very first time, its own existence was threatened. This is explained by the concerns that the SMSMV had about the future of mutualism, especially after the promulgation of a new decree for the law 4057 by the end of 1925, which regulated the procedures to get a legal character to trade unions.

Another artists' association with which the SMSMV cooperated with was the *Sociedad Unión Musical de Chile*, from Santiago. In 1925 both organisations established a reciprocity agreement after José Devia, a member from *Unión Musical*, died in Valparaíso. The SMSMV was asked to allow the burial of his remains in their Mausoleum, which was exclusive for SMSMV members, but accepted this petition, as an exception "for having sympathy for the deceased" with the support of 58 members (SMSMV 1925a, 14). On 29 June 1926, both organisations signed the

reciprocity agreement, in Valparaíso, in an extraordinary meeting with the attendance of the members of the press (SMSMV Book 3). Some of the members from Santiago that signed this agreement were well-known academic musicians such as Armando Carvajal and Alfonso Leng, whose contribution is analysed in the next chapters⁵³.

Beyond the burial, this agreement represented a bridge between the mutualised working musicians of Valparaíso with the classical musicians of Santiago, particularly from the Conservatoire. This topic became key after the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928, discussed in chapter 8. This finding proposes a new perspective on how Chilean music scholars have previously seen these classical musicians. Although they were members of an artistic association, they asked for the cooperation of the SMSMV (a mutual aid society!) in such a mundane matter. This agreement speaks of a search for support from fellow organisations. Moreover, support is given by the mutualised musicians to an artistic association, and not the other way around. This also shows that the SMSMV was keen to support artistic associations which enjoyed a higher status within Chilean society rather than the manual workers' societies that were very much associated with class struggle and precarious living conditions. I return to this discussion in the next chapters, but what is important to note here is that this sort of encounters is relevant for the perennial problems of musical work and the discussion about the self-definition of the mutualised musicians, and their identification as workers, artists or both.

All these attempts to enhance the SMSMV were unsuccessful, and it was declared temporarily cancelled [*en receso*] in 1929 (SMSMV Book 4, p. 47). As the next chapter shows, from 1928 the mutualised musicians began to create the first musicians' union of the country which was founded on 1 December 1931 as the Professional Musicians' Union of Valparaíso (SPMV).

⁵³ Carvajal was a violinist and conductor who founded the National Association of Symphonic Composers in 1931 and in 1941 became the first principal conductor of the OSN. Leng was a dentist and self-trained composer of classical music, who won the National Art Prize in 1957.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that during the convoluted period analysed here the mutualised musicians had to face new challenges put forward by economic and legal changes. The loyalty to the mutual aid aims was challenged when the members were tempted to turn a blind eye to mutual assistantship. By discussing in meetings, they were able to maintain the democratic values of the organisation. They designed and followed various strategies to resist the economic crisis of 1914-15, the post-war crisis and the threat of the beginning of radio broadcasting. The strategies were divided into two groups, those that promoted connections with other organisations, and those that enhanced the provision of music in the city. The former shows that the SMSMV established links with fellow societies from trades different from music. The latter makes evident that the musicians also sought to enhance their profession, offering musical services to the broader community on behalf of the Society. In these troubled years, the SMSMV was useful for the working musicians in Valparaíso, providing support to musicians and their families, and bringing together working musicians of different music jobs.

The crisis of the 1920s and the promulgation of the labour and social laws seriously threatened the existence of the SMSMV. For example, after 1925, the SMSMV went through a crisis, which was evident in the decreasing number of attendees to the meetings. Even so, some meetings had to be cancelled. The SMSMV, however, came up with several actions to overcome this critical situation, most of them were successful, but after the legalisation of trade unions in 1928, the SMSMV had no more option than to adapt their organisation to the new legal requirements, creating a trade union within the Society, as analysed in the next chapter.

In this respect, I had made clear that the mutualised musicians experienced the same fate as other manual and industrial workers of the time when the new labour and social legislation harmed mutualism. In this matter, they were more 'workers' than 'artists'. Taking into consideration that the SMSMV was successful even after 1924-5, where the wider mutualist movement definitely declined, even though this organisation found the same fate as other mutual aid societies, the path that it followed was unique. It was not until 1928 that the SMSMV lost its *raison d'être*

and entered a definite and irreversible decline. This shed light on the fact that these musicians, even though they were workers and were affected by the same legislation as workers from other trades, followed a unique path - because their working lives were unique too.

Furthermore, considering the sort of activities that the SMSMV carried out during this period, especially those related with the celebrations of Saint Cecilia, and the agreements with other musicians' organisations, their identification as musicians strengthened. Amid the changing context, they maintained the activities that could promote the music profession in the city, as it was proposed in the early days of the Society. The argument that they were particular sorts of workers seeking employment in the music industries is vital here.

CHAPTER 5

THE TRANSITION FROM MUTUALISM TO TRADE UNIONISM IN MUSIC (1928-1932)

Isolated efforts get us nowhere; it is a joint action
which leads to beautiful ends.

Pablo Garrido (Garrido, 1935e)

The cinema screen learned to talk, and its first word
was a definite and noisy farewell to the orchestral
musician, who did not suspect how far the ‘talkies’
would go.

Pablo Garrido (Garrido 1945e)

Following the rise and decline of the SMSMV, this chapter deals with the shift from a mutual aid society to a trade union of musicians: the Professional Musicians’ Union of Valparaíso (SPMV). To unpack this, I begin by detailing the changes that musicians saw in their working lives, including those on the music industries and the labour legislation, before considering the particularities of the new musicians’ union. Like revising any historical process, this analysis implies some chronological overlapping with issues covered in the previous chapter.

The process of creating the SPMV was a complex one and was intertwined with two brand new experiences for the working musicians: the first labour code of the country and new technologies that challenged musicians’ working lives. The former had a paramount impact on all kinds of workers, including musicians, and their organisations. There are two things to note about this. First, the state would provide welfare services to all workers – which from the mid-nineteenth century were given by the mutual aid societies to their members. Second, the labour code compelled workers to organise in either industrial or professional unions and passed the responsibility of mutual aid to the new legal unions. With this, workers

would deposit their retirement fund payment to their trade unions. These legal changes institutionalised the provision of welfare services from above and would be administrated by the new legal trade unions. This made mutual aid societies unnecessary, irrevocably harming the mutualist movement across the country. Simultaneously, musicians witnessed the popularisation of radio broadcasting and the arrival of sound film technologies by the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. All these took place when the working musicians were transforming their organisation. The argument here is that even though the arrival of the ‘talkies’ had a dramatic impact on musicians’ working lives, the transition from mutualism to trade unionism in music was legally rather than technologically driven.

The new musicians’ union of Valparaíso (SPMV) is the new entity that begins to play a role in this chapter and is contrasted with the old SMSMV. The comparison is made with an insight into the aims, membership and activities organised by both organisations. By doing this, the chapter analyses how both organisations promoted a certain profession of musicians working in the lively live music scene in Valparaíso as instrumentalists, conductors and composers. By analysing musicians’ working lives, the chapter highlights the persistence of musicians working across genres and the growing trend of including women in the union membership. New workplaces and the exchanges that the new musicians’ union established with other contemporary organisations are also relevant to understand musicians’ working lives and the challenges that this trade union faced from its early days.

1. A NEW ERA FOR THE WORKING MUSICIANS

Following the various problems that the SMSMV faced from the mid-1920s, it finally declined whilst the new musicians’ union of Valparaíso developed by the end of the decade. This process was a complex one, interweaved between the seismic changes in the music industries and legal constraints. It gave place to a new era for the working musicians from all over the country, with the eventual emergence of musicians’ unions in different cities. This section unfolds the complex and somewhat obscure process that witnessed the definite decline of the SMSMV and

the emergence of the new SPMV. To explain this process, it is useful to consider the year 1928 as a milestone for the working musicians and their organisation. During this year, substantive changes took place that shaped their organisation and working lives. Now I turn to such matters.

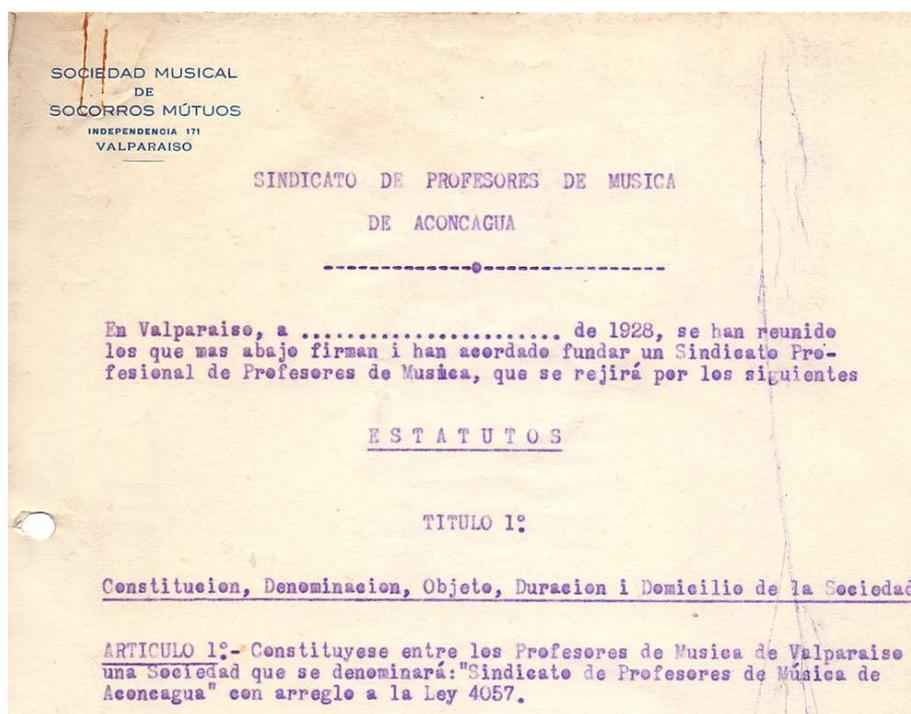


Figure 13 Extract of the draft of the statutes of the Musicians' Union of Valparaíso (SMSMV 1928a). Note that the document is written in a page stamped by the SMSMV.

In 1928 the EC of the SMSMV wrote the draft of the statutes of the organisation that in 1931 would become one of the first trade unions formed by and for musicians in Chile: the Musicians' Union of Valparaíso (SPMV). This draft (figure 13) planted the seeds for the new form of musicians' organisation that would emerge from the early 1930s in the main cities of the country. This process was not a straightforward one and evidence proves that not even the members of the SMSMV could foretell what to do with their own organisation at this uncertain time. In 1929 the Society put their activities on hold until January 1931 when it was temporarily reorganised agreeing on a reduction of the membership fees and a pardon to defaulting debtors (SMSMV Book 4, p. 47). This information shows that the SMSMV functioned in parallel with the new trade union. Although it was only officially cancelled in 1959, the lack of meetings registered in the books suggests

that, in practical terms, the SMSMV was inactive from 1929 whilst the new trade union of musicians began to take up the button (*ibid.*)⁵⁴. It was not until 1 December 1931 that the musicians' union of Valparaíso was founded, obtaining its legal status on 29 November 1932 under the name of Professional Musicians' Union of Valparaíso (*Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso*, SPMV).

The document shown in figure 13 is a crucial finding of this research that illustrates more than just the close links between the old Society and the new musicians' union: the latter was created inside of the former. Until now, 1931 has been given as the year when the union was formed, implying that its creation was a response to the unemployment crisis originated with the conjunction of the global downturn of 1929 and the arrival of the 'talkies' in 1930 (González & Rolle 2005, p. 266; Molina & Karmy 2012, p. 77). In contrast to that, this finding proves that the intention to create a musicians' union came earlier. The reason behind the creation of the musicians' union was not the unemployment of musicians, but law 4057 on trade unions that, although passed in 1925 was put into effect only in 1928 (Law 4057, 1924). This law set up a system of legal unions grouped into two categories: plant-based [*sindicatos industriales*] and craft-based [*sindicatos profesionales*]. It defined the professional union as an "association constituted by employees and manual workers [*obreros*] of the same craft" (DeShazo 1983, p. 220). At the same time, law 4059 defined employees or white-collar workers [*empleados*] as "all persons irrespective of age or sex who are engaged in work which is of a more intellectual than physical nature" and compelled them to form craft-based trade unions [*sindicatos profesionales*] (*ibid.*, p. 22). Because of their working characteristics, mutualised musicians would fall into this category, and therefore, they were forced to join a trade union. This is explicit in the first article of the draft of internal rules stating that the union was created "in accordance to

⁵⁴ There are no activities written in the SMSMV books from 29 May 1929 until 19 February 1932, when the EC registered their meeting in the same book without leaving a blank page in between (SMSMV Book 3). There was, however, a call for meeting published in a local newspaper in January 1932, but no minutes were registered in the books (*La Unión*, 17 January 1932, p. 7). This suggests that this meeting was held only to discuss matters about the new musicians' union, especially considering that they have not yet been able to get the legal personality of this new organisation, which was obtained by the end of the year.

law 4057”, which is the above law on trade unions made effective in 1928 (SMSMV 1928a).

Figure 13 also shows that initially, it would be the “Professional Union of Orchestral Musicians of Aconcagua” [*Sindicato Profesional de Profesores de Música de Aconcagua*], the province to which Valparaíso belonged at the time. There are three crucial things to draw from the first name of the union. The first is that the union was created by and for the musicians based in the province, not just in the city of Valparaíso, thus including musicians based in the neighbouring city of Viña del Mar, which would become a relevant working place for musicians during the 1930s. The creation of new venues and orchestras in the province was especially crucial for the working musicians as it would provide new workplaces. In parallel, some of those gathered in the new musicians’ union would play a key role in forming new orchestras, such as Ernesto Davagnino and Pablo Garrido. The former conducted the orchestra with music for dancing at the dinner parties of the *Club de Viña del Mar*, and the latter organised the first jazz orchestra at the new venue, *Casino Municipal de Viña del Mar* (La Unión, 9 January 1932, p. 11; Mentanteau 2006, p. 36; González & Rolle 2005, pp. 339-340). Both venues based in the coastal spa town of Viña del Mar, neighbouring Valparaíso, which would gain popularity during the 1930s as a holiday destination among national and international tourists due to its vibrant nightlife.

The second issue is that the word ‘professional’ in the name did not imply a certain type or quality of musicians (e.g. in opposition to amateurs). The word ‘professional’ was imposed by law, compelling workers to unionise by craft. Manual and industrial workers [*obreros*] formed industrial trade unions, whilst artisans, white-collar and intellectual workers, gathered in professional trade unions. This is a unique characteristic of trade unionism in Chile, where, as explained in chapter 4, trade unions were legalised under a dictatorial regime as a step forward to corporatism, to maintain the “social order” and control any possible social disturbances (Rojas 1993, p. 57). Lastly, the union was formed by and for “*profesores de música*” (literally translated as music teachers), which was how the professional musicians – working mainly as orchestral performers – called themselves. At the time, working musicians used the concepts of *profesor de*

música and *profesor orquestal* interchangeably, referring to orchestral musicians and highlighting their attributes as teachers, pedagogues and educators in the music field. I will return to this in the next chapters, but it is worth noting that they assigned a certain intellectual prestige to musical workers that conceptualised them similarly to lecturers. They appeared, until 1932, in the local press in that way, as *Sindicato Profesional de Profesores de Música* (e.g. La Unión, 18 January 1932, p.8).

Ultimately, the transition from a mutual aid society to a trade union responded to reasons outside the music profession that had nothing to do with musicians' working lives, but with the legal constraints of all the workers' organisations of the time. However, the new musicians' union was faced with the substantial changes in the music industries that took place in the early 1930s, not only in Chile but in most of the countries of the world, with the arrival of the 'talkies' and the proliferation of radio broadcasting. Although both threatened musicians' working lives, the former had a far more immediate and disastrous effect. I will return to this in due course, but what it is important to note here is that such changes found musicians with a new and weak organisation, challenging their working lives.

The changes in the music industries were intertwined with the economic crisis that Chile was facing after the global downturn of 1929 that had a negative impact not only on musicians' working lives but on the whole society. The political context of the 1930s was not just complicated but also highly unstable. After Ibáñez resigned in 1931, Juan Esteban Montero was elected President and took power. Criticised for the inefficiency with which he addressed the effects of the global economic crisis, his government was interrupted on 4 June 1932 by a civilian-military coup d'état that proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Chile that lasted twelve days. New elections in October 1932 brought Alessandri back to the presidency, as the candidate of the centre-right coalition. With the support of liberals, democrats and radicals, he ruled the country achieving political stability, reinvigorating the national economy by fiscal austerity and sector fostering, a new deal of the external debt with international banks, and intense social repression at the hands of police forces. The basis proposed by the Constitution of 1925 drove to a substantial change allowing the rise of the middle class. Historians now call

this period, which lasted from 1925 to 1973, as the institutionalisation of the liberal democratic state (Salazar & Pinto 2014, pp. 39-68).

In 1928 the National Conservatoire, located in Santiago, was reformed under the leadership of Domingo Santa Cruz. It was made more elitist, providing music education to young musicians from wealthy families. By incorporating with the Faculty of Arts of *Universidad de Chile*, the music training was transformed into an academic course of studies (Rojas 2017, p. 3). The National Conservatoire changed from providing music education mainly to women – as part of their education before getting married – and young musicians of working-class origin – to have a profession that was considered lucrative – to educating an elite (Vera 2015, p. 136; Izquierdo 2017). In 1929 the Conservatoire was incorporated to the Faculty of Arts of *Universidad de Chile* and allowed for music degrees. Santa Cruz, who became dean in 1932 – and, with short interruptions, served until 1968 – kept fighting for tighter control on musical life in Chile (Izquierdo 2011, p. 34; Menanteau 2011, p. 60). This reform also meant that the Conservatoire held the responsibility of overseeing the music education given across the country. They did this, for example, by supervising the final exams of students before graduating from any music academy (La Unión, 24 January 1932, p. 11).

At this particular historical juncture, interconnected with changes in the legal framework and the music industries, the musicians of the SMSMV sought to adapt themselves to this new situation. By undertaking actions to improve the financial basis of the Society, expand its membership and ensure its continuity, they attempted to cope with the latest state of affairs. Their actions, however, were not entirely practical, as seen about the Orchestral Section of the SMSMV, that was successful during its first years, but began to decline by the second half of 1927 coming to a definite end in 1928. Internally, the SMSMV saw the dismantling of two initiatives that had aimed to counteract the crisis of mutualism: the Orchestral Section and its Musical Club. The Orchestral Section of the SMSMV, created in 1925 as a strategy to gain new members and promoting new activities for the SMSMV, came to an end in 1928. It was dissolved ending up the provision of music training by the mutualised musicians in Valparaíso. Fernando Davagnino, the EC Secretary, wrote on 8 February 1928 the decision to re-organise the

Orchestral Section. The aim was to dissolve its chair, disallow the existence of any committee constituted for it and transferred all its goods to the SMSMV because it “has been in a state of sharp decline for six months now. Because of this, the Section and their members cannot get any artistic, social, nor material benefits” (SMSMV Book 3). Logically, the administration of the Musical Club of Valparaíso that depended on the Orchestral Section was also dissolved the week after (ibid.).

To understand the transition from mutualism to unionism in music, and the changes that musicians faced in their working lives, it is necessary to think of the situation of the SMSMV, as a musicians’ organisation, and the musicians themselves separately. This is because the legal changes that took place from 1924 in labour matters seriously affected the SMSMV as a workers’ organisation, challenging it to look for different solutions to survive as a mutual aid society and creating a trade union for musicians. The changes in the music industries that came with the third decade of the twentieth century challenged musicians’ workplaces, such as the proliferation of broadcasting and the arrival of the ‘talkies’. Even though these technological changes were not the reason behind the transition to trade unionism, they shaped the context with which the new musicians’ union faced in its early days.

By contrasting aims and membership of the old SMSMV and the new musicians’ union, the differences and similarities among them are analysed, and the sort of musician (or music profession) that the new trade union sought to promote and protect is unveiled. The discussion on to what extent the threat to musicians’ workplaces challenged how they organised as workers goes across the next pages. The focus is now on how the new musicians’ union coped with the challenges that had to face from its early days, especially the unemployment of its members due to the arrival of the ‘talkies’.

2. THE NEW MUSICIANS’ UNION

As stated above, from 1928, the musicians of Valparaíso sought to create a new musicians’ union, following the new labour legislation, which was founded in 1931. The same path was followed by musicians in other cities of the country, forming

hereafter new trade unions. The *Sindicato Profesional Orquestal* (SIPO) was founded in Santiago also in 1931, and the *Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Concepción* obtained its legal personality on 6 August 1932 (decree 1905, 1932). There are records of the *Sindicato Musical* formed by marching band musicians from 1928 and of the Singers' Union [*Asociación Chilena de Cantantes*] also from 1928 (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19; *El Mercurio*, Santiago, 11 June 1928, p. 13). This fact makes evident that these findings are not limited to the musicians' union of Valparaíso, but, understanding it as a case study, it sheds light about the situation of musicians working in different cities, and the formation of musicians' unions across the country.

The new musicians' union of Valparaíso shared several characteristics with its predecessor, the SMSMV, but also had some particularities that made it stand out from the old Society. These similarities and differences are summarised in table 8 and discussed in the following pages, through five central themes: the organisations' aims, membership, musicians' working lives, musical training, and the predominant gender of the membership.

Table 8 Comparison of the SMSMV and the SPMV

	Musicians' Mutual Aid Society of Valparaíso, SMSMV	Musicians' Professional Union of Valparaíso, SPMV
Aim	To improve living conditions through welfare services (pension fund, medical and cemetery services.)	To protect and improve working conditions
Membership	"Players" and some outstanding "Gentlemen" (such as Pedro Césari) - popular music of the time, opera and chamber music	"Players", instrumentalist of urban popular music, mainly for dancing (session musicians, back-up musicians)
Musical Work	Mostly musical work with overlapping jobs in the music industries.	Mostly musical work with overlapping jobs in and outside the music industries.
Training	Some self-trained and others trained in various music academies and bands of Valparaíso.	Mostly self-trained (National Conservatoire elitist after the reform of 1928) and trained with private classes with fellow musicians and orchestral or band training.
Gender	Gender: Exclusively male membership (except in its last years)	Mostly male membership, but women were allowed.

a) Aims

The main difference between both organisations lay in their aims. As chapters 3 and 4 show, the SMSMV aimed to improve the living conditions of its members by providing pension funds, medical and cemetery services. In contrast, the aim of the musicians' union was related to the working conditions of its members. For the first time in the history of musicians' organisations in Chile, the condition of workers was made explicit in the internal rules, including the word 'labour' [*"trabajo"*]. It was stated that the union sought: i) "To represent the members in individual or collective labour conflicts and particularly in the instances of conciliation and arbitration; ii) To enter into collective or individual labour contracts" (SMSMV 1928a). This meant that the SPMV was the entity that officially represented the musicians of the province in their labour contracts and workplace conflicts. In short, the SMSMV was focused on the musicians' living conditions, whereas the union concentrated on their labour conditions.

The union also followed the duty of cooperation and mutual assistantship. Among its aims, it was stated that the union should establish "cooperative societies of any kind, mutual aid, [and] retirement funds", as the legislation on trade unions asked it (*ibid.*). The new legislation stated that the primary responsibility of trade unions would be the mutual assistantship of their members. With this mutual assistantship became institutionalised from above, from the state, and not from below - among the fellow associates - as it was from 1850, with the foundation of *Sociedad de la Igualdad* (Grez 1994, p. 305, DeShazo 1983, p. 215). As trade unions and mutual aid societies offered to their members the administration of mutual aid funds, but at the same time, members were compelled to pay a percentage of their incomes to the unions, the former began to replace the latter. This was a requirement of the legislation on trade unions, compelled by law and part of the co-op strategy of Ibáñez's government (1927-1931).

This legislation banned the discussion of politics within the union, as it was in the SMSMV. This prohibition was stated in the third article of the union's rules: "The Union does not follow any political aim, and it is prohibited to address any topic related directly or indirectly with politics or religion" (SMSMV 1928a). Besides, the

union was required to “[h]elp to the local authority in the solution of their problems when the Union was requested to do it” and to act as a representative of the profession (SMSMV 1928a). It was stated that the union had the responsibility to represent the “common interest of the profession” (ibid.). This leads to the issue of what was the music profession that would be defined by the musicians’ union, which is analysed through the Saint Cecilia’s celebrations⁵⁵.

As the SMSMV did from its early days, the celebrations of the Music Day were also essential to promote a music profession for the new union. As figures 14 and 15 illustrate, the musicians’ unions continued celebrating Saint Cecilia’s day as the SMSMV did in the later years, with a day trip to the countryside, park, spa town, or similar place. Furthermore, they stipulated in their internal rules that “annually, on the second fortnight of November, the Union will celebrate the Music Day in the Province” (ibid.). Considering that the SMSMV participated in the celebrations of Saint Cecilia during its almost whole existence, even though it was never written in the statutes, results interesting that the union felt the need to make it explicit. This ensured that the union would be the institution that officially continues this tradition, and no other musicians’ organisation in the city because it was the SPMV who was to represent the profession. To carry out this celebration, musicians would not attend their jobs on that day, something which would be communicated to the venues and business where orchestras worked at least one month in advance. This rule paved the way to the demands for a resting day for musicians, that took place in the First Musicians’ Congress in 1940.

⁵⁵ Only from the 1950s the musicians’ union began to take control on the provision of musicians. In 21 November 1952, the SPMV agreed with venue-owners to only hire musicians who were able to present membership card (SPMV Book 1).



Figure 14 Music Day Celebration of the SPMV, Tranque Municipal de Viña del Mar, 22 November 1943 (SIMUPROVAL Archive)



Figure 15 Music Day Celebration of the SIPO, with President Pablo Garrido, 22 November 1939, El Llano Stadium in Santiago (FPG, CDM).

b) Membership

The union's membership allows us to understand their idea of the music profession. By looking into whom the internal rules permitted to join some similarities and differences with the SMSMV come to light. For example, as well as in the SMSMV, the new musicians' union did not allow anybody with reported illness. The members were asked to show a medical certificate when applying,

and they were also required to be “of good repute” (SMSMV 1928a). The SMSMV required similar characteristics for musicians to join so that they could protect the organisation’s reputation and protect its finance, by reserving the social funds to healthy members who could work and contribute to the incomes of the organisation. Similar procedures in joining the organisation were established by both, especially the requirement that an existent member should introduce and sponsor the candidate (*ibid.*). This was a measure to protect the reputation of the organisation, by allowing to join only people that were already approved by one of the members.

As with the SMSMV, the union also required that the members had a stable address at the time of joining to ensure that they were residents of the province of Valparaíso. Similarly as the SMSMV did, the musicians’ union of Valparaíso differentiated four types of members: i) founding, ii) active, iii) honorary and iv) retired members. However, the musicians’ union established a significant difference with its predecessor in this regard. The SMSMV allowed members older than 15 and younger than 50 years old, whilst the musicians’ union allowed members older than 12 years old and did not establish a maximum age for membership. This illustrates two issues: the working-age in music now began three years earlier than in the times of the SMSMV; and elderly musicians were allowed to join not only as honorary members (as in the SMSMV) but also as active members (*ibid.*). Unfortunately, there are no records on membership costs of the union, but of the SMSMV at the same time. In 1928 SMSMV musicians paid monthly \$5 for their regular membership fees, which corresponded to 25 tram tickets (\$0.20 each trip), about three haircuts (\$1.60 each), or four kilogrammes of rice (Correa, Monckeberg & Rivas, 1999, p. 244). Even though there is no evidence that both organisations asked similar payment to their members, it is something reasonable to state, considering that the SPMV shared several characteristics with its predecessor.

c) Musical Work

The most significant difference between the new musicians’ union and the Society was that the former stated a clearer sense that the members should make a living

from music. The SMSMV established that “any musician, amateur and artist in the art of music” could join (SMSMV Book 1), whereas the Musicians’ Union stated that “everyone who is in the music trade” could join (SMSMV 1928a). In practical terms, this meant that union members should work in music and make a living from it, regardless of whether this was a part-time or full-time job, combined or not with other (non-musical) job. It included directors and conductors [*directores*⁵⁶], employers [*jefes*], contractors [*contratistas*] and all those who provided their services individually (SMSMV 1928a). Here the union understood one of the particularities of the music profession, in terms that allowed membership to different musicians with various employment conditions: employees, employers, and musicians who worked individually. This reflected the variety of possibilities of musical work. From their own band or orchestra musicians could employ other fellow musicians, representing them to third parties as directors or conductors; they could work hiring orchestras or individual musicians to perform occasionally in one event or venue; and musicians could also work individually, hired by an orchestra, a band, a venue impresario, and even by an entrepreneur musician.

As the SPMV emerged from the SMSMV, it is reasonable to suggest that a large proportion of the mutualised musicians joined the union, especially those who participated in the meetings of the late 1920s when they suspended the Orchestral Section, re-organised their Musical Club, and wrote the draft of the statutes of the musicians’ union. The names written in the SMSMV documents in the years of the transition to unionism shed light on the characteristics of the musical work of the members and provide evidence towards the argument that several of them moved from one organisation to the other, such as Fernando Davagnino. He served as Secretary of the SMSMV in 1928 and facilitated the creation of the musicians’ union by writing the first draft of its internal rules in 1928; it is reasonable to

⁵⁶ In Spanish the word *directores* refers to directors or conductors or someone who accomplish both tasks.

suggest that he and other EC members joined it after its inauguration in 1931, without leaving the SMSMV⁵⁷.

Fernando Davagnino, together with his brothers, Luis, Francisco and Ernesto were members of the SMSMV during the 1920s. They all were highly active in the jazz scene of Valparaíso of the mid-1920s and 1930s, performing in some of the orchestras conducted by Pablo Garrido and in their own *Orquesta Hermanos Davagnino* and *Orquesta Fernando Davagnino* (Menanteau 2006, pp. 32, 38, 46, see figure 16). Davagnino and his band performed at the exclusive night venue *Club de Viña del Mar* (La Unión, 9 January 1932, p. 6), and sometimes in radio auditoriums, as it was advertised in the programme of the launch of the radio station *La Unión* in Valparaíso in January 1932 (La Unión, 2 January 1932, p. 3).



Figure 16 Ernesto Davagnino Orchestra, 30 November 1933, Valparaíso (FPG, CDM)

Another prominent member that moved from the SMSMV to the SPMV was Pablo Garrido, who we already met in a snapshot in chapter 4. He had a diverse music

⁵⁷ Other EC members of the SMSMV in 1928 were: Emilio Bonacera, Domingo Moreno, Carlos Ugarte and Ramón Caamaño. Although Mario Baesler was not part of the EC, in another meeting of 1928 signed as the accountant (SMSMV 1928a). Fernando Davagnino is registered as an active member of SMSMV until 1933 (SMSMV Book 4, p. 55).

trajectory, as conductor, arranger, composer and performer, in classical ensembles and jazz bands. During the 1930s, he conducted jazz orchestras in new venues in the province, such as *El Dorado* in Valparaíso and the *Casino Municipal* of Viña del Mar. He worked as an orchestral conductor (not only of jazz orchestras but also symphonic), arranger and composer, making too significant contributions by forming new orchestras and bands. As the following pages show, Garrido accomplished a crucial role in pursuing unity among musicians and promoting the music profession as a means to better musicians' conditions and the social value of music in Chilean society. Even though he was not regularly present in Valparaíso during this period, evidence suggests that his role was pivotal for the transition from mutualism to unionism in music. The fact that he was elected Secretary the Professional Musicians' Union of Valparaíso in 1932, President of the same union in 1936, and the SIPO in 1939, reflect that (González 1983, p. 40; García 1990, p. 61; figure 17).



Figure 17 Pablo Garrido as President of the SPMV (seated at the centre, in the second row, wearing a white coat), 14 July 1936 (FPG, CDM).

By revising the musical work of two prominent members, it is possible to gain an understanding of the music profession that the SPMV promoted by gathering musicians mostly working in popular music. They understood music as a job, and

despite the different jobs they had, they shared similar working conditions. They were mainly performers (instrumentalists) who had the ability (or training) to play across genres, particularly music for dance in live music night venues. At the time live music venues shared three types of orchestras: one to perform tango, another for jazz and Afro Cuban and North American repertoire, and the third one for folklore (Gonzalez & Rolle, pp. 449-574). Radio auditoriums of the mid-1920 and 1930s also required musicians with the ability to perform any piece of music and to adapt very quickly to any requirement. They were mostly back-up or session performers, and they could work as conductors, composers and arrangers of popular music, as Fernando Davagnino and Pablo Garrido did.

Some of the union members made a living exclusively from music, whilst others combined their music profession with other jobs, in and outside music, similarly as it was in the SMSMV. This allowed them to enjoy a double membership with two different unions if they wanted to. A particularity was shown by Garrido, who instead of joining organisations of various trades, he joined associations that followed political aims. When he presided the EC of the SPMV, was at the same time serving as Secretary of Culture of the Federation of Chilean Workers in Valparaíso (*Federación Obrera de Chile, sede Valparaíso*, FOCh) leading and enjoying membership of two organisations of different nature⁵⁸.

d) Training

Self-training was an important characteristic of the musicians' union's membership. Although there were musicians who had formal musical training, a significant proportion of them was self-trained or trained informally. As it was for the SMSMV, the vibrant live music scene of Valparaíso was a vital training place for musicians in the province. It is important to note that, even though after the reform of 1928 the Conservatoire enjoyed an official national status, it was still based in Santiago. Despite some members, such as Garrido, had studied with

⁵⁸ FOCh was the first national labour confederation founded in 1909. It became more radical as it grew and affiliated with the Chilean Communist Party in 1922, joining the Red International Labour Unions, under the leadership of Luis Emilio Recabarren. In 1930 the Socialist members of FOCh broke away and formed the Socialist Workers Party [*Partido Obrero Socialista*, POS] (DeShazo 1983, p. xxv; Hudson & Library of Congress 1994, p.30).

composers from the Conservatoire, it was not a common thing to do among the SPMV members as it was for the members of their fellow union in Santiago, the SIPO. In 1932 the SIPO stated that musicians graduated from the National Conservatoire, former members of the army, navy and police forces, and “almost all the orchestral professionals that perform in the main theatres” formed it (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19) This information shed light on two issues concerning training. First, the fact that SPMV members were not trained at the Conservatoire was a consequence of being based at different cities rather than a specific preference towards self-trained musicians. Second, it is reasonable to state that some SPMV members were trained at the armed forces, such as some of the members of the SIPO were. It was also stated in the internal rules of the SPMV the aim to “establish courses, music academies, conservatoires”, which was not so different from the aims of the mutual aid society to pursue the improvement of the intellectual conditions of its members (SMSMV 1928a)

e) Gender

In the SPMV statutes, there was no mention of gender as it was in the SMSMV⁵⁹, meaning that the union was open to both men and women (SMSMV Book 3, 1912). Considering that at the time of the transition there were already several women members of the SMSMV, it is likely that some of them joined the musicians’ union⁶⁰. Even though it was open to female musicians, a revision of the union membership provides evidence towards the argument that it was a male-centred organisation (SPMV Book 1; SMSMV Book 4). In this matter, the union was different from the SMSMV but only on paper. Very few female musicians initially joined the SPMV, though their membership grew over the years. Similar to the SMSMV, the male-centred membership of the SPMV mirrored broader issues in Chilean society, such as the gender division of labour in music, as discussed in chapter 3.

⁵⁹ From 1912, through a revision of the statutes included that the Society will only accept “male passive” members to 1925 when the first women members joined.

⁶⁰ Such as the eleven female musicians who joined the SMSMV in 1925 via the Orchestral Section (SMSMV 1925a p. 17).

All these characteristics of the membership of the new musicians' union outlined a definition of the music profession that left composers of classical music and singers (although not the instrumentalists) outside the musicians' union, despite internal rules that stated that "everyone who is in the music trade" could join (SMSMV 1928a). In practical terms it was not open to all but also not all musicians wanted to join. It was focused on those musicians who made their living from music and not for those who made music as a hobby or an intellectual recreation, as musicians who joined artistic societies did.

The chapter now turns to analyse how the changes in the music industries impacted the working musicians and their new organisations. These changes led to the emergence of public debates on music and culture legislation and the creation of institutions to promote the national culture. These debates, and the later implementation of such policies, affected all working musicians: the unionised and non-unionised ones, popular and classical, professionals and amateurs, those based in the capital city and those in the provinces.

3. THE "TALKIES"

When the musicians' union emerged and began to replace the SMSMV, several changes were taking place that affected musicians' working lives and, presumably, contributed to shaping this new union. One of the most noticeable changes occurred in the film industries. Even though between 1910 and the late 1920s some changes took place, such as music shifting from the role of enlivening cinematic spectacles to challenging the synchronisation of images with appropriate music (Purcell & González 2014, pp. 89-90), the arrival of sound film technology was an unprecedented one.

Because it was a double-edged sword for the music industries, the 'talkies' created controversy that was present in the press well before the actual arrival of the technology. This invention offered the public a brand-new experience of simultaneously watching and listening to films. The main change here was that now every cinema hall could show the same film with the same sound, whereas before, each theatre orchestra or musician could perform different pieces for the

same movie. Even if they followed the guidelines for the film music, because it was performed live, it would always be unique. This invention also brought hard times for musicians, deeply harming their working lives. The new machines began to replace the orchestras and musicians who performed live during silent films exhibitions. At the same time, film directors would gradually recruit composers, looking for different compositional styles, to produce more attractive films (Farías 2019, pp. 7-9).

After the first sound film screening in the United States, *The Jazz Singer* in October 1927, a public debate took place between supporters and opponents in the local press, even though no sound film had yet been shown in Chile. There was a wide range of themes discussed, including the technical quality of the synchronisation of the moving image with the sound and the language of the new sound films. What is interesting here is that little space was given to the situation of musicians in this debate. One of the few that was concerned about musicians' conditions and publicly addressed the matter in the press was Pablo Garrido and the new musicians' unions. He discussed the pros and cons of the eventual arrival of sound cinema technology to Chile.

In addition to the positive impact of sound cinema in areas of everyday life, such as education and medicine, analysed by Erazo (2019), the main brightside for musicians was that sound films brought the possibility of hearing music that was not yet available through records or radio stations (pp. 143-152). A good example of this is jazz, particularly in the Chilean context. Sound films allowed audiences to hear this music, to see how the instruments were played and how they sounded, and to access new repertoires in ways that were otherwise impossible at that time in Chile. As a musician interested in jazz, Garrido was amazed by the new possibilities that sound cinema offered. He thought of sound films as a rich source of seeing and listening to this kind of music, directly from the United States (Menanteau 2006, p. 32). But he understood its double-edged sword, examining the effects that the 'talkies' had had for orchestral musicians in the United States. By doing this, he brought to the attention the need for state support for the protection of musicians. In a piece published on 21 June 1929, Garrido made clear the severe consequences of the sound cinema for the working musicians.

With the sound cinema orchestras are no longer needed in the theatre [...] In the USA, musicians in almost all cinema theatres have been dismissed [...] The situation is one of despair because there are thousands of musicians who have lost their jobs (Garrido 1929b).

Sound cinema technology arrived in Chile in 1930, and the first sound film was screened in March that year. Only one month later, Daniel de la Vega wrote about the “crime of the sound cinema”, warning about the breakdown of the profession of the silent film musicians and musicians’ unemployment, increased by the proliferation of devices that reproduce music mechanically (González & Rolle 2005, p. 238). By the end of the year, there were 25 cinema halls with equipment for sound films in Santiago. Considering that the city had less than a million inhabitants, this fact illustrates how rapidly this new industry grew in the country. In November, it was published: “[this trend] shows the success that the entertainment industry, known as ‘sound cinema’ has gained in our capital, and then, in the whole country” (Ecran, 18 November 1930, p. 1).

Given that cinemas in the silent era provided an important workplace for musicians, an unemployment crisis of musicians took place throughout the whole decade. Unfortunately, there are no clear records on how many musicians lost their jobs because of the arrival of sound films in Chile. It is also an obscure matter of how fast cinema halls in Chile, not only Santiago, installed the new sound technologies. For example, one of the few data available states that in January 1932, the newly formed musicians’ union of Santiago (SIPO), registered more than four hundred unemployed musicians and campaigned for the protection of cinema musicians’ workplaces (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19). However, at the same time, the announcements in the regional press, show that there were still cinemas screening silent films two years after the first sound film was shown. Indeed, as figure 18 shows, in January 1932 Paul Salvatierra was still working as an orchestral conductor for silent cinema, with an orchestra of fifteen musicians in *Teatro Setiembre*, Valparaíso.



Figure 18 Advertisement of Setiembre Theatre, announcing the screening of the Soviet film *Domingo Negro*, with the musical accompaniment of Salvatierra's orchestra: "Today. In the three screenings will play the celebrated Salvatierra orchestra with 15 performers" (*La Unión*, 30 January 1932, p. 7).

It is plausible, though, to state that a similar trend of what occurred at the international level happened locally. Ehrlich (1985) reports that the 1931 census registered 9,500 unemployed musicians in the UK. He argues that these corresponded to those cinema orchestral musicians displaced between 1928 and 1932 due to the arrival of sound film technologies (p. 210). In the USA, around 50,000 musicians were put out of work by 1928 for similar reasons (Williamson & Cloonan 2016, p. 76). As this situation coincided with the global economic downturn of 1929, which had a significant local impact, the extent of the unemployment among musicians in Chile is difficult to measure. Numbers count together all unemployed musicians, without distinguishing those who lost their jobs because of the 'talkies' or for other reasons. Undoubtedly sound cinema, apart from a new cinematic experience for the audience, brought hard times for working musicians.

As a way to overcome this situation, Garrido argued towards the relevance of unity among musicians, illustrating that "orchestral directors have gathered under the presidency of the leader of the Musical Union of the United States" (Garrido 1929b). He dramatically described that "orchestras cannot go back to cinema theatres because they are unnecessary. The 'talkies' take their place, with their dialogues, etc.; if there are scenes with orchestras, there are the same orchestras that appear on-screen" (ibid.). After this overview, he concluded that "if musicians saw the gramophone as an enemy [...], nowadays, they have even

stronger reasons to fear the sound cinema” (ibid.). He went on to make a call to “think very carefully about the scope of this invention, because [...] it is a wonderful reality that will soon amaze the public across all continents with the magic of its titanic and multi-stage perfection” (ibid.). He concluded by stating that the solution to the unemployment crisis for musicians was not to go back to the past, and perform in the theatres as before, but to carefully propose a long-term solution. For him, the long-term solution should involve protectionist policies towards working musicians and the artistic improvement of the music profession. Here, the debate of music-as-art or music-as-work comes to light.

For example, on 28 July 1929 Garrido made a controversial argument, stressing the differences amongst musicians according to their artistry. He foresaw that with the arrival of the ‘talkies’ the main group affected would be the “music professional”, separating the “real artists” from the “artisan theatre musicians” (Garrido 1929c). He stated that among the unemployed musicians, there were also those whom he described as “theatre musicians, who in most of the cases, are no more than artisans. Most of the time, not even good artisans” and concluded that “for the musical art, the talking cinema is true salvation” (ibid.). This statement should be understood considering the context of the time when some silent cinema musicians were criticised for not giving good performances. Erazo (2019) explains that live music for silent films in Ecuador 1929, was criticised because of three reasons. Firstly, that films were “accompanied by a variety of pieces that did not match what was being shown on the screen” (pp. 99, 100). Secondly, “the musicians who provided musical accompaniment for the silent screenings were regarded as being insufficiently competent” (p. 100). And lastly, because of “the poor state of the instruments” (p. 101). Because of the limited literature on this topic, it is reasonable to state that a similar criticism occurred with Chilean musicians.

Garrido considered as the “music professional” those who possessed artistry. Even though he did not name them, it is reasonable to suggest that Garrido considered his fellow member of the SMSMV, Paul Salvatierra, as such. He was one of the few silent film musicians regarded in the local press. Those without artistry, considered as “not even good artisans”, harmed the prestige of the music

profession. Is in that sense that Garrido thought of the sound cinema as “the true salvation”, because in light of the unemployment that would affect hundreds of musicians, “a considerable selection will come. Between the good and the bad professionals, all at the same price, the good ones will be chosen” (Garrido 1929c). For him, the problem was not the musicians’ unemployment in itself, but the “good” musicians’ unemployment. Optimistically he thought that this crisis would bring a tremendous benefit to the musical art because the “good” musicians will prevail over the “not even good artisans”. Following this distinction, he invited the good musicians to insist on their artistry and to re-gain “its former prestige” with “a new shine, covered by the contemporary and dynamism of this era” (ibid.).

The “new shine” solution was to create, for example, a Symphonic Orchestra, like the one he created in the city of Antofagasta in 1930. This orchestra gathered thirty musicians, both “professional and amateurs”, providing new workplaces for musicians in that city (García 1990, p. 30). The orchestra was composed of performers, no matter if they were formally trained or self-trained, but all were making a living from their musical work. Garrido argued that organising a Symphonic Orchestra was an example of unity among musicians that needed to be replicated in the whole country, to counteract the musicians’ unemployment. It is worth recalling that Garrido had worked as theatre orchestral conductor in *Teatro Latorre*, Antofagasta, from the late 1920s, performing for silent films. The orchestra he conducted was dismissed after the arrival of the ‘talkies’ in 1930 and Garrido was also unemployed (García 1990, p. 26)⁶¹. It was likely that his own experience led him to write, five years after the arrival of the ‘talkies’, a retrospective reflexion about their consequences. Here, apart from referring to the negative impact on musicians’ working lives, he highlighted the positive outcomes for musicians and the public. One of these was the collective interest in American and European novelties that was created by promoting the songs hits’ lyrics and programmes, “with their magnificent stages, exquisite singers, and above all, the central role of the jazz music and orchestras” (Garrido 1935). This

⁶¹ After being dismissed from the theatre, Garrido was hired one or two times by the organist of the Cathedral to sing in Latin Requiem Masses, but his economic situation became serious since he could not find a stable job in the Northern city. Fortunately for him, his older brother, the pianist Juan Santiago Garrido, invited him to join the orchestra he conducted for the Variety Company of Mexican César Sánchez to tour South and Central America.

interest was materialised in that musicians “understood that a radical change had to be made”, in terms of their own musical work (ibid.). Whilst emphasising the fact that musicians lacked the support they needed to develop this change, Garrido highlighted the relevance of collective action to achieve their improvement:

Musicians changed the routine for the novelty [...] It was about how to overcome and make oneself better, studying hard [...] That was the only way to do something positive towards our profession. Isolated efforts get us nowhere; it is the joint action which leads to beautiful ends (ibid.).

The joint action he referred to correspond to activities he undertook with jazz musicians at a new venue, *El Dorado* in Valparaíso, which was described by Garrido as the first coffee-dance in Chile (ibid.). Opened in early 1930 this venue established a model to follow of a coffee shop where the audience could dance and get copies of the music programmes and the lyrics of the repertoire performed by the orchestra (González & Rolle 2005, p. 312). Here, the orchestra he conducted established a system of self-critique and collaborative learning, to discuss, learn and improve musically⁶² (Menanteau 2006, p. 33). It is worth noting that Garrido, as a mutualist and a unionist, sought to spread the values of collectiveness to the musical work itself. This endorses the idea of art as collective action proposed by Becker (1974).

Amid the discussions about the pros and cons of the sound film technology, in July 1930 the Association of National Theatre [*Teatro Nacional*] together with the Authors' Society [*Sociedad de Autores*] wrote a pledge to counteract theatre workers' unemployment. They asked for protectionist measures such as to ensure that the employees held the Chilean nationality, to combine the sound film exhibitions with other shows delivered by the theatre workers, and to add new taxes to the sound film exhibitions (Ecran, 29 July 1930, p. 1). The central government reacted slowly to this petition, and more progress was made at a local level where the Municipality of Viña del Mar undertook action. Although local

⁶² Garrido's orchestra was formed by Alberto Fuenzalida, piano; Luis Mella, saxophone; Ernesto Letelier, drums; and Juan Hormazábal, trombone. Collective learning was the very basis of the musicians who founded the jazz club in 1944 in Santiago and, in Valparaíso, ten years later (Menanteau 2006, p. 33).

rather than national, the support of this Municipality meant the promulgation of decree 95 that aimed to “defend Chilean musicians from the situation caused by the arrival of the sound cinema and the introduction of devices of mechanical music in all the theatres” (ibid.). Of this, two main issues are of interest. One corresponds strictly to the decree that the Municipality passed. The other, to the arguments used to justify this protectionist action.

Through the publication of this decree, the Municipality of Viña del Mar compelled cinemas to add a live orchestra to the exhibition of sound films in all theatre-halls of the city. The orchestra had to perform two pieces of national music. Notably, the number of orchestral performers was not defined in the decree because it will be fixed differently for each venue “depending on its relevance and the ticket fees” (ibid.). In other words, the decree left the number of orchestral musicians, and therefore the repertoires and musical arrangements subjected to economic rather than to artistic reasons.

Concerning the arguments that justified the participation of orchestras in sound film’s halls, it is essential to note that they were not about the protection of musicians’ workplaces but about the benefits that Chilean music could bring to protect the national identity. For example, the decree stated that Municipalities should ensure “that public shows contribute to raising the cultural level of the people, under the understanding that one of the cultural expressions that are closer to the public is music” (ibid.). It continued by arguing that under the threat that sound film monopolises theatre shows, it is necessary “to preserve the ancient and beautiful folklore and to encourage composers and performers in their activities” (ibid.). Besides these romantic ideas about music, folklore, and their role in the education of the people, the document refers to the fact that all the films were created abroad. Because of that, sound films presented themes that contrasted with the local traditions, “with music that, according to some is beautiful, but says nothing about the local [*criolla*] soul” (ibid.). Finally, it explained that “allowing to perform exclusively foreign music in public spectacles, and by mechanical means [...] not only harms personally the directly affected [the unemployed musicians] but the whole cultural development of the country” (ibid.).

From this quote, we learn that the argument pointed towards the protection of the national identity because at least until 1939 sound films were made abroad and therefore, it was thought, promoted values that were different to the national ones⁶³. Particular resistance was made towards films spoken and sung in the English language, mostly produced in the USA, that from the beginning of the century was the hegemonic cinematic model for Latin America. For example, in 1930 *Ecran* – a local magazine about cinema – was founded, helping to spread the Hollywood model as the hegemonic cinema in Chile and contributing to promoting locally Hollywood’s star system (Farías 2018, p. 46). During the decade, American film companies, that operated in the country since the 1910s, bought old local theatres to build cinemas in Santiago⁶⁴, controlling not only the importation of films but also the screening circuits and decision making on what films to show (ibid.). In 1935 there were 279 film premieres in national cinemas, from which 204, the 73,1%, corresponded to films produced by Hollywood, doubling the number of releases in 1940, reaching 444 films, but maintaining the USA dominance, corresponding to 301 (67,7%), and only a little more than the 10% being Latin American productions (Purcell 2009, p. 495).

The development of sound films produced in Chile was slow, and it only started by the end of the decade, reaching the production of twenty feature films between 1934 and 1944 (González & Rolle 2005, p. 248). In contrast, Mexico and Argentina consolidated stable and productive film industries, and due to the familiarity of the language and the stories told, captured the regional Spanish-speaking market (Farías 2018, p. 47). During the 1930s, the Argentine cinema included large amounts of music in their productions, featuring tango orchestras and singers, constituting “a model to follow to Chilean musicians, that now could see and listen to the orchestras, their conducting styles”, and the musical

⁶³ Although Jorge Délano filmed *Norte y Sur* in 1934 – the first Chilean sound film – this was only an exception, because local film production was continuous only after 1939 (Farías 2018, pp. 47, 48).

⁶⁴ Fox – operating in the country since 1917 – and Paramount co-owned *Teatro Santiago*; Metro Goldwyn Mayer, that was present in Chile since 1918 bought *Teatro Central* in 1933 and *Cine Metro* in 1936, which was the most modern cinema theatre in Chile at the time. Paramount, with representation in Chile since 1925, bought *Teatro Real* in 1930. Besides, Columbia Pictures and *Artistas Unidos* operated in Chile contributing also to promote in Latin America, jazz, songs in English, and Latin American genres such as tango, rumba and samba (González & Rolle 2005, p. 241).

performance of guitars, bandoneons and singers (González & Rolle 2005, p. 245). During these years, the Chilean public learnt Mexican and Argentine linguistic turns, expressions and songs due to the expansion of Argentine and Mexican films in the local cinema market (ibid., p. 244). For example, the consolidation of Mexican cinema allowed “the expansion in the region of the genre known as *ranchera*” (ibid., p. 245). In July 1930 *Ecran* published an article stating that the ‘talkies’ implied:

[T]he danger of killing the own language or at least influence it with [linguistic] voices and turns [that are] not necessarily correct [...] with the danger of gradually transforming customs and, little by little, perishing the characteristics that define and give strength to nationality (*Ecran*, 15 July 1930, p. 8).

As the above quotation suggests, national identity was the primary concern about sound cinema, not the protection of musicians and theatre actors who had lost their jobs due to this new invention. A similar debate took place in Argentina and Mexico, as Erazo (2019) illustrates, when the former country “asked for the adoption of different strategies to solve the threat of English-language films such as paying a high tax on English-language talkies” (p. 136). Mexico also demanded the prohibition of sound films in English, arguing that “the English-language sound films contributed to the North-Americanisation of Hispano-America” (ibid.).

Of course, initiatives like decree 95 were strongly resisted by theatre and cinema impresarios in Chile. For example, a piece against the campaign of musicians and actors was published in the same issue of *Ecran* where the decree was published. The film impresarios stated that the only petition they agreed with was the one about the nationality of employees, “considering the strong competition of the personnel” (*Ecran*, 29 July 1930, pp. 1-2). They fiercely disagreed about the other two, claiming that “it is impossible to combine sound film exhibition with other shows. Sound films are for the whole performance and any other addition would be counterproductive” (ibid.). They concluded by stating that “it is not logic to demand to the impresarios to schedule shows that would harm their business” (ibid.). The meritocratic argument was used four months later when the editor of *Ecran*, also a film director, complained against the campaign towards musicians and theatre workers, stating that, instead of “such audacious struggle against the

sound cinema”, the only solution on the matter was that “the national theatre progress, by its own merits, and re-claim its public” (ibid.).

Cinema impresarios relied on private investment, without state intervention, as published against the musicians and theatre workers’ petition:

If the audience’s preferences are with the sound film, instead of going against the current and hinder the science’s progress, let’s search for capitals – privately – and let’s settle this art among us. There will be enough market here and in all the Spanish-speaking countries. First, let’s work, let’s do something practical, only after that, the moment to ask for help will come (ibid.).

About the third petition, the cinema impresarios responded that adding new taxes was unfair, mainly because they had already invested in their sound devices, had paid importation taxes, and that the sound film competes with other public shows that do not pay the same taxes. They finished their statement by saying, with disdain and underestimation, that it is not fair that the whole country, through taxes and state subvention, “pays the price because of two hundred comedians with no contract and unemployed musicians” (ibid., p. 1). They asked, “what would people said if, not to harm the horse-drawn carriage’ drivers, the entrance of cars would be prohibited?” (ibid.). This quotation suggests that for the cinema impresarios, actors and musicians were not worthy of state intervention and protection. Three years after, these impresarios created their Association of Impresarios of Cinemas and Theatres of Chile [*Asociación de Empresarios de Cines y Teatros de Chile*] on 14 September 1933, as a means to protect their business and negotiate as a collective unity with the state (Decree 2244, 1933).

Despite this fierce resistance, there were significant achievements for musical and theatre workers. Garrido explained them in an article entitled “The sound cinema fails” when he reflected on the achievements that the sound cinema had had so far, and on the current situation of musicians, especially those whose jobs were ended after the arrival of this new technology (Garrido 1931). He recalled his controversial expectation that the sound film technology will mean the triumph of the “musical art” in detriment of the “not even good artisans” (Garrido 1929c). An example of this was the creation of a symphonic orchestra and four string

quartets in Santiago (Garrido 1931). He argued that even though the projects asked the government were still under study, and “when a total decline was expected, there have emerged three, four, five important cinematographic theatres where numerous and good orchestras were installed” (ibid.). This achievement was also supported locally, as the above decree passed by the Municipality of Viña del Mar.

In summary, it was not the musical work that actions such as the Municipal decree sought to protect but the national identity. The arguments towards national identity were presented by different streams. They criticised the foreignness that the new films promoted through the stories that the movies told, their music, and finally, the language. This was especially relevant for American films (spoken and sung in English), but also for Spanish-language films, such as Mexican and Argentine for disseminating slang and foreign customs⁶⁵. Even though the argument was about preserving national traditions, decree 95 helped some of the musicians who were facing unemployment. The question that emerges here is what would happen if, instead of appealing to the protection of the national identity, the arguments had appealed to the protection or improvement of musicians’ workplaces? At this point, it is interesting to stress the almost non-existent words ‘workplace’ or ‘job’ while talking about musicians, attributing instead to the musicians the values of national identity, cultural heritage and protection of folklore through music. Garrido and the musicians’ unions were the exceptions of this debate because they explicitly claimed for the protection of musicians’ employment.

The musicians’ union of Santiago (SIPO) led a campaign in 1932 to cope with the musicians’ unemployment after the arrival of the ‘talkies’. This campaign was against the unfair competition from musicians of the armed forces, who contributed to the oversupply of labour by taking the few jobs available for the “over than 400 unemployed musicians” that can only work in “theatres,

⁶⁵ American sound films “were not seen with caution in only non-English speaking countries”, as similar debates took place in England and Australia, for instance, where American films “also encountered resistance by conservative and nationalists, who insinuated that there was a risk that American pronunciation would become popular there” (Erazo 2019, p. 135).

pastelerías and cabarets” (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19). The campaign called to venue owners to not hire musicians from the armed forces, and at the same time, called these musicians to refrain themselves to offer to work in such venues. The SIPO said: as the musicians of the armed forces “have their monthly salaries, the human thing to do is to do not generate competition, offering themselves independently, lowering value and salaries to those unemployed” (ibid.).

Notwithstanding the controversial opinions about the consequences of sound cinema technologies, of particular note is that musicians themselves, together with theatre actors, undertook key actions to better their situation. Their achievements were supported by different arguments, mainly based in intangible values such as national identity and preservation of folkloric and local traditions, rather than tangible, such as the improvement of musicians’ working lives and the preservation of their jobs. This illustrates how the protection and improvement of musicians’ working lives was conducted by arguments different from their working conditions. Pablo Garrido and the SIPO were the exceptions to this trend. It seems that for everyone else putting together the words ‘work’ and ‘music’ was a ‘dirty business’ that contaminated the artistry in music. This is further analysed in the next chapters.

4. RADIO BROADCASTING

An alternative workplace for musicians after the arrival of sound film technology was radio broadcasting, which was spreading throughout Chile from the early 1920s. During the 1930s, though, the radio industry turned from an informative aim into a commercial one, not only broadcasting mass culture but also helping to create it. Radio became an essential part of the everyday life, influencing musical taste, and even though the provision of news continued to be a central aspect, as it was during the 1920s, this trend decreased over time giving more space to the promotion of popular music (González & Rolle 2005, p. 201). Just as with the film industry, radio broadcasting was mainly a private initiative that followed commercial interests which grew sharply during the 1930s. For example, by the late 1920s there were fifteen private radio stations in Chile, and by the early 1930s, in Santiago alone there were more than a dozen radio stations, and at least

one in each important city and, by the end of the decade, there were seventy new administrative franchises (ibid.). Despite its rapid proliferation, it was not until the 1940s that the radio industry was professionalised and sought its first attempts to be regulated by the state, pursuing the education and persuasion of listeners (Paredes 2013, p. 180).

The proliferation of radio stations was relevant for the music industries, providing opportunities and problems for the music profession and the dissemination of national music, culture and values. It is important to note that in the 1930s, the debates about radio broadcasting did not take place to the same extent as those on sound film. They only arose in the 1940s, becoming a space of struggle between private radio impresarios and the state (Spencer 2012, p. 15). The first law on radio broadcasting was passed in 1925, but the legal framework that outlined the radio industry was approved in 1931 with the creation of the National Service of Radio Broadcasting [*Servicio Nacional de Radiodifusión*]. It regulated electrical installers in theatres, cinemas halls and radios, following the needs that the new electrical media created (Paredes 2013, p. 180). As González & Rolle (2005) describe, “together with the electricians the radio speakers, librettists, producers and other on-air talents appeared, who gradually were conforming a profession of radio broadcasters” (p. 210). It is not the objective of this thesis to discuss at length what the radio broadcasters’ profession was about. However, it is interesting to ask the extent to which musicians were part of this profession, what new workplaces the radio industry offered them, and what their working conditions were like in these new jobs. Paredes (2013) illustrates that between 1930 and 1934, actors and musicians were among the new radio personalities that became popular, and, speakers in a lesser extent (p. 182).

The most significant change that radio broadcasting brought to musicians’ working lives was the creation of a brand-new workplace: the radio auditorium and their orchestras (Osorio 2016b, p. 24). Between 1931 and 1946 the main radio auditoriums were created offering new possibilities to musicians, especially after the unemployment crisis caused by the arrival of the sound film. These allowed the formation of ensembles to perform live – with the public present – and be broadcasted. This provided jobs to both popular and classical musicians,

performers and orchestral conductors, and with or without formal training. The radio orchestras added to the prior string ensembles, which were popular during the nineteenth century, a new formation of brass instruments, clarinets and the rhythmical backing of a jazz-band. As González & Rolle (2005) state, this orchestral line-up was versatile enough to accompany the popular repertoire in fashion between 1930 and 1960 (p. 213).

The new orchestras formed in radio stations also constituted a new training place for musicians, both with and without formal music studies. For the former, this job trained them to work differently as they were usually taught in places such as the Conservatoire. For the latter, working in such places allowed them to learn to read music to be able to perform or conduct the scores that were distributed in radios. For example, with this experience musicians acquired the skills to adapt a musical arrangement to the needs of the radio orchestra (in terms of line-up, number and abilities of musicians) and to learn very quickly the pieces they had to perform on the day (first sight musical reading). On this matter, González & Rolle (2005) state that this new working and training place transformed amateur musicians into professional ones (p. 217).

Contrary to their statement, the evidence suggests that some of these skills were similar to those needed to perform in cinema halls to accompany silent films and to perform at night in live music venues. This illustrates two main points. First, that the musicians who worked in these places can be understood as professional musicians, in that they were making a living from their musical practice whether they had formal training in a music institution or not. Although González & Rolle (2005) do not define who was an amateur and who was a professional musician, they imply that the amateurs were those who have learned music by ear (with no reading skills) and self-trained, whilst considering those who were educated in formal music institutions, such as the Conservatoire, as professionals. The working- musicians' organisations, both the mutual aid society and the trade union, did not require music education for eligibility to join. Only to be "in the musical art", as it was written in the case of the SMSMV (SMSMV Book 1) and "in the music trade", in the case of the SPMV (SMSMV 1928a). In practical terms, this

meant that the musicians should make a living from music, regardless of their music training, skills or whether it was a combined with other (non-musical) jobs.

Secondly, the above-mentioned musicians used the same skills across different workplaces, which helps to explain how some of the musicians who lost their jobs due to the arrival of the ‘talkies’ sought work in radio stations as a new place to develop their skills. Similar skills were needed for those orchestras for live music in night venues, such as the Casino of Viña del Mar, where Garrido worked after his dismissal from the silent cinema theatre in Antofagasta.

Radio broadcasting was one of the main sources where Chilean musicians could listen to and learn about music from abroad, primarily because of the possibility to listen to records and tune in to North American shortwave radios (Osorio 2016a, pp. 137-138, González & Rolle 2005, p. 208). Similarly to how Garrido recognised in sound films the possibility to listen and see jazz musicians from the USA, he highlighted the opportunity that the radio technology provided for musicians’ training. Especially when musicians faced “thousands of difficulties” a handful of musicians have been trained in jazz, thanks, partly, to the sound cinema (Garrido 1935c). As by it was possible to listen to records of Western classical music, for musicians, intellectuals, radio broadcasting was also a “technical device” to prepare and modernise the country (Osorio 2016a, p. 141).

Apart from auditoriums, the radio orchestras performed live to advertise certain products with jingles and to accompany amateur singers who participated in regular radio talent contests. The presence of orchestras became increasingly important in radios stations, for example, by the end of the 1920s *Radio Chilena* already had a stable orchestra and a decade after, some of these orchestras started to tour nationally. As with the sound cinema, the radio industry was also a double-edged sword. Uruguayan radio broadcaster Héctor Malvassi, who visited Chile in 1935 and 1938, complained about the situation of the radio stations in Chile, writing that:

[T]hey do not have any valuable musician performing in their studios. The live music radio programmes were reduced to one hour per day, musicians are not paid enough, and the programmes based on recorded albums are

more appreciated because its production is easier and cheaper (Ercilla, 16 September 1938 in González & Rolle 2005, p. 219).

Similarly to the arguments delivered against the sound film technologies, radio impresarios were criticised of broadcasting more international than national music. The radio industry contributed towards broadcasting more international issues (including music) rather than local ones. The lack of interest in national music can be understood as a symptom of the era dominated culturally by the USA, rather than a unique characteristic of the radio industry (Rinke 2013, pp. 161-186). The lack of interest in the national culture (and music), was considered as the main downside of the radio industry for local musicians, not in terms of immediate workplaces, as in the case of the sound film, but in terms of popularity and promotion of music made nationally. Garrido was concerned about this as early as 1933 when he reflected on the interests of both, the audience to listen to Chilean music, and the composers to create following national musical traditions, which were barely promoted by the radio industry.

Our people sing [and listen to] music from other lands [...] Our composers prefer to write Sonatas, Symphonies, Concerts and Symphonic Poems, with or without literary themes. But the people's song does not even deserve the composers' spare time. And when they do it, they do vague stylisations, that instead of calling the interest of the peasant or the manual worker, they do quite the opposite (Garrido 1935a).

With this Garrido did not only blame the radio impresarios for the public's lack of interest in Chilean music, but he also assigned responsibility to the local composers for doing works that followed Western traditions instead of local ones, and creating elitist works rather than "for the people" (*el pueblo*, the working class, the common people). With the emphasis on composers, Garrido was simultaneously criticising the consequences of the reform of the Conservatoire of 1928 that followed Western and modern ideals, which understood musical composition as "absolute artworks" created from the intellect and inspiration of the artist (Vera 2015, p. 108). In another article, Garrido suggested that radio stations mainly broadcasted foreign music, which harmed local musicians because their musical work was barely noticed in the country (Garrido 1935a).

The rapid development of radio industry in the hands of private impresarios contrasted with the stated centralised programmes conducted by the state, firstly under the authoritarian regime of Ibáñez (1927-1931), and then from the Popular Front, led by president Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941). The aim of the state to support artistic activities was threatened by radio broadcasting. Following this, the state began to develop a strategy of regulation of radio broadcasting from the following decade; however, it was not always successful.

CONCLUSION

The process of transition from a mutual aid society to a trade union for musicians was a direct consequence of the labour laws on social security and unionisation. For musicians, the reasons for changing their organisation came from the outside of the music profession and the music industries, because they, as members of a mutual aid society, experienced the similar fate as other mutual aid societies of manual and industrial workers. It is reasonable to argue that they were more 'workers' than 'musicians', especially as musicians' artistic associations remained unaffected during this period, such as *Sociedad Bach*. Nevertheless, the changes in the music industries over these years seriously affected musicians' working lives, whether they were members of such organisations or not. This was a challenge that the new musicians' union had to address to help their members. An example of how these new musicians' unions coped with the challenges that their members were facing is given by the 1932 campaign led by the SIPO against the unfair competition from musicians of the armed forces (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19.)

Although the main aim of the musicians' union was imposed from above, by the legislation on trade unions, for the first time, it was made explicit by a musicians' organisation that their members should work or make a living from music (SMSMV 1928a). This combined with the definition of membership – who was eligible to join the union – made evident the identity of the unionised musicians as workers. The role of Pablo Garrido in the whole process of transition from mutualism to unionism is key to understanding this change of identity. He was one of the few who addressed the negative consequences of the 'talkies' as a problem of

unemployment for music professionals and called for unity among musicians to better their economic and social situation. He also took an active part in the process by serving as president of the SMPV in 1936 and the SIPO in 1939, participating simultaneously in political labour unions, such as FOCh.

Overall, the chapter has illustrated the continuities and changes between the SMSMV and the new musicians' union. It has also discussed to what extent musicians' working lives changed during this period. It was possible to state that musicians who worked in theatre orchestras that disappeared after the arrival of sound cinema technology began to work in radio orchestras and new live music venues. It has shed light on the fact that some working musicians transferred their skills from one music industry to another, adapting themselves to the challenges of the time. Others, however, were more affected by these changes and needed more support from their organisations to cope with their unemployment, especially after the arrival of the 'talkies'. The questions about musicians' identification as workers or as artists and the consequences of the (informal and practical) exclusion of other sorts of musicians from the musicians' union are analysed in the next chapters.

PART III

MUSICAL LABOUR, ART OR WORK?

Musicians are something more than peons of art
and they should be well paid to have the chance to
get musically better.

Bernardo Lacasia (Garrido 1939n)

This part is divided into three chapters that broaden the case studies of musicians' organisations of Valparaíso to a national focus. In contrast to the previous chapters, these are organised thematically rather than chronologically. Overarching them are two different approaches of how to define musicians and the better way to organise them. The analysis is made through two key events concerning musical work which took place in 1940: the First Musicians' Congress of Chile led by Pablo Garrido, and the creation of the IEM under the leadership of Domingo Santa Cruz. Both events were prepared from the late 1920s with the support of different types of organisations. Musicians' unions supported Garrido's project, whilst artistic associations, such as *Sociedad Bach*, promoted Santa Cruz's project. Some of their demands overlapped, but the essential difference between them was the conceptualisation of the musician, conceived primarily as an artist or as a worker.

These projects came in a troubled decade. The effects of the great depression of 1929 were still visible in the Chilean economy, with rebellions, a military coup d'état, a succession of transitional governments, and with the political situation becoming stable only in 1938 (Del Pozo 2002, p. 144). After the turmoil of the depression, the emergence of the Cold War and its effects in polarising politics and culture in Chile, new political forces arose (Nállim 2019, p. 4). New coalitions appeared, shifting the spectrum of the Chilean left. While the Conservative and Liberal parties grew closer together, combining forces on the right, the Socialist,

Communist, Radical and Democrat parties united on the left forming the Popular Front [*Frente Popular*] (Alexander 1965, p. 94). The world witnessed ideological polarisation, framed between the fascist models of Germany and Italy, and the USSR as the first Socialist experience, which became a benchmark for the Chilean left.

The Third International in Moscow conceived the Popular Front strategy in response to European fascism, and after the formation of the left-wing coalitions that resulted successful in France in 1935 and Spain in 1936, the Chilean Popular Front emerged in 1936. It “was played out in a unique way” as a centre-left-wing and multiclass alliance that took a “Socialist hue” under the umbrella of a reformist agenda for Chile in the context of the rise of anti-fascism, gathering trade unions as well (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 111). Trade unions were represented before the state by the Workers’ Confederation of Chile (CTCh), formed in 1936, including independent and affiliated trade unions, focusing on defending workers’ rights and on supporting the government’s economic and political administration (Garcés 1985, pp. 188-192)⁶⁶.

In 1938, for the first time in Chilean history, the oligarchic parties lost a national election, and the Popular Front governed the country, with President Pedro Aguirre Cerda (Del Pozo 2002, p. 144). Even though this did not mean a radical transformation of Chilean society, by winning three consecutive elections and ruling the country until 1952, the Popular Front governments contributed to expanding democracy. They did so by replacing the oligarchic political parties with new forces that supported the development and middle-class ideas of the 1930s and 1940s and focusing on national industrialisation (Salazar & Pinto 1999a, p. 41). If the CTCh represented the Popular Front in the labour arena, in the cultural sphere, it was “mirrored by the rise of anti-fascism in the late 1930s-early 1940s

⁶⁶ Some of the trade unions that joined the CTCh were the communist FOCh, anarcho-syndicalist *Confederación General de Trabajadores* and the socialist *Confederación Nacional de Sindicatos*. Members decided to join the Popular Front at the first Congress of CTCh held in 1936, and in 1939, joined the *Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina*. During the first government of the Popular Front (1938-1941) the CTCh focused on defending social and labour rights via trade union organisation and on supporting the government’s economic and political administration.

that brought together Chilean intellectuals and artists of diverse traditions within the Centre-Left spectrum” (Nállim 2019, p. 4).

Garrido campaigned for the formation of musician’s unions, whilst not denying that musicians were artists, he argued that they were workers and should organise as such: in trade unions. Contrarily, in his project Santa Cruz conceived musicians primarily as artists rather than workers, pursuing their artistic improvement instead of focusing on their working conditions, as Garrido did. Making these differences visible stresses two conceptualisations of musicians, those that thought of themselves primarily as being workers or artists. The former would mean that musicians earn (or intend to make) their living from music; thus, their economic and social conditions would have an impact on their music. The latter would imply that musicians are talented artists who can create unique masterpieces from their sole inspiration or genius, with no need for economic support nor welfare conditions.

The sort of organisation that musicians joined - a trade union or an artistic association - would reflect on how they defined themselves, if primarily as workers or artists. As seen in chapters 3, 4, and 5, the musicians gathered in the SMSMV and the SPMV, followed the model of other workers’ organisations, but set aside the particularities of the musical work. Contrarily, those who gathered in artistic associations followed the model of musical clubs and not of workers’ organisations.

Although the distinction of musicians as artists or as workers was present during the whole functioning of the SMSMV, the controversy of making explicit their status as workers was only stressed from the early 1930s, with the creation of the SPMV. Here, Garrido played a vital role in making their status as workers visible. Chapter 6 analyses Garrido’s biography, focusing on his trajectory and his definition of musical work. Chapter 7 examines the preparation for the first Musicians’ Congress and the campaign led by Garrido towards the improvement of musicians’ working conditions.

Chapter 8 focuses on the re-conceptualisation of ‘the musician’ through the analysis of the various reforms led by Santa Cruz that posit the ‘academic musician’ or more precisely, the ‘academic composer’ in the highest level of the hierarchy. This reconceptualisation would have an impact in validating the existence of musicians of different status, some ‘more artistic’ than others, some ‘worthier’ of receiving state support than others. Considering that only Santa Cruz’s project succeeded whilst the other failed and therefore remains obscure in Chilean music history, chapters 6 and 7 also contribute to making visible Garrido’s key role within musicians’ organisations in Chile. Santa Cruz’s project resulted in the creation of the IEM as a public institution, regulated and funded by the state. Under the umbrella of the IEM, several music institutions such as the National Symphonic Orchestra, the National Ballet, and the National Choir were created during the 1940s, promoting music and providing jobs for *some* musicians.

This part concludes that the different ways in which these two projects conceptualised ‘the musician’ established hierarchies between “players” and “gentlemen” (Ehrlich 1985). In particular, the project of music institutionalisation led by Santa Cruz defined a new status of musicians, leaving the working and unionised musicians not only outside the project but also neglected as artists.

CHAPTER 6

PABLO GARRIDO AND THE PROJECT OF MUSIC UNIONISM (1931-1940)

A musician works just like a doctor, a lawyer or a clerk - and his labours are artistic and intellectual.

Pablo Garrido (Garrido 1930)

Musicians' unions grew across the country during this decade, and Garrido played a pivotal role in it. As discussed in chapter 5, the formation of musicians' unions responded to a combination of factors, pushed by the social and labour legislation put fully in effect by the late 1920s and early 1930s⁶⁷. As a result, between the early 1930s and the early 1940s "the number of legal unions more than quadrupled" (Hudson & Library of Congress 1994, p. 36). The experience that musicians had organising themselves from the late nineteenth century was crucial. When Garrido returned to Chile from Europe at the end of 1932, his contribution towards musicians' working lives was recognised by the new musicians' unions as he was elected president of the SPMV on 14 July of 1936 and of the SIPO in 1939 (García 1990, p. 56). His role as a unionist and campaigner was also recognised by the newspaper *La Prensa* from the southern city of Osorno, after interviewing Garrido. Under the headline "Pablo Garrido, artist and apostle" the article highlighted the fact that he was "travelling across the country, organising musicians on behalf of the trade and for cultural improvement" in preparation for the first Musicians' Congress (*La Prensa*, 17 January 1940).

Garrido participated in various musicians' organisations and developed a crucial role in making visible the need to improve musicians' working conditions and the

⁶⁷ Although the labour code was not fully put into effect until 1931, labour and social security legislation "enacted in 1924 would govern industrial relations from the 1930s to the 1970s. The legislation legalized unions and strikes but imposed government control over unions" (Hudson & Library of Congress 1994, p. 32).

promotion of musicians' unions. In his journalistic writings, he discussed different approaches to treating musicians, if as primarily as workers, as artists, or as a combination of both, conceptualising what a musician is. By focusing on the figure of Garrido as a leader of musicians' unions, this chapter provides a characterisation of the working musicians who gathered in such organisations, delving in the notions of what meant, for them, to work in music.

The chapter starts with a biographical account of Garrido, outlining a profile of the working musicians, who joined musicians' unions and defined themselves as the music professionals (*profesorado orquestal, músico profesional*). Then it explores Garrido's definition of musical work, contrasting different notions of what a musician is, and what is the best way to organise them. The third section focuses on Garrido as a key agent for the collective organisation of musicians and analysing his project of music unionism.

1. PABLO GARRIDO'S BIOGRAPHY: OUTLINING A PROFILE OF THE WORKING MUSICIAN

Pablo Garrido (1905-1982) was born and raised in Valparaíso in a family of artists and intellectuals. His father was a teacher and a visual artist and his mother a language and piano teacher. Pablo and his brother, Juan Santiago, studied at the Mackay School, an English private school, in the coastal town of Viña del Mar, where they developed their musical skills, with piano and singing classes, and participating in the school choir and bands. Piano and music learning was enhanced at home by their mother and by their participation at the Presbyterian church choir, also conducted by her. However, a severe tram accident in January 1913 changed Pablo's life dramatically. Because of the loss of his right leg, he had to quit his piano studies. Instead, he began to study violin and viola. At a very early age, he had substituted physical activities with lots of reading and music practice, which contributed a great deal to the music career he would later develop (García 1990, pp. 6-8).

The year 1923 marked a milestone in Garrido's musical life. He met the symphonic composer and dentist Alfonso Leng (1884-1974) who invited him to Santiago to

attend an international symphonic concert where music composed by himself, Enrique Soro, Pedro Humberto Allende, Ortiz de Zárate and Próspero Bisquert was performed (ibid., p. 14). Leng and Garrido shared their admiration of the harmonic language of Wagner, and because of Leng's experience, he became a mentor to Garrido, giving him advice about his music studies (ibid.). Leng was one of the founders of the interdisciplinary group of avant-garde artists *Los Diez* in 1916 and joined the *Sociedad Bach*, by the early 1920s, working closely with composer and lawyer Domingo Santa Cruz in this artistic association's projects. Leng studied privately with some of the composers linked to the Conservatoire, such as Enrique Soro. His professional studies were in medical science, obtaining his degree in dentistry in 1909. This is a crucial aspect of his musical work, which did not prevent him from composing avant-garde pieces and obtaining the National Arts Prize in 1957. However, his friendship with Garrido ended after an argument about, precisely, the question of whether music was best seen as art or work. In 1923 Garrido decided to work as a full-time musician, to form his jazz orchestra and leave his job as a bank clerk and he told Leng about it, asking for advice. Leng strongly disagreed with Garrido's decision, to which he wrote him several letters trying to change his mind. In his seventh letter, Leng wrote:

An artist's life is the life of preoccupations of lack of money, preoccupations that are time and enthusiasm consuming. Why don't you do a purer art, less exhibitionist, more intimate, making a living from another job, and not from music? If so, you would never have to subordinate nor prostitute the art to make a living from it [...] Isn't there any other job that allows you to have a quiet life and study your art without playing tangos and shimmies in orchestras? [...] I am terrified of having to make a living from art [...] Think it through, I think it's possible to make the purest art without being obliged to eat from it, giving way to vulgarity (Leng, 1923).

Two main issues appear in this letter. The evident disdain towards popular music, and particularly, music for dancing. Leng assumed that functional music, or music subjected to another activity, such as dancing, was less artistic than music composed in abstraction. The dismissive attitude towards musicians who make their living from music is noteworthy, with Leng arguing that the business alienates its artistry. Garrido was confronting here to the discussion of music-as-art versus music-as-work, in which his mentor strongly argued that "the purest art" must be created independently from economic constraints. Leng also argued

that the music that Garrido wanted to do, such as jazz and music for dancing, was not art but a “vulgar” form of music (ibid.).

Despite the dismissive attitude that his mentor had towards his professional decisions, Garrido pursued his music career, studying and working full-time in music, combining different jobs across genres. He studied with violinist Emma Spuhr, who had participated in the SMSMV, performing at one of the Society’s parties on 18 January 1919 with her trio comprising Félix Gómez, an SMSMV member (SMSMV Book 3). In August, Garrido’s composition “Tonada” was premiered in the *Teatro Victoria* of Valparaíso by Armando Palacios, a Chilean pianist with a significant international career (García 1990, p. 15).

The year 1923 was crucial for Garrido as a musicians’ organiser and campaigner. Although it was not a musicians’ organisation, his participation in the YMCA of Valparaíso was relevant, because it served as a basis for his unionist skills. Moreover, it was there that some key events took place, illustrating both his leadership and political views. He led a campaign to make the YMCA more Chilean, rather than “Yankee” (García 1990, p. 15). It was here where he delivered his first lecture under the title of “Chilean musicians”, arguing that Chile was a “musical country” with good composers who were writing erudite music, referring to those that he heard in the symphonic concert he had recently attended in Santiago after Leng’s invitation (Garrido 1923, p. 1).

In 1924 Garrido formed and conducted his Royal Jazz Orchestra, contributing to a great extent to the development of jazz in Chile (figure 19). He also performed in his brother’s orchestra at night live music venues in Valparaíso, such as *Baños del Parque*, playing Charleston, shimmies and maxixes (Menanteau 2006, p. 29; García 1990, pp. 17, 21). It is noteworthy that on the following year Garrido joined the SMSMV, a trend that some of the musicians whom he played with followed, such as pianist Carlos Romero, drummer Bruno Schaub and violinist Angel Cerruti.



Figure 19 Pablo Garrido (violin) and his Royal Orchestra: banjo, piano, drum kit, violin in a triangular shape, clarinet, sax and trumpet Valparaíso 1925 (FPG, CDM).

Simultaneously Garrido was interested in avant-garde music, and especially in Marinetti's futuristic manifesto. On 21 January 1925, Garrido held "the first audition of futuristic music in Chile", at the Steinway Hall of Valparaíso, where only national piano pieces were performed (García 1990, p. 19). Composers from both Valparaíso and Santiago attended this event, and the venue was packed, "with some people standing and other seating on the floor" (ibid., p. 20). Among the pieces performed, Garrido played a "Boston" and "Two pieces" by Hindemith, "Two pieces" by Schoenberg, "Tonada IX" by Pedro Humberto Allende and his own works composed for the occasion, "Ascensor", "Una semana y un choapino", "Raid en góndola" and "Fábrica". As he described it, this concert was highly controversial:

Halfway of the concert I could hear whispers and 'in crescendo' boos, which ended in a tumult with my [piece] 'Fábrica' [...] There were arguments, slaps, and logically, the police intervened, ending Agrella, myself, and a couple of hotheads detained at the police station. [The audience] complained that it was a bad joke, a scam, or a complot (Garrido 1982, p. 93).

This event illustrates that Garrido was simultaneously an active participant in both the avant-garde and jazz music scenes at the time. This fact adds complexity to his profile, which has been often regarded as a ‘popular musician’ because of his contribution in jazz and folklore, overlooking his experience as an avant-garde composer and classical compositions for chamber ensembles that he would create later. This is relevant since scholars of Chilean music often consider that Garrido’s analysis and proposals were framed within the popular music scene (González & Rolle 2005, pp. 266-268; Torres 2017), without taking into account that he was addressing all kinds of musicians in his project.

Due to his fluency in English and his trips abroad, Garrido was always up to date with the musical novelties of other countries, especially of Europe and the USA. He had access to relevant jazz magazines distributed abroad, as well as scores and recordings. He also knew the names of the foremost jazz musicians of the time, most of whom were still unknown in Chile. His trips across Chile and abroad helped him to get to know musicians living in different conditions and learn a wide range of musical styles and repertoires.

In 1925 Garrido began his studies with Werner Fischer, a violin teacher of the Conservatoire, in Santiago and by mid-1926 he decided to travel to New York but ended up in the northern port city of Antofagasta and the mining town of Chuquicamata, working as a violinist at the orchestra of Chilex Theatre. He returned temporarily to Santiago to perform the play *La señorita Charleston* at the *Comedia* theatre under the direction of Alejandro Flores⁶⁸ (García 1990, p. 22). In 1927 Garrido won the second prize of the RCA Foxtrot competition in Valparaíso with “Días de otoño” and the third prize with “Noches del Bio-bio” (ibid.). In 1928 he returned to the north to work in Chuquicamata and Antofagasta, composing music for ballet and conducting the orchestra of the cinema *Teatro Latorre*⁶⁹. He stayed up north for more than a year and founded the literature and poetry magazine *Acronal* whilst continuing to write articles for newspapers of Valparaíso (García 1990, pp. 22-23). In 1930 Garrido composed “Jazz Window” for

⁶⁸ Play written by Armando Mock. Other musicians: Bruno Schaub (drums) and Miguel Zepeda (piano).

⁶⁹ “Hojas de otoño”, Garrido’s first music for ballet (García 1990, p. 24).

alto sax and piano, which is considered “the first classical [*docta*] piece in Chile written for saxophone” (Menanteau 2006, p. 29). He gave free lectures on various cultural topics on Sunday mornings at *Teatro Latorre*, which were attended by workers [*obreros*] and working-class families (García 1990, p. 24). This was a sign of solidarity and social sensibility, which García (1990) regards as a key aspect of Garrido’s personality, strengthened during his stay in the mining town of Chuquicamata, where he “saw first-hand the harsh life of the miners” (p. 23). Another relevant aspect of this concerns the importance assigned to education and illustration of the working class as a means of social change. I will return to this in the next section.



Figure 20 Pablo Garrido, portrayed in *Chuquicamata*, 1926 (FGP, CDM).

As chapter 5 shows, the arrival of the ‘talkies’ found Garrido working as the orchestral conductor at *Teatro Latorre*. After being unemployed because of the dismissal of the theatre orchestra, he joined his brother’s variety orchestra with which they travelled to Perú, Ecuador, Colombia and Panamá, where the orchestra was dissolved. In February 1932 Garrido travelled to Europe visiting various cities and meeting with renowned artists, such as Pablo Picasso, the poet Vicente

Huidobro and composer Acario Cotapos. At the Paris Sorbonne University Garrido began his studies of ethnomusicology with Andreas Liess as well as composing several pieces, collaborating with relevant artists and writing in newspapers (García 1990, pp. 30-36, 44).

During his stay in France, Garrido and his Chilean friends in Paris suffered in a great deal the consequences of the downturn of 1929 and the vigilance of the French Musicians' Federation. The regulations of the French Musicians' Federation following the economic crisis was stricter than usual in prohibiting foreigners from working without authorisation. Garrido was unsuccessful in finding a job in France and decided to return to Valparaíso in July 1932, where he would start a new stage in his professional life (*ibid.*, p. 44). He was elected Secretary of the EC of the newly formed musicians' union of Valparaíso upon returning home, in July 1932 (González 1983, p. 40). It is reasonable to state that this experience, together with the insights that his brother Juan Santiago gave him about the Mexican musicians' union while he worked in that country, shaped Pablo's thoughts concerning the need for protection of Chilean musicians and the role that musicians' unions could achieve (see letters from Juan Santiago Garrido dated 2 November 1932 and 30 May 1933, Garrido Family Letters).

All this experience led Pablo Garrido to develop his ideas and music knowledge. His trips helped to him keep up to date with musical trends, with his ethnomusicological research and with getting to know in depth the situation of musicians and music institutions across Chile and abroad. Following his interest in folklore that at that time it was called popular music⁷⁰, from the 1930s he published short essays in newspapers about his ethnomusicologist research from various Latin American countries. Evidence suggests that his interest as an ethnomusicologist was vital to become interested in Chilean music. His political views in conjunction with the institutional rise of the left during the 1930s in Chile

⁷⁰ Later popular music [*música popular*] has been used to denotate genres such as “pop”, “rock”, or any music that follows the characteristics of being urban, commercial, massively spread, similarly as how it is understood in the Anglophone world (González & Rolle 2005, pp. 21-27; Jordán & Smith 2011, p. 24). As González & Rolle (2005) state: “In Latin America the popular music field appears overlapped with local and traditional musics, but all of them share with the urban popular music the gradual incorporation of media elements” (p. 27).

were also crucial factors for his defence and campaign for musicians' working rights.

As stated by Menanteau, the musical interests of Garrido moved from jazz and Afro American music for dancing in the 1920s to folklore in the late 1930s, promoting, first, the introduction of jazz and other foreign genres to Chile and, secondly, the countryside folklore such as the courtship dance, *cueca*, among other genres (2005, p. E18; 2006, p. 39, 2017). García (1990) argues that, after “introducing jazz to the Chilean public, organising the Hot Club, and creating a general interest towards jazz, Garrido felt that he had accomplished his task” and hereafter he sporadically referred to jazz and “all his attention turned towards national music” (p. 60). This turn was not, however, new as in his early writings Garrido had defended *cueca* as the national dance, and his insistently questioned whether it is possible to talk about “Chilean music” (Garrido 1928a, 1929b).

Of particular note are the increasingly explicit political views of Garrido, in line with the institutional growth of the Chilean left. This is visible in his writings, in his musical work and his participation in political unions. For example, between 1932 and 1933 he composed works with explicit revolutionary content, such as “Recabarren” (with lyrics by Max Miranda), “Ruge un violento tiroteo” (lyrics by Julio Walton); “Canto a Anabalón” based in Carlos Pardo’s poem “Los pequeños proletarios”; “Elegía a Lenin” and “Serenata Roja”⁷¹ (García 1990, pp. 5, 50). Garrido actively participated in non-musicians’ organisations of a political character, such as the Federation of Revolutionary and Proletarian Artists of Valparaíso and the Workers’ Federation of Chile, in Valparaíso (FOCh), where he served as Secretary in 1933 (*ibid.*, p. 62; González 1983, p. 40). By the end of the decade, in 1937, further politicised by the arrival of Spanish Republican exiles after the Spanish Civil War 1936-9, Garrido joined the Committee for Peace and Support of the Republican Spanish Centre in Santiago (*ibid.*, p. 62; Nállim 2019,

⁷¹ Luis Emilio Recabarren (1876-1924) is considered one of the most important leaders of the Chilean labour movement. He founded the Socialist Workers’ Party in 1912, which became the Chilean Communist Party after joining the Third International in 1922 (Witker 1977, pp. 78-90, DeShazo 1983, pp. xxv, 135). Translation of the titles of the other pieces are: “A Violent Shooting Roars”, “Song to Anabalón” based on the poem “The Young Proletarians”, “Elegy to Lenin” and “Red Serenade”.

p. 5). Between 1937 and 1938, Garrido served as Secretary in the Alliance of Intellectuals for the Defence of Culture (AIDC), presided over by Pablo Neruda (García 1990, p. 62) that gathered “a broad spectrum of politicians and intellectuals from communists to liberals” (Nállim 2019, p. 5).

The relevance of the latter is analysed later in the chapter and for now, concentrate on two things. The first is that, if the Chilean centre-left was represented politically by the Popular Front, intellectually it was represented by the AIDC (Nállim 2019, p. 5). The second is that, with Garrido as a key figure in both the musicians’ unions and the AIDC, he led the establishment of some agreements were established between both organisations, which are analysed in due course.



Figure 21 Pablo Garrido reading a paper at Universidad de Concepción, March 1940 (FPG, CDM).

In a nutshell, there were three key events in Garrido’s biography that shaped his professional life as a musician and campaigner for the improvement of musicians’ working lives. First, in 1923 he decided to quit his white-collar job and dedicate himself full time to music. Second, in 1924, Garrido formed his jazz orchestra considered to be the first jazz orchestra in Chile (Menanteau 2006, p. 29). Third,

in 1925 he joined the SMSMV following his brother Juan Santiago who have joined in 1923, but only Pablo served as secretary of the EC. These events show that Garrido made a conscious decision to become a professional musician. He wanted to work full-time as a musician and earn his living from music. Moreover, these events shaped the path that Garrido followed in his music career: combining different musical jobs, working across genres and developing various roles within the music industries, such as instrumentalist, orchestral conductor, arranger, composer, lecturer and music journalist.

His activities towards musicians' organisation can be summarised in the following: i) In 1925 Garrido joined the SMSMV and its Orchestral Section (see chapter 5); ii) in 1932 he was elected Secretary of the SPMV, in 1936 presided over the SPMV and then, in 1939 of the SIPO. Besides, during these years, he accomplished an essential role in various non-musicians' and overtly political unions, such as the above. And iii) as the president of the EC of SIPO Garrido organised the first Musicians' Congress of Chile, in July 1940, from which the Federation of Musicians of Chile would emerge. This last event marked a turning point in the organisation of musicians in Chile, focusing on the creation and promotion of trade unions for musicians.

Garrido's musical work outlines a profile of the working musicians who gathered in musicians' unions, whose working lives can be summarised with the four following characteristics: i) working mainly (but not exclusively) in popular music; ii) making their living from music; iii) accomplishing different roles within the social division of musical labour (orchestral directors, session musicians, conductors, composers, songwriters, instrumentalists, arrangers, teachers, etc.); and iv) working across the diverse music industries (live music venues, recording industries, radio auditoriums, cinemas, theatres, etc.). How Garrido thought of musicians if as workers, artists or a particular combination of both is analysed in the next section.

2. MUSICAL WORK

The letter Garrido wrote to Hugues Panassié, the director of the magazine *Revue Jazz Hot* from Paris, serves as an example of how he conceived his musical activity and unveils his definition of musical work. Here, Garrido presents his musical trajectory as follows:

While Chilean, born of Chilean parents, and educated in Chile, my general knowledge is entirely imbued in European and North American culture. Born a musician, I've cultivated this *art* with real *passion*, in such a way that I am a *professional*. The instruments that I play are: violin, viola and piano. Born in this century, I've followed very closely the important evolution musical as well as artistic in general [...] Intended to be a concert artist, I discovered Jazz, and, here we are *dedicated entirely* to its realm. I practise it since 1925 (Garrido 1939b⁷², my emphasis).

Here, he defined himself as both an artist and a professional. Using concepts like “passion” and “art” to describe his musical activity, he emphasised the labour side of it as well by explaining that, even though he was “born a musician”, he has “cultivated” this art by dedicating “entirely” to it (*ibid.*). One can read that his professionalism is not a consequence of having been “born a musician” but of dedicating himself entirely to music or put differently, of working exclusively in music. Probably because of addressing the director of the French jazz magazine, Garrido highlighted not only his contribution to jazz but also his admiration for the Western and Anglophone culture. With this, he was making clear that even though he was Chilean, he was able enough to understand and follow the international, and more precisely Western, musical trends. With this letter, he expected that he and his fellow Chilean jazz musicians were acknowledged in the same respect as Western jazz orchestras by Panassié's magazine.

Recalling previous writings by Garrido, the relevance of art in the musical work comes to light. Ten years before, prior the arrival of the sound cinema technologies and the consequent unemployment of orchestral musicians, Garrido had argued that the problem would not be the musicians' unemployment per se but the “good” musicians' unemployment (Garrido 1929c). He had hoped that the

⁷² The letter was originally written in English by Garrido.

crisis ended positively, when the “good” musicians prevailed over the “not even good artisans”, referring to those orchestral players that had literally “prostituted” the musical art, because of “comforting” the public (ibid.). In that occasion, Garrido stated that even though the sound cinema was not an expression of “pure art”, in the end, it will benefit the musical art. His notion of musical art followed the Western notions, stating that, the ‘talkies’ and the disappearance of cinema orchestras, would allow the local musical art to regain “its former prestige, and the days of Bach, Handel, Schubert and Chopin will return” (ibid.).

Right after the arrival of the ‘talkies’ and the consequent unemployment crisis of musicians of the early 1930s, Garrido began to include the topic of musical work in his journal writing. With this, he addressed the need to create new musical groups, ensembles and orchestras, in both Santiago and the provinces to provide jobs for musicians. By doing this, he highlighted the self-employment characteristic of musical work. Besides, he created awareness of the working conditions of musicians in Chile, particularly in the context of the economic crisis that affected the country during almost the whole decade.

Live performances in cinema theatres came almost to an end, and according to a newspaper letter by the SIPO, there were “more than four hundred unemployed musicians” in Santiago in January 1932 (Valenzuela 1932, p.19). This situation lasted the whole 1930s, when musicians’ unemployment was in part absorbed with the creation of the IEM in 1940 and the establishment of the National Symphonic Orchestra the year after (Menanteau 2006, pp. 49-50). Other initiatives, however, were previously developed, aiming to counteract musicians’ unemployment at a local level. For example, in 1930 Garrido led the formation of two new ensembles in the port city of Antofagasta, where he lived from the late 1920s. One of them was the String Antofagasta Quartet and the other, the Symphonic Orchestra of Antofagasta. Garrido conducted both. In this context, in May 1930, he wrote a piece contrasting the “enthusiasm of orchestral musicians” with the “systematic prejudice” of the public authorities. Here he stated that:

The ‘Musician’ seems to be relegated to a second-place; and for many people, the musician is not more important than a ‘valet de chamber’ [...] Unfortunately, there is a systematic prejudice [...] Let it be clearly

understood that a musician works just like a doctor, a lawyer or a clerk – and his labours are artistic and intellectual (Garrido 1930, original emphasis).

He argued that the musical activity was work, even though with its particularities. It was artistic and intellectual, but work after all, and it should be recognised and valued as such. Then he continued by arguing that Antofagasta, a small city in the northern provinces, was giving the example of what should be done in the rest of the country, especially in Santiago where there was not yet a permanent symphonic orchestra. He claimed that organising a symphonic orchestra was both, a sign of artistry from the part of the musicians, and an example of unity among them. This example of unity, he claimed, it was needed to be replicated in the whole country, to counteract the musicians' unemployment due to the sound cinema technologies. Garrido was clear in stating that this kind of initiatives would not succeed without institutional and public support, asking “for the cooperation of all” (Garrido 1930).

Eight months after, Garrido wrote a piece recalling the unemployment crisis that affected musicians after the arrival of the ‘talkies’, where he had controversially stated that such crisis would help to “refine” [*depurar*] the music profession and that chamber and symphonic music would experience a boom (Garrido 1931). Here, he argued that he was right in his prediction because afterwards new classical orchestras and ensembles emerged. He counted four string quartets and the above Symphonic Orchestra in Antofagasta that, albeit its “financial status is not fully solved, it is possible to see the growing interest of the public, surely due to the liberal and good criterion of those who make the programmes” (ibid.). In May 1935 Garrido highlighted the contribution that the National Association of Symphonic Concerts (ANCS) had made towards the creation of a new orchestra that in April 1935 performed in the Autumn session concerts at *Teatro Central* in Santiago. He praised the provision of workplaces for seventy-two musicians that this orchestra gave, sponsored by the *Universidad de Chile*, the ability that this association had to organise itself despite all odds, and the “moments of true art” that this orchestra gave weekly by performing either “the big classics or contemporary” pieces (Garrido 1935b).

The trend of organising new groups, ensembles and orchestras that provided “true art” did not only happen in classical music but across genres, and Garrido acknowledged that. In September 1934 Garrido organised and conducted the new jazz orchestra of the night venue *Casino de Viña del Mar* (figure 22). In June 1935 he wrote about the challenges he had when starting this job as conductor of this new orchestra, with no more support than the one given by Gregorio Navaja, “the sub-administrator of the *Casino*, and a great jazz aficionado”, who helped Garrido to buy some instruments for the jazz band (Garrido 1935c). In this piece, Garrido described the precarious conditions in which these musicians were trained, stressing the lack of state support and the absence of protectionist laws, but noting the incipient role that the Conservatoire played for the music life of the time. In context, he bitterly concluded that “without protectionist laws [...] if we have these few lads that make real jazz in this land, it is only because of the greatness of God” (ibid.).



Figure 22 Pablo Garrido and his orchestra, *Casino de Viña del Mar*, 1935 (FPG, CDM).

With regards the organisation and maintenance of jazz orchestras Garrido interviewed saxophonist Luis Aravena, part of the jazz band conducted by Fernando Davagnino, one of the members of the SMSMV who in 1928 wrote the draft rules for the creation of the SPMV. Aravena stated that it was the difference in salaries among musicians and the lack of support from the venue’s owners what harmed the jazz music scene (Garrido 1939e). Similarly, Lorenzo Da Costa, clarinet and saxophone player and jazz band conductor, argued that the problem

that musicians from his orchestra had was their low wages. He explained that, on the one hand, musicians gain lower salaries than in the past, and, on the other, lower salaries than international musicians performing in Chile, harming musicians' progress (Garrido 1939d). Da Costa stated that:

I've heard about posts where good salaries were paid, that nowadays, and to Chilean musicians, it is paid one quarter less than before. This is demoralising for anyone. Musicians cannot progress, because nor the bosses [*patrones*] nor the public, neither the media (not even the music institutions), have supported us. We need to fight for that (Garrido 1939d).

The issue of salaries was not exclusive to popular musicians, it was also relevant to those in classical orchestras. In June 1939 Garrido wrote an article entitled "Musical heroes. The National Symphonic Orchestra. Incredible revelations" describing the precarious working conditions of the eighty members of this orchestra and denouncing the lack of state support (Garrido 1939f). He explained that the orchestra was self-organised and ruled by a democratically elected EC, pursuing to provide work for all the orchestra members, with fixed salaries and a small percentage to be deducted for the orchestra's collective funds. The wages, however, were low, because they depended only on ticket sales or eventual private donations. Garrido described that "after one concert and ten hard and conscious rehearsals" the orchestral conductor received a low wage, which he characterised as "terrible and unbelievable" because such a conductor "had to study eight or more years in a conservatoire, and then keep training and studying" (*ibid.*). He complained about the low wages paid to the "refined instrumentalists" and made a call to "not allow aberrations of this kind" (*ibid.*).

In addition, Garrido highlighted that the EC sought that "the orchestral members rehearse daily for two hours and if they fail to do so they face reprimands" and that they should ask for the approval of the EC before accepting other performances (*ibid.*). With this, the EC ensured that the orchestra "performed were they were required", even in free and public concerts as they did for public schools and trade unions (*ibid.*). The orchestra, however, did not receive any state funding, and, like any other public entertainment, had to pay taxes, to which Garrido complained against. He implied that if the orchestra was "providing culture to the people [*el pueblo*]" with free concerts, they should be exempted

from paying taxes. In that regard, Garrido asked the government to approve a bill that was under study in parliament, which “would strengthen the Symphonic Orchestra [...] create a choir, a ballet and a radio station to broadcast from the Municipal Theatre” (ibid.). This bill was approved in 1940 as law 6696 creating the IEM. Before the approval, Garrido thought that this law would be “the solution of our musicians’ efforts [*desvelos*]” (ibid.). Soon after, however, he would be disappointed with the functioning of the IEM and its focus on the protection of the music rather than of musicians, as chapter 8 discusses.

Following Garrido’s aim to discuss musicians’ working conditions and orchestras’ funding, he interviewed foreign musicians touring Chile, especially conductors who performed with the Symphonic Orchestra. North American conductor, George Hoyer, conducted the Symphonic Orchestra and made flattering comments about Chilean performers and composers. However, he also implied that the Orchestra could do better, to which Garrido responded that “it is undeniable that our Symphonic Orchestra can and should improve. But before that, it is necessary to offer them a proper way of life, ensure them that their efforts, rehearsals and enthusiasm may not fall away to nothing” (Garrido 1939g). With this Garrido was prioritising for the working conditions of the orchestral musicians, rather than just thinking on the musical quality of the Orchestra in isolation from the material conditions of its members.

Garrido compared this situation to the one of popular musicians, who besides their low wages, had unstable incomes. By naming one of the sub-headings of this article as the “The musician ordeal”, he stated that their situation was unique, primarily because the resilience they have shown “when everything is against them” (Garrido 1939f). With this, Garrido stressed the characteristic of the musical work, in popular music, as independent or self-employed work, without formal contracts, and irregular incomes. In addition, he thought, popular musicians were exposed to unfair competition from touring orchestras and other entertainment shows, put by private impresarios, “at the same day, the same hour”, when the public “can hardly afford a concert” denying the musicians “even the right to attract some audience and work in their own country” (ibid.).

Bernardo Lacasia, graduated from the Conservatoire and working in music since 1919, gave an example of improving musicians' working conditions (Menanteau 2006, p. 45). In an interview with Garrido, Lacasia talked about his experience as a conductor and organiser of jazz orchestras in Santiago, stressing the precarious condition of musicians who were paid meagre wages by the venues' owners. Lacasia stated that when he began conducting a jazz orchestra, he offered the musicians a chance to double their salaries. From this, in Lacasia's words, these musicians understood:

That they deserve a better situation, and that they had been exploited. Nowadays, despite the evident crisis, orchestral jazz musicians are in a good situation, [because] they have improved their artistic condition. Because my friends, musicians are something more than peons of art and they should be well paid to have the chance to get musically better (Garrido 1939n).

In addition to initiatives to increasing musicians' wages, another strategy to improve musicians' working conditions was to provide them with musical and intellectual training. An example was given by the agreement made in 1939 between the SIPO, the National Conservatoire and the AIDC. Going by Garrido's participation in the three institutions, it is reasonable to state that he played a vital role in this agreement⁷³. The agreement specified that the Conservatoire would offer to the 600 members of the SIPO a plan of musical training that consisted of theoretical and practical lessons in various instruments. Garrido highlighted the novelty of this agreement, as the director of the Conservatoire, Armando Carvajal, had opened its doors to all the members of SIPO: "It is the first time that something like this has happened in the history of our Conservatoire, and it should bring great benefits" (ibid.).

The motivation behind this agreement was to improve the musical knowledge and artistic and intellectual status of the unionised musicians with the training given by the Conservatoire and the AIDC. Following this, Garrido wrote that the musicians "now had understood that it is only on them to improve their economic and artistic status. That is why they had organised in a pertinent entity [the

⁷³ Garrido participated in the AIDC between 1937 and 1938 and served as president of the EC of SIPO in 1939. He also had connections with musicians trained and teaching at the Conservatoire, such as Armando Carvajal.

musicians' union] and that is also why they will succeed” (Garrido 1939h). The main reason behind this “relevant cooperation” was that, for Garrido, “the musician should have a wide general knowledge; should be updated about the different artistic disciplines” (ibid.). This statement suggests two things. The first is that to “improve their economic and artistic status”, musicians should study and keep their knowledge up to date (ibid.). The second is that musical training alone was not enough to progress as a professional musician. It was essential to be enlightened about other artistic disciplines, which was in line with the ancient aims of mutual aid societies focusing on the intellectual development of members. Now, this development would be provided in cooperation with the AIDC that gathered left-wing intellectuals and artists.

Another agreement that the SIPO made that same year was to create three kinds of orchestras – jazz, chamber and folklore orchestras – within the union to provide musical training and job opportunities for the members. The agreement included musical training to performers and conductors of these orchestras by conducting workshops and group practice (ibid.). In this way, “the Union would show soon, proudly, interesting [new] maestros who would have emerged from our own [brood of] musicians” (ibid.).

It was planned how these new orchestras would function. Each section of the jazz orchestra would rehearse separately, offering the necessary training to perform on stage, including standardisation and all the characteristics that “all jazz orchestras should have: joy, spirit and dynamism” (ibid.). Approximately twenty-five musicians would form the chamber orchestra, and they would perform “symphonies and overtures of Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and of modern composers” (ibid.). It would not be limited only to classical pieces, but also it would perform “lighter music, such as operettas, zarzuelas, etc. and, in general, all music that by its own merits is worth of an in-depth study and a proper interpretation” (ibid.). The folklore orchestra would perform genres that were popular in central Chile based on “accordion and guitar”, to which other string instruments of Hispanic tradition (such as *bandurrias* and mandolins) could be added.

Of the folkloric orchestra, Garrido explained that they were following the model of the USSR, where “this kind of ensemble is very popular [...] their performances are eminently artistic”, and “perform works of great value, such as the F. Schubert’s Unfinished Symphony and W.A. Mozart’s Overture ‘Don Giovanni’, without compromising the indigenous characteristics” (ibid.). This must be read in the context of the time when the USSR was still the only example of a Socialist system, which served as a benchmark to the Chilean left. Even though the Chilean left-wing parties answered the call to form local popular fronts, there is no evidence that had ascribed to the aesthetic principles of Socialist Realism.

Following the aim of tackling the main problems of the musical work, in the general meeting in July 1939, the SIPO agreed to deliver a campaign towards a weekly day off-work for musicians. This petition pursued overcoming performers’ precarious working conditions, which were described by Garrido as it follows:

We know that an orchestral musician [*un profesor de orquesta*] should work every night. The environment in which he works is always deplorable for his physical wellbeing. No matter how good ventilation conditions are, night venues always are full of smoke and filth. A man that forcibly breath that due to the instrument he plays, is poisoning himself continuously, minute by minute. This is unavoidable. It is possible, however, to offer to the musician a resting day, which would keep him away of this polluted environment once a week [...] It is inhuman that a musician that works every single night of the year cannot have a fair recess. Because of being the main collaborator of venues’ owners, he has already earned that right (Garrido 1939m).

Taking advantage of the celebration of the Music Day that the union would formally host on 22 November 1939, Garrido argued that they – as union members – believed that musicians deserved a resting day as a fair reward of their efforts and “for all what has been historically denied to them” (ibid.). As the piece was published in a well-known newspaper, *Las Últimas Noticias*, it is plausible to state that it was written to inform the public and get their support in this campaign. Garrido was aware that the last word was given to the venues’ owners, who should see in this petition “a fair and honest desire” (ibid.). That is why the language used in this petition was cordial, recurring to a collaborative strategy instead of an aggressive one, where he called to the musicians’ bosses [*patrones*] to help in

this “friendly consultation from who works hard and takes care of different interests of who uses the artistic services of their true collaborators” (ibid.).

The main complexity of addressing musicians’ work was the difficulty of identifying who the employer was. As stated in the internal rules of the SPMV (see chapter 5), all those who made their living from music were allowed to join the union. By stating that “everyone who is in the music trade” could join, the SPMV suggested that union members should work in music, regardless if they worked as employers, or employees, as independent workers or with formal contracts (SMSMV 1928a). As the last petition shows, in most cases, the employer was the venues’ owner or administrator, but that applied only for popular musicians performing in live night venues. This illustrates two issues. First, that most of the members of the SIPO and the SPMV performed popular music and made their living by playing at night venues. About this, Garrido emphasised that targeting this sort of musician for his calls for unity and organisation was difficult because he considered them indifferent in improving their own working conditions. This “apathy”, he argued, was caused by “the harmful bohemia, that pulled them away from society” (Garrido 1939o). Suggesting that night venue’s performers were a sort of deviants or outsiders (Becker 1997, pp. 7-8, 80), Garrido asked them to recognise their musical activity like work and treat it as such. Only after that, musicians would be successful in organising and improving their working conditions: “The musician is an intellectual worker, who can and should organise. Ignoring this is going to a voluntary suicide. The Professional Orchestral Union of Santiago [SIPO] will be grateful when all musicians of the country understand this” (Garrido 1939o).

Second, this definition of the musical work left classical musicians, particularly composers, outside of the musicians’ unions, or at least of these proposals. Aware of such exclusion, Garrido invited classical composers from the Conservatoire, such as Domingo Santa Cruz, Jorge Urrutia Blondel, Carlos Isamitt and Alfonso Leng, who participated in the celebration of the Music Day within the SIPO in 1939, as shown in figure 15. Garrido sought collaboration between different sorts of musicians, inviting to participating at some of their activities to academic composers (e.g. figure 23). It is important to note that they did not see themselves

as workers but as artists and joined artistic societies instead of unions. This move takes particular relevance when considering that, at this time, law 6696 designed by lawyer and composer Domingo Santa Cruz was approved, creating the IEM in October 1940.



Figure 23 SIPO members celebrating Music Day at the Stade Francais, Santiago, 22 November 1940. Pablo Garrido is at the centre and around him are some 'academic composers', such as Carlos Isamitt, Domingo Santa Cruz, Alfonso Leng and Jorge Urrutia Blondel (FPG, CDM).

As a versatile musician, and by using his connections, Garrido built bridges between popular and classical musicians and lobbied for the inclusion of popular working musicians' demands in the law that created the IEM. Inviting classically trained composers linked to the Conservatoire to the day trip of the SIPO in 1939 and 1940 (figures 15 and 23) was an example of Garrido's intention to unite all sorts of musicians. Garrido was positive about the creation of the IEM because it pursued state support for music institutions and provided musical jobs.

The following section focuses on Garrido's role towards musicians' unionism and the improvement of the "problems of the guild" [*problemas gremiales*]. The SIPO summarised these problems as follows: i) the unfair competition of foreign musicians, ii) the law of private employers' social security fund, and iii) the copyright law (Garrido 1939m).

3. GARRIDO AS THE KEY MUSICIANS' ORGANISER

Especially from the early 1930s Garrido persistently campaigned for the improvement of musicians' working conditions to better the status of musicians in

society and to protect Chilean music and musicians. As García (1990) states, Garrido prioritised his unionist leadership over his musical work during the mid-1930s, dedicating most of his time to organising the first Musicians' Congress of Chile that would take place in July 1940 (p. 72). For this, Garrido advocated for the organisation of musicians' unions across the country, participating in the creation of some of them, such as the SPMV, the SIPO and the Composers' Union. He was also keen to support the creation of other sorts of organisations, such as professional associations, musical clubs and orchestras. Even though the aim of unionisation was present during the whole decade, by the late 1930s and early 1940s, the need for unity among musicians became stronger and the language overtly political. This was enhanced by the political context of the time when for the first time in Chilean history, a left-wing coalition governed the country.

The evidence suggests that Garrido's journalistic writings were part of a broader role he undertook combining his musical work and union leadership. Garrido made good use of his connections and interviewed many different musicians, both locals and internationals touring Chile, for his writings. He asked them about their problems and proposals to overcome them, helping to make visible their difficulties and designing some possible solutions. His interviewees spoke about their working conditions, the lack of unity among musicians and the need for a musicians' union at the national level. They also commented about the role they thought the state should adopt towards music, in line with Garrido's proposals, which were sympathetic with the wider project of the Popular Front. The proposals included the state taking a stronger role in controlling radio broadcasting, establishing quotas for national music, enhancing public music education, supporting the development of local orchestras, improving the copyright laws and organising a musicians' congress. By far, the most important of these was the latter.

Garrido largely campaigned for a national organisation of musicians, stating that being united was the most powerful solution for the music profession, because in that way – together and represented in a central body – they could demand solutions from the state, such as new laws or institutions to promote and protect musicians. He called for strengthening musicians' unions and the creation of a

National Federation of Musicians to represent “a numerous and respectful profession” in negotiation with private institutions and the government (Garrido 1939o). The Federation would join the CTCh, which since its foundation understood unity as a “factor of pressure and political struggle” that overarched the workers’ different demands and political views (Garcés 1985, pp. 176,180).

Garrido not only campaigned for the organisation of musicians but also for the improvement of public music education, understanding both as a complimentary. His interest in public music education was in line with the focus of the first president of the Popular Front, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, in power from 1938 to 1941. Aguirre Cerda’s government focused on the promotion of public education, understood as the vehicle to equality. An example is given by his motto, “To govern is to educate”, which “became a hallmark of Aguirre Cerda’s administration” (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 202). Garrido argued that public music education was not just the vehicle to achieve an equal society, but a society where music and musicians are valued (Garrido 1939c). In that respect, Garrido called for the “creation of teams of disseminators” to teach and promote music in “the factories, schools, sporting clubs, workers’ clubs [*club obrero*] and the so-called poor neighbourhoods” (Garrido 1935a). He did not promote music education as a means to transform everyone into a professional musician, but to give them the tools needed to comprehend and enjoy music better (Garrido 1939c). Simply put, if more people knew about music, more people would enjoy it, would listen to local music, and therefore, the provision of job opportunities for Chilean musicians would improve.

By taking advantage of the moment, full of optimism for social change, in the second year of Aguirre Cerda’s government, Garrido wrote a public letter to the Minister of Education. Here, he highlighted the role that music could undertake in engaging the working-class towards the actions of the Popular Front, now in power. By stating that “gaining the masses towards a popular front is not enough” he made evident the need to “create sporting clubs, libraries, proletarian theatres, several cultural centres” concluding that “music could do so much to maintain that flame burning” (Garrido 1939c). The educative role of music (through the formation of ensembles, bands, and orchestras) was addressed again

by Garrido the following year, after hearing the Ministry of Education's proposal of including guitar classes in schools. Garrido wrote that teaching music to the parents and family of school children, and their participation in choirs and ensembles of workers should complement this measure (Garrido 1940b).



Figure 24 Pablo Garrido conducting the orchestra of María Elena (Garrido 1941b).

Following such ideals, and in parallel with his trade union leadership, Garrido helped to organise orchestras formed by amateur musicians, by children and young people. He thought that (manual) workers [*obreros*] and miners should have their orchestras and choirs in their workplace, and both the state and orchestral musicians should support them (*ibid.*). Put another way; he encouraged the creation of grassroots and working-class based orchestras and choirs throughout the country. Figure 24 shows an example of this, where Garrido conducts the orchestra of María Elena, a mining town in the north of Chile (Garrido 1941b). These kinds of mining towns were built near the exploitation site of the mine, and the whole town functioned around the extraction of mineral resources. The orchestra featuring figure 24 was formed by amateur musicians, workers (miners and employees) of the mining town María Elena.

The proliferation of trade unions of musicians in most industrial cities of Chile was a constant trend throughout the 1930s, following the creation of the musicians'

unions in Valparaíso (1931), Santiago (1931) and Concepción (1932). This trend continued during the following decade and included not only the formation of trade unions but also of professional associations and orchestral societies and choirs. Some of these followed the aim of providing music education to the people [*el pueblo*] whilst others, the improvement of musicians' working conditions. As table 9 shows, between 1930 and 1940, there are nine reported new musicians' unions, and five new artistic associations across the country.

Table 9 Trade unions and artistic associations of the decade by year of formation

Year	New musicians' unions aimed to protect musicians' work	New artistic associations aimed to promote certain genres of music
1928	<i>Sindicato Musical</i> (formed by marching band musicians) in Santiago <i>Sindicato Musical de Jazz</i>	
1929	<i>Asociación Chilena de Cantantes</i> (Singers' Union)	
1930		ANCS
1931	SPMV and SIPO	
1932	Professional Musicians' Union of Concepción	
	<i>Asociación Orquestal</i> (mutual aid society in Santiago)	
1934		Musical Society of Concepción
1936		ANC
		Music Society of Linares
1938	Society of Composers of SIPO (from 1942, Composers' Union of SIPO)	
1939		Hot Club of Chile - Jazz Club (active from 1943)
1940	Marching Bands' Union	
	Professional Orchestral Union of Cautín (Temuco)	
	Professional Orchestral Union of Magallanes (Punta Arenas)	

To summarise, Garrido's writings contributed to reporting the problems that were affecting musicians' working lives. He strove to overcome them via his musical work and the musicians' organisations in which he participated. His writings made visible the way he conceptualised the musician and the role that music should play in the new context of Chilean politics. By emphasising their conditions as workers, Garrido's writings also made visible musicians' working conditions and created an awareness of the need to organise them as musicians. The model of organisation that he promoted was that of trade unions. Instead of calling for the creation of

a national trade union of musicians, he encouraged the creation of local unions that would be united in the National Federation of Musicians, created after the first Musicians' Congress in 1940. The logic of organising locally instead of nationally is coherent with the geographical shape of the country and the wider labour movement. Bergquist considers the “[m]ore than 4,000 kilometres in length” and the “less than 180 kilometres in width” one of the “distinctiveness” of the Chilean labour history (1986, p. 20).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that Garrido played a pivotal role in organising musicians in trade unions and raising awareness about their working conditions. Garrido's role was analysed addressing the diversity of the music scene in which he worked: as a composer of avant-garde music, popular music for dancing, and folkloric songs; as a conductor of orchestras, ensembles and big bands; and as an ethnomusicologist and journalist. His diverse musical activity gave him the ability to see musicians broadly, understanding musical work in a complex and integral manner, with its own contradictions. He connected classical and popular musicians, composers and performers, academic and self-trained musicians, and well-known and unknown session musicians.

Garrido's musical work outlined a profile of the working musicians who gathered (and were invited to join) in the various musicians' unions of the country formed during the 1930s. These musicians were those (self) defined as the professional musicians, understanding as such to all those who made their living primarily from music. They worked mainly, but not exclusively, in popular music. They accomplished different roles in the social division of musical labour, being orchestral directors, session musicians, conductors, composers, songwriters, instrumentalists, arrangers or teachers. They also worked in the diverse music industries of the time, at live music venues, recording studios, radio auditoriums, cinemas, theatres, etc. Garrido enjoyed a privileged position as a musician well connected with various music scenes, in different cities, but also because of his social background. However, when he decided to make his living from music, his economic situation became less stable as it was when he worked in a bank. Upon

revision of his trajectory, Garrido was continually looking for paid jobs and struggling to maintain his economic situation. An example of this is given by the letters he exchanged with his elder brother Juan Santiago asking him for jobs and money (see letters from Juan Santiago Garrido, dated 2 November 1932 and 30 May 1933, Garrido Family Letters). The fact that Garrido died in poverty in 1982 after asking for a state pension (given in 1979) and applying for the National Art Award in 1980 (not given) also provides evidence towards this argument (Menanteau 2005).

Garrido's definition of musical work changed over time, attaching more importance to art and Western music at some moments, and musicians' working conditions at others. During the second half of the 1930s, especially after the unemployment crisis of musicians and the formation of the Popular Front, Garrido brought his attention to musicians' working conditions rather than only to the artistic quality of the music as it was in the previous years. He acknowledged musicians as workers, whilst considering the particularities of musical work, as being both an artistic and intellectual one. Moreover, Garrido campaigned for the recognition of music as work not only by society and the government but also by musicians themselves. If musicians were workers, he argued, they should organise as such, in trade unions, and therefore, campaigned as well for the creation and enhancement of musicians' unions.

Influenced by the context of the time, Garrido's discourse became overtly political, advocating for the formation of trade unions as the solution to overcome musicians' problems and to join the wider struggle for equity and democracy. Garrido's participation in non-musicians' unions was a source of inspiration for his political views. He advocated for unity among different sorts of musicians, encouraging them to form trade unions as a tool to improve their living and working conditions. The role he considered music could play in the reformation of the country was vital to better musicians' status in Chilean society and for the provision of jobs for musicians.

Overall, Garrido encouraged the organisation of musicians in trade unions, as a way to improve their working conditions and negotiate with the state for public

support. The formation of musicians' unions and other guild organisations across the country prompted the creation of the National Federation of Musicians, which would emerge after the Congress of 1940, which is analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

PAVING THE WAY FOR THE FIRST MUSICIANS' CONGRESS

All musicians should be united in their union. It is the only way in which they can achieve their trade aspirations.

Luis Sandoval (Garrido 1939n)

This chapter analyses the contribution that Garrido made towards musicians' organisation and the improvement of their working lives. During the majority of the 1930s, he created awareness among musicians about the issues that harmed their working lives, encouraging them to participate in trade unions, and paving the way for the first Musicians' Congress that took place in July 1940. As discussed in the previous chapter, Garrido campaigned for the need for the formation and consolidation of musicians' unions, arguing that trade unions would help to improve musicians' working conditions and social recognition. Other claims were about the role of radio stations, the lack of government support for Chilean music and musicians, and the role that musicians themselves should accomplish. The topics addressed in his writings are presented here in three sections: a) legislation on musical work; b) promotion of Chilean music; and c) formation of musicians' unions and the preparation for the first Musicians' Congress.

Considering Garrido's trajectory and the pivotal role he developed towards musicians' unions, his journalistic writing is understood here as a unique and rich source of information. On the one hand, by including interviews with other musicians and writing about his problems, these writings reflect the working musicians' concerns. On the other, they shed light on Garrido's campaign for the improvement of musicians working lives, by writing proposals and possible actions in widely circulated newspapers.

The chapter analyses Garrido's proposals on musical work and the role that different agents of society should undertake, such as the state, radio broadcasters, composers, instrumentalists, orchestra directors, and the musicians' unions. Overarching these proposals was a comparison between the provinces and Santiago, with Garrido arguing that any attempt to carry out new initiatives should consider such differences. In this chapter, I argue that these writings paved the way for the Musicians' Congress that took place in July 1940. I begin by analysing the three of the topics that Garrido wrote about before delving into the aims and activities of the Congress⁷⁴. With this, I conclude that Garrido's writings contributed to raising awareness about musicians' working conditions, making visible their status as workers.

1. LEGISLATION ON MUSICAL WORK

Working musicians had four primary concerns about relevant legislation: i) the approval of the bill that would create the IEM; ii) copyright legislation; iii) the modification of the legislation of social security funds; and iv) the protection from unfair competition from foreign musicians. Even though not all of them were equally relevant for the working musicians and their organisations, Garrido addressed them during the whole decade and, as they were later included in the Congress' agenda in 1940, the musicians' unions considered relevant.

The first concern of working musicians about relevant legislation was the bill that would create the IEM. This law was put into effect in October 1940 as law 6696 and allowed the creation of several music institutions, such as the National Symphonic Orchestra, as permanent state-funded entities. It was designed and promoted by composer and lawyer Domingo Santa Cruz, whose figure and contributions are analysed in-depth in the next chapter. For now, it is important to note that Garrido was optimistic about this law, hoping that musicians' unions would have a voice in the design of the IEM. He also expected that the IEM would contribute to improving musicians' working conditions.

⁷⁴ Among the array of themes that Garrido wrote about, I selected the three most relevant topics for musicians' working lives.

As early as 1939 Garrido made a call on parliamentary members to approve the creation of the IEM. Garrido hoped that the IEM would mean “the solution to our problems” because, by including the creation of several music institutions of national character, such as a choir, a ballet and a symphonic orchestra, it would offer jobs to musicians (Garrido 1939f). In a different piece, published only two weeks later, Garrido insisted on the need to approve this bill by implying that it was one of the few incentives for orchestral musicians who work very hard against “the neglect of political administration and the public incomprehension” (Garrido 1939g).

The problems related to the copyright legislation were another significant matter for musicians’ working lives mainly because the law on intellectual property ambiguously defined performance and reproduction rights. Even though law 345 was put into effect in 1925, it only began to be relevant to musicians by the end of the 1930s as part of the awareness of their working conditions. An exception of this was Garrido, who from the late 1920s addressed the matter in his newspaper writing, denouncing the lack of regulations on performance and reproduction rights. For example, he explained that often composers sell their musical work “at a ridiculous price” whilst the publishers “are the ones doing good business” (Garrido 1928b). Even though this law acknowledged as possessors of intellectual property “to whom belongs the first idea in a scientific, literary or artistic production” and ensured the ownership for life of their intellectual property, it did not regulate the issues about reproduction and performance in music (law 345, 1925). While the law vaguely defined the right to “distribute, sell, or make the best use of its profit motives of any intellectual work”, it did not define what entity was responsible for overseeing and distributing such royalties (ibid.).

By better protecting composers than performers, the law did not fit most of the musicians, focusing only on composers and leaving performers’ rights unclear. Besides, it was not clear about the royalties that a composer could get in terms of reproduction (recording and live performances) and the performance of their music. In 1935, ten years after the publication of the law on intellectual property, the first Copyright Society [*Pequeño Derecho de Autor*] emerged. This move was crucial for popular music composers or songwriters since it pursued “the collection

and distribution of authorship from the payment that venues and institutions should pay for the music they perform or broadcast” (González & Rolle 2005, p. 266).

Copyright issues began to be relevant for the working musicians especially by the end of the decade since the EC of the SIPO – under Garrido’s presidency – agreed to make proposals to oversee the performance of Chilean compositions by national orchestras (Garrido 1939h). But as early as 1928, Garrido was denouncing the different striking status between composers of popular and classical music, arguing that “the songwriter [*el autor de música*] has always been neglected regarding its legitimate rights” (Garrido 1928b). Here it should be noted that Garrido was referring interchangeably to composers of classical and popular music, often called songwriters or musical authors [*autores musicales*]. I return to this idea and the different status between composers in the next chapter. For now, what is important to note is that, just a couple of years after law 345 was put into effect, Garrido diagnosed that there were no protections of musicians’ performance and reproduction rights and that he advocated for the modification of the copyright legislation, including the topic in the agenda of the Congress of 1940.

A third topic that concerned working musicians was the law of social security. As addressed in chapters 4 and 5 in 1924, a social security fund was established for white-collar workers and professional employees. As there was no special law on social security for musicians as temporary or independent workers, with no clear employment relations, they pushed for modifications of this law to make it suitable to their working conditions and to ensure its compliance. The SIPO claimed that “there are very few venues in Chile that comply with this law”, clarifying that they would carefully study “the difficulties to fit” on musicians’ work and to propose an appropriate law that ensures legal protection to both “employees and employers” (Garrido 1939h). They would also propose the regulation of a minimum wage, so that “exploitation and abuse from impresarios and even orchestral directors/conductors, will finish” (ibid.). When Garrido described the working conditions of musicians, he highlighted the precariousness of their social security status and their employment conditions. He argued that

because of the lack of an appropriate law “the music professional moves between the most adverse conditions. The laws on social security [*previsión social*] are not yet well implemented for them” (Garrido 1939m). Attempting to improve this situation meant giving “to musicians the same guarantees that any citizen has” (ibid.). Garrido considered that musicians worked without legal protection and without a social security fund for their pensions, to which he defined as precarious working conditions. Instead of a legal social security fund, musicians in misfortune were helped by their fellow musicians and friends, feeling “sad and ashamed” to “had to invoke public charity” (ibid.).

By highlighting the relevance of the forthcoming Congress, Garrido argued that “this [situation] will be over soon” because these problems would be addressed at that instance (ibid.). There was optimism among the unionised musicians around the Congress, but there were also expectations. Prior the Congress, Garrido interviewed Luis Sandoval, composer and music historian, who proposed to address the social security funds legislation at this musicians’ national meeting. To explain his proposal, Sandoval recalled the Musicians’ Congress organised in France in 1938, attended by representatives of the 62,000 musicians of that country (Garrido 1939p). Sandoval stated that the French Congress approved the creation of an autonomous music fund, which had “totally solved the problems of the music profession” (ibid.). Inspired by this, Sandoval proposed that this fund should be administrated for and by musicians, avoiding the bureaucracy of the state, but allowing the government’s supervision.

Also noteworthy was Sandoval’s call to understand that musicians needed special legislation due to the heterogeneous nature of the musical work. Therefore, it was the role of the musicians’ union to propose and promote the creation of a law like the French one (ibid.). At this point, it is important to recall that during the times of the SMSMV and other mutual aid societies, it was the organisation itself that administrated and provided social security funds to members. But, ironically, with the promulgation of the laws of social security funds in 1924, and the legalisation of trade unions that in 1928 passed the responsibility of the administration of these funds to trade unions, mutual aid societies consequently declined. Because of the characteristics of musical work, these new laws did not

fit most working musicians. The Obligatory Social Security Law 4054 compelled workers of all trades to deposit a percentage of their salary each month to the local branch of the insurance fund, assuming that all workers had a stable job and a regular salary, which was not the case for all musicians.

The SIPO, under Garrido's presidency, took the initiative to solve this problem, by inviting musicians to design proposals during the Congress, to be presented to the government. That is why proposing laws to the state authorities was such a relevant matter to Garrido and the SIPO. As is analysed in due course, the need for protectionist laws for working musicians was one of the main topics that the musicians' Congress of 1940 addressed.

The fourth concern that working musicians had about relevant legislation corresponded to the need for protection from unfair competition with foreign musicians. This issue emerged after the crisis left by the arrival of the 'talkies' and the general downturn of the late 1920s and early 1930s. To illustrate such concern, Garrido interviewed Lorenzo Da Costa, who indicated that Chilean and international musicians had a "difference of salaries [that] is overwhelming" (Garrido 1939d). As an example of how other countries coped with the problem, Garrido interviewed Samuel Contreras, a Chilean musician working in Buenos Aires. He addressed the achievements of the Argentine Musicians' Association (AGMA) from his perspective as a foreigner. Contreras argued that AGMA had gained a robust unification and several achievements for musicians in Argentina that could be perfectly replicated in Chile. As a Chilean musician working in Argentina, Contreras explained that: "It is true that currently the AGMA does not allow foreign musicians to work here, but those who are [legally] based in Buenos Aires, enjoy the same rights than locals (Garrido 1939q).

Even though this proposal did not reach a national level, the SIPO designed a plan in July 1939. It involved the creation of a Professional Musicians' Card, which would be provided by the different musicians' unions to their members. A rule was proposed for all musicians willing to work that they present this card to their employers, such as venue owners. It would only permit foreigners to work who had spent at least one year living in Chile. By arguing that "this measure exists in

all the countries of the world, and only Chile contemplates the depressing spectacle of musicians not being able to work in their own land, being replaced by foreigners who generally are inferior to them” Garrido also campaigned for this proposal (Garrido 1939h). To protect musicians based in Chile, Garrido proposed that this initiative was discussed during the Musicians’ Congress of 1940.

In summary, the four issues in which Garrido focused his campaign about legislation on musical work were the following: first, the need of a law to promote music institutions, such as orchestras, funded by the state. Second, the need to reform the legislation on copyright, because the musical work was different from other artistic and intellectual creations that this law protected. Garrido recognised that musicians needed a law that considered the particularities of their work, including composition (of classical pieces and popular songs), performances and reproduction. Third, the need to reform law on social security, considering the particularities of musicians’ work. This was especially relevant because, for the first time, their pension’s fund was regulated by the state, and not autonomously by their organisations as it was before 1924. All workers, including musicians, were asked to deposit a percentage of their salary to the local branch of the insurance fund, taking for granted the particularities of musicians’ work. Finally, the competition between Chilean and foreign musicians willing to work in Chile without legal permissions. Importantly, even though musicians faced considerable unemployment from the early 1930s, this campaign only appeared by the end of the decade. Evidence suggests that this campaign was inspired in the policies of the Popular Front, such as the promotion of national protectionism, as a response to foreign investment and the increasing dependence on the United States which accelerated after the great depression and the onset of World War II (Hudson & Library of Congress 1994, p. 36).

2. PROMOTION OF CHILEAN MUSIC

By understanding the connection between a lack of interest in Chilean music with musicians’ working conditions, Garrido put forward proposals to create awareness about the relevance of promoting Chilean music. This meant both, local folklore also called *música típica*, and all music “produced by Chilean musicians, with no

regard their origin or influences” (González & Rolle 2005, p. 43). Garrido was particularly critical about the lack of interest in Chilean music by the Chilean people and claimed that they were used to listening to music from other countries rather than the local music. He thought, however, that this lack of interest was a matter of information and not of quality or artistry. If the people did not know about the music of their own country and were constantly exposed to international music, they would prefer to listen to foreign music rather than national music.

As the interest in controlling foreign musicians willing to work in Chile without legal permissions, the attention was in line with the interests of the Popular Front. Notably, the promotion of national production as a substitute for imported goods being aimed at national protectionism and industrialisation (Hudson & Library of Congress 1994, p. 36). Following this diagnosis and inspired by the broader context, Garrido thought that one of the solutions to this problem was to promote Chilean music by different streams where various agents of society should play a role: the media (radio broadcasting, newspapers); the state (with quotas and enhancing music education); and the musicians themselves via their orchestras and unions.

In 1933 Garrido wrote about the lack of promotion of indigenous (native) music in Chile, blaming both the media and the state for this situation. Notably, he called the attention about the poor distribution of the recordings recently made by the Ministry of Education of Mapuche indigenous music. These albums were supposed to be distributed in Chile and abroad; however, Garrido denounced that the state failed to distribute them well, arguing that: “In Chile [these albums] are not known, they have been distributed among a very limited group of people. It would be convenient to produce a new issue, with an acceptable selling price” (Garrido 1933). It is noteworthy that as early as 1933, a decade before the creation of the Institute of Folklore Research under the umbrella of the IEM (1944), Garrido asked for the collaboration of radio broadcasting and the state to promote Chilean music.

For Garrido, radio broadcasting of Chilean music (live or recorded) was vital for the promotion of local music and urged local authorities to cope with the threat

that commercial music meant to Chilean native music – folklore – (Garrido 1939i). He blamed radio broadcasters for their commercial focus and for not being interested in providing coherent and educative music programs to their auditors:

It is rare to find a radio station that maintains a program with high cultural ends [...] They go interchangeably from a Beethoven's symphony to "Farolito"⁷⁵, and tranquil perfume of a Debussy's orchestration will be confused with [the ad of] some shoe store (ibid.).

By comparing the Chilean radio broadcasting system with the Argentine, where fifty percent of the music broadcasted was national, Garrido reflected on "how behind Chile is" (Garrido 1940s, 1940b). He counted only one in seven radio stations that broadcast one hour of Chilean music, insisting on that "radio stations broadcast everything but our native [*criollas*] melodies" considering as such all genres of Chilean music, including folklore, popular and classical (Garrido 1939k). Because of that, Garrido proposed that radio broadcasting complies with a quota of Chilean music and that radio stations were "under strict control. Compel[led] to keep live shows [...] That these shows sang or played our songs" (ibid.). With this protection and promotion, he argued, "national production would have an outstanding impulse" (Garrido 1940a, 1940b).

In addition, Garrido proposed that the government followed different strategies to promote Chilean music. One of these was to record folkloric music (native) and distribute such albums in Chile and abroad. In the second year of Aguirre Cerda's government, he wrote: "The state must begin immediately to publish our most beautiful and pure songs. It is necessary that they go abroad, as ambassadors of our soul, as an indicator of what our people sing" (Garrido 1939j). In his piece entitled "Chilean music should not die", Garrido denounced that there were several recordings of Chilean music available to be broadcasted by radio stations,

⁷⁵ "Farolito" was composed by Agustín Lara in 1931, and the song became popular in Chile, Perú, Mexico and France.

urging radio broadcasters to include them in their programmes as well as live music shows (Garrido 1940f)⁷⁶.

Garrido demanded specific action from musicians, inviting them to include indigenous and folkloric themes in their compositions, performances and music teaching, to promote Chilean music and musicians. He criticised composers working at the National Conservatoire for not including Chilean music in the curricula, nor folkloric themes in their compositions and when did so, they only included sophisticated indigenous themes to add a “Chilean flavour” to their music (ibid.). Orchestral conductors also were subject to criticism for not being interested in performing new Chilean compositions (Garrido 1935a). He complained about the inauthenticity of some folkloric groups: “I have seen *criollo* [native] groups, in main theatres, with expensive costumes. Their sympathy and elegance are OK for some clients, but they are not for the proletariat” (Garrido 1939c). He considered that instead of bringing the working-class public closer to Chilean music, they did the opposite (ibid.)

All this must be understood in context when the USSR was still a significant influence for the Chilean left. Although no evidence confirms that the left-wing political parties of Chile formally ascribed to the aesthetic principles of the Socialist Realism, the quoted passages suggest that, at least during the mid-1930s, Garrido was sympathetic to such ideals. For example, Garrido asked Chilean composers to include topics of interest by the working class, following the Soviet model, where the Russian composers included in their compositions “the people’s song” (Garrido 1935a). He urged composers to create music using national themes and folkloric passages, which Garrido called “our popular music” [*la música popular nuestra*] (Garrido 1933, 1939d).

Let’s see the example of the USSR, where the proletarian song has briskly emerged [...] Everyone works towards music education. Some write songs to

⁷⁶ Pushed by these ideas, the actions that Garrido later took are noteworthy, although outside the timeframe of this thesis, whilst serving as director of the department of popular music of the Direction of Information and Culture (DIC) in 1945. Besides recording Chilean music under the state funded DIC, he established exchanges with the BBC, giving some of these albums to be broadcasted “from London to the whole world” (Garrido 1945a).

the tractors, others to power shovels, some to the machine, all to the spirit of the October revolution. Great choral masses, symphonic ensembles are organised, the people's native music is promoted, and the masterworks of the musical literature and compositions are specially written to these ensembles are performed with typical instruments, such as balalaikas, domras and accordions (Garrido 1935a).

Garrido argued that promoting national music could help in the invigoration of the working-class. This matter was particularly relevant during the reformist moment of the late 1930s, with the government of the Popular Front. In his words:

People today do not think of a homeland with boundaries; the proletariat has one homeland, that is the world. The native colour, however, can invigorate the foundations of society. The heartbeat of the land must be listened [...] to understand how the lifeblood of vindication would sprout under the four climates of the world (Garrido 1939c).

He continued by arguing that all the efforts of organising cultural concerts would be useless if they are only for the elite, the small group who already enjoy the arts (Garrido 1935a). By stating that the music in itself would not reach the disadvantaged groups, he urged classical composers and concert organisers to promote erudite music among the working-class. In this respect, Garrido criticised the associations of composers (the SCCh formed in 1920, the ANCS in 1930 and the ANC, founded in 1936) for promoting Western rather than Chilean native music (Garrido 1939c).

With a romantic view of classical music, Garrido considered that it would be more beneficial for the working class that instead of listening to “a disgusting tango, with verses that talk about filthy coupling softened by sweet words and maudlin melodies” listened to symphonic concerts (Garrido 1939c). Following this idealised notion of classical orchestras, Garrido proposed to form grassroots ensembles and youth orchestras to foster equal access to music education. He assigned this task to the state, asking the Ministry of Education to:

Create contests of *criollos* [native] groups of popular [working-class] singers, of popular [working-class] orchestras [...]. Promote contests of popular [folklore] music, masses sing, of revolutionary songs, where the poets and musicians put together their passion so that our people sing what belongs to them [...] with music and words born from this vindicator movement (Garrido 1939c).

He also urged the Ministry of Education to give “a suitable ideological education” to the people, oversight the provision of music education that different entities provide (ibid.). He suggested that “our National Conservatoire, together with private conservatories and music academies, should show new educational plans and [the Ministry should] check from time to time that those plans are implemented” (Garrido 1939i).

Noteworthy is the self-criticism he made of his past actions, recalling the mid-1920s when he worked in the Viña del Mar Casino and organised jazz and chamber orchestras, and not a native [*criollo*] Chilean music ensemble (Garrido 1940b). By acknowledging that “our people [*pueblo*] want and must sing”, but, instead of singing “tangos, *rancheras*, nor insipid waltzes neither silly foxtrots”, Garrido urged composers to “work intensely”, to “create music for the people” (ibid.). He acknowledged that “[i]t is true that the demand of the public is inclined to that kind of music, but it is also true that if nobody does anything to revive native music, things will get worse” (Garrido 1939i). As a former award-winning foxtrot composer, this comment sounds appalling and contradictory. Considering as well that it was very likely that the members of the musicians’ unions made their living playing popular and foreign genres such as tangos and foxtrots, this opinion was probably unpopular among his fellow musicians.

The fact that after twenty years of practising and promoting jazz, Garrido gradually abandoned his interest in this music, taking up his attention in erudite music and folklore, gives some explanation of this contradiction. There is no consensus about this change. Menanteau (2006) states that Garrido abandoned jazz “for unknown reasons”, after suggesting, in the early 1940s, that “jazz cannot fully identify with the Latin American spirit” (p. 39). García (1990) argues that Garrido felt that he had accomplished his mission towards jazz and hereafter; his attention turned to Chilean music (p. 60). The evidence gathered in this study, suggests that Garrido’s change of focus was influenced by his political interests, following the Popular Front guidelines of promoting values of national identity. For example, these guidelines were put into practice by the government in 1941 under the “so-called Plan de Chilenidad (Chileanness Plan)” (Barr-Melej 2001, p. 169). For Garrido, this change of interests responded as well to the need of

supporting genres that were not widespread by the music industries, especially when the Chilean frontiers were widely open to foreign music. Because of this, he argued that Chilean musicians – professionals or amateurs, classical or popular – in contrast with the politics of the Popular Front, preferred to perform foreign music (Garrido 1940a, Garrido 1940b).

In several occasions, Garrido complained that there was “no entity in charge to guide” the provision of music education, music creation and the divulgation of national music (Garrido 1939i). He was insistent in proposing that some public body should work towards the promotion of Chilean music, distributing recordings, and oversight radio broadcasting to ensure that radio stations broadcast the albums of Chilean music the whole year round and not “only during the national holidays” (Garrido 1939k). He proposed the supervision of royalties’ distribution through the creation of an entity to oversee broadcasting of national music. Although Garrido assigned some of these roles to the state via the Superior Direction of the National Theatre and the Direction of Electrical Services – the only entity that had the legal capacity to oversee radio broadcasting –, he suggested that other public bodies should accomplish similar tasks (*ibid.*). Noteworthy is Garrido’s proposal for the creation of a central institution that gathers the names of all musicians to regulate radio broadcasting and music distribution, which he explained as:

Above all, a central music body could be created, where all the music ensembles are registered; where all performers, singers, popular orchestras and solo artists are enrolled. Such central would prepare daily programmes to distribute them through a chain that unites all the local radios of the country (Garrido 1939c).

Even though Garrido was not explicit about what he meant with this “central music body”, it is possible to suggest that he was thinking about the Musicians’ Federation that he would find in 1940 after the Musicians’ Congress (*ibid.*).

3. ENHANCING MUSICIANS' UNIONS AND PREPARING THE MUSICIANS' CONGRESS

Garrido campaigned for the creation, maintenance and enhancing of musicians' organisations, especially trade unions. During this period, he wrote about the main topics that the Musicians' Congress would address, raising awareness about their importance for working musicians and looking for the support of the public. By focusing on the creation and promotion of musicians' unions as a means to enhance musicians' working lives, Garrido suggested that trade unions were the most appropriate form of organisation to cope with working musicians' problems. With his writings Garrido was, consciously or unconsciously, preparing musicians to join in a national congress and making visible the need to create a National Federation of Musicians. The latter, he argued, would seek protection for Chilean music and musicians together with the improvement of music education at all levels (Garrido 1940c).

Using his connections to campaign for a National Musicians' Federation, Garrido interviewed musicians who were favourable to musicians' trade unionism. Among them, he interviewed two Chilean jazz musicians, who alongside their comments about jazz, talked about their working conditions. One of them was Lorenzo Da Costa, who worked towards the creation of a jazz club, founded in Santiago in March 1939 as the Hot Club⁷⁷. About the creation of the Hot Club, Da Costa stated that it "should be under the control of the Musicians' Union" (Garrido 1939d). In that way, they would cope with the problems that were making difficult the creation of such club, such as sharing the workload among musicians (ibid.). The other musician interviewed by Garrido was Luis Aravena, who talked about his career, studies, orchestras and colleagues. When he was asked about the eventual creation of the Hot Club, Aravena stated that it was not enough that musicians were interested in jazz to successfully create a jazz club. For Aravena, it was

⁷⁷ Under the leadership of Pablo Garrido and Mario Quiroz the foundational meeting of the Jazz Club took place in Santiago, in March 1939, with the attendance of 120 people. Nevertheless, the writing of the internal rules did not prosper until 1943 when the official foundation of the Jazz Club occurred (Menanteau 2006, p. 62).

necessary that the musicians' union take the initiative in doing so and worked collaboratively with the jazz aficionados (Garrido 1939e).

In 1938 the Society of Composers was created within the SIPO under the leadership of Garrido, pursuing the edition, publishing and promotion of their music via recordings (Garrido 1940e). They “decided to work vigorously” (Garrido 1940e) and formed in 1942 the Music Composers' Union with seventy members (Ecran, 27 October 1942, p. 25). The new Composers' Union claimed that they did not have representation in the existing associations – the ANC and ANCS –, because they only gathered avant-garde and classical composers and not those who composed popular music, as they did. Besides Garrido, some of the composers who founded this new union were Donato Román Heitman, who wrote folk, popular and film music, and Luis Aguirre Pinto, a folk and popular music composer (ibid.). Both featured among the seven highest copyright royalties distributed in 1944 (Ecran, 10 October 1944, p. 21) Noteworthy was the protest that the Composers' Union held in 1945, led by Garrido and Carlos Lavín, after the national film production “*La amarga verdad*” included only pre-existing music. This event was referred by Ecran, stating that “[u]ntil now, national films included original music written especially for the film and with a native [*criollo*] flavour” (Ecran, 13 March 1945, p. 14). In this occasion, by including only pre-recorded pieces by Tchaikovsky, Mozart and Schubert “film producers saved money but also directly harmed a whole trade” (ibid.).

By analysing the main problems of working musicians, in July 1939, the SIPO, under the presidency of Garrido, decided to tackle them with specific actions during the rest of the year. They agreed that unionised musicians needed comprehensive activities to help them develop holistically rather than fractionally, understanding the relevance of welfare services and education among members. Following this, the SIPO created a sports section to organise competitions, excursions and other sportive activities. The aim was to offer musicians a healthy hobby and promote closeness among members, considering it as key for the strength of the union (Garrido 1939h). Another activity organised by the SIPO was the orchestras' festival. Garrido considered that this festival “demonstrated the great and true unity among musicians in Santiago” (Garrido 1939l). He praised the quality of

Chilean orchestras that performed during this festival, but overall, he highlighted the cooperation among musicians to make this possible: “The SIPO asked for the cooperation of the most renowned musical groups, demonstrating their quality and ability” (ibid.).

More important was the petition that the SIPO asked in November 1939 to have a resting day for musicians on the next Music Day (22 November). As seen in chapters 4 and 5, organised musicians had a long tradition celebrating the Music Day in honour of Saint Cecilia every November. This activity changed from a religious celebration to a leisure day by the mid-1920s. Now, this day would mark a milestone establishing a weekly non-working day, that musicians’ employers should comply with. Garrido published a piece entitled “Resting time for musicians. What the public must know. A fair petition”. Here he asked for the collaboration of venue’s owners, who should restrain of asking musicians to work once a week (Garrido 1939m). Bernardo Lacasia analysed the success of this petition, highlighting that this it was supported by different sectors, though not by all. Lacasia argued that the power of the musicians’ union was proven on this occasion, because the SIPO achieved to sanction “some elements [bosses and musicians] who did not respect the agreement of the 22 November as a resting day” for musicians (Garrido 1939n). He concluded that this experience would serve as a lesson learned and that all the plans will go forward, expecting that for the time when the Musicians’ Congress takes place, “we will all be united towards the musical progress of Chile” (ibid.).

Precisely, in preparation for this Congress, Garrido asked classical musician and researcher, Luis Sandoval, about musicians’ problems and his thoughts on the current movement of the music profession, to which he stated that:

All musicians should be united in their union. It is the only way in which they can achieve their trade aspirations. In another way, all efforts will be useless [...] Getting organised is essential, because public authorities need to know with whom get on. Besides, only in this way, the benefits achieved will reach the whole trade (Garrido 1939p).

When Garrido asked Sandoval about the forthcoming Congress, he praised the initiative and stressed the idea that unity will give musicians the legal power to

solve “our problems” (ibid.). On December 1939 Garrido, still president of the SIPO invited all musicians to join a union and to prepare themselves for the First Musicians’ Congress of Chile via creating regional unions and committees to take part⁷⁸. Influenced by his trips across Chile, his working experiences in various provincial cities and accomplishing different musical jobs, Garrido’s call to unity was nuanced by the diversity of the musical work and the diverse conditions across the country. Garrido state that although the particularity of musical work shared a common ground, it changed slightly depending on the province, the city, the venue, the genre, and the type of job. Because of this diversity, the SIPO called for different musicians’ unions and committees – when less than 25 musicians gather – to take part in the Congress:

Musicians’ problems are roughly the same, but their specialised activities should be analysed with a wide criterium. It is not possible to apply the same measures in the capital and the remote regions of the country. It is not possible to act with a centralist approach when Chile is divided by regions of different physiognomy and activities (Garrido 1939o).

A month before the Congress, Garrido wrote that after several months of preparation for this “artistic and fair trade” meeting, around “5,000 Chilean musicians” were already “aware of the forthcoming Congress” and all musicians, working at different genres, looked forward to it (Garrido 1940c). By emphasising the precarious and diverse nature of musicians’ working conditions, Garrido addressed as “musicians” to all those who worked in “in marching bands, operas, symphonic orchestras, chamber orchestras, or dance bands” (ibid.). He highlighted that musicians’ unions of Valparaíso, Rancagua, Concepción, Lota and Magallanes backed the Congress, representing the main cities across the country. Garrido hoped that “at the time of the Congress we would have several new musicians’ unions working towards the definitive improvement of the music professional of Chile” (Garrido 1939o). But at the same time, he clarified that the Congress was not only for musicians’ union’s and committee’s members, since “hundreds of music teachers, working privately, amateurs, and all artists and

⁷⁸ The Congress’ rules stated that delegates “should be elected democratically by their organisations” and that they “named in proportion to the number of members of the organisation” (SIPO 1940b, p. 9). For example, musicians from the cities of Coquimbo and La Serena were represented by delegate Emilio Contreras, elected by their committees (ibid.).

intellectuals of the country, see in this movement the rise of a new collective awareness” (Garrido 1940c).

This collective awareness meant that musicians were now conscious of their situation and knew that unionism was the better way to tackle their problems. Garrido and other musicians thought that musicians’ working problems would soon be solved, because of the strength of their unions and the conclusions of the forthcoming Congress. Garrido emphasised that, after a while, the SIPO “had aroused with energy, working with special determination”, and that such revival could be seen in the activities organised, such as the above orchestras’ festival and the football competitions (Garrido 1939m). The strength and growing power of musicians’ unions were also visible in the ongoing organisation of the Congress which Garrido celebrated as the symbol of unity and “the path to follow to achieve our aim” (Garrido 1939o). This optimism, however, was marred by the government’s neglect, with Garrido stating that “public administrators had collaborated very little to give to the musicians a minimum guarantee” (Garrido 1939o).

The results of the Congress, it was hoped, would not only benefit the unionised musicians but all working musicians and Chilean people in general. With this Garrido highlighted the relevance of music and the music profession for the whole society in terms that it would benefit “the artistic and intellectual life of the country” (Garrido 1940c). He proposed that the Congress address the “disappearance of Chilean music, the prostrate situation of national composers and the little collaboration of the broadcast media” (ibid.). Garrido argued that as the national institutions created to defend and protect Chilean music have done nothing about it, musicians did not find the support they need from public institutions and were subjected only to individual initiatives. He explained: “that is why, in this Congress, the musicians themselves will propose their own directions, and will claim their small or big but legitimate rights” (ibid.).

In his “Manifesto to the musicians of Chile”, Garrido focused on the key topics that the Congress would discuss. First, the application of the law of social security fund for musicians. Second, the use of the membership card by working

musicians to protect the profession. And third, compulsory training to improve the artistic and cultural level of the professional musicians (Garrido 1939o). Musicians planned to propose the creation of music schools for the people [*el pueblo*, the working class], and, especially, schools to update the musical training of musicians. Besides, they would address the pedagogical problems of the music profession and music education at primary and secondary schools.

The organisation of civilian marching bands was also a topic to address at the Congress. Here is it important to recall that the *Sindicato Musical*, formed exclusively by marching band musicians existed since 1928, and that the Marching Bands' Union (SMB) was formed in 1940 (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19; El Mercurio, 16 February 1928, p. 8; and El Mercurio, 11 June 1928, p. 13). Garrido argued that with the formation of “two trade unions of this genre” the “abandonment” of the organisation of civilian marching bands would be improved (Garrido 1940d). He analysed the difficulties of these new unions in terms of internal organisation, “which is so hard to achieve” and celebrated the union leaders' enthusiasm and “altruism to put their knowledge at the service of the people [*el pueblo*], who are closer to these kinds of music” (ibid).

In addition to the creation of new musicians' unions and the strengthening of the existing ones, including the SPMV and the SIPO, the aim was to unite these organisations at a national level through the eventual creation of a Federation of Musicians of Chile. Recalling the orchestras' festival held by the SIPO in Santiago in June 1940, where around 500 musicians participated, Garrido foretold that with the forthcoming Congress, “musicians from all over the country would meet their own purposes” (Garrido 1940c).

4. THE FIRST MUSICIANS' CONGRESS

The first Musicians Congress of Chile took place from 1 to 5 July 1940 in the *Teatro Municipal* of Santiago, and 5,000 musicians participated (Garrido 1940h) (see appendix 7). It was organised by a committee of members of different musicians' organisations, including the SIPO. Musicians were invited to take part in various channels, for example, radio broadcasting, newspapers and recordings. For

example, an album including propaganda of this event was recorded and distributed to different radio stations, such as *Otto Becker*, *Mayo* and *del Pacífico* in Santiago and *Cooperativa Vitalicia* and *La Unión* in Valparaíso. The recording included the official anthem of the musicians of Chile “*Canto a la Música*” (Song to Music), composed for the occasion by maestro Luis Sandoval and recorded by the choir of the SIPO, conducted by Jorge Allende (SIPO 1940a, p. 4). The lyrics were also distributed to facilitate that all participants sang it during the Congress (ibid.). Garrido gave a noteworthy talk, which was radio broadcasted to the whole country on 21 June 1940, inviting musicians to attend and explaining what their primary needs (ibid.).

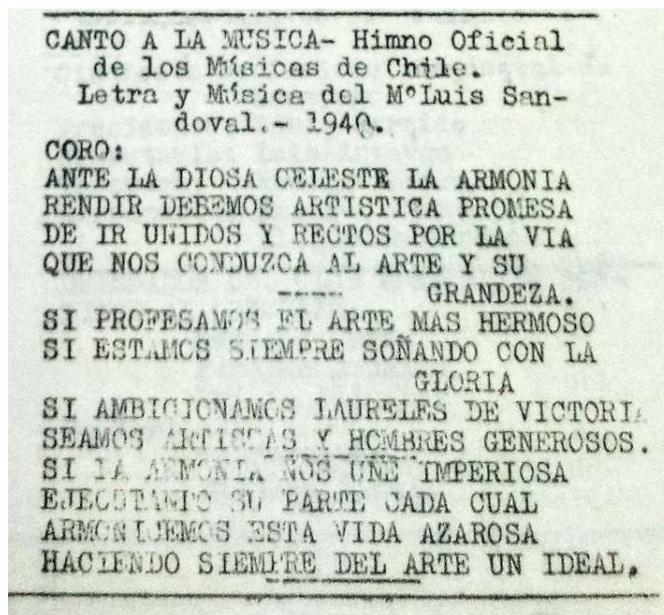


Figure 25 Lyrics of *Canto a la Música*, Official Hymn of the First Musicians' Congress (SIPO 1940a, p. 5)

The manifesto that circulated with the invitation to the Congress praised the labour movement and stated that it was that model that musicians should follow to achieve victories and unity:

If we observe the organic progress of the workers [the labour movement], their indestructible unity and their spirit of struggle. If we see, how day by day, they achieve more victories, united, and how the powerful Workers' Confederation of Chile [CTCh] enforces citizens' rights and supports the struggle, we discover the path we should necessary follow: UNITY (SIPO 1940b, pp. 19-20, original emphasis).

The need to be united to achieve state protection was the focus of the manifesto. It was signed by the congressional organising committee, formed by members of the National Symphonic Orchestra (OSN), the Musical Club (CM), the Band Musicians' Union (SMB) and the SIPO⁷⁹. Importantly, the manifesto regarded musicians as “intellectual workers”, who should “fight united” in “this brave struggle” to achieve these demands, through the participation of their unions or guilds in this Congress (Garrido 1939o). The manifesto concluded by calling, in overtly politicised language, to join musicians' unions and other professional organisations to strengthen the musicians' organisation:

We need to assume a definitive position in front of these same problems. No participating in this struggle means selfishly unknowing the miseries of hundreds of musicians that succumbed in the greatest despair. No participating at this moment means to openly complot against those homes that thousands of musical workers [*trabajadores de la música*] heroically sustain. Finally, those who do not follow the claim of unity stand with those who obstinately denied our demands for not being convenient to their small-minded interests.

Comrades [*compañeros*]: let us boost the membership of our unions and other professional institutions, contributing to the firm structure of Chilean musicians (ibid. pp. 21-22).

Notwithstanding the above, this was not only a *workers'* event but an event for *working musicians*. This characteristic was stressed in need of revision of the pension and welfare legislation, because, as discussed earlier, it did not apply to independent workers such as musicians. The Congress invited to “all professional musicians in Chile, no matter what the area in which they work: small groups, chamber orchestras, symphonic orchestras, civilian marching bands, etc.” to discuss their situation as a particular sort of workers, such as retirement and welfare provision (SIPO, 1940b, p. 19). By including other types of musicians, such as those performing in the OSN and composers from the National Conservatoire,

⁷⁹ Members of the congress' organising committee were: General Secretary, Pablo Garrido; Minutes Secretary, Ernesto Garrido (OSN); Second Secretary, Alvaro Pinto (CM); Secretary of Press and Correspondence, Francisco Piñats (CM); Assistants, R. Hermosilla (SIPO) and Luis Cavieres (SMB); Secretary of Agitation and Propaganda, Venancio Yañez (SMB); Assistants, Filiberto Baronti (OSN), Luis Astorga (SIPO) and Alberto L. Almarza (CM); Secretary of Treasure, R. Neira (SIPO), Assistant, Juan Amigo (OSN); Committee of legal Powers (representation) and agenda, Sofanor Navarrete (SIPO), Juan Amigo (OSN), Luis Novoa (SMB), Alvaro Pinto (SMB) and Enrique Maura (SIPO).

the Congress was also an *artistic* event, with performances from musicians of such institutions, which helped to give the social recognition of artistry or musicianship.

With the participation of musicians' unions, guilds and committees from almost every region of the country, the Congress was formed "by professional musicians' unions, associations, orchestral organisations, symphonic bodies, opera musicians, civilian marching bands, etc., with the representation of the CTCh" (SIPO 1940b, p. 7). It is important to note here that unionised musicians not only followed the model of industrial labour organisations by gathering in a Congress but also the CTCh represented them. Founded in 1936, the CTCh was the central body of the organisation of Chilean workers and the labour movement's collective representative in dealing with the state.

The language of the invitation and programme of the Congress was overtly combative, following the model of the labour movement. The invitation made explicit the aim to constitute a National Federation of Musicians which would be under the umbrella of the CTCh, the motto of which was "towards a classless society" (CTCh 1943). Following the model of other workers' organisations, the strategy was to establish a link with the labour movement, joining the CTCh, that had significant influence, because of its representation in the government. This strategy was explicit in the invitation and aimed to gain strength and unity:

In this endeavour [...] we are not, as we were until now, unconnected from the organisations that compose the working class [*clase trabajadora*] – that thanks to its experience and strong combative spirit, – has achieved the realisation of all its demands, and by keeping united, even in the most challenging times, [it has set] an example which is worth imitating. For the defence of their interests, they created the powerful Workers' Confederation of Chile [CTCh], whose experiences will guide us, musicians, once we achieve the long-awaited unity, crystallising our ambitions in the future Musicians' Federation of Chile (SIPO 1940b, pp. 4-5).

The invitation stated that "Chilean musicians have lived, until now, excluded from the benefits that every citizen must enjoy", ineligible for social welfare (SIPO 1940b, p. 3). It argued that their "abandonment" from the state was the cause of musicians' inability to enhance their profession. These circumstances made urgent the realisation of this Congress and the constitution of a "central body of

musicians of the country” (ibid.). This central body “should solve the main problems of the trade” and the demands that this Congress will propose “would guide all professional musicians of the country” (ibid.). In particular, the demands that resulted from the Congress would be presented at the Chambers of Deputies and Senators. Of these, the most important was to ask for the promulgation of a law to protect the music professionals and especially a law that “protects their old age” (ibid.). Here, they were addressing two problems: musicians’ retirement and pension funds, and musicians’ workplaces.

In the case of the former, the social laws of 1924 established a pension system for industrial workers, leaving all those who worked independently, such as musicians, without fulfilling the requirements to access the benefits. About musicians’ workplaces, the Congress pursued that the state support musicians, providing jobs for them, for example, adding hours of music instruction at schools. Garrido argued that this would be beneficial not only for musicians but the whole society because musicians were more than mere entertainers but also relevant agents for the education of the people [*“el pueblo”*] (Garrido 1939o). As stated in the manifesto, to accomplish this educative role, musicians needed the support of the state (SIPO 1940b). Considering that the modification of the social laws and the creation of jobs for musicians were long-awaited demands for working musicians, they expected that this Congress would be a step forward to resolving these issues.

As planned, discussions, discourses and artistic shows alternated during the four days of the Congress. The activities were broadcast live by *Radio Cooperativa Vitalicia*. One of the shows performed during the Congress was a theatrical play “based on the real-life of the musician” that was used to educate the attendees about musicians’ conditions and demands (SIPO 1940b, p. 17). Using plays to inform and educate was a tradition of trade unions since the mid-nineteenth century (Garcés 2003, p. 138; Bergquist 1986, p. 49; Grez 2011, pp. 16-17). Workers’ unions and mutual aid societies, especially from the industrial mining towns of the North of Chile, but also across the industrialised urban cities affected by the Social Question organised drama groups as cultural activities to provide education and political instruction to fellow workers. These promoted the realisation of plays during workers’ assemblies to illustrate the main issues that the working class was

suffering and to engage them in the struggle, especially useful when most of the workers were illiterate (Witker 1977, pp. 126-171, Grez 2011, pp. 16-17).

The OSN performed some of the musical numbers, conducted by Armando Carvajal, and others by ensembles of students of the National Conservatoire, representing its Students' Union⁸⁰. As stated in the newsletters of the SIPO the participation of the Students' Union of the Conservatoire "is one of the main contributions to the Congress, because through them [the students] we will be able to know the problems that affect us all, and to which we should bring any support" (SIPO 1940a, p. 4).



Figure 26 Pablo Garrido presenting at the First Musicians' Congress of Chile, 1940. Note that behind him was seated Domingo Santa Cruz (FPG, CDM).

In the same way as Garrido invited classical composer Domingo Santa Cruz to the celebrations of the Music Day of the SIPO in 1939 and 1940, he also invited him, now as dean of the Faculty of Arts of *Universidad de Chile*, to the Congress (figure 26). His participation is analysed in the next chapter, but what it is important to

⁸⁰ Delegates of the Students' Union of the National Conservatoire were: Mario Baeza, Sergio Pizarro, Rene Eyheralde, Lorenzo Recabarren and Silvio Rostagno (SIPO 1940a, p. 3).

note here is that, although the Congress targeted working musicians, it was not limited to them and included non-unionised musicians.

Besides the Students' Union of the Conservatoire, the OSN, the SIPO and the SPMV, thirteen musicians' unions from across the country participated in the Congress, representing around 5,000 musicians (see appendix 7). As registered in the last publication of the SIPO before the Congress, the first delegate that arrived was Pedro Pizarro, president of the Orchestral Professional Union of Magallanes from the remote city of Punta Arenas. Pizarro attended the SIPO meeting where members acclaimed him for embodying "the collaborative spirit of all the comrades of that remote region" (SIPO 1940a, p. 3). The fact that the first delegate that arrived was a representative of Punta Arenas was highlighted by the SIPO as follows:

Everyone would know the effort [*sacrificio*] that means coming from the southern city of the Hemisphere. We acknowledge his visit and his contribution to our Congress. We have been communicating with the comrades [*compañeros*] of Punta Arenas for months, and we know how much they look forward to presenting their problems [in this Congress]. They can be entirely sure that we will address their problems with the same interest, with a spirit of equality [*en igual derecho*] (SIPO 1940a, p. 1).

For the organisers, the attendance of delegates from remote cities was essential to address the national problems considering all different perspectives and opinions. This was key considering the locally rather than nationally organisation of trade unions, following the particular shape of the geography of the country. But for a centralised country, it was also crucial that the Congress considered all the different conditions of musicians working in various regions. They wrote that "the time when national problems were studied and solved exclusively from the capital is now behind us. We are against any centralism and imposition" (SIPO 1940a, p. 1).

In the Congress, Garrido read a paper about the situation of musicians, considering the lack of institutional support and their undervalued condition in Chilean society as the main problems. The paper comprised the main topics that were harming musicians' working lives, such as the lack of state support; the problems of the

music education; the indifference of radio stations towards Chilean music; and the precarious working conditions of musicians (García 1990, p. 73).

The form of a congress followed a workers' tradition rather than an artistic or intellectual one. Moreover, the CTCh played a crucial role in giving advice and guiding the formation of the National Federation of Musicians that emerged from this congress (Garrido 1941a). The entertainment activities, however, such as concerts, stressed the particularities of musicians as artists. Notably, the participation of the Conservatoire Students' Union was highlighted as such (García 1990, p. 73). It is worth noting that the SIPO received support from both the CTCh and the AIDC, both entities in which Garrido also participated. Garrido explained that the former helped the union regarding their guild problems, and the latter contributed because of its artistic links (Garrido 1939h).

There were two direct impacts of the Congress: Firstly, the creation of the National Federation of Musicians attached to the CTCh, with Garrido being elected as General Secretary, serving during two periods until 1942 (García 1990, p. 74). Sixteen musicians' unions from across the country that emerged from the late 1920s to 1940 joined this new Federation (SIPO 1940a, p. 6). Secondly, the realisation of a second Musicians' Congress between 18 and 21 November 1942 in Valparaíso, also led by Garrido. Indirect and longer-term consequences were the explicit treatment of musicians as workers; the awareness raised about musicians' working conditions and the status of Chilean music. The evidence provided here makes evident that Garrido's analysis and the agreements of the first Musicians' Congress contributed to the creation of music institutions supported by the state, that would follow the foundation of the IEM in October 1940. Such institutions followed the aim to improve the status of Chilean music, especially promoting composition and distribution of national music. As the next chapter explains, these new institutions would, however, be reluctant to treat musicians as workers, as Garrido, the musicians' unions and the Congress did, leaving that 'side' of the double-edged musical work off the table.

CONCLUSION

Garrido's views about musical labour and the role that different entities should accomplish were analysed in three main issues. First, the need for new legislation to improve musicians' working lives (e.g. proposal of new laws on copyright, labour laws for musicians and artists, etc.). Second, the protection of Chilean music and musicians (e.g. new regulations to oversight radio broadcasting, a quota for Chilean music). And finally, the importance he assigned to the collective organisation to ensure unity among musicians. All these were addressed in Garrido's writings, which were periodically available for a general audience.

Beyond the direct consequences that Garrido's project had – such as the second Musicians' Congress – it also contributed in creating awareness towards the music profession and the later creation of music institutions supported by the state. Through an in-depth study of Garrido's writings, this chapter has delved in the definition of the music profession proposed by the unionised musicians. It has shown to what extent the unionised musicians of Valparaíso, Santiago and other cities were part of the state project, and what their double-edged contributions were towards the music industries and the labour movement. Similarly as the musicians of the mutual aid society (chapters 3 and 4) those gathered in trade unions were also in between the labour movement and the artistic scene and the music industries, being, in Hobsbawm's (1984) words, labour aristocrats, or petit-bourgeois men with working-class problems (pp. 355-372). The fact that the SIPO, the Congress and Garrido himself, were connected at the same time with a workers' confederation, the CTCh, and an artistic association, the AIDC, provides evidence towards this argument.

The next chapter delves into the uneasy relationship between the musicians' unions, and the academic composers congregated in artistic associations who did not see themselves as workers. It argues that the social status and working conditions of those gathered in artistic associations benefited from the creation of state-funded institutions, such as the IEM, whilst, the second-class status of the popular working musicians was perpetuated.

CHAPTER 8

RECONCEPTUALISING MUSICIANS

The man that works with the spirit should neither be worried by the half-filled casserole nor by their barefooted children.

Bohemian times have passed, my friends!

Domingo Santa Cruz (Garrido 1943b)

I announced, 'the flautist has died', and the theatre was emptied in silence. The musicians looked at me with hatred. I thought they had blamed me for Bonaccini's death. However, I later knew that they were deeply offended because I had said 'the flautist' and not 'the teacher' [*el profesor*] Mr Bonaccini'.

Domingo Santa Cruz (Santa Cruz 1950, p. 26)

This chapter contrasts the two long-standing campaigns that comprised different notions of who 'the musician' is. It delves into the project led by Domingo Santa Cruz that sought realisation in the creation of the IEM in 1940, which is compared with Garrido's project, discussed in chapters 6 and 7. Although they have some common ground, these campaigns understood musical work differently. Both pursued state support for Chilean music and musicians, during a vital period in Chilean history when the government created state-funded institutions to promote industrialisation and welfare measures for the urban middle- and working-classes. State protection and promotion meant, however, different things depending on how each of these projects conceptualised musicians.

Contrasting *how* they defined 'the musician' the chapter makes visible what kind of musician was to be supported and the conflicts that emerged when the dichotomy between art and work was stressed. Whether a professional or an amateur; a worker or a cultured *aficionado*; making music for a living or for intellectual purposes; interconnected with the supply and demand of musical

labour or a talented genius that creates in isolation. Considering a grey zone between both conceptualisations, they moved and transformed in time, becoming more evident when one project or the other pushed forward, with the events analysed here: the reform of the Conservatoire and the creation of the IEM.

The first section of the chapter analyses the main difference between the two musical projects, unveiling that Santa Cruz's project was music-centred whilst Garrido's musician-centred. The second section outlines the conceptual transformation from 'cultured amateurs' to 'academic musicians' under the leadership of Santa Cruz. By analysing how the conceptualisation of the valid musician changed from a 'cultured *aficionado*' to an 'academic composer', and how the 'music professional' working in (popular) music was transformed to a mere 'player' is revealed. It does so by examining the contribution in this transformation of *Sociedad Bach*, an artistic association founded in Santiago by a group of 'cultured amateurs' interested in spreading classical music and renovating the musical scene. This group of musicians not only had no intentions to make a living from music but also condemned those who did so, arguing that earning a living from music jeopardised their artistry.

The chapter then turns to the issue of copyright by returning to one of the consequences of the Congress analysed in chapter 7. It contrasts the different notions assigned to composers and songwriters, establishing some parallels with the notions of how 'the musician' was conceptualised by Santa Cruz's and Garrido's campaigns, if primarily as artists or workers, respectively. To unpack this, I examine the participation of Santa Cruz at the Musicians' Congress, unveiling his notions about musical work. Then, I analyse how the creation of the IEM transformed the old 'cultured amateur' into the valid 'academic musician', with particular emphasis in composers. The last section of the chapter discusses the reinforcement of the 'academic composer' as the valid musician. It does so by addressing Garrido's criticism to the IEM as an example of how Santa Cruz's conceptualisation of 'the musician' left those working in music and gathering in musician' unions outside his project.

I conclude that Santa Cruz's project prevailed over Garrido's, defining what sort of musician the state should fund. The campaign led by Santa Cruz – including the Conservatoire reform of 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940 – shaped a new conceptualisation of the 'musician' which made evident the hierarchies between "players" and "gentlemen" (Ehrlich 1985). It also stressed the differences between musicians understood primarily as workers or artists. The old 'cultured amateur' became the 'academic' musician and with the IEM would enjoy a stable position at the Faculty of Arts (former Conservatoire) as a composer, performer or researcher, funded by the state. By targeting only 'academic' musicians, the IEM left those working in music and gathering in musicians' unions without state support. Moreover, as they were re-conceptualised as mere players, they also became neglected as artists.

1. TWO DIFFERENT PROJECTS ON MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

Garrido's project sought concretion with the Musicians' Congress of 1940, which presented the unionised musicians' proposals to protect their working lives, as discussed in chapters 6 and 7. Even though it was unsuccessful in the long term, the discussions held in Congress provide evidence towards the long-standing project of musicians' unionisation that Garrido campaigned for. This Congress marked a milestone in the history of musicians' organisation, yet music scholars have largely overlooked it.

By way of contrast, the figure of Santa Cruz as a promoter and organiser of institutions that shaped the classical musical life in Chile from the 1920s has captured scholars' attention. Merino (1984, 1986a, 1987) has studied Santa Cruz's work focused on his contributions as dean of the Faculty of Arts, together with Sargent (1986) and Peña (1987). Santa Cruz's role as a composer has been studied by, for example, Merino (1979, 1986b), Salas Viu (1952) and Schwartz (1982). These studies are focused on the contributions of Santa Cruz towards state promotion of music education and composition but said very little about to whom the state support was. Scholars such as Peña & Poveda (2010), Izquierdo (2011), Vera (2015) and Rojas (2017) provide a different approach. They aim to unveil Santa Cruz's ideological influence in the process of modernisation of music

university education. Besides, these studies contribute to deconstructing Santa Cruz's influence towards the canonical Chilean music historiography based on a continuous Western compositional tradition (Martínez & Ramos 2017, p. 122). In line with the latter, the consequences of the Conservatoire reform of 1928 and the short-term consequences of the creation of IEM in 1940, are analysed here to unveil the type of musician that Santa Cruz's project was focused on.

Contrasting Garrido's and Santa Cruz's projects, two categorisations emerge. Whilst accepting that the boundaries of such categorisations are porous, on the one hand, it is the 'music professionals' or 'orchestral musicians' [*profesorado orquestal, músico profesional*], who made their living from music. On the other, the 'cultured *aficionados*', who did not intend to earn their living from music and created artworks following intellectual aims. Garrido and other trade unionists pursued the creation of institutions thinking on the first category, whilst Santa Cruz and other classical musicians advocated for the second. Santa Cruz did so via the creation of state-funded music bodies as sort of patrons to sponsoring their artistic creations. Table 10 summarises the conceptualisation of 'the musician' by each of these projects.

Table 10 Conceptualisation of 'the musician' by two different musical projects

Project	Musicians' Unions - Garrido's project	Institute for Music Promotion (IEM) - Santa Cruz's project
Conceptualisation	Music professional	Aficionados
	Orchestral musician	Cultured amateurs
Description	Mainly instrumentalists, and conductors, with some composers and songwriters working at live orchestras, performing music for dancing, popular music.	Mainly composers, instrumentalists and conductors performing or composing classical (erudite) music for fun and with intellectual purposes.
Working in music?	Yes. Working in music to make a living.	No. Making a living from outside music.
Modes of Organisation	Trade unions or other guild organisations to improve their working conditions.	Artistic associations and musical clubs to spread classical music and to educate others musically.

The project of music unionisation that Garrido campaigned for not only conceptualised musicians as workers (albeit a particular sort of workers) but also

followed the model of labour organisations. As discussed in chapters 6 and 7, this was observable in the form of social organisation: trade unions, assembled in a national Congress and united in a Federation of Musicians. In addition, its strategies and activities mirrored the path that labour trade unions had followed since the late nineteenth century. This is exemplified in five characteristics that aimed to connect the musicians' organisation to the broader labour movement, and that understood musicians as *workers* rather than only *artists*.

First, holding a national Congress of musicians' unions, guilds and committees, as the industrial trade unions had held to discuss their main problems and demands since the Social Congress of Workers of 1900 that gathered most of the mutual aid societies⁸¹. Second, aiming to form a National Federation of musicians' unions as the industrial workers had organised with, for example, the Workers' Federation of Chile (FOCh). Third, joining the Workers' Confederation of Chile (CTCh), which was explicit in the call for participation in the Congress. Fourth, the demand for a pension and welfare system to protect musicians' working lives was vital for those assembled in Congress. Lastly, the overtly politicised language used and the character of the activities resonated with those of the labour organisations, such as illustrative plays to spread the political message and encourage militancy.

The Congress of 1940 gathered musicians who had joined a trade union or similar guild organisation of professionals, not of amateurs. Put differently, musicians earning their living from music and not *aficionados* who made music for pleasure or intellectual purposes joined in this Congress. Even though the call for participation targeted those working in music, it was not limited to them. The fact that the students of the National Conservatoire participated and the invitation to Santa Cruz to give the inaugural discourse of the Congress offer evidence of this. Besides, it shows that the projects led by Garrido and Santa Cruz shared some common ground.

⁸¹ As chapter 3 shows, the SMSMV did not participate in the Social Congress of Workers by the early twentieth century, even though the congress gathered most of the mutual aid societies of the time.

Both show concerns with the situation of music and musicians in Chile and attributed to the state the primary responsibility to ameliorate this. Both pursued the government act. As discussed in chapter 7, Garrido's proposals included the establishment of a quota of Chilean music in radio broadcasting, the creation of a record label for the promotion of national composers and Chilean folklore and the promotion of working-class orchestras and choirs to foster music education among the youth and workers. Some of the initiatives proposed by Santa Cruz included state protection and promotion of Chilean classical music (composers and orchestras), the transformation of the National Conservatoire into a university institution, and modifications in the copyright laws to protect classical composers. Most of these initiatives sought their concretion with the creation of the IEM, which is analysed in the following section.

2. FROM 'CULTURED AFICIONADOS' TO 'ACADEMIC COMPOSERS'

The contribution of those gathered in the musicians' unions towards the awareness of their conditions as workers and the realisation of the First Musicians' Congress in 1940 has been already analysed. As a way of contrast, those who gathered in artistic associations such as *Sociedad Bach* (SB) were an influential group of musicians who did not want to make their living from music, but to promote music as an art. Domingo Santa Cruz and Alfonso Leng formally inaugurated SB by the end of 1923 in Santiago. They both were interested in music from a young age, studied piano and music theory privately as other music *aficionados* of the time (Santa Cruz 1950, p. 10). On 25 December 1923, 28 members met in Santiago and elected Santa Cruz as chair of the EC, establishing "the promotion of the musical art in Chile" as the core aim of the Society (*ibid.*, p. 16). To achieve this, SB organised three choirs to perform public concerts and offered courses and music lectures, and a committee of publicity to "supervise the musical movement in Chile" (*ibid.*, pp. 16-17). For example, they checked if concerts corresponded to what the respective programmes detailed. If they found mistakes or misinformation, they would accuse the press. They held regular general meetings, elected EC and lead campaigns performing concerts, which was its main activity from its early days.

Both Garrido and Santa Cruz wrote in well-known newspapers, highlighting how important it was that the state promoted Chilean music and spread music education. The promotion of music education concerned Santa Cruz and other members of SB, which they addressed carrying out activities to make known a classical Western European repertoire that was still unknown in Chile. Unlike the musicians' unions in which Garrido participated, the purpose of the SB was to reach out a broader audience and renew "the tide of our ambient" for the purification, guidance and organisation of a "campaign of our musical field" (ibid., p. 18).

SB gathered *aficionado* musicians who enjoyed performing, learning and composing classical music but were not interested in making their living from it. The fact that Santa Cruz worked as a diplomat in the Chilean consulate in Spain while SB got its legal status exemplifies this. Another particularity of SB is that their members lived in Santiago and only had representation in that city, not in the provinces as the musicians' unions had. They also came from wealthy families and enjoyed music as an intellectual hobby. The main activities of SB during the first years were the direction of a music academy and performances of their choirs to spread classical music throughout the country. Santa Cruz recalls an anecdote that happened in one of these concerts, the first one that he conducted on 2 August 1919, which illustrates the differences between the '*aficionados*' of SB and the 'professionals' working in orchestras.

This was "my first show", which was not lacking in annoying incidents, provoked perhaps by my inexperience as a conductor, besides the deaf and intense hostility of professional members of the string orchestra, soloist and choir that was needed to include. It was the first time that we faced the fact that the professional musician had a strong resistance towards the "amateur" [*aficionado*] that breaks into their activities' (ibid., p. 14, original emphasis).

Here it is important to note how he described the tensions between those working in orchestras, that he called "professionals" and those who performed but not worked, that he called "amateurs", using the Spanish term of "*aficionados*" (ibid.). The tensions are evident. In this specific situation, those who worked in orchestras felt their jobs threatened, because of the appearance of these "amateur" musicians, who, on the one hand, performed for free, and on the other,

performed an unknown repertoire which probably was considered as more artistic by the “professionals”.

After several meetings held between December 1923 and April 1924, SB found collaboration from some public and private entities. For example, the director of the National Library offered this building for the general rehearsals of the choirs, and *El Mercurio*, one of the most relevant newspapers in Chile, allowed members to publish short pieces, contributing to making visible their opinion about the musical life in Chile (ibid., p. 17). This contrasts with the lack of institutional support that the SMSMV, the SPMV and the SIPO had. As discussed earlier, they saw problems such as “the lack of own premises” to meet and the need to earmark funds for the payment of their announcements in the local press (SMSMV 1925a, pp. 14-15; SMSMV Book 5).

The formal launch of the activities of the SB took place at the National Library (Santiago) on 1 April 1924, where 124 members attended (Santa Cruz 1950, p. 18). Here, Santa Cruz, as chair, read a discourse that summarised the plan of action of the SB and their “decision to reform everything” (ibid., p. 17). Twenty-six years after, Santa Cruz recalled that “today this message sounds incredible, but it also explains why it was received with derision by those who looked down to us, as the professional musicians did” (ibid.). Here, he was referring to those who worked as orchestral performers, such as those who participated in the SMSMV, the SPMV, the SIPO and other guild organisations in different cities.

The inaugural discourse continued by stating that SB would have an “unknown amplitude” in promoting music education, which must not be confused with that of “the *orfeones* that several teaching institutions and guild associations maintain” (ibid., p. 18). It is interesting to recall here that most industrial and mining workers’ organisations from the late nineteenth century formed *orfeones* to teach music and entertain their fellow workers. There were *orfeones* organised independently and supported by Municipalities, such as the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso*, conducted by Pedro Césari, one of the founders of the SMSMV (see chapter 3). Besides, from the late 1920s, there was a revival of marching bands, exemplified in the formation of new trade unions by marching band musicians,

such as the *Sindicato Musical* in 1928 and the SMB 1940 (Valenzuela 1932, p. 19; *El Mercurio* 16 February 1928, p. 11). Considering that *orfeones* were a vital source of work for conductors, instrumentalists and composers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Santa Cruz's reference to *orfeones* was derogatory not just for the unions that supported them, but also for musicians who still worked in such bands.

Contrary to this opinion, Garrido considered that *orfeones* were crucial to promoting music education. In 1945 he recalled the work of Césari and other *orfeonistas* of the late nineteenth century, by considering it as part of “a flourishing era of our musical life” (Garrido 1945b). Referring to the new marching band of the uniformed police [*Carabineros*], that similarly as the old *orfeones* did, they performed in public spaces, helping to continue a tradition of “honest artistic category” (ibid.). Besides, he argued that “our bands are acquiring ‘musicality’ [*musicalidad*]” and congratulated these “enthusiastic and studious Chilean musicians” for performing “without pomp nor glory [...] programmes that can be listened to with joy by the most exigent lovers of good music” (ibid.). With this Garrido highlighted the fact that marching bands like this one, could be both artistic and contribute to maintaining the long tradition of *orfeones* that provide education and entertainment to the people (ibid.). Considering that this new marching band depended on the Armed Forces, Garrido also implied that the state funding of such bands was relevant for their development and contribution towards the promotion of music education to the people.

Another event that illustrates the distinction between the ‘amateur’ or *aficionado* and the ‘professional’ musicians occurred on 5 May 1925 when the first symphonic concert organised by SB took place. The orchestra conducted by Armando Carvajal was performing when, suddenly, the flute player, Pablo Bonaccini died on stage. Santa Cruz as chair of the SB, in front of the standing crowd, formally announced “the flautist has died” and then the theatre was silently emptied (Santa Cruz 1950, p. 26). Santa Cruz remembers that after giving the bad news a group of musicians looked at him with hatred, to which he thought they had blamed him for Bonaccini's death. He later learned that they “were deeply offended” because he said, “‘the flautist’ and not ‘the teacher’ [*el profesor*] Mr Bonaccini” (ibid., p.

26, original emphasis). Santa Cruz remembers this event as a “sign of the time when being called a flautist, a cellist or a clarinettist carried huge stigma” (ibid.). He continues by arguing that if he would have said “the lawyer” or “the doctor has died” it would not call anyone’s attention, but, “in 1925, people still felt ashamed of their music profession” (ibid.). Professional musicians, especially instrumentalists, were called “*profesores*” during the era. The Spanish word “*profesor*” literally translated into English means teacher, but as discussed in chapter 5, the professional musicians called themselves in such way, highlighting their attributes as music educators and assigning a certain intellectual prestige to their work. In this context, the orchestral “*profesor*” must be understood as both, as a professional orchestral performer, but also as a teacher or pedagogue with all its positive implications.

Thus, Santa Cruz summarised the core difference between those who earned their living from music and those who performed or composed only for the love of it. Generally, orchestral instrumentalists were working musicians who, no matter if they enjoyed it or not, or whether they had formal music instruction or not, earned their living (or intended to) by playing. For those defending music only as a cultural and intellectual good, such as those at SB, making music as a profitable career without giving too much importance to the prestige of the genre but its popularity, was problematic. This preference for the popularity (seeking profitability) over the prestige or artistic quality, it was thought, “prostituted the art” and “gave way to vulgarity”, as Leng wrote to Garrido when he decided to make a living from music (Leng, 1923). These were the reasons, in Santa Cruz’s anecdote, of musicians feeling ashamed for playing an instrument.

In short, the type of musician that congregated in associations such as SB was the *aficionado* musician, who made their living elsewhere, with wealthy backgrounds, privately tutored, following intellectual purposes. Their organisations, such as SB, followed similar aims: to promote classical music as an intellectual good to help to form cultured and educated people via listening to their concerts. Although Garrido and the musicians’ unions also considered music as a means to educate people, as discussed earlier, they did so by giving them a more active role by

organising orchestras, choirs and groups where they could play and not only listen to a 'professional' orchestra as SB planned.

Now the chapter turns to examine how the notion of 'cultured amateurs', represented by SB, transformed into the notion of 'academic composers'. For doing so, it is essential to recall the reform of the National Conservatoire that took place in 1928, under the leadership of Santa Cruz and other 'cultured amateurs' from SB. Before such reform, the Conservatoire trained both amateur and professionals, that after its incorporation into the *Universidad de Chile* in 1892, attempted to democratise the study of music, and provided trained musicians for orchestras and bands. Following Rojas (2017), it did not impose an absolute way of understanding music (and, I would add, the musician) as it did after the 1928 reform (p. 3). The Conservatoire distinguished three types of students – composition, singing and instrument students –, but it did not establish hierarchies among them in terms of artistic quality of any kind.

Although the music that the Conservatoire before 1928 prioritised in teaching was that of Western European classical tradition, it trained musicians to perform at any orchestras and “it promoted the training of singers, pianists, instrument instructors and sight-readers for musical theatre” (Menanteau 2011, p. 59). Those who graduated from the Conservatoire played at the foremost orchestras in theatres in Santiago, and the rest of the country served most of the posts that churches with organ and chapel offered for musicians, and at small orchestras to perform various spectacles (Izquierdo 2011, p. 39). They also worked as “conductors of *estudiantinas*, *zarzuela* artists or church choirs' singers” (Sandoval 1911, p. 48), and “they could work in the field of popular music without jeopardising their musical dignity” (Rojas 2017, p. 3). Eloquently, composer and director of the Conservatoire, Enrique Soro, explained in 1927 that this institution “is not a breeding ground of geniuses [...] The mission of the Conservatoire is to form art workers [*obreros del arte*]. Workers who know their trade [*oficio*], can perform the works of the great geniuses and train the next generations” (Doniez Soro 2011, p. 197).

Santa Cruz and others participating in the SB led the reform of the Conservatoire from the early 1920s. In 1928 the Conservatoire was restructured, the year after the Faculty of Arts of *Universidad de Chile* was created, and hereafter those studying here would get a university degree for their music studies. Santa Cruz became dean of the Faculty of Arts and within his administration led this project towards the depuration and organisation of the musical life. The framework of his deanery was clear: European art music and prioritising the training of composers rather than performers (Menanteau 2011, p. 60). In the long term, the figure of the classical composer was the axis of Santa Cruz's project, and it meant that popular music was left behind, as both a subject to study and in the training of musicians, either performers or composers (*ibid.*, p. 61).

The realisation of this long-term project in Santa Cruz's deanery also brought a more apparent hierarchy among musicians, where the 'academic composer' enjoyed the higher status. This implied a re-conceptualisation of 'the musician'. After the 1928 reform, the "creative products of composers, would be considered as 'absolute artworks', conceived by the intellect and inspiration of this 'artist'" (Vera 2015, p. 108, original emphasis). This re-conceptualisation resulted in that those who actively worked in music before the 1928 reform, ceased to be considered the professional musicians and gradually faded away from music historiography accounts (*ibid.*, pp. 108-109; Izquierdo 2011, pp. 34-36). Canonical historical accounts of Chilean music, such as Salas Viu (1952), Pereira Salas (1941, 1957) and Escobar (1971) contributed to establishing a foundational idea of erudite Chilean music, considering that it emerged only with the SB. According to Izquierdo (2011) "composers not attached to the project created with the reform of the Conservatoire led by Domingo Santa Cruz in 1929, were just left behind by the local historiography" (p.34).

The creation of the IEM in 1940 followed similar ideals, pursuing state funding for those composing, teaching and researching at the Faculty of Arts, who were mostly composers of classical (erudite) music. In such a way, the IEM reinforced the exclusions that the Conservatoire reform of 1928 provoked in 1940 under law 6696. Instead of making music education more egalitarian via the broad promotion of music to the people, as was established by law 6696, it stressed the different

status among musicians. The creation of institutions such as the National Symphonic Orchestra under the umbrella of the IEM meant that the state sponsored these musicians, who were now employed by the *Universidad de Chile*. These deepened the inequalities among musicians, particularly between those in and outside the university (or the Conservatoire, that at this point were already inseparable bodies). Among those in the university, ‘academic composers’ – those creating music, teaching and researching under the new Faculty of Arts – prevailed over other types of musicians, who became ineligible for music prizes, scholarship and jobs under the umbrella of the IEM (Menanteau 2011, p. 60).

Table 11 Comparison of two conceptualisations of ‘the musician’ before 1940

	Music <i>aficionado</i> or the amateur musician	The professional musician
Social class	Wealthy background, from the aristocracy of the main urban centres (Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción)	Middle and working-class origin from urban and industrial centres (Valparaíso, Santiago, Concepción)
Gender	Mostly male	Mostly male
Music Training	Private music studies with eventual specialisation at the National Conservatoire	Self-trained, trained in guild bands or orchestras (marching bands, <i>orfeones</i> , <i>estudiantinas</i>), some with studies at academies and some at the National Conservatoire.
Source of income	Made a living from other liberal professions (lawyer, architect, dentist, etc.)	Made (or intended to) a living from music
Organisation	Joined artistic associations such as <i>Sociedad Bach</i>	Joined guild organisations and trade unions, such as the SMSMV, SIPO and SPMV.
Music	Classical music, erudite, avant-garde	Mostly popular music, but also some classical music
Role in the division of musical labour	Mostly composers and some performers	Mostly performers (instrumentalists and conductors) and some composers (songwriters)

Table 11 summarises how the two projects analysed here conceptualised ‘the musician’. It is worth recalling that these conceptualisations changed over time, overlapped and encountered grey zones in between. Among the differences and similarities between the two types of musicians conceptualised here, their role in the division of musical labour is notable, whether composers or performers. It is essential to consider how those who write music are conceptualised by each of

these projects if as composers or songwriters, depending as well on the music style or genre they create, which is analysed in the next section.

3. SONGWRITERS, COMPOSERS AND COPYRIGHT ISSUES AFTER THE MUSICIANS' CONGRESS

One of the problems that concerned musicians assembled in the Congress of 1940 was the issue of copyright. It was addressed stressing the need to both modify the copyright laws and control the distribution of royalties. Before the Congress, the SIPO held discussions about copyright royalties, preparing demands to discuss in such instance. For example, the Society of Composers of the SIPO held two meetings where they addressed these issues, and registered that:

It satisfies the sense of mutual understanding that members of this Society have [...] about the severe problems of the entity that distributes copyright royalties [*Pequeño Derecho*]. The outrageous decrease of payments during the last term has concerned the [Society of Composers] and, we understand, that composers will present an exciting work to be considered by the next Congress (SIPO 1940a, p. 1).

The above quotation illustrates that the musicians' gathered in trade unions conceptualised creators as 'composers'. It is noteworthy that the SCCh represented composers for two decades and, in a move to reinforce 'academic' composers, Santa Cruz together with Leng, formed the ANC in 1936. These two organisations focused on classical music, then their negotiations towards the copyright law followed those interests, leaving popular music composers, or songwriters, unrepresented. This explains the emergence of the Society of Composers, under the umbrella of the SIPO, from which the Music Composers' Union [*Sindicato de Compositores de Música*] would be founded in 1942 with around sixty members. The discussions held in the 1940 Congress helped to raise awareness among popular music composers about the issues of copyright and royalties and led them to form the Music Composers' Union, within the SIPO.

An interview with a member of the Music Composers' Union, songwriter Julio Toro, that Garrido published in 1942 illustrates the problems that musicians faced. Here, Toro complained about the lack of royalties he received from his song "*Al pie de*

una guitarra”, that he wrote in 1928 (Toro & Alfaro 1928). Even though it was a commercial success, Toro argued that he “got more personal satisfaction rather than money” with his song (Garrido 1942a). Then, Toro explained that his song was “recorded in various albums and it went really popular in Chile and abroad” (ibid.). It was even published in Argentina, but fraudulently. Publisher Alfredo Perrotti printed 5,000 copies under the name of M.B. Alfaro, who wrote the lyrics, without including Toro’s credits, who was the composer of the music. He complained but “they answered that it was a mistake of the typesetter! They promised that they would pay one Argentine *centavo* per copy as a royalty. However, until today, I have received nothing” (ibid.). Noteworthy, Toro acknowledged that he did not fully understand the copyright law or how to claim the royalties. Garrido asked him what was needed to improve this situation, to which Toro stated that “[t]he only solution is to reinforce the recently formed Composers’ Union, to which more than fifty musicians, helpless like me, belong” (ibid.).

The Music Composers’ Union worked to protect their copyrights and ensure the distribution of their royalties. To reinforce the production of popular music, they pursued the creation of a music publisher, with the support of the government. *Ecran* regarded this new union with optimism, primarily because of the contribution that Garrido would make towards it, but also highlighted the difficulties of making a living from composing. As the following quote illustrates, the magazine regarded ‘musicians’ as those who gathered in the SIPO and other musicians’ unions, and interchangeably referred to ‘composers’ and ‘songwriters’ [*autores musicales*] as those gathered in the Music Composers’ Union:

Musicians had a strong guild. They are in a particular condition to overcome their situation, but *composers* wandered through adventure, forgotten by God and by those who should pay their intellectual rights. None Chilean *songwriter* [*autor musical*] can afford to say that earn their living from what their *compositions* provide. Incomes always go at a minimum [...] But this will be over soon. Chilean *composers* have gathered in a trade union [...] Now it is time that gross profits that musical pieces produce in our country are taken by the *songwriters* [*autores*] [...] If the union works, the old projects of those who have worked hard to carry out serious work, will also succeed (Ecran, 27 October 1942, p. 25, my emphasis)

Despite the interchangeable concepts of ‘composers’ and ‘songwriters’ used by *Ecran* (ibid.), it is evident that the composers gathered in this union were different to those gathered in the old composers’ associations. The latter attracted those composing classical music and the former, popular songs with folkloric style. Garrido, that was also one of the founders of the Music Composers’ Union, described these composers as:

None of them pursues immortality nor to appear in the history of music, but they make CHILEAN MUSIC with the perfume of the countryside [...] They write melodies that EXPERTS brand as vulgar and trivial. However, the people [*el pueblo*], the frowning and surly workers [*obrero*] whistle them in their leisure time [...] Many of them would not be able to answer the questioning of academia, but they know how many bars constitute a *cueca* (Garrido 1942b, original emphasis).

When talking about “the experts” Garrido was referring to those ‘academic composers’ promoted by Santa Cruz’s project, whose work was sponsored by the Faculty of Arts, especially after the creation of the IEM in 1940 (ibid.). He was claiming that even though they could not “answer the questioning of academia” – because of their self-training of informal music instruction – their songs were widely received and sung by the common people, and their self-training allowed them to know how to create a song of folkloric genre, such as *cueca* (ibid.). In this same line of thought Toro said that “any musician” could be a composer, stressing the idea that it was not necessary to have formal studies nor a university degree ‘to be’ a composer – as promoted by Santa Cruz and the reformed Conservatoire – but only to create a song (Garrido 1942a).

4. ACADEMIC COMPOSERS AT THE (WORKING) MUSICIANS’ CONGRESS

Santa Cruz was invited to participate in the first Musicians’ Congress, where he read a discourse that provides some insights into the similarities and differences between the two projects and his conceptualisation of ‘the musician’. He participated in the Congress as dean of the Faculty of Arts of *Universidad de Chile* and as such pointed out that neither he nor the musicians he represented were the target of the Congress. He considered himself separated from the

“professionals” assembled here, but as part of the group of “teachers, composers, instrumentalists not unionised” (Santa Cruz 1940, p. 2).

Even though at that time Santa Cruz was being paid for being a musician, albeit by the university, and could be considered as a professional musician in that way, he considered himself as part of the group conceptualised as ‘academic composers’ and not as ‘professionals’. By stressing that the cause of the Congress was the “soaring position of the musicians, the player [*ejecutante*], the professional”, he made clear the differences among musicians and the particular situation that those conceptualised as “professionals” lived (*ibid.*). In other words, the Congress aimed to improve the conditions of those working in music, who joined the musicians’ unions, understood as the ‘music professionals’, not of those who, like him, worked as ‘academic musicians’ at the university.

Santa Cruz conceptualised the professional musician more narrowly than Garrido and the musicians’ unions. Although the Congress did not make explicit any definition of whom the professional musician was, analysing the requirements to participate, it is possible to outline some key characteristics: anyone who worked in music, or in other words, anyone who earned their living from music. These characteristics were common for anyone who, since the late 1920s joined the various musicians’ unions of the country, such as the SPMV or the SIPO, that were open, at least in the paper, to anyone “in the music trade” (SMSMV Book 1, p. 2; SMSMV 1928a). As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the working and unionised musicians of the 1920s and 1930s were those who worked, usually as instrumentalists, orchestral conductors or composers, in cinemas, theatres, coffee dances, casinos, and other venues. The invitation also required that participants were either a member of a musicians’ union or guild or were keen to form a new guild or committee before the Congress took place. The fact that the main aim of the Congress was to discuss proposals about pension and retirement systems meant that it gathered musicians who earned their living from their musical work.

Contrarily, by defining them as “players” (using the Spanish word *ejecutantes*), Santa Cruz referred only to the instrumentalists, leaving conductors, singers, composers and songwriters outside his conceptualisation. Put differently, Santa

Cruz considered as the music ‘professionals’ only the players (instrumentalists). About the question of if he referred to as players those working in classical or popular music, the following provides relevant information. Santa Cruz distinguished between musicians as trivial and frivolous entertainers and those who rise above of the “simple economic classification” and develop “a profession of wide projections” (Santa Cruz 1940). In other words, he differentiated between popular and classical musicians, among which, only the latter were “destined to promote music to the people” and, only in that way, he accepted that “we have much more in common of what we usually think” (ibid.). He concluded by stating that:

Everyone who made of music a spiritual profession is a musician. In other words, those who make of this art their primary occupation, *with no regard if they earn or not their living from it* but takes care of the music in one or another way (ibid., my emphasis).

Besides the artistic quality and intellectual projection of the music professional, Santa Cruz stressed the fact that earning a living directly from music was not vital ‘to be’ a musician. However, making a ‘spiritual profession’ from music was essential, raising the issue of music as art and not necessarily as work. This was a key difference from what Garrido was campaigning for decades in his writing, and of what the musicians’ unions required for membership. It is noteworthy how controversial this statement could have been in a Congress where musicians gathered to discuss issues that concerned them as workers, such as pension and welfare funds.

To finish his speech, Santa Cruz asked if “everyone who made of music a spiritual profession” is a musician, does that implies that all musicians are artists? Are all musicians “elements of culture” and “members of the intellectual field”? He answered: “they must be”, implying that they not necessarily are (ibid.). This endorses the aim of the SB that Santa Cruz summarised as follows: to renovate, purify and guide “our musical field” (Santa Cruz 1950, p. 18). If the musical field was to be purified, Santa Cruz suggested that it was contaminated. Therefore, it is logical to infer that the contaminant agents were those musicians who had no artistry nor intellectual interest in developing music as an art and not as work.

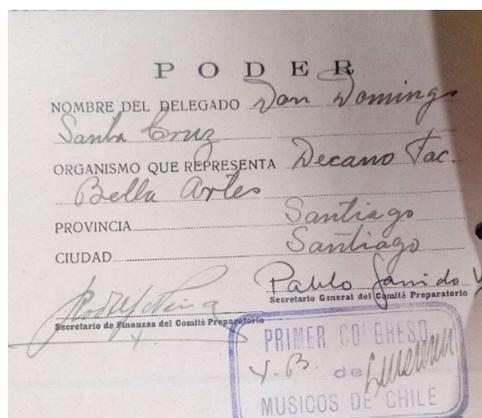


Figure 27 Santa Cruz's delegate card for the First Musicians' Congress, signed by Garrido (FDS, CDM).

Here, he turned to conceptualise to whom the state should focus its protectionist initiatives, making evident the differences between artists and artisans, and making clear the centrality of musicians' artistry or artistic quality:

Everyone who practices a musical activity, from who humbly performs at the most modest cafes, to the famous soloist instrumentalist, from the school teacher to the university lecturer, from the popular music composer to the creator of grand symphonies, all of them must be of *artistic quality*, must practice their activity following their *vocation*. They all have the right to be appreciated by society, to be acknowledged that the general [legal] framework will embrace them. Without it, the progress of the *artistic* activities is pointless and becomes *mechanics of repetition* and poor exercise of *craftsmanship* with a dead-end future (Santa Cruz 1940, pp. 3-4, my emphasis).

In the above quotation, Santa Cruz treated all musicians as potential beneficiaries of the state-funded project that he was preparing with the imminent creation of the IEM, inaugurated three months later, in October 1940. The distinction he made was not necessarily concerning the genre nor the division of labour of musicians, but about their artistic status. Santa Cruz considered that only artist-musicians should be beneficiaries of state protection and promotion, and not non-artistic musicians. How did he define which musicians were artists? What characteristics made musicians *more* artistic and *less* artisans? Even though this was a subjective distinction, it highlighted that the social status of the musician had something to do with Santa Cruz's conceptualisation of who the (artist) musician was. As the following section analyses, the project promoted by Santa Cruz that took form in

law 6696 and the creation of the IEM, helped to reconceptualise ‘the musician’, leaving the working-musician behind.

5. THE CREATION OF THE IEM AND THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE ACADEMIC COMPOSER

The creation of the IEM in October 1940 brought about most of the initiatives proposed by Santa Cruz and the SB during the 1920s and 1930s. It was created by law 6696 as a state institution that aimed to promote music across the country by boosting composition via annual contests and the funding of other musical initiatives. To make this aim viable, a Symphonic Orchestra, a Choir, a Ballet, and chamber ensembles were created under the umbrella of the IEM, with national character. In 1941 the Conservatoire was again reformed, deepening the reform of 1928, splitting it from the instrumental academy and focusing only on higher education and music research. The Conservatoire was divided into three departments: Pedagogy, Composition and Musicology. In August 1942 the IEM was transferred to be under the auspices of the *Universidad de Chile*, and the Faculty of Arts was reformed, taking control of the Conservatoire. This resulted in that from now on ‘to be’ a ‘professional musician’ one had to be admitted as a student in the Conservatoire and to graduate as in any other university career.

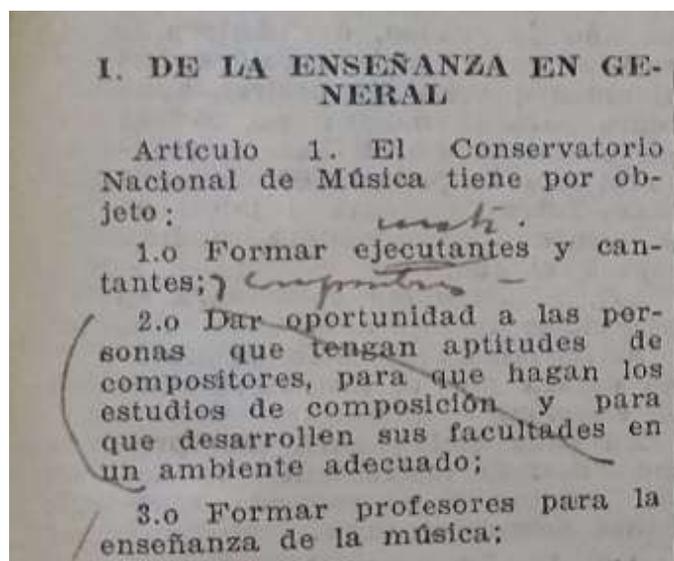


Figure 28 Extract from the rules and curriculum of the Conservatoire 1928, reform drafted by Santa Cruz (FDS, CDM).

Figure 28 serves as an example of this re-conceptualisation. Here, whilst drafting the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928, Santa Cruz modified the first article, which established that the Conservatoire aims to train “players” [*ejecutantes*] and “singers” [*cantantes*]. He crossed out the word “players” [*ejecutantes*], replacing it by “instrumentalists” [*instrumentistas*] and added, “composers” [*compositores*].

Table 12 Synthesis of the re-conceptualisation of ‘the musician’ after the IEM

Before the creation of the IEM	After the creation of the IEM
The professional or orchestral musician that joined unions and performed (some also composed and teach) popular music to make a living	Reconceptualised as ‘players’ Outside the new music institutions promoted by the state Neglected as artists (seeking income)
The <i>aficionado</i> or amateur musician that joined artistic societies, composed or performed classical music without seeking income	Reconceptualised as ‘academic’ composer (also performer and teacher) of the Universidad de Chile Beneficiaries of the IEM, hired by the IEM to perform at the National Symphonic Orchestra, to compose and teach at the Faculty of Arts, etc. Legitimate artist (not workers but state-funded)

This attempt also meant a conceptual reworking of what constituted a professional musician. Those who were understood as the professional musicians in the Congress of 1940 ceased to be, because not all of them had formal (or university) music studies, whether they made their living from music or not. As implied by Santa Cruz in his discourse at the Congress, earning a living from music was not relevant ‘to be’ a musician. With the creation of the IEM and the transformation of the Conservatoire into a university institution, those who worked in orchestras and bands to make a living ceased to be considered ‘professionals’ and began to be regarded as mere ‘players’.

On the contrary, those, such as Santa Cruz, Leng, and others, who composed or performed classical music, only for the love of it rather than to make a living, became the legitimate musicians to be sponsored by the state. The key was now in the process to become a valid musician, via studying in a prestigious place such

as the Conservatoire (now under the *Universidad de Chile*), performing or composing under the umbrella of the IEM, and no longer whether or not the musician made a living from playing (popular) music. Such conceptualisation exacerbated the differences in social prestige and artistry between composers and performers (or “players” [*ejecutantes*] in Santa Cruz’s terms), and especially between those in classical and popular music.

To counteract the tendency of understanding the ‘musician’ in such a way, Garrido wrote a piece asking what makes someone a musician. He wrote this after Manuel Lira was awarded the first prize in the national contest of music organised by the DIC in 1944. As Lira was neither a “professional musician” nor a well-known amateur, Garrido posed the rhetorical question:

Is this man a musician? In the sense of the trade, of the profession, of mastering techniques and reasons, he is not. However, Manuel Lira creates musical motifs with logical sequences, beautiful shapes, and overall, of deep emotion [...] I praise men like Manuel Lira, who do not know much about Bach nor counterpoint, nor about the messy tonal discipline of Hindemith and Schoenberg [...] I praise these real ‘musicians’, because they are so, without even looking for it, they followed their heart, *not degrees* [...] I am sure that the men of our land that *proclaim themselves composers, lecturers* and other presumptuous things, very rarely achieve to express their overwhelming sentiment with their melodies [...] I, ladies and gentlemen, prefer a simple and somewhat irrelevant but honest work, such as Manuel Lira’s ‘Pampa’, before all the production of *some brainy and stubborn geniuses of our fine arts showcase* (Garrido 1945h, my emphasis).

With this, Garrido was overtly criticising the narrowness of the definition of ‘the musician’ by the IEM. As discussed, before law 6696 was passed, Garrido was optimistic about it. He highlighted, for example, the relevance that the creation of the National Symphonic Orchestra as a state-funded entity would accomplish in the provision of jobs, especially in a time when the country was recovering from the downturn of the 1930s. After a couple of years the IEM, Garrido became sceptical about its impact. He particularly criticised its centralism, stating that despite being a state institution, financed by taxes, created to spread and promote music across the country, it still functioned only in Santiago rather than nationally (Garrido 1944a; Garrido 1945g). By contrasting the conditions of orchestras, choirs and academies in the provinces with the National Symphonic

Orchestra, Garrido argued that as “the Chilean people maintain the IEM, it is fair that what they pay in tributes is returned in cultural events”(Garrido 1944c). As an example, in a piece about pianist Parra Román, Garrido argued that even though this musician did not have any official support from the “institutions that regulate the musical destiny of the country”, he toured “more than one hundred cities” and did “much more than all the bureaucracy of the capital” (Garrido 1943a).

This leads to the second criticism that Garrido made of the IEM, about the lack of promotion of their activities, bureaucracy and negligence. Because of this, he argued, the IEM did not fulfil the aims of promoting “the musical art in all its different expressions and across the whole territory of the Republic”, reaching even the most remote regions (Garrido 1945g). Garrido congratulated most of the activities undertaken by the National Symphonic Orchestra, funded under the IEM. He considered, however, that the aim of music promotion was poorly achieved. As an example of this, Garrido regretted “the economic and artistic failure of these concerts” by criticising the high price of the entrance tickets and the low number of attendances (Garrido 1944e). Another example happened when Brazilian composer Heitor Villa-Lobos toured Chile and performed with the Orchestra. The newspaper headlines summarised his visit as follows: “Few people arrived at his concert, his conference was cancelled, Villalobos takes the first aeroplane to Buenos Aires” (Garrido 1944d). His criticism of the lack of promotion of the IEM’s activities was evident:

Law 6696 that created the Institute for Music Promotion [IEM], clearly states the creation of a Symphonic Orchestra ‘of Chile’, as the primary vehicle for promotion. Until today, taxpayers (the people, the worker, the modest employee, the soldier, the miner) are unaware of the existence of this orchestra (Garrido 1944e, original emphasis).

A third aspect that Garrido criticised of the IEM was that it only dealt “with one aspect, the broad music promotion; but not the protection of musicians themselves” (Garrido 1945g). As discussed, the protection of the musician was the primary concern of Garrido since the late 1920s, making visible the problems that affected musicians’ working lives and promoting musicians’ unionisation. Here the differences between Garrido’s project and the IEM become clearer. The focus of

the latter was on the music, and particularly in classical music, whilst the former focused on musicians and their living and working conditions.

Tellingly, the working conditions of musicians (or more precisely, performers) of the new orchestra formed under the IEM, became an issue for Garrido. In an interview with Santa Cruz, as chair of the IEM, Garrido asked him about the National Symphonic Orchestra's performers' working conditions. Santa Cruz clarified that they were not yet formally hired by the IEM and it was vital that they do so, especially to establish that they perform exclusively with this Orchestra. Santa Cruz stated: "we cannot ask them [to work] more hours with us, considering the meagreness of their salaries" (Garrido 1943b). Santa Cruz described that they worked between four and five hours per day, that for him "it is the maximum that we can ask them, due to the intensity of their intellectual and physical fatigue" (ibid.). Two weeks later, in an interview with Garrido, orchestral conductor Armando Carvajal stated that if in the early days of the orchestra members' salaries were "very modest, today they are miserable" (Garrido 1943c).

About social security, Carvajal explained that orchestral performers were "fully insured, due to their character of university employees. They had their future insured because of the deposit of their pensions [*imposiciones*] at the Public Employees and Journalists' Fund" (ibid.)⁸². As employees of the university, a public entity, musicians of the National Symphonic Orchestra hired by the IEM, were considered employees of the state, which allowed them to deposit a percentage of their salary for their retirement regularly. This was a fundamental difference from all other musicians, who mainly worked independently or with short-term contracts, and did not fit in the system of retirement funds. Only musicians working under the umbrella of the IEM had their "future insured" (ibid.). Garrido and the musicians' unions at the 1940 Congress were who, however,

⁸² Among the modifications made to law 4054 put in effect in 1924 was the creation of different insurance funds, considering the nature of the job, such as the Manual Workers' Fund, the Private Employees' Fund and the State Employees' Fund. In 1930, with no regards if they were private or public employees, journalists were allowed to deposit their insurance funds in the latter, now called National State Employees' and Journalists Fund. This move would later allow orchestral musicians hired by the IEM to deposit their insurance funds in such fund as university employees.

largely demanded this. Ironically the musicians who benefited from the resulting legal changes were not those of the type they envisaged⁸³.



Figure 29 SIPO celebrating Music Day, 22 November 1941. Note that beside Pablo Garrido, in the second row, are some ‘academic composers’ such as Domingo Santa Cruz and Jorge Urrutia Blondel (FPG, CDM).

Santa Cruz explained how important it was that those in the National Symphonic Orchestra had social security and a stable income. He stated that: “[t]he man that works with the spirit should neither be worried by the half-filled casserole nor by their barefooted children” (Garrido 1943b). It can be therefore assumed that not all musicians worked “with the spirit” and that not all musicians have the right not to be worried about their economic problems. Santa Cruz implied that only those who were legitimated as artists enjoyed the right of being beneficiated by the state with the creation of the IEM. Tellingly, Santa Cruz concludes his explanation by saying that “Bohemian times have passed, my friends!”, suggesting that those who still earned their living by playing in live music venues, theatre and cinema orchestras, as most of the members of musicians’ unions did, were still living in the past (Garrido 1943b). Moreover, they probably did not “work with the spirit” as the classical – and now ‘academic’ – musicians did, also suggesting that their work was less artistic, and therefore, not worthy of state support (ibid.).

⁸³ Apart from the institutions created by the IEM, protectionist laws for Chilean music were established only from the end of the decade. These were not conducted by the IEM, but by the DIC under the Ministry of Interior. For example, in 1947 the law created a quota of thirty percent of Chilean music to be broadcast on Chilean radios. Radio impresarios fiercely rejected this law, and Garrido, as a promoter of musicians’ work, defended it.

Five years after the emergence of the IEM and the various music bodies created after it, Garrido reflected on what musicians had achieved and what was still a pressing matter. Returning to the issue of state protection for musicians, he stressed the fact that musicians who gathered in the two musicians' congresses (1940 and 1942) were still left behind the legislation on social security. In Garrido's words:

If there is a group of citizens that it is outside of our developed social legislation, musicians deserve primary attention. Struggles and procedures had taken a long time with countless projects proposed even to Parliament. Musicians themselves have studied their problems, in the bohemian scene, in the trade union organisation, and two great National Congresses. So far, their problems have not been solved (Garrido 1945c).

Interestingly, after five years of the IEM, which was created to, among other things, provide jobs for musicians, Garrido pointed out that the main problem that musicians still faced was the “lack of sources of employment [*fuentes de trabajo*]” (ibid.). This proves that the IEM did not provide jobs for *all* musicians, but only some. It does, however, illustrate that those who did not enjoy the jobs provided by the IEM were those working as performers in live music orchestras and bands at night venues, or in other words, those considered ‘professionals’ by the musicians’ unions, now regarded by Santa Cruz as ‘players’ [*ejecutantes*]. Garrido kept arguing that the legislation that created the IEM should have included the three core areas that affected musicians’ lives and working conditions: “proper social laws [welfare], artistic and cultural development, and job creation” (Garrido 1945e). By far, the most important of these was the latter, which he considered as “the very basis of the musician existence” (ibid.). Put differently, Garrido argued that without working in music, musicians cease to be ‘musicians’.

CONCLUSION

The conceptualisation of ‘the musician’ changed with the creation of the IEM in 1940, transforming ‘cultured amateurs’ into the valid ‘academic musicians’ and ‘music professionals’ as mere ‘players’. This shift reflected two long-demanded campaigns by two key musicians. Garrido promoted the creation of trade unions and other guilds to unite musicians across the country, and demand, via a National

Federation of Musicians, new regulations to improve their lives and working conditions. Santa Cruz sought the state's involvement in promoting music education, composition and classical concerts. The latter was successful with the passing of law 6696 in 1940, allowing the creation of the IEM to promote music education and ensure the provision of jobs and social insurance for (some) musicians.

The provision of jobs and other benefits given by the IEM was not for *all* musicians, but a limited number: those previously conceptualised as 'cultured amateurs', who made music following intellectual purposes rather than to make a living. After the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940, these musicians were employed by the Faculty of Arts of the *Universidad de Chile* and re-conceptualised as 'academic musicians'. This move made evident the conflicts among the different types of musicians. The example of those 'cultured *aficionados*' working at the university, hired and funded by the IEM as a sort of patron, gives evidence towards these conflicts. They were now enabled to create artistically, funded by the IEM, and were not subject to economic constraints. In Santa Cruz's words, not "worried neither by the half-filled casserole nor by their barefooted children" (Garrido 1943b), without 'prostituting' the arts, as Leng was afraid to do so if earning his living from music (Leng 1923).

The chapter has argued that instead of broadening the music promotion among the Chilean people as the law defined, the IEM deepened and reinforced the hierarchies between the two categories of musicians. By reforming the Conservatoire, it became necessary to get a degree to be considered a professional musician. By organising and funding a Symphonic Orchestra under the umbrella of the IEM, it transformed orchestral musicians into university employees. What is more interesting here is that it were the orchestral and academic musicians, hired by the IEM, who benefited from the musicians' unions' demands for welfare provisions, and not those who demanded it: the working musicians organised in trade unions.

The musicians' Congress of 1940 and the creation of the IEM envisaged two different conceptualisations of what it was to be a musician and raised questions

as to what kind of musician the state should support. The main consequence of these events was that one conceptualisation prevailed over the other. The 'academic musician' succeeded in concrete terms, such as obtaining a stable job, state funding and social security (welfare and pension system), whilst the 'player' was left outside these reforms. Moreover, the 'academic musician' prevailed in intangible terms, becoming the legitimate artist that the state could benefit. 'Players' were relegated to second place, not only lacking the social security that the 'academic musicians' enjoyed but also neglected as artists.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this archive-based research project was to explore musicians' working lives and the path they followed to trade unionism from 1893 to 1940 in Chile, with a specific emphasis on Valparaíso. The research was done through an insight into the two institutions that represented musicians working in this city: the SMSMV and the SPMV. The focus on musical labour in Chile was one of the novel perspectives that this study introduces. As discussed in the introduction and chapter 1, music scholars have largely overlooked musicians' working lives when researching the music produced in Chile. Likewise, labour historians have overlooked musicians and cultural workers in their studies. In that respect, even though this thesis is framed under a music school, it contributes to labour studies by examining musicians working and organising themselves in connection with the broader labour movement. Unveiling musicians' practices and self-identification required delving in the convergences and divergences that their organisations established with others guilds, formed by musicians and non-musicians.

Given that the theoretical perspective of musical work has been developed mostly in European and Anglophone countries, this study makes a significant contribution by providing a new case study to the growing body of research on musical work. It does so also in understanding the particularities and similarities that the Chilean case has with the broader research on musical work. However, the contribution of this thesis is not the novelty per se, but the findings unveiled through the lens of musical labour, which are discussed in the following pages. In this way, this study has proved that studying musicians as workers contribute to seeing differently Chilean music history and provide new information to the broader studies on musical labour.

One of the most interesting findings in this matter corresponds to how the legal-political environment shaped musical workers' organisations in Chile, but at the same time, they developed organically. This meant, on the one hand, that musicians' trade unions were created from above as a consequence of the legislation put in effect in the late 1920s. On the other, musicians' mutual aid

societies organically developed to trade unions, as other labour organisations did, maintaining their characteristic of grassroots organisations. This finding shed light on some of the particularities of the Chilean case framed on the broader scholarship on musical work. It also gives labour studies the challenge of including the perspective of musicians as valid and relevant subjects of academic study to understand better the complexity of the labour movement.

To explore and understand musicians' living and working conditions, I used document analysis, including press accounts and archival sources produced by the musicians themselves as the main sources of data. This analysis allowed highlighting musicians' living and working conditions, their connections with the broader labour movement and the music industries, and issues of equality and inequality among musicians.

The argument of music conceived primarily as work was crucial in this thesis. This research shows that the consequences of the (self-) identification of musicians as workers jeopardised their artistic status in two ways. Musicians who did not identify as workers but as artists looked down on the working-musicians, considering their musical work less artistic. They were "anonymous creatures" (Ehrlich 1985, p. 142) because of the tasks they accomplished in the division of the musical labour, working mostly as instrumentalists and session performers rather than 'stars' or prominent composers. Furthermore, perhaps more important for music studies, previous scholars have primarily overlooked not only the working and organised musicians addressed here, but also their conditions as workers. Altogether, this has resulted in their omission in canonical accounts of Chilean music history. In this way, this thesis was underpinned by a purpose to make these 'hidden' musicians visible and to highlight their contribution towards musicians' trade unionism in Chile.

1. MAIN FINDINGS

The main findings of this research can be summarised in the following three points that were discussed throughout the chapters:

a) Musicians' working lives and the particularities of musical work

By studying the musicians who gathered in the SMSMV and the SPMV and the musical work they undertook, it was possible to unveil the particularities of their living and working conditions. They worked mostly independently with short-term or informal contracts, and their workplaces were mainly live music venues. This changed from orchestras and bands performing during the late nineteenth century in public spaces, such as *plazas*, theatres, dancing halls and silent cinema, to the new night live music venues for dancing and radio auditoriums that emerged during the 1920s. With the arrival of the 'talkies', some musicians would work as composers and songwriters for sound films produced in Chile from the late 1930s. Most of them worked as performers, both instrumentalists and conductors, and others as composers and music instructors.

The music scene in which they worked has been generally regarded as popular music. As discussed in chapter 1, this concept needs nuancing considering its definition in the Latin American context. Popular music in Latin America has been defined, similar as into the Anglophone context, as the music produced in an urban setting and spread through the mass media. Because of the multiple meanings of the word 'popular' in Latin America, the concept of popular music overlaps with folklore and working-class themes. These definitions have changed over time, and SMSMV members worked as orchestral performers, conductors and composers of music that could be regarded as either 'classical', because of its orchestral style and repertoire, or 'popular' for its popularity, working-class interests and relationships with the music industries. For instance, musicians from the *Orfeón Municipal de Valparaíso* performed military music and European classical repertoire; theatre orchestras performed a variety of genres to accompany silent films, operas and zarzuela acts. A similar issue can be found in the musical work of Pablo Garrido in the mid-1920s when he conducted jazz orchestras but also composed avant-garde pieces. For that reason, the thesis has not claimed the centrality of popular music for the working musicians analysed here, but the live music industry as a vital working place.

A key finding was that these musicians could not be conceived only as workers but as working musicians. This raised the question of the particularities of their living

conditions in comparison with workers of other trades and with musicians that did not intend to earn their living from music. By analysing the strategies that the working musicians used to collaborate with workers from other trades, and to make agreements with musicians gathered in artistic associations, it was possible to unveil the extent to which these musicians identified themselves as labourers or artists, with a complex grey area in between. The issues of class identification and occupation identification were crucial for working musicians and their organisations when it came to demanding actions from the government, achieving unity with the broader labour movement, and being part of the artistic movement in Chile.

The analysis of musicians' living and working conditions revealed their belonging to the coalescing middle-class of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This, coupled with their contractual status and the particularities of musical work, raised the relevance of the Social Question that negatively affected workers of all trades. However, their ambiguity in making explicit their class identity and prioritise for their occupational identity showed the 'aristocracy of labour' working and organised musicians were part of, as petit bourgeois with working-class problems. Even though their working lives were different, musicians and industrial workers shared precarious living conditions, which only changed after putting into effect the social laws of the mid-1920s. Here is when the second group of findings becomes relevant.

b) Musicians' guild organisation and the path to trade unionism in Chile

Within the Social Question, musicians as other workers did not enjoy any state provision of welfare services. Mutual aid societies meant a solution to this problem, providing medical, funerary services and a pension system to members. Musicians followed this same aim by gathering in this sort of organisation focusing on improving their living conditions. The mutual aid society, however, meant more than an economical solution to some of these problems, it also meant solidarity and grassroots organisation towards education and provision of jobs for members. Musicians organised music academies to provide music education to the community and jobs to their fellow members. This sheds light on the relevance of musicians' organisations in the provision of music education in the city of

Valparaíso. Put differently, it showed how decentralised music instruction was and the roles that the members of the SMSMV and the SPMV had in the provision of music training in the city.

Most importantly, however, the mutualised musicians participated in the musical life of the city as an official institution on behalf of the musicians of Valparaíso by, for example, organising the celebrations in honour of Saint Cecilia. These sorts of activities shaped the music profession in the city, with the SMSMV and the SPMV deciding what musical activities organise, what musicians were to perform and, overall, what musicians could join to their organisations. The SMSMV and the SPMV not only provided economic support to its members and music education to the community, but they also helped to outline – and make known – the music profession in the city.

In common with other mutual aid societies, the SMSMV was to suffer in the Ibáñez era, but also faced specific problems on its own. The social laws and legalisation of trade unions harmed the very existence of the organisation. The arrival of the ‘talkies’ right after the economic downturn of 1929 negatively affected musicians’ working conditions. This serves as an example of how working musicians were intertwined with the changes in the music industries and the labour laws. Despite the endurance of the SMSMV and the strategies that members proposed to cope with these changes, the solution was to create a trade union within the mutual aid society. One can read this fact as both a success or a failure of the SMSMV. More importantly, however, is what this finding demonstrates: the creation of musicians’ unions in Chile was legally rather than technologically driven. In other words, it was the change in labour legislation rather than the arrival of the sound film technology that triggered the formation of musicians’ unions in Chile.

The musicians’ union that emerged from the SMSMV continued some of their activities and aims, but also initiated new ones. Of these, the most important was the explicit definition of the SPMV of a workers’ organisation, which was visible in their aims and embodied in their participation at the Musicians’ Congress held in 1940. Under the leadership of Garrido, union members made explicit their status as workers and raised awareness about their working conditions. With this, the SPMV would distance itself from mutualism because it ceased to be only focused

on improving their living conditions, as the SMSMV did, and aimed to better members' working conditions. With this, the musicians' unions overtly considered their members as workers and not only as artists.

c) Different sorts of musicians and inequalities among musicians

If musicians that gathered in trade unions considered themselves as particular sorts of workers, those who gathered in artistic associations thought of themselves quite differently. The question of whether music was best seen as art or work was a pressing matter for the working-musicians during the whole period, though it became a striking point with two events analysed in the last part of the thesis: the first Musicians' Congress and the creation of state-funded institutions for music promotion under the IEM in 1940. At the core of this question was the very conceptualisation of musicians, if they were workers or artists. As discussed in chapter 8, the way musicians were regarded was re-conceptualised by several reforms led by a group of upper-class musicians interested in classical music who were first regarded as amateurs because they did not make their living from music. With this re-conceptualisation, the Conservatoire reforms and the creation of the IEM, they became the main recipients of state support. Thereafter, they were conceived as 'academics' for their employment at the university with composers enjoying the higher status.

Contrarily, musicians regarded as workers were not considered for state support after these reforms even though they, and their unions, demanded it for decades. This is perhaps one of the great ironies of Chilean music history of this period and something that has been overlooked by previous scholars. Besides, in being re-conceptualised as mere 'players', the working-musicians were neglected as artists and regarded as not worthy of state support nor academic research. The study of musicians' working lives and their organisations is the main contribution of this thesis, challenging existing historiography which has usually favoured the study of composers and their artworks rather than musicians' everyday issues when making their living from music.

2. CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH ON MUSICAL LABOUR

The above findings, even though circumscribed to the time and place studied here, allow informing the broader contribution of this thesis to the field of musical labour. This contribution can be summarised in the three following points: a) the relevance of musicians' self-identification as either part of the labour movement or the wider artistic societies and its highly, adaptable flexible nature; b) hierarchies between musical genres and c) methodological difficulties in getting hold of analysing primary sources.

a) Workers or artists?

Throughout the thesis, it was possible to see how working musicians prioritised some times, for their occupational identity and at others, their class identity, which had each different consequences for them and their organisations. Most of the time, though, working musicians prioritised their identity as musicians, organising themselves with others who shared their same occupation and making exchanges with artisan and artistic organisations rather than with working-class industrial unions. This was the most common strategy of working musicians and their organisations. By maintaining an ambiguous class identification, they were successful in gathering musicians from different backgrounds and working at different music scenes. They were also successful in keeping an organisation that went from a mutual aid society to a trade union, with their own funds and autonomy. However, when they needed to pressurise the government to achieve change in legislation that directly harmed their status as workers, they made their class identity explicit. They did so by joining labour organisations, participating in the broader labour movement, as they did in 1925 when the SMSMV participated in the Mutualist Congress together with other mutual aid societies of different trades, and in 1940 when the Federation of Musicians, created at Musicians' Congress, joined the CTCh with working-class labour unions.

The practice of prioritising their class identity was successful but only temporarily. Four years after the participation of the SMSMV at the Mutualist Congress, the SMSMV as other mutual aid societies declined. Despite this decline, musicians from within the SMSMV organised their trade union, showing that, in this regard, their class identification resulted in a positive outcome. It was that same form of

organisation, a trade union, with class identification that achieved to gather around 5,000 musicians and sixteen musicians' unions from all over the country to meet in a Congress for the first in Chilean history. Nevertheless, this success did not last long.

Evidence gathered in this study shows that whenever working musicians expressed their class identity, they were looked down upon musicians who did not see themselves as workers but primarily as artists. The most striking case took place in 1940 when unionised musicians made explicit their belonging to the wider labour movement (SIPO 1940b, pp. 19-24) whilst musicians from artistic associations expressed reluctance to see themselves as workers, even though some of them participated at the first Musicians' Congress. Instead, they called for the need to protect musicians' artistic status and lobbied for a law that promoted classical rather than all kinds of music, jeopardising working-musicians' artistic status. Moreover, the law 6696 that artist-musicians managed to put into effect in 1940 was music-centred rather than musician-centred and excluded working-musicians and their unions.

The complex and fluent identification of working-musicians is one of the most significant findings of this thesis. They not only identified as both workers and artists but also moved from one identification to another in convenience. Musicians' organisations were characterised by complexity and fluidity. This flexible and opportunistic way of organising themselves as musicians, as artists and as part of the labour movement, challenges rigid understandings of musical labour.

b) Musical genres

The above leads to other contribution of this study: indeed, the thesis demonstrates that, when researching issues of music and labour, we need to think about musical genres in tandem rather than in isolation. This thesis has shown that there are musical genres that Chilean music historiography has regarded in a higher hierarchical status than others. This situation was stressed with the reform of the Conservatoire in 1928 and the creation of the IEM in 1940, producing legislation which favoured one type of musician more than another and re-conceptualising the professional musician (Vera 2015, Rojas 2018). With this, some

musicians were regarded as more 'artistic' than others, giving rise to inequalities among them. When the IEM was created, it was evident that it included only artistic-musicians, not those players working in more popular musical form.

Working musicians not only worked across genres but also accomplished different tasks in the social division of musical labour, performing, composing and teaching. For the nature of their musical work, they joined guild organisations following the improvement and protection of their living and working conditions rather than of the music itself. In contrast, non-working musicians prioritised for the promotion of music, and particularly, classical music, putting forward legislation to create the IEM in 1940 (Vera 2015, p. 108). This resulted in prioritising research on classical music and especially composers (Rondón 2016, p. 121, 126), hiding from music scholarship musicians working in other genres and developing tasks different from composition. In this regard, by reading Chilean music history with the lens of labour, this study contributes to making visible working musicians that have been ignored by previous scholars. This implies that musicians working across all musical genres, and not only in classical music, are worth being studied. The same can be said about performers (or players), who have been regarded as less important than composers.

Unveiling musicians' working lives and naming musicians who have been unknown in music historiography, contributes not only in making visible such musicians but also in broadening up the perspective beyond the division of genres for academic research. Studying musicians who worked across genres, not as an exception due to their artistry, but as a common trend of working musicians, contributes to thinking of musical genres comprehensively and in an equal level of relevance.

c) Methods and archival documents

The methodology and documents used contributed to this study in several ways. First, most of them are unknown to previous scholars, and, more significantly, their authorship by the musicians under scrutiny meant that these sources directly spoke to their working lives and everyday issues concerning their collective organisation. By analysing these documents in conjunction with other accounts, I was able to make visible key musicians that worked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Valparaíso, the musical work they undertook, how it

changed over time, their main challenges and the reasons for organising collectively.

One unanticipated finding was that not these working and organised musicians were unknown or invisible in Chilean music historiography, as I thought at earlier stages of this research. Finding the names of musicians such as Pedro Césari and Pablo Garrido in the SIMUPROVAL archive revealed that, even if their names and contributions are addressed in previous scholarship, their status as workers remained hidden. This finding was crucial for signposting the relevance of the perspective of labour to get a comprehensive understanding of their trajectories and working conditions. Moreover, it was vital to analyse why their status as workers and relationship with the wider labour movement remained hidden in plain sight for previous scholars. This finding also presents the challenge of changing the way these musicians have been addressed in Chilean music historiography. Even though Césari and Garrido were artists, they were also workers. More importantly, even though they were artists, they needed to form and join a collective organisation to rely on. The mutual aid society or the trade union helped them to improve their living conditions by the simple act of mutual assistantship and grassroots support. Seeing such musicians primarily as workers helps to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issues that affected their working lives, their organisations, and ultimately, the music they made for a living.

Apart from this contribution, document analysis proved to be a challenge for further historical research. Notably, the research revealed that it is not known whether other archives concerning working musicians and their organisations are available in Chile. If so, their preservation, digitisation, and ensuring open access, is urgent for further research. The fact that musicians organised regionally and not necessarily represented in a national institution also meant that their archives could be easily dispersed across the country. Finding them constitutes a challenge as it was finding the documents analysed in this study.

3. AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The overwhelming absence of female musicians in the two musicians' organisations under scrutiny needs further research, especially to explore

musicians' working lives from a gender perspective. This would, however, need another sort of sources, beyond musicians' official organisations, such as archival documents of female workers' organisations, music teachers or singers' societies, which female musicians could join.

Despite the contribution that I offer in chapters 3 and 4, more research needs to be undertaken to understand the emergence of mutual aid societies of musicians in Chile. Through comparative studies, it would be possible to elucidate regional approaches in terms of examining influences, contributions and exchanges between musicians' organisations in different South American countries with similar political processes.

Further research on collaborations between musicians and labour organisations could produce fascinating findings that account more for the extent to which musicians' organisations drew from and contributed to the labour movement. Not only looking at their official communication, as this thesis did, but also further cooperation and eventual frictions between musicians and labour organisations of other trades would make an important contribution to this area of research.

The impact of the arrival of the 'talkies' in musicians' working lives is an intriguing issue which could be usefully explored in further research. Whilst chapter 5 analyses this topic, it needs to be examined more closely, focusing on how fast and how successfully this new technology was installed in the country, and the extent to which it contributed to musicians' unemployment, including perspectives from film studies. Delving in the figure of Salvatierra and analysing his contribution to film music in the silent era would contribute to gain better insight on this topic.

A natural progression of this work is to analyse musicians' working lives and their unions during the three decades that follow those under study here, especially with the formation of the National Federation of Musicians and the creation of institutions to promote national culture and industrialisation via protective policies and welfare services. The impact that the Federation of Musicians had on musicians' working lives and the protectionist measures developed between 1940 and 1973 remains as an obscure matter.

Some of the musicians unveiled in this thesis would merit more study. A project that I would like to do is to systematise the findings concerning the musical work of two key musicians in this thesis, Pedro Césari and Pablo Garrido. I offered an original contribution on this matter, studying the role undertaken by Césari in chapter 3 and by Garrido in chapters 6 and 7, though more work will need to be done to outline their artistic profile and to establish their contribution to Chilean music, acknowledging their status as workers and the relationship they established with the labour movement. Further publications on their musical work and their contribution to musicians' organisation would help to make their contribution visible for future studies.

One of the main challenges that I faced in undertaking this research is the significant gap of knowledge about musicians' working lives and their guilds in Chile. Notwithstanding the limitations of this thesis, it presents the first detailed and rigorous study of this topic and shows that the fate of the working musicians and their organisations was intertwined with the fate of the music industries, technological changes, and above all, modifications in the legal framework and the creation of state-funded institutions for music promotion. Although several questions still remain to be answered, this thesis serves as a fundamental starting point for further research.

I hope to have provided insight into the factors that have shaped musicians' working lives from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century in Valparaíso and, in doing so, to have provided new ways of thinking about Chilean musical history. Hopefully, this thesis will build bridges between classical music and popular music studies, as well as between music and labour studies and stimulate further research on musical work in Chile and other Latin American countries.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE

1893	SMSMV is founded
1896	First Cinematographic Exhibition in Chile
1903	General strike of harbour workers and boatmen in Valparaíso
1906	Law on workers' housing. Earthquake in Valparaíso
1909	FOCh is founded Health code
1910	Railway <i>El trasandino</i> between Los Andes (Chile) and Mendoza (Argentina) Centenary of National Independence with official celebrations
1912	POS is founded
1914	First World War Panama Canal
1915	Law that allowed workers to seat down during the working time
1916	Exhibition of the first feature film in Chile
1917	First social laws for industrial workers Artificial nitrate in Germany
1919	Chile joined the League of Nations
1920	Law on Compulsory Primary Education
1922	Beginning of radio broadcasting
1924	Social and labour laws
1925	Copyright and Intellectual Property law
1927	Victor and Odeon begin to print discs in Chile (recordings in Argentina)
1928	Legalisation of trade unions Reform of the National Conservatoire First draft of Musicians' Union of Valparaíso's written by SMSMV
1929	Victor changes to RCA Victor Global Downturn
1930	First exhibitions of sound films in Chile National Service of Radiobroadcasting is created Casino Municipal de Viña del Mar
1931	SPMV is founded RCA Victor and Odeon begin to record in Chile Association of Radiobroadcasters of Chile is founded Labour Code
1932	SIPO is founded in Santiago Professional Musicians' Union of Concepción is founded
1933	Law of tax on tickets to public shows, discs and cylinders
1934	Women's suffrage for municipal elections First national feature film
1935	First Copyright Society [<i>Pequeño Derecho de Autor</i>]
1936	FP emerges CTCh emerges
1937	First national network of broadcasting
1940	Radios begin to broadcast live music from concert halls and dance clubs South American Agreement in Radio Communications First Musicians' Congress of Chile in Santiago Law 6696 is put into effect, and the IEM is created

APPENDIX 2: ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS CORRESPONDING TO THE SMSMV

ALL DIGITISED BY MMVALPO AND HOSTED BY SIMUPROVAL

Original name	English name
Reuniones generales desde la inauguración de la SMSMV un 5 de diciembre de 1893 hasta el 25 de enero de 1904	Book of General meetings, from the inauguration of SMSMV, 5 December 1893, to 25 January 1904
Cartas de la sociedad musical de SM 1893-1911	Letters of the SMSMV 1893-1911
Libro de actas de la SMSMV 1894-1898, sesiones 1 a 14	Book of minutes of meetings of the SMSMV 1894-1898, sessions 1 to 14
Libro Sesiones del Directorio del 25 de abril de 1898 al 10 de abril de 1905	Book of Sessions of the Directory, from 25 April 1898 to 10 April 1905
Libro Juntas Generales 1904-1953	Book of General Meetings 1904-1953
Actas desde el 24 de abril de 1905 al 5 de enero 1912	Book of Minutes from 24 April 1905 to 5 January 1912
Libro de pagos SMSM de 1922 a 1974	Book of payments SMSMV from 1922 to 1974
Documentos de importancia. Reforma de estatutos 1925.	Relevant documents. Statutes reform 1925.
Libro de caja SMSMV 1939-1950	Book of accounts SMSMV 1939-1950
Libro de caja SMSMV 1975-1980	Book of Accounts SMSMV 1975 -1980
Libro de Tesorería de la SMSMV 1974-1978	Book of Treasury of the SMSMV 1974-1978
Fotos SMSMV, socios y eventos	Photography, members and events

APPENDIX 3: ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS CORRESPONDING TO THE SPMV

ALL DIGITISED BY MMVALPO AND HOSTED BY SIMUPROVAL

Original name	English name
Libro de Actas del Sindicato de Músicos de Valparaíso N° 14 1952- 1954	Book of minutes of meetings Musicians' Union of Valparaíso Number 14, from 1952 to 1954
Actas del Sindicato de Músicos de 1956 a 1961	Minutes of meetings Musicians' Union from 1956 to 1961
Libro de actas del Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso del 16 de mayo de 1967 al 7 de julio de 1976	Book of minutes of Professional Musicians' Union of Valparaíso from 16 th May 1967 to 7 th July 1976
Libro de actas Sindicato de Músicos de Valparaíso 1976-1992	Book of minutes of meetings Musicians' Union of Valparaíso 1976-1992
Carnet profesional	Professional card
Hojas sueltas Sindicato	Leaflets of the Musicians' Union
Inscripciones de socios Sindicato	Registration of members Musicians' Union

APPENDIX 4: INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

Name	Description	Date of conversation
Rodrigo Torres	Academic ethnomusicologist based at the Faculty of Arts of <i>Universidad de Chile</i> , convenor of CDM that includes the <i>FPG</i> and <i>FDS</i> .	4 May 2017
Cecilia Astudillo	Archivist of the Music Archive of the National Library of Chile - DIBAM	20 April 2017
Pia Settimi	Great-granddaughter of Pietro Cesari who holds the documents and materials corresponding to the Cesari family archive in Manziana.	20-23 June 2018

APPENDIX 5: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Categories	Name of interviewee	Description in the interviewee	Date of interview
1. Trade unionist musicians	Patricio Salazar (b. 1947)	Drummer, timbales and timpanist performer in popular and classical music. Graduated from the National Conservatoire, <i>Universidad de Chile</i> . A former member of SIPO, former leader of <i>Círculo de Bateristas</i> , SIPO, by the late 1960s and 1970s. At the time of the interview: EC member of SINAMUARCHI and board member of SCD.	11 December 2015
	Leonardo Núñez (b. 1941)	Trumpeter, author, composer and arranger in popular music. A former member of SIPO by the late 1960s and 1970s. Union leader and trainer. At the time of the interview: EC member of SINAMUARCHI.	11 April 2016
2. Music Scholars	Fernando García (b. 1930)	Academic composer based at the Faculty of Arts of <i>Universidad de Chile</i> . A former member of the Students' Union of the Conservatoire, a supporter of the National Orchestra Symphonic strike in 1959.	14 December 2015
	Álvaro Menanteau	Academic and popular music scholar. Researcher on the social history of jazz in Chile.	24 April 2017
3. Music archivist	Rodrigo Sandoval	Historian and popular music archivist, convenor of AMPUC.	17 April 2017

APPENDIX 6: GUIDELINE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

GENERAL QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS TO KEY MUSICIANS.

- Can you tell me about your first approach to music?
- When did you start working in music? (age, where, what kind of job)
- How can you describe your work in music: musician (what instrument?), performer, singer, composer, recording artist, session musician...?
- Where did you use to work (public spaces, venues, orchestras, recording studios, schools, radio, TV...?) How did these places change with time?
- What is the main musical genre in which you work or worked? (Specialisation, overlapping genres, session musician...)
- Have you participated in any musicians' organisation (unions, aid associations, societies...)? In which ones? How can you describe your participation? (Member associated, collaborator, committee...)
- How do you define yourself, as a professional, semi-professional, amateur musician? Why?
- Which are the main problems of working in music? In general? Particularly in Chile? How did these conditions change over time?
- What role did musicians' organisations play in Chile? Tell me about an important event in which a Chilean musicians' organisation has played a key role.
- How did musicians' unions change in Chile? In what state do you consider are these organisations nowadays?
- Did some of these organisations play an essential role in your professional life? To what extent? Describe some event...
- Whom else do you think I do need to interview?

**APPENDIX 7: MUSICIANS' UNIONS THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE
MUSICIANS' CONGRESS 1940.**

Number	Musicians' union	EC	City
1	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Tarapacá	President: Salvador Sandoval Secretary: José Affín Loyola Treasurer: Hugo Miranda.	Iquique
2	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Antofagasta.	President: Ambrosio López G. Secretary: Alejandro Araya. Treasurer: Esteban Moreno.	Antofagasta
3	Sindicato Orquestal Musical de Chañaral.	President: Elías Morgan Secretary: Juan Rebolledo Treasurer: Carlos Vallejos	Chañaral
4	Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Ovalle.	President: Santiago Guzmán Secretary: Segundo González Treasurer: Leoncio Carvajal	Ovalle
5	SPMV, Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Valparaíso.	President: Ernesto Letelier Secretary: Julio Romero Treasurer: Julio Opazo	Valparaíso
6	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de O' Higgins	President: Jorge Larrea Secretary: Humberto Espinoza Treasurer: Justo Sotomayor	Rancagua
7	Sindicato Orquestal de Linares:	President: Armando Riderelli Secretary: Cesar 2° Salvatierra Treasurer: Antonio López	Linares
8	Sindicato Profesional Musical de Concepción.	President: Juan Pérez V. Secretary: José Roa Treasurer: José Giolito	Concepción
9	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Lota.	President: Adolfo Pazzaro Secretary E. E. Arroyo Treasurer: Hortencia Romero	Lota
10	Sindicato Profesional de Cautín	President: Enrique Vásquez Jeria Secretary: Rafael Aguayo Treasurer: Santiago Lagos	Temuco
11	Sindicato Profesional de Orquestal de Valdivia.	President: Luis A. Monroy Illanes Secretary: David 2° Gallardo Treasurer: José Palominos	Valdivia
12	Sindicato Profesional de Músicos de Osorno.	President: Orlando Espinoza M. Secretary: Luis Arevalo Treasurer: Augusto García	Osorno
13	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Llanquihue	President: Abraham S. Mora Secretary: Eduardo Mayorga Treasurer: Aristo Leiva	Puerto Montt
14	Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Magallanes	President: Pedro K. Pizarro A. Secretary: Arturo Borchers Treasurer: Alejandro Martinio	Punta Arenas
15	SIPO, Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Santiago	President: Pablo Garrido Secretary: Luis Astorga Treasurer: Rodolfo Neira	Santiago

APPENDIX 8: LIST OF MUSICIANS' ORGANISATIONS

To protect musicians' living and working conditions		To promote music	
Organisation	Year / Place	Organisation	Year / Place
		Sociedad Orfeón de Santiago	1869
SMSMS	1889 Santiago	Sociedad de Cuartetto	1885
SMSMV	1893 Valparaíso		
Sociedad Musical de Ovalle	1895 Ovalle		
Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos Unión Teatral	1900 Valparaíso		
Sociedad Unión Teatral	1903 Santiago		
		SCCh	1920 Santiago
		SB	1923 Santiago
Asociación Teatral y Cinematográfica de Aconcagua	1929 Valparaíso	Sociedad Orquestal de Chile	1921 Santiago
		Sociedad Unión Musical de Chile	1924 Santiago
Sindicato Musical	1928		
Sindicato Musical Jazz	1928		
Asociación Chilena de Cantantes	1929		
SPMV	1931 Valparaíso	ANCS	1930 Santiago
Sindicato Profesional Musical de Concepción	1932 Concepción	Sociedad Musical de Concepcion	1934 Concepcion
SIPO	1932 Santiago	Sociedad Musical de Linares	1936 Linares
Asociación Orquestal	1932 Santiago	ANC founded by Santa Cruz and Leng	1936 Santiago
Society of Composers of SIPO	1938 Santiago		
		Hot Club (Club de Jazz)	1939 (active from 1943) Santiago
SMB	1940 Santiago		
Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Cautín	1940 Temuco		
Sindicato Profesional Orquestal de Magallanes	1940 Punta Arenas		
Sindicato Profesional de Compositores de Música de Chile (under SIPO)	1942 Santiago	IEM	1940 Santiago

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