



**Harry Hardy and the Royal Irish Constabulary Band:
A Musical Accompaniment to Ireland's
Mid-Victorian Middle-Class Leisure Culture
(1861–1872)**

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	vi–vii
List of Tables	vii
Abstract	viii
Acknowledgements	x
Abbreviations and Notes	xi
Outline Chronology of RIC Band	xii
Outline Chronology of Hardy’s Biography	xiii
Introduction	1–30
(i) Hardy and the RIC Band: The Case for Retrieving Their Memory	1
(ii) Research Questions	4
(iii) The Boundaries of this Study	5
(iv) The Approach to this Study	6
(v) Challenges Encountered	7
(vi) Literature Review	8
(vii) Outline of Chapters	24
(viii) Contribution to Scholarship	29
Chapter 1: The Establishment of the Royal Irish Constabulary Band	31 –60
1.1 Introduction	31
1.2 Policing in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Rationale and Vision	31
1.3 A Changing Irish Society: The Implications for Music in Middle-Class Culture	37
1.4 A Modernised Irish Society: Factors Supporting the Emergence of the Royal Irish Constabulary Band	42
1.5 Initial Arrangements: Recruitment and Training in the Royal Irish Constabulary Band	44
1.6 Playing on the Beat: Instruments, Duties and Demands	45
1.7 1.7.1 Musical Beginnings: Hardy’s Career with the Band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards	46
1.7.2 Moving On: Hardy’s First Appointment as Bandmaster	50
1.7.3 Performing in the Theatre of War: Hardy as Bandmaster of the 23rd Welch Fusiliers	52
1.7.4 Forming a Relationship: Hardy and the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons in Ireland	53
1.8 Hardy and the RIC Band: Early Success and Positive Reception	55
1.9 Conclusion	58
Chapter 2: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Promenades, Parks, and Piers	61–98
2.1 Introduction	61

2.2	Overview: Music Outdoors in Dublin and its Environs	62
2.3	Band Music in Parks and Public Spaces	65
	2.3.1 Phoenix Park: A Place of Pure Pleasure or Politicisation?	67
	2.3.2 Military Bands at the Phoenix Park: Music and Manoeuvres	70
	2.3.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band: Performances for the People at the Phoenix Park	71
	2.3.4 Playing with the Neighbours: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Collaborations with the Royal Hibernian Military School, Phoenix Park	73
	2.3.5 Playing with the Next-door Neighbours: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Promenades at the Royal Zoological Gardens, Phoenix Park	74
2.4	Band Promenades at Coastal Resorts: Music for Suburban Dwellers, Music for the Tourists	78
	2.4.1 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Bray: Venues, Conditions, Audience Profile, and the Draw of a Good Band	82
	2.4.2 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Kingstown: An Elite Location	88
2.5	Conclusion	97
Chapter 3: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Sporting Fixtures		99–122
3.1	Introduction	99
3.2	The Alliance of Music and Sport: More than Just Playing	100
3.3	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Regattas	103
3.4	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Athletics Meetings	111
3.5	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Cricket Matches	117
3.6	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Archery Meetings	119
3.7	Conclusion	121
Chapter 4: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Charity Bazaars		123–148
4.1	Introduction	123
4.2	The Nineteenth-Century Charity Bazaar	124
4.3	Entertainment at the Charity Bazaar	126
4.4	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Charity Bazaars	127
	4.4.1 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at St Vincent de Paul Bazaars	128
	4.4.2 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Kingstown Bazaars	131
	4.4.3 Bazaars in Aid of Catholic Church Building	133
	4.4.4 The Royal Irish Constabulary Band at the Drogheda Bazaar	137
4.5	Conclusion	145
Chapter 5: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Inaugural Banquets		149–170
5.1	Introduction	149
5.2	The Format of the Annual Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet	150
5.3	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1863	153

5.4	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1867	158
5.5	Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1871	163
5.6	Hardy's Compositions at the Lord Mayors' Banquets	166
5.7	Conclusion	167

Chapter 6: The Royal Irish Constabulary Band and Exhibitions of Industry and Manufactures **171–233**

6.1	Introduction	171
6.2	Background and Rationale for Industrial Exhibitions	172
6.3	6.3.1 Music at the National Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art (1864)	174
	6.3.2 The Inaugural Ceremony	176
	6.3.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Promenade Performances at the Exhibition of 1864	179
	6.3.4 Weekly Concerts at the Exhibition of 1864	180
	6.3.5 The Closing Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1864	182
	6.3.6 Musical Exhibits at the Exhibition of 1864	182
	6.3.7 The Role of Music at the Exhibition of 1864	185
	6.3.8 Music and the Finances of the Exhibition of 1864	187
	6.3.9 Controversy at the Exhibition of 1864	188
6.4	6.4.1 Music at the Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1865	192
	6.4.2 The Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1865	193
	6.4.3 Military Band Performances at the Exhibition of 1865	201
	6.4.4 Hardy as a Freelance Musician	203
	6.4.5 Hardy as Freelance Conductor: Balls at the Exhibition	208
	6.4.6 Hardy's Compositions and Publications at the Exhibition of 1865	212
	6.4.7 Brass Band Contest at the Exhibition of 1865: Hardy as Adjudicator	213
	6.4.8 Instruments on Display at the Exhibition of 1865	217
	6.4.9 The Close of the Exhibition of 1865	218
6.5	6.5.1 Music at the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries and Manufactures and Loan Museum of Works of Art, 1872	219
	6.5.2 The Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1872	221
	6.5.3 Concerts and Recitals at the Exhibition of 1872	221
	6.5.4 Military Band Performances and Concert Promenades at the Exhibition of 1872	222
	6.5.5 Hardy's Concert at the Exhibition of 1872	223
	6.5.6 Musical Exhibits at the Exhibition of 1872	227
	6.5.7 Audience Profile at the Exhibition of 1872	228
	6.5.8 The Closing of the Exhibition of 1872	230
6.6	Conclusion	230

Chapter 7: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Repertoire **234–306**

7.1	Introduction	234
7.2	The Sources	235
7.3	7.3.1 Types of Performance and their Requisite Repertoire	236

7.3.2 Performances Within the Barracks	236
7.3.3 Playing in the Park: Repertoire for Shows, Exhibitions and Outdoor Events	238
7.4 The Military Band Journal	244
7.5 The Composers	247
7.6 Operatic Selections	250
7.7 From Ballroom to Bandstand: Dance Music and Hardy's Dance Compositions	252
7.8 Miscellaneous Repertoire: Irish and Sacred	265
7.9 7.9.1 <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> : Reception	266
7.9.2 <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> : Analysis	270
7.9.3 <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> : Musical Themes and Structure	271
7.9.4 <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> : Instrumentation	279
7.9.5 <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> : Lyric and Musical Identity	280
7.9.6 Making an Identity: Paratext and Text of <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i>	281
7.9.7 A Popular Hit: The Versatile and Commercially Viable <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i>	283
7.10 Basquit's " <i>Erin</i> " <i>Grand Fantasia</i>	284
7.11 Conclusion	298
Chapter 8: The Rise and Fall of Hardy and the Royal Irish Constabulary Band	307–329
8.1 Introduction	307
8.2 Hardy and the Success of the RIC Band	308
8.3 Trouble in the Ranks: Discontent and the Boston Affair	318
8.4 The Harp and the Crown: Changing Identity in a Changing Ireland	325
8.5 Conclusion	328
Chapter 9: Epilogue and Conclusion	330–355
9.1 Hardy's Employment Following the RIC	330
9.2 Hardy's Private Life	331
9.3 Hardy: A Forgotten Musician	334
9.4 The RIC: Memory, Myth and Misplacement	335
9.5 Recovery and Recognition	341
9.6 Commemorations	342
9.7 The Contribution of this Research to Literature	347
9.8 Areas for Future Research	348
9.9 Hardy: The Evaluation	349
9.10 The RIC Band: Its Significance	349
9.11 Uncovering Hardy and the RIC Band: A Reading of Musical and Irish Identity	350
Appendices	356–365
Appendix 1: Harry Hardy's Compositions: An Overview of his Works	356
Appendix 2: Survey of RIC Band Repertoire for Six-Month Period from February to July 1864	361
Bibliography	366–394

List of Illustrations

1. Figure 1.1	Earliest Known Photograph of the Band of the Royal Irish Constabulary, 5 January 1875	60
2. Figure 3.1	George William Frederick Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle and the English Civil Service Cricket Club at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, 18 August 1863	118
3. Figure 6.1	Hardy Entertains at Dublin's Mansion House Ball, 9 May 1865	232
4. Figure 6.2	Hardy Conducts Irish Academy of Music Orchestra at the Exhibition Palace, 12 May 1865	233
5. Figure 7.1	Introduction to Basquit's " <i>Erin</i> " <i>Grand Fantasia</i>	293
6. Figure 7.2	Front Cover of Hardy's <i>The Star of Warwick Waltz</i>	301
7. Figure 7.3	Front Cover of Hardy's <i>Parting Vows Valse</i>	302
8. Figure 7.4	Front Cover of Hardy's <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> , Second Edition, Signed by Hardy	303
9. Figure 7.5	Front Cover of Hardy's <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> , Tenth Edition	304
10. Figure 7.6	Front Cover of Hardy's <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> , Published in Boston	305
11. Figure 7.7	Front Cover of Hardy's Composition <i>Galop: The Bachelors</i>	306
12. Figure 9.1	Garda Commissioner Martin Callinan and Jim McDonald (Chairman of RUC George Cross Foundation) with Garda Band at NCH, 7 May 2011	343
13. Figure 9.2	D. Hardy, Inspector P. Kenny (Garda Band Conductor) and Supt A. Reid at Grave of Harry Hardy, Mt Jerome Cemetery, Dublin, 22 November 2011	352
14. Figure 9.3	Band of An Garda Síochána Bugle Party Play the Last Post and Reveille at Grave of Harry Hardy, 22 November 2011	353

15. Figure 9.4	David Hardy Plays at St Patrick's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral, London After Laying a Wreath, 29 April 2022	353
16. Figure 9.5	Maria Byrne Reads 'The Cure of Troy' at the Service in the Royal Military Chapel, London, 29 April 2022	354
17. Figure 9.6	David Hardy Lays Wreath in St Patrick's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral, London, to Honour the Royal Irish Constabulary, 29 April 2022	355

List of Tables

1. Table 5.3.1	Music Performed by the Royal Irish Constabulary Band at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863	155
2. Table 5.3.2	Music Performed by the band of the 36th Regiment at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863	155
3. Table 5.3.3	Dance Music Performed by the band of the 36th Regiment at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863	155
4. Table 6.5.5.1	Programme: Hardy's Concert on 14 August 1872	226
5. Table 6.5.5.2	Programme for Hardy's Concert on 17 August 1872	227
6. Table 7.3.3.1	Programme: Irish National Horse Show, Royal Dublin Society, Dublin, 15 April 1864	241
7. Table 7.3.3.2	Programme: County Kildare Horticultural Show, Naas, 5 July 1870	241
8. Table 7.10.1	Examples of Compilation Type Pieces Based on Irish Themes	288
9. Table 7.10.2	Examples of Compositions with Erin in the Title	289

Abstract

This dissertation examines the interplay of music and leisure pursuits in nineteenth-century Ireland in the context of the Royal Irish Constabulary band. Established in 1861 under the leadership of Harry Hardy, this band held a prominent position in middle-class musical life, becoming a sought-after side-line entertainment at exhibitions, sporting events, coastal resorts, parks, charity events, banquets, and balls. The band constituted an important facet in the expanding leisure life of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland while also being a significant musical marker of police authority.

This research documents the early years of the RIC band during the eleven-year tenure of Hardy. Conveying a visual and sonic representation of institutional power, this band nonetheless succeeded in endearing itself to the public, carving its own niche as Ireland's national band. This dissertation contributes to the study of music in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly to the new forms of popular music which were beginning to emerge in Ireland and Britain. It also contributes considerably to the much-neglected area of band music in Ireland and its contribution to popular entertainment. Most of this research is based on previously untapped primary sources, particularly newspaper articles and promotional material, building a clear profile of the place of the RIC band in nineteenth-century Irish society. This work is of a strong interdisciplinary nature and intersects with areas of nineteenth-century consumer and leisure culture previously unconsidered from a musicological viewpoint.

This research has sought to provide a more balanced consideration of the RIC and its band, in contrast to other more polarised narratives. It thus positions itself alongside the initial steps being made by historians to voice the unspoken language surrounding the RIC. My work seeks to objectively examine the contribution of the RIC band to Irish society while also recognising its place in British musical life of that time. It joins an expanding musicological discussion on the interplay of Irish identity and music in the age of Fenianism and Home Rule,

and contributes to the ongoing process of building an inclusive and unbiased picture of Irish society and culture in the middle decades of nineteenth-century Ireland.

Acknowledgements

Following a casual chat between two musicians in the orchestra pit of the Mermaid Theatre, Bray, in October 2007, my curiosity regarding the musical career and life of Harry Hardy was whetted. One of these musicians was James McCafferty, a serving member of the Band of An Garda Síochána. Having completed his MA thesis 'A History of the Band of An Garda Síochána' in 2006, James had come across Hardy's name and was curious to establish if there was any connection between this bandmaster and his fellow musician, David Hardy. I quickly established that my husband, David Hardy, is the great great grandson of Harry Hardy and there the unravelling of the story of Hardy and the RIC band began. Special thanks, therefore, are due to James McCafferty, without whom this research would never have begun.

My sincere gratitude goes to all the Music Department staff of Maynooth University with whom I have crossed paths, leading me to discover the rewarding world of musicological research. I wish to acknowledge particularly the constant support of my supervisor Dr Adrian Scahill who challenged me to new ways of thinking, in a spirit of encouragement, generosity and friendship. Also, I must thank most sincerely Professor Lorraine Byrne Bodley who made it possible for me to undertake my initial course of study at MA level, encouraging me and inspiring me to understand the value of my research.

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Abbreviations and Notes

RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
DMP	Dublin Metropolitan Police
n.d.	No date
IT	Irish Times (this abbreviation is only used in Appendix 2)
FJ	Freeman's Journal (this abbreviation is only used in Appendix 2)

The Irish Constabulary band became the Royal Irish Constabulary band in 1867 when the Irish Constabulary was awarded the Royal title by Queen Victoria in recognition of its contribution to quelling the Fenian uprising earlier that year. As the content of this dissertation does not follow in strict chronological order, and in the interest of clarity and continuity, I refer to the band throughout as the RIC band.

In this thesis I refer to performances by the RIC band at the Rotundo, both the Rotundo Gardens and the Round Room of the Rotundo. While this venue is more commonly known as the Rotunda, I use the name Rotundo as this is what appears in all the newspaper reports of RIC performances at this venue.

Outline Chronology of RIC Band

1836	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Establishment of Irish Constabulary
1861	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Establishment of Irish Constabulary band with Harry Hardy appointed as first bandmaster
1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First performance at Depot Square, Phoenix Park, Dublin
1863	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• First public performance at Lord Mayor of Dublin's inaugural banquet
1867	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Irish Constabulary awarded the Royal title for quelling Fenian uprising• Band named as Royal Irish Constabulary band
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Invited to World's Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston but refused permission by the government to attend the event (May 1872)
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hardy resigns as bandmaster (September 1872)
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• John Power Clarke (1816-89) appointed as bandmaster (September 1872)
1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• James Cornelius van Maanen (1827-99) appointed as bandmaster
1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• William Rafter (1858-1943) appointed as bandmaster
1922	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Disbandment of RIC and RIC band

Outline Chronology of Hardy's Biography

1828	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born in London, England
1840	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entered military service as trainee bandsman with 1st Regiment of Life Guards
1852	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Left the 1st Regiment of Life Guards First composition, <i>The Howard Waltzes</i>, published
1853	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked as freelance musician in London (French horn, flugel horn and trumpet player)
1855	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointed as bandmaster of 1st Warwickshire Militia
1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointed as bandmaster of 23rd Welch Fusiliers Travelled to India with 23rd Welch Fusiliers band
1859	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Travelled to Ireland as bandmaster of 3rd King's Own Light Dragoon's
1861	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointed as first bandmaster of RIC band (Dublin)
1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointed as professor of wind instruments, Irish Academy of Music
1863	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> first published
1865	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conducted Irish Academy of Music orchestra at fundraising ball at newly opened Exhibition Palace
1868	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resigned from Irish Academy of Music
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resigned as bandmaster of RIC band (September 1872)
1872-1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked as freelance musician in Ireland
1874-1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bandmaster to Trim band, Co. Meath
c. 1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bandmaster/tutor to Artane Industrial School band
1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bandmaster to Guinness Brewery band
1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Died in Dublin, Ireland (buried in Mt Jerome Cemetery)

Introduction

(i) Hardy and the RIC Band: The Case for Retrieving Their Memory

The Royal Irish Constabulary established a band in Dublin in 1861, one of the earliest military band-style police force bands ever formed. Under the leadership of its first bandmaster, Harry Hardy, this band intersected consistently with large swathes of Dublin's upper and middle-class citizens. It was also widely known throughout the country due to performances at urban centres outside Dublin and frequent newspaper reports and advertisements regarding the band's engagements. Hardy and the RIC band, eminent musicians in the middle decades of nineteenth-century Ireland, have largely been forgotten by posterity. Hardy, whose origins lay in the lower ranks of military service, rose from the anonymity of military bandsman to become the well-loved and acclaimed bandmaster of the RIC band from 1861 to 1872. Born in England in 1828, Hardy arrived in Ireland around 1859 and remained in Ireland until his death in 1878. The RIC band, an ensemble which brought a sense of national identity to the newly emerging Irish middle classes through the medium of music, was undoubtedly Hardy's most important musical achievement. Despite this, the story of Hardy's rise and fall in an Irish society experiencing unprecedented flux and upheaval has never been told. While highly respected as a bandmaster, instrumentalist and composer of popular music, Hardy's complex and irregular family life saw him fall short of the social expectations of Victorian middle-class Irish society. Neither has an attempt been made to document and evaluate the early years of the RIC band and its contribution to musical and social culture in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Musicology in Ireland has sometimes been slow to recognize and expand on the role of popular music and middle-class culture in contributing to, reflecting, and creating social structures and thinking.¹

¹ Musicology in Ireland is a relatively young discipline which began to develop in earnest in the 1990s.

Delivering popular entertainment to middle-class urban Ireland, Hardy and the RIC band have been subject to the neglect experienced by this particular musical genre.

By building a detailed picture of individual musicians such as Hardy, and individual performance ensembles such as the RIC band, this dissertation provides a fresh and previously unexplored perspective on the popular music infrastructure of mid-Victorian middle-class Ireland. These detailed pictures include a survey of performance venues, repertoire, audience profile, and contemporary reception of Hardy and the RIC band. Beginning with this narrower focus it is then possible to investigate more speculative areas such as the reasons for the success of the RIC band, the three-way intersection of politics, society and music in nineteenth-century Ireland, music's role in the growth of leisure pursuits and consumerism in mid-Victorian Ireland, music and emerging Irish identities, myth-making and historical memory, and the process involved in recovering a previously overlooked element of Irish music history. The microcosm of Hardy and the RIC band becomes a replicator of the greater social macrocosm, with musical structures and activities reflecting the cultural influences at play in the wider environment of nineteenth-century Irish society.

Lost in the quagmire of political and social conflict, with a new Ireland attempting to create its own independent identity following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, the RIC and its band, with its connotations of empire and colonial rule, became the subject of a necessary collective amnesia in order to allow the emergence and consolidation of a new Irish state. With a considerably improved relationship between the United Kingdom and Ireland, and with a greater acceptance that nineteenth-century Ireland was part of the British Empire, it is now possible to examine objectively the role of the RIC band in Irish society while also recognising its place in British musical life of that time.

The academic study of music in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century is still relatively sparse. However, the 2007 publication *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in*

Nineteenth-Century Ireland marks a relatively new departure in Irish musicology, with various aspects of nineteenth-century music making in Ireland investigated from both a musical and sociological perspective.² A subsequent volume, *Irish Musical Studies 12: Documents of Irish Music in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2019),³ adds further to this area of scholarship. Work by Roy Johnston and Declan Plummer regarding music in nineteenth-century Belfast, and Susan O'Regan's work on music and society in Cork from 1700 to 1900 are also valuable contributions to the study of music in focused areas of music in nineteenth-century Ireland. There are also a number of PhD theses on topics relating to music in nineteenth-century Ireland, with a register available on the Society of Musicology in Ireland website.⁴ Important work has also been undertaken by Catherine Ferris and Maria McHale in providing freely accessible online resources which assist researchers investigating music in nineteenth and twentieth-century Ireland.⁵ Along with earlier work by Aloys Fleischmann and Ita Beausang, these publications and databases go some way towards addressing the lacuna in musicological literature and research relating to this period.⁶ However, a need still exists for the exploration of popular music and entertainment during this period. This study of Hardy and the RIC band contributes to this discussion.

The main aims of this study, therefore, are to identify, evaluate, and record the contribution of Hardy and the RIC band to Irish music and society through a thorough investigation of their work, to open a further aspect of discussion on the interplay of Irish

² Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny, 'Preface', in *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 11–12 (p. 12).

³ Kerry Houston, Maria McHale and Michael Murphy (eds), *Irish Musical Studies 12: Documents of Irish Music in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019).

⁴ For theses register of Society of Musicology in Ireland see <https://www.smimusicthesesregister.com>

⁵ See <https://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/> and <http://www.abbeytheatremusic.ie/> [accessed 22 October 2022]

⁶ Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music and Society, 1850–1921', in *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union II, 1870–1921*, 9 vols, ed. by W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), VI, pp. 500–522.

Ita Beausang, 'Dublin Musical Societies 1850–1900', in *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, ed. by Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 169–178.

nationalism and music in the age of Home Rule, and to contribute to the ongoing process of building an inclusive and unbiased picture of Irish society and culture in the middle decades of nineteenth-century Ireland.

(ii) Research Questions

The RIC band, under the direction of Hardy, was a well-regarded provider of popular music in Dublin and beyond from 1861 to 1872. Hardy was a successful instrumentalist, bandmaster, teacher and composer during this period. Why has the RIC band and its first bandmaster been largely ignored in the analysis and appraisal of music in nineteenth-century Ireland to date? The research question approached in this study involves firstly the narrow focus of practical biographical and historical questions regarding Hardy and the RIC band. In answering these specific questions then the broader questions relating to the complex issues of Irish identity, politics, and culture are raised and addressed. Lines of enquiry which assist in answering these research questions include:

- What were the reasons for the establishment of the RIC band?
- Where did the RIC band perform?
- Who was the audience for the RIC band?
- What was the repertoire of the RIC band?
- How did the RIC band intersect with its audience?
- What was Hardy's musical background?
- Why was Hardy so suitable for the position of RIC bandmaster?
- What were the reasons for the success of Hardy as RIC bandmaster?
- What type of compositions did Hardy write?

- How did Hardy's composition *Valse Shilly Shally* and Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia*⁷ reflect compositional and cultural trends of their era?
- What are the reasons for Hardy's rapid demise?
- Why have Hardy and the RIC band been overlooked to date in musicological and police force history?

(iii) The Boundaries of this Study

While I have alluded to or briefly mentioned Hardy's personal life, freelance musical career, teaching career, and career after the RIC band I have not discussed any of these aspects of his life in great detail. I have limited this study of the RIC band to the years from 1861 to 1872, coinciding with Hardy's tenure as bandmaster, only briefly mentioning Hardy's successor and the aftermath of Hardy's leadership. I have limited the study to the period of Hardy's tenure as bandmaster since this was the period during which Hardy and his bandsmen forged the band's unique early identity. The three subsequent bandmasters of the RIC band employed different approaches and were subjected to the influences of the eras in which they worked. The band's history from 1872 to its dissolution in 1922 warrants a separate investigation. While mentioning many of Hardy's compositions I have only analysed his most popular work, *Valse Shilly Shally*. This is partly due to the lack of availability of Hardy's scores and original manuscripts, particularly his arrangements for military band. This study focuses solely on the RIC band and its relationship to Irish society and does not place it in the wider context of police force bands in general. There is brief mention of London Metropolitan Police bands but no discussion of police force bands in other countries or colonies. Neither does this dissertation

⁷ Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* was a composition that was often played by the RIC band and originally dedicated to Hardy for the occasion of his 1868 benefit concert.

discuss the work of the Dublin Metropolitan Police band which was formed in 1873 and with whom Hardy was mentioned as a possible candidate for bandmaster.⁸

(iv) The Approach to this Study

This study has involved the retrieval, collation and interpretation of information relating to Hardy's musical background and training as well as the origins, repertoire, audience base, performance venues, and reception of the RIC band. This information has predominantly been retrieved from primary sources including newspapers, British military service records, Hardy's music scores, census returns, and ships' passenger records. The process of compiling relevant information for this study has involved visits to British regimental museums, the British Library, the British National Archives, the London Metropolitan Police Archives, the British Newspapers Archives, the National Library of Ireland, the National Archives of Ireland, and the Museum of An Garda Síochána. A constant examination of Victorian music scores being placed for auction has also been conducted, with this line of investigation yielding a signed copy of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally* at White's Auction Rooms in Dublin. The interpretation and contextualisation of the information gathered has been achieved by taking an interdisciplinary approach, using musicological, sociological, historical, and political literature.

This study has been further complemented by the application of what might be termed 'applied ethnomusicology', with the author of this dissertation being instrumental in organising events in 2011 to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the RIC band.⁹ The sound of the RIC band has also been revived with the commissioning of a military band arrangement of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally* and a recording of this arrangement

⁸ *Irish Times*, 4 June 1873, p. 6.

⁹ For a definition of 'applied ethnomusicology' see the website of the International Council for Traditional Music <<http://ictmusic.org/group/applied-ethnomusicology>> [accessed 17 October 2022]

by the Dublin Concert Band. Furthermore, this study has led the author of this dissertation to be invited as a representative of the RIC band to participate in police commemoration events held in London and Belfast in 2022. As aspects of this research have extended beyond the typical remit of musicological research, and with the music of the RIC band acting as an entry point into wider current-day discussions regarding acceptance, diversity, and inclusion, this work brings musicology into the public sphere and therefore this research can also be accommodated under the broad umbrella discipline of ‘public musicology’.¹⁰

(v) Challenges Encountered

Extremely limited secondary sources exist regarding Hardy and the RIC band and therefore the retrieval of information from primary sources was both time consuming and tedious. While the newspaper articles, correspondence, reviews, and programme listings I consulted provided detailed accounts and information relating to the RIC band, it was necessary to deal with these sources judiciously as most of these were written by anonymous contributors who may have been subject to musical, political or cultural bias.

While Hardy worked within the system of British army music, no information pertaining to his career is held at Kneller Hall, the archival headquarters of British military music. Straddling the period of the official training of regimental bandmasters as army personnel, Hardy is omitted from archival material due to his civilian status while bandmaster to the 1st Warwickshire Militia, the 23rd Welch Fusiliers and the 3rd King’s Own Hussars regiments.

Despite much searching I have failed to date to locate photographic or pictorial evidence of Hardy and the RIC band between the years 1861 and 1872.

¹⁰ For discussion on the subject of ‘public musicology’ see the website of the Irish Humanities Alliance <<https://irishhumanities.com/events/public-musicology/>> [accessed 17 October 2022]

While the dearth of secondary sources regarding Hardy and the RIC band posed a challenge to this study, I was afforded the opportunity to interpret the abundant facts pertaining to these musicians using secondary sources from a wide scope of disciplines.

(vi) Literature Review

Introduction

As no scholarly work has been undertaken to date regarding Hardy and the RIC band from either a musical or cultural perspective, this dissertation draws on primary sources including newspapers and archival material to build a profile of these musicians and their contribution to mid-Victorian Irish musical life. This material is contextualised by using a wide range of secondary source material. In doing so, it adds to both Irish and British musical, cultural, and historical scholarship. This literature review deals with these secondary sources thematically, identifying the major areas with which this study of the RIC band intersects. These areas include the history of policing, the development of leisure venues in and around Dublin, military band and brass band culture in Ireland and Britain, the use of newspapers as a primary source, consumer culture at exhibitions and bazaars, and Irish history and social history.

Literature: The History of Policing

Literature regarding the history of policing in Ireland, particularly that relating to the nineteenth century provides valuable insight into the rationale that informed the establishment of the RIC in 1836 and subsequently the RIC band in 1861. Robert H. Curtis's book *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary* (1869), is the earliest book recounting the history of the force.¹¹

¹¹ Robert H. Curtis, *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary* (Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1869).

It is valuable to this research as it aligns with the timeframe for Hardy's tenure as bandmaster to the RIC band. Curtis, a former member of the RIC, was present at significant events held at the RIC's Phoenix Park depot and therefore gives eyewitness accounts of RIC band performances at these events. His mentions of the band are particularly useful as they describe performances within the RIC depot which are not readily available in newspaper reports. Curtis's descriptions of the band's performances are written with the vibrancy of one who has experienced these performances and are penned by an author who was personally familiar with Hardy and the RIC band. However, as Curtis approaches his work as an undisputed supporter of the RIC, this book provides a biased view of this police force.

Stanley H. Palmer's *Police and Protest in England and Ireland* (1988) is a detailed and thorough comparative study which views the RIC within the bigger picture of policing in both Ireland and England.¹² Once more, this book provides useful insights into the composition of the RIC and its working conditions in nineteenth-century Ireland. While it does not provide information about the RIC band, its value to this study is that it places the RIC as an organisation within the wider context of policing and Irish historical events.

Scholarship by Elizabeth Malcolm and W. J. Lowe, in the journal article 'The Domestication of the Royal Irish Constabulary, 1836–1922' (1992), makes a distinction between the RIC in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland and the RIC post-1916.¹³ This clarifies the type of force to which Hardy and the RIC band were attached, separating them from the violence that marred the years leading up to the RIC's disbandment. Malcolm and Lowe identify three ways in which the RIC was a domesticated Irish police force and integrated into Irish life. They consider that the RIC was truly representative of the Irish population, they were involved in civil service type duties and were largely demilitarised. This appraisal supports the

¹² Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

¹³ W. J. Lowe and E. L. Malcolm, 'The Domestication of the Royal Irish Constabulary, 1836–1922', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 19 (1992), 27–48.

argument of this dissertation that the RIC band was well integrated into Irish society and accepted as a non-threatening entertainment ensemble.

Malcolm's *The Irish Policeman, 1822–1922: A Life* (2006) is particularly helpful in building a profile of the working conditions of RIC members and noting the elimination of this organisation from Irish collective memory following the War of Independence.¹⁴ Pointing out the predominantly Irish Catholic nationalist composition of the RIC, Malcolm considers how these men accommodated both their Irish identity and their employment by the British state in their everyday lives. While Malcolm does not single out RIC bandsman, nonetheless it is possible to identify the concerns of bandsmen as RIC members from her work.

Georgina Sinclair's journal article, 'The 'Irish' Policeman and the Empire: Influencing the Policing of the British Empire-Commonwealth' (2006), builds on Palmer's work regarding the impact of Irish policing on the British Empire.¹⁵ This article reinforced the observations of this dissertation regarding the ambiguity of Irish identity experienced within the RIC. The RIC, composed of Irish men working in an Irish context, was entangled with the British Empire, being both an imperial and colonial construct.

Jim Herlihy's work, which includes *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A Short History and Genealogical Guide* (2016) and *Royal Irish Constabulary Officers: A Biographical Dictionary and Genealogical Guide, 1816–1922* (2016), provides short histories of policing in Ireland and in-depth information regarding individual policemen's service records.¹⁶ As Hardy was not officially a member of the RIC, he does not feature in Herlihy's genealogical guides. However, Herlihy has compiled a list of RIC personnel who served with the RIC band during Hardy's tenure as bandmaster and has shared this unpublished list with the author of this dissertation.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman, 1822–1922: A Life* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

¹⁵ Georgina Sinclair, 'The 'Irish' Policeman and the Empire: Influencing the Policing of the British Empire-Commonwealth', *Irish Historical Studies*, 36:142 (2008), 173–187.

¹⁶ Jim Herlihy, *The Royal Irish Constabulary: A Short History and Genealogical Guide* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), and Jim Herlihy, *Royal Irish Constabulary Officers: A Biographical Dictionary and Genealogical Guide, 1816–1922* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016).

Other work which focuses on policing in early twentieth-century Ireland, the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and the history of An Garda Síochána, also provides opinion on the place of the RIC in Irish society. While none of these works are concerned with the RIC band, they nonetheless offer opinions and views regarding policing in nineteenth-century Ireland to inform their positions on their given areas of research.

While there are brief mentions of the RIC band's existence within wider Irish police history scholarship, there is no academic literature devoted to a study of the RIC band from a police history perspective. Further literature regarding policing in Ireland is listed below. The research in this dissertation is the first attempt to fill this gap, placing the RIC band within mid-Victorian society and raising the question of soft power authority implemented by this police force band.

- Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1974)
- Liam McNiffe *A History of the Garda Síochána: A Social History of the Force 1922–52, With an Overview of the Years 1952–97* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1997)
- Dermot P. J. Walsh, *The Irish Police: A Legal and Constitutional Perspective* (Dublin: Round Hall Sweet and Maxwell, 1998)
- Gregory Allen *The Garda Síochána: Policing Independent Ireland 1922–82* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1999)
- Seán Dunne, 'Is Modern Ireland Ready to Embrace the Memory of the Royal Irish Constabulary?' (unpublished master's thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2007), p. iii.
- D. M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Vicky Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland: A History of An Garda Síochána* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014)
- Mark Finnane and Ian O'Donnell, 'Crime and Punishment', in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)
- Anastasia Dukova, *A History of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and its Colonial Legacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019)

Literature: Development of Leisure Venues in and Around Dublin

A number of texts provide contextual material regarding the outdoor venues at which the RIC band performed in Dublin and in environs. These texts include work about the Phoenix Park, Kingstown, and Bray, documenting and exploring the development of parks, coastal resorts, and tourism.

Contemporary tourist handbooks including G. R. Powell's *The Official Railway Handbook to Bray, Kingstown, the Coast, and the County of Wicklow* (1860)¹⁷ and James J. Gaskin's *Varieties of Irish History: From Antient and Modern Sources and Original Documents* (1869)¹⁸ describe the coastal resorts of Kingstown and Bray, mentioning the locations for military band performances and the importance of railway infrastructure in facilitating access to these towns.

Dana Arnold's chapter, 'Trans-planting National Cultures: The Phoenix Park, Dublin (1832–49), An Urban Heterotopia?' (2004), explores the idea of the appropriation of the landscape of the Phoenix Park in the interest of promoting political and social agendas.¹⁹ British colonial authority found expression in the built structures within the park, imprinting a British identity on an Irish location.

John A. McCullen approaches his study of the Phoenix Park in *An Illustrated History of the Phoenix Park: Landscape and Management to 1880* (2009) from the perspective of design and development, focusing mainly on the years 1800 to 1880.²⁰ While this book does not deal with the political or social control motivations for Victorian park development, it vividly depicts the buildings and landscape design that portrayed a strong message of empire.

¹⁷ G. R. Powell, *The Official Railway Handbook to Bray, Kingstown, the Coast, and the County of Wicklow* (Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill, 1860).

¹⁸ James J. Gaskin, *Varieties of Irish History: From Antient and Modern Sources and Original Documents* (Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1869).

¹⁹ Dana Arnold, 'Trans-planting National Cultures: The Phoenix Park, Dublin (1832–49), An Urban Heterotopia?', in *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, ed. by Dana Arnold (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 67–86.

²⁰ John A. McCullen, *An Illustrated History of the Phoenix Park: Landscape and Management to 1880* (Dublin: Government Publications, 2009).

This in turn helps build a clear picture of the environment in which the RIC band was based, an Irish landscape expressed through an imperial vision.

Texts on the development of tourism and coastal resorts in Ireland reinforce the discourse of nineteenth-century social improvement and the imposition of Victorian cultural identity. Tricia Cusack's work, '“Enlightened Protestants”: The Improved Shorescape, Order and Liminality at Early Seaside Resorts in Victorian Ireland', *Journal of Tourism History*, 2:3 (2010), notes the alignment of structured shorelines with good behaviour, where people could partake in rational amusement such as listening to a band.²¹ William H. A. Williams work *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century 1750–1850* (2011) traces the development of Irish tourism beginning in the mid-eighteenth century and flourishing in the nineteenth century.²²

Joanna Brück's journal article, 'Landscapes of Desire: Parks, Colonialism, and Identity in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland' (2013), deals with the subject of Ireland's Victorian and Edwardian parks, exploring how these constructed landscapes enabled organised and controlled leisure pursuits, aimed at improving the social experience of the growing urban population.²³ With the RIC band based in the RIC Phoenix Park depot, this band was located at the centre of park life, providing outdoor entertainment for the public and intersecting with other organisations based in the Phoenix Park.

Chapter seven of David Dickson's *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (2014) provides a social analysis of Dublin from 1830 to 1880, noting the four permeable layers of society evident in the capital city by the 1850s.²⁴ Dickson's accounts of life in the professional city, the lower middle-class city inhabited by what Dickson terms the 'shopocracy', the artisan

²¹ Tricia Cusack, '“Enlightened Protestants”: The Improved Shorescape, Order and Liminality at Early Seaside Resorts in Victorian Ireland', *Journal of Tourism History*, 2:3 (2010), 165–185.

²² William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century 1750–1850* (London: Anthem Press, 2011).

²³ Joanna Brück, 'Landscapes of Desire: Parks, Colonialism, and Identity in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 17 (2013), 196–223.

²⁴ David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2014).

city of the craft workers, and the city of the destitute, help identify the audience of the RIC band. While the RIC band is not mentioned in this book, the society in which the band operated and the strata of society it entertained are clearly identified.

This dissertation gathers together the profiles of the many outdoor venues at which the RIC band performed, recognising the band's contribution to Irish identity formation in these places largely developed through a British vision. This dissertation links RIC band performances and popular entertainment to the wider scholarship regarding the development of leisure pursuits in nineteenth-century Ireland. This research is valuable as it draws together for the first time a detailed survey of Dublin's nineteenth-century outdoor music venues. It pinpoints the role of the RIC band in forging and strengthening a local identity despite the many British constructs underpinning these venues.

Literature: Military Band and Brass Band Culture in Britain and Ireland

The writings of Jacob A. Kappey (1894) and Henry George Farmer (1912) form a well-recognised and informative body of work regarding the music of regimental bands dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁵

Alwyn Turner and Gordon Turner's three volume history of British military bands focuses on accounts of individual regimental bands, yielding details of the band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards with whom Hardy received his initial training in military music.²⁶ G. R. Lawn's *Music in State Clothing: The Story of the Kettledrummers, Trumpeters and Band of the Life Guards* (1995) provides insights into the working life of a bandsman in the 1st

²⁵ Jacob A. Kappey, *Military Music: A History of Wind Instrumental Bands* (London: Boosey and Company, 1894) and Henry George Farmer, *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (London: W. Reeves, 1912).

²⁶ Alwyn Turner and Gordon Turner, *The History of British Military Bands: Cavalry and Corps* (Kent: Spellmount, 1994), *The History of British Military Bands: Guards and Infantry* (Kent: Spellmount, 1994), and *The History of British Military Bands: Infantry and Irish* (Kent: Spellmount, 1994).

Regiment of Life Guards enabling this dissertation to build a profile of the skills and experience Hardy was likely to have acquired while in the employ of this band.²⁷

Brass and reed bands were popularised by the military, with civilian bands modelling themselves on this ensemble type. Literature by Arnold Myers (2000)²⁸ and David J. Golby (2004)²⁹ describes the instrumentation, training, and teaching methods of brass bands.

Trevor Herbert has built on and greatly expanded the field of study regarding military and brass band music. This dissertation draws on Herbert's large corpus of research regarding British military band music and brass banding, with some texts being collaborations with Margaret Sarkissian (1997) or Helen Barlow (2013).³⁰ As the RIC band was styled on the British nineteenth-century military band model these texts provide practical information and discussions on a wide variety of military band issues. These issues include the training of bandsmen, the structure and funding of bands, repertoire, reception of bands by civilian audiences, instrumentation, military music in the commercial marketplace, and the impact of British military music both at home and abroad. In Herbert and Barlow's *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2013), many examples are given of militia bands and British regimental bands in Ireland with the writers treating Ireland as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. No distinction is made between the fundamental

²⁷ G. R. Lawn, *Music in State Clothing: The Story of the Kettledrums, Trumpeters and Band of the Life Guards* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 1995).

²⁸ Arnold Myers, 'Instruments and Instrumentation of British Brass Bands', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, ed. by Trevor Herbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 155–186.

²⁹ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

³⁰ Trevor Herbert, 'Brass Bands and Other Vernacular Brass Traditions', in *Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 177–192; Trevor Herbert and Margaret Sarkissian, 'Victorian Bands and Their Dissemination in the Colonies', *Popular Music*, 16:2 (1997), 165–179; Trevor Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ed. by Trevor Herbert, pp. 10–60; Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, 'The British Military as a Musical Institution, c. 1780–c. 1860', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Rodmell (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 247–266; Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Trevor Herbert, 'Brass and Military Bands in Britain: Performance Domains, the Factors that Construct them and their Influence', in *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonialism and Local Music Making*, ed. by Suzel Ana Reily and Katherine Brucher (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 33–53; Trevor Herbert, 'Public Military Music and the Promotion of Patriotism in the British Provinces, c.1780–c.1850', *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 17:3 (2020), 427–444.

differences between the attitudes towards the British military in Ireland and the remainder of Britain. As Herbert's work is a study of music in the British military there is no mention of police force music or the RIC band.

John Borgonovo, dealing with brass bands in the Irish context, focuses on civilian brass bands who combined recreational music-making with nationalist political causes from the era of Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) to John Redmond (1856–1918). This work is localised and limited to Cork civilian brass bands. As a historian, Borgonovo approaches this subject from a historical and political perspective rather than through a musical lens.³¹ Therefore, this work does not provide us with an analysis of the music performed by these Cork bands.

Pat O'Connell's work on the repertoire of Irish militia bands of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on four part-books of the Galway militia band, deduces the important role of these bands in both military and civilian life.³² By identifying the repertoire as either military or civil, O'Connell concludes that approximately half of the repertoire was of a non-military nature and that militia bands were important providers of music for general social gatherings. This interaction of Irish military music ensembles with civilian social settings was therefore well established by the arrival of the RIC band in the 1860s. A comparison of repertoire, however, shows that when the RIC band entertained the public its programmes did not draw strongly on military music. The existence of these part books belonging to the Galway Militia band also confirm the practice of bandmasters and bandsmen using handwritten parts. While the RIC band had recourse to printed military band journals which had become

³¹ John Borgonovo, 'Political Percussions: Cork Brass Bands and the Irish Revolution, 1914–1922', in *Public Performances: Studies in the Carnavalesque and Ritualesque*, ed. by Jack Santino (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2017) and John Borgonovo, 'Cork Brass Bands and Political Recreation, 1850–1914', in *Leisure and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Leeann Lane and William Murphy (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

³² Pat O'Connell, 'Four Part-Books of the Galway Regiment of Militia, 1793–1816', *Documents of Irish Music History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Kerry Houston, Maria McHale and Michael Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019).

commonplace since the 1840s, bandmaster Hardy most likely used handwritten band parts for his own compositions as no printed or published copies appear to exist.

Contests were a popular feature of brass band culture, with Hardy serving as an adjudicator at the brass band contest held during the International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures held in Dublin in 1865. Two websites confirm and clarify newspaper details of the bands that entered and competed in this contest.³³ Gavin Holman's, *Brass Bands of Ireland: A Historical Directory*, provides background details for the Irish competitors, including where they were from, alternative names by which bands were known, and the years that each band was active. In the absence of other more scholarly work in this area Holman's work as an independent scholar acts to support evidence from other sources. Sharon Sawyer and Tim Sawyer's website, *Brass Band Results*, lists all the bands entered in the contest, the adjudicators, and contest particulars. While every entry is linked to further information on a given band, adjudicator or venue, no further information is linked to adjudicator Harry Hardy.

Literature: The Use of Newspapers as a Primary Source

This research draws heavily on material sourced from newspapers as a primary source of information regarding Hardy's career as a professional musician in both England and Ireland, and information pertaining to the RIC band. This information is found in advertisement columns, concert and performance listings, promotional material for concerts, letters to the editor, and concert reviews. It is also found in wider commentary regarding the events at which

³³ Sharon Sawyer and Tim Sawyer, *Brass Band Results* <<https://brassbandresults.co.uk/contests/dublin-international-exhibition/1865-10-12/>> [accessed 28 September 2022]
Gavin Holman, *Brass Bands of Ireland: A Historical Directory*
<https://www.academia.edu/38234853/Brass_Bands_of_Ireland_a_historical_directory> [accessed 28 September 2022]

the RIC band performed which often listed the programme of music played and commented on the contribution of the band music to the atmosphere of the event.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a vast expansion in the range of newspaper titles that were produced in Britain and Ireland, attracting a growing and more diverse readership. Due to technological, economic and societal advances, cheaper publications could be produced and distributed to readers in both urban centres and the provinces. An increase in workers with printing skills who were willing to travel away from the main cities added to the expansion of the provincial press. Increased literacy rates along with the engagement of the working and middle classes with political and social events, resulted in an expanded readership and a greater recognition of print media as an accepted and popular means of mass communication. A more varied newspaper content was developed to now include sporting, leisure, and literary coverage as well as political and news items, satisfying the expanded consumer base. Advertising also became a prominent feature of newsprint.³⁴

The impartiality of nineteenth-century newspapers is questionable and therefore information sourced from these newspapers must be treated judiciously. Columns were written by anonymous authors, newspapers had various political leanings, and verbose hyperbolic language was often used. Published programme listings that appeared in newspapers also needed to be approached with caution as they may not have accurately reflected the music performed at events. There are also many gaps in the availability of reviews and performance coverage. Despite the problematic nature of newspaper sources of this time, they are still invaluable for the detail and data they provide, as well as giving a sense of the breadth of the RIC band's activity in this period.

³⁴ David Finkelstein, 'Introduction', in *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 2: Expansion and Evolution, 1800 – 1900*, ed. by David Finkelstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 1 – 34.

It was possible to access most of the newspaper material I have used through the online databases of the *Irish Times*, Irish Newspaper Archive, and British Library Newspapers: 1800–1900. However, some material was sourced via microfilm at the British Library Newspaper Archive and the National Library of Ireland.

For details regarding Hardy’s career in England, British newspapers including the *Daily News*, the *Morning Post*, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, and the *Era* have been consulted. The *Morning Post*, in circulation from 1772 to 1937, which published a review of Hardy’s early composition, *La Tendresse Valse*, was noted for reporting on literary and artistic events. Under the editorship of Algernon Borthwick during the 1850s, this paper was aligned with the liberal thinking of the Lord Palmerston led Liberal governments.³⁵ The *Era* was a national newspaper, published between 1838 and 1939. Originally with liberal tendencies, it moved further to the right by the mid nineteenth century under the editorship of Frederick Ledger. It was noted for its coverage of sports and the arts.³⁶ Provincial English newspapers such as the *Royal Leamington Spa Courier and Warwickshire Standard* provide information on concerts and band performances during Hardy’s early years as a bandmaster in provincial England.

This research draws heavily on two Irish newspapers, namely the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman’s Journal*. Ferris identifies that the *Freeman’s Journal* in the 1840s was “independent, pro-Catholic and supportive of O’Connell and his Repeal Association”.³⁷ She also notes this newspaper’s moderate tone and tendency to focus on facts surrounding events. The *Freeman’s Journal* circulation increased steadily from between 2,000 and 3,000 copies

³⁵ ‘Morning Post’, in *The British Newspaper Archive*

<<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/morning-post>> [accessed 3 October 2024]

³⁶ ‘The Era’, in *The British Newspaper Archive* <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/the-era>> [accessed 3 October 2024]

³⁷ Catherine Ferris, ‘Newspapers, Music and Politics in 1840s Dublin: A Case Study in Bias, Editorial Style and Selective Reporting’, in *Documents of Irish Music History in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Kerry Houston, Maria McHale and Michael Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019), pp. 33–44 (p. 37).

per day in the early 1850s to approximately 10,000 copies per day by 1875.³⁸ The *Irish Times*, established in 1859 by Lawrence E. Knox (1836–73), had its roots in the Irish Protestant ascendancy, with Terence Brown noting the newspaper’s consolidation as the “primary journalistic expression and defender of Protestant, conservative interests in the country” under its early editor George Bomford Wheeler (1805/8–77).³⁹ While not wishing to be labelled as Liberal or Conservative, the *Irish Times* viewed itself undoubtedly as a proud member of the British Empire, aligning itself with what it viewed as the premier European power capable of instilling social order and individual freedom.⁴⁰ Predominantly reaching Dublin’s middle and upper-middle classes, the *Irish Times* sold 20,000 copies per day by the late 1860s.⁴¹ Quoting from work by Rosamond McGuinness and Leanne Langley, Ferris points out that newspapers are mediated texts, subject to the agendas of their publishers and the reception of their readers.⁴² Therefore, caution must be used in interpreting nineteenth-century newspaper content. This dissertation has used many types of newspaper material, cognisant of the challenges in interpreting nineteenth-century journalism. Advertisements for RIC band appearances, listing the programmes of music to be performed, are purely factual, stating venue, performance time, and sometimes the programme, and are not subject to bias. Advertisements for Hardy’s piano sheet music are predominantly factual but sometimes contain subtle inducements to encourage their purchase. These can be useful as they reveal the pricing of sheet music, events at which pieces were initially performed, dedications, music publishers, and the number of editions compositions reached. While reviews of concerts tend to lavish praise on the performances, they also provide insight into patronage and audience profile. Letters to the editor illustrate the concerns and opinions of the public regarding various aspects of RIC band life, with some

³⁸ Felix M. Larkin, ‘Keeping an Eye on Youghal: The Freeman’s Journal and the Plan of Campaign in East Cork, 1886–92’, *Irish Communication Review*, 13: 1 (2013), 19–30 (p. 19).

³⁹ Terence Brown, *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Browne, p. 6.

⁴¹ Browne, pp. 8–9.

⁴² Ferris, p. 34.

repeat letter-writers demonstrating a development of thought and sentiment regarding the band as they grew more familiar with this ensemble.

The *Belfast News-Letter* and the *Cork Examiner*, two widely circulated newspapers not based in Dublin, have contributed useful insights to this research. By the mid nineteenth century the *Belfast News-Letter* was a Conservative Protestant newspaper distributed throughout Ireland. From the 1860s, under the ownership of the Henderson family, this newspaper extended its London-centric content to also include news of Irish and local Belfast interest, literature, horticulture, sports, and a ladies' column.⁴³ The nationalist *Cork Examiner* founded by John Francis Maguire in 1841 and run by Thomas Crosbie, circulated as a morning daily newspaper serving the Munster region.⁴⁴

This research also uses provincial Irish newspapers to inform discussion regarding RIC band performances outside the greater Dublin area. The expansion of the provincial press in Ireland didn't fully take hold until the 1880s.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, a wide range of newspapers have been consulted in this research including the *Carlow Morning Post*, the *Drogheda Argus*, the *Drogheda Conservative*, the *Dundalk Democrat*, the *Kerry Evening Post*, the *Leinster Express*, the *Meath Chronicle*, the *Munster Express* and the *Nenagh Guardian*. Three of these newspapers proved particularly valuable in explaining the reception of the RIC band at a charity bazaar held in Drogheda in 1867. The *Dundalk Democrat* and the *Drogheda Argus* were predominantly nationalist publications, and this leaning was in strong evidence in their referencing of the RIC band at this event. The *Drogheda Argus*, in circulation from 1835 to 1909, was a staunch supporter of nationalist ideology, with the notable Fenian journalist John

⁴³ 'Belfast News-Letter', in *The British Newspaper Archive* < <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/belfast-newsletter> > [accessed 3 October 2024]

⁴⁴ 'Cork Examiner', in *The British Newspaper Archive* < <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/cork-examiner> > [accessed 3 October 2024]

⁴⁵ Christopher Doughan, *The Voice of the Provinces: The Regional Press in Revolutionary Ireland, 1914 – 1921* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), p. 15.

Boyle O'Reilly having begun his apprenticeship in its printing room.⁴⁶ The *Dundalk Democrat*, which began circulation in 1849 and remains in publication today, operated under the leadership of Joseph A. Cartan, another committed nationalist.⁴⁷ In contrast, the *Drogheda Conservative* which circulated between 1864 and 1906, was Protestant and Unionist in inclination and reflected this in its reporting of the charity bazaar in question.⁴⁸

The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine, edited by Samuel A. W. Waters, was published from 1911 to 1916. Waters was a serving officer of the RIC. This magazine has provided information regarding the formation of the RIC band, its bandmasters and bandsmen. This publication described itself as a monthly magazine of official literary, social, and educational interest for members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Literature: Consumer Culture at Exhibitions and Bazaars

The place of music in the development of consumer culture is a theme that runs throughout this dissertation. Chapters four and six respectively deal with RIC band performances at charity bazaars and industrial exhibitions. While charity bazaars combined fundraising for worthy causes with consumerism, exhibitions fed both the consumer appetite for acquisition of commodities and the Victorian desire for social improvement. Stephanie Rains's work encompasses the area of commodity culture in nineteenth-century Ireland, linking the development of consumer culture with leisure-time activity.⁴⁹ Sarah Kirby, discussing exhibitions held in Australia, India, and the United Kingdom in the 1880s notes how the representation of music at such exhibitions can inform broader issues such as class, education,

⁴⁶ 'Drogheda Argus and Leinster Journal', in *Irish Newspaper Archives* < <https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/drogheda-argus-leinster-journal->> [accessed 3 October 2024]

⁴⁷ 'Dundalk Democrat', in *Irish Newspaper Archives* < <https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/dundalk-democrat-newspaper-archives-1849-current->> [accessed 3 October 2024]

⁴⁸ 'Drogheda Conservative', in *Irish Newspaper Archives* < <https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/drogheda-conservative-historical-newspaper-archive->> [accessed 3 October 2024]

⁴⁹ Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010).

and entertainment.⁵⁰ While Rains documents exhibition culture in Ireland, this work does not include the commodification of music at large-scale Dublin exhibitions. Kirby's work, however, focuses primarily on the role of music at exhibitions but from a slightly later date than the era of this dissertation and not in an Irish context.

This dissertation casts light on the connection between music and consumer culture in nineteenth-century Ireland, placing the RIC band at the centre of high-profile charity bazaars and exhibitions. By documenting the contribution of the RIC band to these consumer events, the central role of band music is identified and the consequent discussions regarding music and consumer culture in Ireland and Irish identity are addressed.

Literature: History, Social History, History of Remembering

This dissertation has used *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland* (2016),⁵¹ *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (2017),⁵² and *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume 3, 1730–1880* (2018),⁵³ for general historical perspectives and context. For specific background on the era of Home Rule, Alvin Jackson's *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000* has been consulted (2004).⁵⁴ For observations regarding how historical events are remembered Ian McBride's chapter 'Introduction: Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland', in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (2001)⁵⁵ and Guy Beiner's *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster*

⁵⁰ Sarah Kirby, *Exhibitions, Music and the British Empire* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022).

⁵¹ *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Richard Bourke, Ian McBride (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

⁵² *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini, Mary E. Daly, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

⁵³ *The Cambridge History of Ireland: Volume 3, 1730–1880*, ed. by James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁵⁴ Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ Ian McBride, 'Introduction: Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland', in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. by Ian McBride (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1–42.

(2018)⁵⁶ have been consulted. Joep Leerssen's *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (1996) which charts the development and impact of an Irish national self-image through both literature and historical scholarship, assisted in formulating an interpretation of Hardy's music from a cultural perspective.⁵⁷

(vii) Outline of Chapters

Chapter one sets the stage for the establishment of the RIC band, noting the socio-cultural and musical context into which this band emerged. Being a police force band, this chapter first explores the rationale underpinning nineteenth-century policing in Ireland, establishing that policing involved much more than the implementation of law and order. Policing in nineteenth-century Ireland was handled somewhat differently to other parts of the United Kingdom due to ongoing political tensions, with attitudes towards the RIC oscillating between general acceptance during peacetimes and antipathy during times of trouble. Since the RIC band was formed during a time of relative tranquillity, this chapter concludes that the enhancement of the lives of RIC personnel and the civilian population was the main driver for its formation. This chapter then identifies the socio-cultural backdrop to the formation of the RIC band, identifying the growing middle classes as a copious audience-base. Having leisure time and disposable income available to them, this social class could enjoy the music of this band as a consumable, benefitting from the modernisation of transport and general infrastructure to carry them to events and venues. Next, this chapter notes the milieu of popular music which surrounded this band's inception, identifying the importance of military bands which flourished

⁵⁶ Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁵⁷ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996).

in Ireland during this period. They were the bedrock of popular music provision in urban centres, playing dance music and potted versions of opera and art music. Structured in a similar way to a British regimental band, the RIC band formed a niche for itself as a quality ensemble, permanently based in Dublin's Phoenix Park. This chapter then outlines the initial set-up of the band, training methods used, instrumentation, and the duties of bandsmen. Finally, this chapter provides background information regarding Harry Hardy, the RIC band's first bandmaster, noting his suitability for the position based on his experience in both military music and the world of the freelance musician.

Chapter two examines RIC band performances at outdoor venues such as parks and coastal resorts. These performances were generally in promenade style where the audience could come and go without having to pay an entrance fee to enjoy the band music. These performances combined music, sociability, fashionability, and the health benefits of the great outdoors. This chapter first looks at the Victorian penchant for organised healthy rational amusement, creating public spaces such as parks, piers, and esplanades. Themes of the democratisation of public spaces and the use of public spaces for the promotion of Britain's imperial project in Ireland are discussed, with this chapter arguing that while the RIC band contributed to the embedding of Britain's colonial image it also disrupted this with its distinctly Irish character. This chapter also explores the interconnection between music and nineteenth-century Irish tourism noting the ability of good bands to encourage tourists to choose certain venues. Interfacing with large numbers of tourists and residents of Dublin's coastal suburbs, this chapter demonstrates the bond that the RIC band formed with sectors of middle-class society, particularly women. This chapter uses the examples of Dublin's Phoenix Park, the Dublin elite suburb of Kingstown, and the north Wicklow seaside town of Bray to mine the wealth of newspaper accounts of RIC band performances at a variety of outdoor promenade performances and teases out issues including working conditions for bandsmen, costs of hiring

bands, and the advantages of securing a readymade prestigious band to ensure the prosperity of a resort's summer season.

Chapter three explores the intersection of the RIC band with sporting events, placing particular focus on sailing and rowing regattas, cricket matches, and athletics meetings. This chapter gives detailed accounts of RIC band performances at the Cork Harbour sailing regatta and the University Foot Races at Dublin's Trinity College, while also noting the Kingstown regattas, local rowing regattas, athletics events in the Phoenix Park and Rotundo Gardens, and cricket matches at Dublin's leading cricket grounds. The RIC band's infrequent performances at meetings of the exclusive sport of archery are also mentioned, suggesting the RIC band was less at home amongst the elite. The RIC band entertained large gatherings at these sporting events, mixing with predominantly middle-class attendees in Dublin and other urban centres. Once more, the theme of nineteenth-century Irish identity arises with this chapter recognising the ability of the RIC band to challenge the air of Britishness that was often visible at popular sporting events. This chapter also examines the three-way intersection between music, sport, and commerce, noting the growth of leisure consumerism and mass culture. A fashionable regatta or athletics meeting brought large crowds to urban centres, with businesses capitalising on the opportunities to provide for them. Hardy also saw the potential for financial gain through alliance with sport, giving his compositions sporting titles and holding benefit concerts at times when large crowds were in town to attend sports events.

Chapter four addresses RIC band performances at charity bazaars in Dublin and beyond. During a period of extensive fundraising for the alleviation of poverty, the promotion of social improvement, and the building of Catholic churches, the RIC band contributed to nineteenth-century Irish philanthropy through performances at a wide variety of bazaars. Firstly, this chapter outlines RIC band performances at bazaars in aid of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, noting the continuity of engagement of this band from year to year and the

acceptability of this band to an organisation whose founding fathers had strong affiliation to the Young Ireland movement. An exploration of bazaars at which the RIC band performed in the Kingstown area of Dublin, raises questions regarding Victorian ideals of social improvement. The RIC band played at bazaars in aid of many of Dublin's church building ventures, noting the Catholic Church's willingness to engage a band perceived by some as a construct of the British empire. Finally, there is newspaper evidence for only one bazaar outside Dublin at which the RIC band performed. This chapter uncovers the complex issues surrounding the band's performance at this bazaar, held in Drogheda, Co. Louth, examining the variance in reception of this band at bazaars within Dublin and beyond the Pale.

Chapter five examines the role of military band music at the annual inaugural banquets of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, noting both the social and political significance of these events. After-dinner speeches were an important feature of these banquets, and this chapter highlights the positioning of music within the fabric of the oratorical process. Music, in the form of well-known airs, punctuated the speeches which accompanied toasts made to the dignitaries present. The tunes performed aimed to represent an aspect of the toastee's life or to encapsulate their place in society. Military bands also provided music for general entertainment. This chapter looks at RIC performances at the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets of 1863, 1867, and 1871. It considers the alignment of the music they performed with issues including the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the first invitation of Catholic Cardinal Paul Cullen (1803–78) to attend, and the opinions of Lord Lieutenants regarding the economic state of Ireland. The gradual move away from the predominant use of Moore's *Melodies* towards sentimental Irish tunes is discussed alongside the question of the change in attendee profile away from the elite of society. Questions of Irish identity are raised, noting the attraction of the trappings of empire to the Dublin middle classes while simultaneously being drawn towards the concept of Home Rule.

Taking Hardy and the RIC band as the primary focus, chapter six examines the role of music at national and international industrial exhibitions during the 1860s and 1870s. Exhibitions of industry and manufacture were a prominent feature of Victorian life, having the dual purpose of promoting the local economy and educating attendees. Putting the spotlight on three such Dublin exhibitions, held in 1864, 1865 and 1872 respectively, this chapter documents the exhibiting of music alongside objects of industry and science in a bid to offer rational amusement to the masses. While musical instruments were put on display, music was primarily exhibited through performance. Concerts and band promenades were a mainstay of exhibition life, acting as a major draw for attendees, but more importantly, as an edifying experience. The question of Irish identity looms large in this chapter with the inclusion or exclusion of the RIC band as a barometer of national sentiment. A survey of Hardy's work in a freelance capacity at Dublin exhibitions demonstrates the wide remit of the working musician as brass band contest adjudicator, director of dance bands, composer, and musical advisor.

Chapter seven documents and explores the repertoire used by the RIC band during the period of Hardy's tenure as bandmaster. Using newspaper listings of RIC band performances, it identifies the band's repertoire placing it within the context of military band repertoire of its day. The use of military band journals as the source of much RIC band repertoire is examined, with the composers and arrangers of works from military band journals noted. With compilations, arrangements and reworkings of existing music as the mainstay of RIC band repertoire, this chapter raises questions about the value of such music in middle-class culture. This chapter documents Hardy's own compositions, many of which were first written for RIC band performances and later produced in the form of piano sheet music. Two popular compositions that featured in RIC band performances, one by Hardy and one by a regimental bandmaster, are then analysed. This analysis raises questions regarding nineteenth-century music consumption, Irish popular culture, and Irish identity.

Chapter eight examines the reasons underpinning the successful working relationship of Hardy and the RIC band and the contributing factors to their popularity with Irish middle-class audiences. With Hardy as a valuable asset to the RIC band strong links were formed with communities, organisations, and particularly the band's female followers. The difficulties encountered by Hardy and the RIC band in the early 1870s are then examined with the refusal by the British government to send the RIC band to the USA to perform at The World's Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston in 1872 perceived as a major factor in Hardy's resignation in September 1872. Political attitudes of the early 1870s are also examined with the strengthening mindset towards Home Rule noted as a factor in changing attitudes towards British involvement in leadership roles. Hardy, an Englishman, was caught in a society that was recalibrating its sense of self within the confines of the British empire.

Chapter nine comprises two sections, namely an epilogue and conclusion. The epilogue briefly outlines Hardy's life and career following his departure from the RIC band and investigates reasons why the RIC band has largely been forgotten until recently. It then outlines the events to commemorate the foundation of the RIC band and police force music in Ireland associated with this research, linking this work with the discipline of applied ethnomusicology. The chapter concludes with suggestions for areas for future research and notes the value of this research to scholarship and musicology.

(viii) Contribution to Scholarship

This dissertation contributes new material to scholarship on band culture in nineteenth-century Ireland and Great Britain. While the RIC band was a police force band it was styled in a regimental band fashion, thus straddling the worlds of military music and general band culture. This dissertation places the RIC band at the centre of band music in nineteenth-century Ireland, identifying it as the most prestigious and accomplished Irish band of its time. Placing music at

its core, this dissertation also contributes new perspectives to a range of areas of scholarship beyond the sphere of musicology, acknowledging the important role of band music, particularly that of the RIC band, to leisure and consumer culture in nineteenth-century Irish urban life.

Chapter 1

The Establishment of the Royal Irish Constabulary Band

1.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the reasons for the establishment of the RIC band in 1861 and the socio-cultural context which supported the successful launch of this musical ensemble. It first places the formation of the band within the context of policing in nineteenth-century Ireland, considering the diverse views of scholars regarding the rationale for the consolidation of Irish policing in 1836 with the formation of the Irish Constabulary. This chapter then shows how political factors, the emergence of popular mass culture, and the modernisation of Irish society influenced the democratisation of music provision in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hybrid forms of music that merged art music and popular culture provided mass entertainment with bands of the armed forces, civilian bands, and temperance bands to the fore in this field. With the scene set for the formation of the RIC band, this chapter outlines the practical arrangements in the band's establishment, music training of bandsmen, instrumentation, and the duties of bandsmen. Finally, it demonstrates the suitability of Hardy, the band's first bandmaster, for this position, being steeped in the British regimental band tradition.

1.2 Policing in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Rationale and Vision

It is not immediately evident why the RIC, twenty-five years after its formation, chose to establish a band in 1861. An *Irish Times* article announced in rather vague terms that there was a need for a band within the RIC but did not identify the reasons why such a band should be required. "An effort is being made by the authorities, in conjunction with the officers of the force, to supply a want long felt at the depot – namely the want of a good band of music."¹

¹ *Irish Times*, 31 October 1861, p. 2.

The decision of the RIC to establish a band at this particular time in Irish history is best understood in the context of the society and musical milieu from which it emerged. A significant factor in the general societal restructuring and modernisation which Ireland was experiencing in the mid-nineteenth century was the establishment of a police force drawn from the local community. The complex philosophy underpinning policing in Ireland combined with the role of military band music in the second half of the nineteenth century set the stage for this relatively novel concept of forming a police force band of this proportion.

Following the Constabulary (Ireland) Act of 1836 the RIC became the centralised police force of Ireland, amalgamating the former Peace Preservation Force and County Constabularies.² The RIC policed the entire country except for the cities of Belfast, Derry, and Dublin. Belfast and Derry maintained their own local police forces until 1865 and 1870 respectively, while the Dublin Metropolitan Police who looked after the policing of the capital city eventually amalgamated with An Garda Síochána in 1925.³ A training depot for RIC recruits was established in 1840 in Dublin's Phoenix Park.⁴

Many views regarding the rationale for the establishment and development of police forces in the nineteenth century exist within scholarship, and more particularly, regarding the history of policing in Ireland. In an extensive overview of literature pertaining to general police history, Anastasia Dukova outlines three such viewpoints, as identified by the work of David Taylor. Orthodox theory considers the implementation of centralised policing as a countermeasure to an undisciplined society, revisionist theory considers policing as a means of social control, while more recent scholarship notes the gradual integration of the police into

² Graham Ellison and Jim Smyth, *The Crowned Harp: Policing Northern Ireland*, (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 13.

³ Liam McNiffe, *A History of the Garda Síochána: A Social History of the Force 1922–52, With an Overview of the Years 1952–97* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1997), pp. 4–5. Also, Jim Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 187.

⁴ McNiffe, p. 4.

communities.⁵ Dukova also notes Robert Reiner's view that policing gradually became an accepted part of the fabric of society due to both its hard-line law enforcement and its 'soft' service activities.⁶

The rationale underpinning nineteenth-century policing in Ireland involves many complex layers with strong and often polarised views abounding as to the rationale supporting its foundation and development. Vicky Conway holds that the RIC was a large and highly militaristic organisation, centrally controlled and politically motivated, whose purpose was to infiltrate Irish communities with a view to implementing British imperialism in a colonised Ireland.⁷ These views are well supported by noting the large quota of police per head of population, the recruitment of Catholic personnel from rural Ireland who were trained in martial fashion, and the deployment of policemen to collect statistical information throughout the country. A completely contrary view, held by Gregory Allen, considers that police reform in Ireland, as prioritised by Thomas Drummond, the under-secretary of the Dublin Castle administration from 1835 to 1840, was underpinned by the then radical belief that the neglect of duty towards property and people was a fundamental cause for unease in society. This contradicted the extreme coercive measures traditionally employed to combat crime.⁸ This enlightened philosophy on which the force was based adhered to the French concept of policing which coupled law enforcement with social and economic matters.⁹ While the RIC may well have been created out of a sense of care and concern for society,¹⁰ its first inspector general James Shaw Kennedy (1788–1865), believed that it held much in common with a light infantry

⁵ Anastasia Dukova, *A History of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and its Colonial Legacy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 4.

⁶ Dukova, p. 4.

⁷ Vicky Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland: A History of An Garda Síochána* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p. 9.

⁸ Gregory Allen, *The Garda Síochána: Policing Independent Ireland 1922–82* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1999), p. 4.

⁹ Dermot P. J. Walsh, *The Irish Police: A Legal and Constitutional Perspective* (Dublin: Round Hall Sweet and Maxwell, 1998), p. 1.

¹⁰ McNiffe, p. 4.

regiment by following typical military procedures and carrying arms.¹¹ Within the ranks of the early RIC, its work force, which was seventy-five percent Catholic, worked side by side in common purpose with their Protestant colleagues, with political debate strictly forbidden.¹² Allen notes the extraordinary influence of the RIC's predominantly Catholic police force who, through their promotion of exemplary social and professional standards, contributed to the creation of an educated middle class in nineteenth-century Ireland.¹³ The RIC band undoubtedly contributed to this broadening of the educational base, bringing the skill of musical literacy to its previously untrained band members and exposing both band members and the wider public to arrangements of popular classics and operatic selections. By observance of the cultural behaviour of the officer ranks, predominantly from the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, the rank-and-file members climbed the social ladder thus affecting the face of Irish society.¹⁴

The fundamentals underpinning the establishment of the RIC band bear some resemblance, but also many differences, to the practical arrangements and rationale for the establishment of London Metropolitan Police force bands in the two years prior to the establishment of a band by the RIC. London Metropolitan Police force bands appear to have had education and social improvement as a clear founding principal. Newspaper accounts of a band being set up by the M Division place its establishment within the wider context of educational classes and leisure pursuits being organised for policemen.¹⁵ It was believed that good moral and intellectual standing could be fostered in the force by the running of a band as well as the provision of classes in reading and spelling, writing and grammar, arithmetic, geography, writing from dictation, and book-keeping.¹⁶ The band could be enjoyed by both the performers and their audiences with an account of one performance by a band of thirty police

¹¹ Graham Ellison and Jim Smyth, p. 13.

¹² Allen, p. 4.

¹³ Allen, p. 4.

¹⁴ Allen, pp. 4–5.

¹⁵ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 January 1859, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Daily News*, 5 December 1859, p. 3.

officers of the M Division attracting three-hundred people to a performance in a local school-room. Similar bands in other divisions appear to have been formed, with the K Division establishing a band of thirty-five musicians at its subdivisions of Bow and West Ham. Funding for instruments was raised among the local inhabitants with influential residents targeted for subscriptions.¹⁷ In contrast with this, the RIC band was funded by the officers of the RIC, resembling a regimental band in this respect. While the education of RIC bandsmen may have been an aim of the RIC band's founders, the band's duties on the depot square, performances for officers' social occasions, and the provision of entertainment at a variety of civilian events throughout Dublin, and sometimes further afield, were its primary purposes. London Metropolitan Police bands appear to have been more along the lines of a workplace band, based primarily in their immediate locality and dependent on civilian funding. The RIC band, however, serviced a much wider audience, had stable funding provided solely by RIC members, maintained an independence from civilian influence, and thus carved out a more prestigious image which left the band capable of forming its own identity.

The establishment of a band by the RIC and the subsequent placing of this band at a profusion of social events, ranging from high-profile royal visits to more modest charity fundraisers, could be viewed as a display of force and social control, where specific music is deliberately embedded in typical social practice by the state authorities. This would place music, its promoters, and its performers as manipulators who transmit an intended message to a passive malleable audience. There is no evidence to suggest that the RIC sought to impose this type of command style power through the medium of music. However, it can be considered that the RIC used music as a type of 'soft power' to reinforce British cultural values.

While the concept of 'soft power' forwarded by Joseph Nye in 1990 is relatively recent, it is a useful tool in considering the type of power projected by an entity such as the RIC band.

¹⁷ *Essex Standard*, 4 May 1860, p. 2.

Soft power achieves its desired outcome of domination through co-opting rather than coercing people using intangible resources such as culture, values and ideologies.¹⁸ Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos develop Nye's theory noting that 'it is possible for command power behaviour to utilize intangible soft power resources'.¹⁹ While there may not have been a specific strategy of domination underpinning the foundation of the RIC band, nonetheless the band forwarded the imperialist creed through the attractive medium of music. Furthermore, this music, performed by members of the paramilitary police force, was experienced in non-threatening environments where fashionability and social standing were the main attraction.

When considering the impetus for the RIC's establishment of a band, this dissertation proposes a nuanced and balanced interpretation of the principles supporting policing in nineteenth-century Ireland, differentiating between its role during times of social and political upheaval and relative peacetimes. While this opinion views the employment of largely Catholic personnel as a move away from religious prejudice, with the RIC becoming an accepted part of the fabric of Irish society, it also recognises that this blending of the RIC with local communities was eroded once political unrest came into play. Mark Finnane and Ian O'Donnell remark on how the RIC became somewhat positively interwoven in Irish communities, with their civic role counterbalancing their coercive duties.²⁰ But despite the good standing of many policemen in their local districts, it was always understood that loyalty to their British employer would supersede local allegiances.²¹ Given that the RIC band was established during a time of relative political stability, it may be reasonable to surmise, as there is no known historical record regarding the reason for its formation, that its immediate instigators were driven by a

¹⁸ Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 5.

¹⁹ Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, 'From Hegemony to Soft Power: Implications of a Conceptual Change', in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by Indeerjeet Parmar and Michael Cox (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 12–31 (pp. 17–18).

²⁰ Mark Finnane and Ian O'Donnell, 'Crime and Punishment', in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 363–382 (p. 368).

²¹ Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 11.

genuine motivation to enhance the lives of both RIC personnel and civilian audiences through the positive use of music.

1.3 A Changing Irish Society: The Implications for Music in Middle-Class Culture

The formation of a band by the RIC, in the style of a regimental band, in 1860s Ireland must be viewed in both the musical and socio-cultural context of that time. Early nineteenth-century Ireland witnessed a change in its musical vista, due on the one hand to the departure of elements of the aristocracy following the Act of Union and on the other to the early beginnings of popular mass culture. Dickson provides statistical evidence that following the Act of Union the top tier of Dublin society greatly reduced in number while the middle class took more of a foothold. Dickson states that many elaborate townhouses of the capital were repurposed as public buildings or were subdivided into smaller residential units, while the construction of more modest houses recovered in the early years of the nineteenth century.²² Susan Galavan notes that 35,000 such homes were built during the Victorian era for the growing middle-class Dublin population which was making its living in what was a commercial rather than an industrial city.²³ Rains, in her writing about nineteenth-century commodity culture, considers that the middle and upper class population of nineteenth-century suburban Dublin embraced the ‘specifically urban cultures of distraction, cosmopolitanism and above all consumption’.²⁴ This dissertation demonstrates that military band music, specifically that of the RIC band, was also a consumable for this demographic cohort, providing distraction in a growing middle-class consumer mass culture.

²² David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books), p. 166 and 167.

²³ Susan Galavan, *Dublin’s Burgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs 1850–1901* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2017), pp. 2–4.

²⁴ Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), p. 4.

The Act of Union in 1800 and the consequent relocation of the upper classes from Dublin to London, caused a reconfiguration of culture and music in Ireland's capital city. Following a decline in patronage and the economic depression of 1824, musical life in Ireland underwent somewhat of a revival in the second half of the nineteenth century, led by the emerging merchant and middle classes. A repercussion of the restructuring of Dublin's social hierarchies was a reconfiguration of local musical expression. In Dublin, musical societies staged both choral and orchestral concerts, while freelance musicians often collaborated with each other to stage concerts of mixed musical content.²⁵ Martin Dowling notes the demise of classical music culture during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century, particularly from 1820 onwards. However, a new expression of this music, catering for the changing Dublin population, was emerging with the establishment of more than twenty new musical societies between 1840 and 1870, many concert performances by well-known European musicians, and a thriving opera season.²⁶ Alice Hughes notes the transfer of music patronage in Ireland from the aristocratic class to the middle class during this era and the role of an array of amateur music societies in the provision of art music.²⁷ While it may have been the case that the standard of classical music performance in Dublin had deteriorated since the Georgian era, it can also be considered that alternative opportunities for musical expression were expanding to cater for a wider audience base. Harry White notes the flagging state of art music following the Act of Union but also observes the development of hybrid art forms in the early nineteenth century.²⁸ Beausang considers that by the second half of the nineteenth century, art music was less

²⁵ Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music and Society, 1850–1921', in *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union II, 1870–1921*, 9 vols, ed. by W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), VI, pp. 500–522 (p. 500).

²⁶ Martin Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 90.

²⁷ Alice Hughes, 'The Social and Cultural History of Irish Musical Societies, 1890–1990 (unpublished M. Litt. Thesis, Maynooth University, 2017), p. 10.

²⁸ Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 8 and 9.

bounded by class distinction and was extending its reach to the middle and lower classes.²⁹ Alternative forms of music which overlapped between art music and popular culture were being expanded for mass entertainment. Regimental bands played a prominent part in the provision of such entertainment, performing music for popular entertainment at both indoor and outdoor venues. Fleischmann notes that military band music, along with opera, held the widest popular appeal in post-famine Ireland.³⁰ The armed forces (including the army and militia) played an important part in fashionable social life with their ornate uniforms lending a sense of glamour to social events. Each regiment was accompanied by its own band for general military and recruitment purposes which in turn contributed greatly to the musical life of the towns. Civilian bands were also popular in the towns, especially bands associated with the various trades and the temperance movement. John Cunningham, while acknowledging the lack of evidence in this regard, states that Irish brass and reed bands have their origins in the early nineteenth century. He credits regimental bands with popularising this type of performance ensemble and being a stimulus for the establishment of civilian bands. He also notes the role of Fr. Matthew's Temperance Movement in disseminating bands throughout the country during the mid-nineteenth century.³¹

The regimental bands and their music were not a replacement for the art music culture that had thrived in Georgian Ireland but were a distinct entity catering for an extended and diverse audience. The repertoire and performance skills of regimental bands held many similarities with classical art music, however the band tradition belonged to a very different culture. Herbert promotes the concept of brass and military banding as a sub-culture and quite

²⁹ Ita Beausang, 'From National Sentiment to Nationalist Movement, 1850–1900', in *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 36–51 (p. 36).

³⁰ Aloys Fleischmann, pp. 500–522 (p. 505).

³¹ John Cunningham, 'Brass and Reed Bands', in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, ed. by Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), p. 125.

distinct from Western art music.³² The music and repertoire of these bands can be placed within the wider process of popularization that was afoot in Victorian society. Nineteenth-century Britain saw the popularization of science and the arts, making knowledge and experiences that were previously in the domain of the upper classes available to a wider scope of middle-class consumers. Bennett Zon notes the vernacularisation of complex scientific ideas through popular literature and other forms of writing that were accessible to the general public.³³ Similarly, versions of art music were made accessible to the Victorian consumer through the musical selections performed by brass and military bands which the bandsmen read from the mass-produced military band journals of the day.

Military band music in Ireland evolved in tandem with the growth of the British military presence in the country. The early nineteenth century witnessed the building up of a strong British army presence in Ireland with regiments accompanied by their respective bands. Loughlin Sweeney notes the considerable expansion of military infrastructure and personnel in Ireland as a defence against possible Napoleonic invasion.³⁴ A large reservoir of potential soldiers, who could serve in the British army both at home and abroad, existed among the Irish poor. He argues that ‘the military was the largest conduit through which the colonial empire (outside colonies of settlement) was experienced by the Irish’ during the nineteenth century.³⁵ As bands were a common appendage to individual regiments, therefore, military music formed a prominent part of the musical soundscape of Dublin and other Irish garrison cities and towns. Dowling considers that military music was thriving during the age of Revolution (from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century), with military discipline positively impacting

³² Trevor Herbert, ‘Brass and Military Bands in Britain: Performance Domains, the Factors that Construct them and their Influence’, in *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonialism and Local Music Making*, ed. by Suzel Ana Reily and Katherine Brucher (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 33–53 (p. 35).

³³ Bennett Zon, *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 10.

³⁴ Loughlin Sweeney, *Irish Military Elites: Nation and Empire, 1870–1925: Identity and Authority* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), p. 4.

³⁵ Sweeney, p. 8.

musical competency.³⁶ He cites the example of a military musician, garrisoned in Limerick, who was considered by Michael Kelly (1762–1826) to be the finest trumpeter he had ever heard.

In a wider sense, Herbert explores how the British army recognised the power of military music and used it effectively from the late eighteenth century onwards. Herbert notes that ‘the importance of military music lies primarily in the way it democratized the musical experience through the scale and breadth of its distribution’.³⁷ The attitude of the public towards the army, many of whom were cautious about the dubious behaviour of soldiers, could be changed by a positive interaction with the visual and sonic ambience created by a genial regimental band performing at a social event. A sense of wonder and awe, even patriotism in some cases, could be aroused in the onlooking crowd at large military displays which prominently featured military music. Drawing on an account in Marguerite Gardiner’s novel *Country Quarters*, published posthumously in 1850, Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow note the power of a regimental band to draw the positive attention of both males and females to its regiment as it marched into a small Irish town.³⁸

The military band was undoubtably a very versatile performance ensemble. In contrast with the string band, which was used primarily at indoor performances,³⁹ a military band was suitable for outdoor or indoor performances and was also adaptable to a wide range of entertainment options. It could be heard by its immediate target audience as well as by those who chanced to be within earshot of a performance. Its repertoire drew on the most appealing melodies from contemporary operas, popular songs, and compositions by composers of art

³⁶ Dowling, p. 95.

³⁷ Trevor Herbert, ‘Public Military Music and the Promotion of Patriotism in the British Provinces, c.1780–c.1850’, *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 17:3 (2020), 427–444 (p. 435).
<<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479409819000594>> [accessed 21 September 2022]

³⁸ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, ‘The British Military as a Musical Institution, c. 1780–c. 1860’, in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Rodmell (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 247–266 (pp. 259–260).

³⁹ See Tony Russell, ‘Groups: String Band’, in *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*, ed. by John Shepherd, David Horn, Dave Laing, Paul Oliver and Peter Wicke (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 72–74.

music, adapting them for mass consumption. Dance music and marches could raise the spirits of the crowd while martial music and anthems could instil pride and patriotism in an audience.

The formation of a band by the RIC, similar to those of the regiments, was therefore not surprising. It was a tried and tested performance ensemble that held popular appeal across a wide and varied audience base. It gave a positive, acceptable, and genial face to what could be perceived as a hostile disciplinary police force, while intersecting with large swathes of the urban citizenry. Using a very British construct, it could invoke a sense of local Irish identity within the greater entity of the British Isles and empire.⁴⁰

1.4 A Modernised Irish Society: Factors Supporting the Emergence of the Royal Irish Constabulary Band

Accounts of nineteenth-century Ireland often describe polarised societal extremes and diametrically opposed living conditions among the Irish population. However, Irish society underwent significant modernisation in the early decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in the areas of transport and education. These changes helped make social upward mobility a possibility for some, leading to a gradual emergence of an Irish middle class. Social thinkers of the day such as Thomas Davis (1814–45) and his influential Young Ireland movement encouraged uplifting and stimulating recreation for the public, including reading rooms, museums, public gardens, lectures, and music. The modernisation of nineteenth-century Irish society and thinking coincided with a growth in consumer culture and increased leisure time for some elements of Irish society. The prominence and success of the RIC band must be viewed within the convergence of social, economic, educational, and infrastructural change in nineteenth-century Ireland. Enhanced means of transport could carry both audience and

⁴⁰ The sense of Irish identity which the RIC band engendered will be discussed in further detail in chapters 3, 5, 6 and 7.

musicians to dedicated outdoor and indoor venues. More free time and disposable income created a demand for entertainment and leisure-time pursuits. The main passenger train routes in Ireland were in place by the early 1860s, with the Dublin to Kingstown railway operational since 1834.⁴¹ Band performances at the developing seaside towns of Bray, Kingstown and Malahide were common as these locations were easily accessible to Dublin city-dwellers by rail. Performances further afield in locations such as Cork, Limerick, Ballinasloe, Drogheda, and Dundalk were also accessible by train to the Dublin-based RIC band. Band performances often acted as an accompaniment to other typical Victorian leisure activities such as sporting fixtures, visits to the zoological gardens, horticultural shows, or a stroll in the park. They also featured as an adjunct to consumer events such as bazaars or industrial exhibitions.

Social thinking of the day considered music as a stimulus to creating a sense of community and a useful tool in the improvement of education.⁴² Delia Da Sousa Correa cites the views of English scientist and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), who considered the human response to music as ‘performing a vital role in enhancing the sympathetic communication necessary to social progress’.⁴³ This social progress had two main aims; it sought to gain the compliance and good behaviour of mass society while also improving the general wellbeing of the people. Phyllis Weliver considers that Victorian audiences and musical groups ‘were formed into manageable units that acted like other nineteenth-century systems of group management, not least because behaviour was advocated that was not only homogenising, but which also aimed to raise the soul and quality of life of each participant’.⁴⁴ Writing in the context of English popular music Dave Russell considers that from the 1840s

⁴¹ John Christopher and Campbell McCutcheon, *Bradshaw's Guide: The Railways of Ireland* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2015), p. 5.

⁴² Delia Da Sousa Correa, *George Eliot, Music and Victorian Culture* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 6.

⁴³ Da Sousa Correa, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Phyllis Weliver, ‘Music, Crowd Control and the Female Performer in *Trilby*’, in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2004), p. 64.

onwards, middle-class reformers and philanthropists understood the value of music in social reform and the control of mass society.⁴⁵ Of course, this manipulation of society may also have been an element in the ‘soft power’ transmitted via the RIC band.

Emerging from this backdrop of both musical and social renewal, the RIC, twenty-five years after its foundation, established its band, thus expressing a vision for a peaceful and law-abiding society, not only through the imposition of law and order, but through addressing the needs of the community for worthwhile stimulation and recreation. This band could also engender conformity and compliance within both itself and its audiences, while simultaneously promoting a specific view of social advancement.

1.5 Initial Arrangements: Recruitment and Training in the Royal Irish Constabulary Band

In response to a request for the formation of a band by the RIC, the Government of the day sanctioned the allocation of serving RIC members as bandsmen. Hardy, at a salary of £200 per annum, was to serve as bandmaster and preliminary expenses such as the purchase of instruments were to be borne by the RIC officers. Thereafter, the band was to be funded by the surplus from RIC school and mess funds.⁴⁶ The twenty-five original band members comprised one sergeant major, two sergeants, two corporals, two lance-corporals, and eighteen men. These volunteers were men who had been stationed in various parts of the country and who ‘possessed a taste for, and some knowledge of music’.⁴⁷ Following the first month of rehearsals the previous lack of formal musical training of these bandsmen was identified as a prospective difficulty in bringing this band to a professional level of performance. Therefore, the

⁴⁵ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 23–24.

⁴⁶ *Irish Times*, 31 October 1861, p. 2.

⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 20 November 1861, p. 4.

appointment of some additional bandsmen from army regiments was suggested as a means of curbing this difficulty with their admission at the rank of sergeant acting as an incentive for joining.⁴⁸ Similar to the situation noted by Golby regarding the tuition and training of brass bands in England, the focus was on attaining a high standard of performance within the shortest time possible. The bandsmen recruited from the regimental bands undoubtedly assisted Hardy in the basic task of instrumental instruction. Golby notes this as the traditional teaching method used in brass bands where musical learning was ‘founded on practical, aural and oral instruction and experience, ‘learning by osmosis’ through the family and group practice, rather than on a time-consuming literary and largely insular tradition of instruction’.⁴⁹ This teaching method also involved the reading of musical notation and used demonstration to teach fingerings and performance techniques. After five months of intensive training the band made its debut at an official parade on the Depot Square in April 1862. Such was the success of this performance that the Inspector General appointed a further twenty-five men to the band.⁵⁰

1.6 Playing on the Beat: Instruments, Duties and Demands

While it appears that no definitive record of instrumentation for the original 1861 RIC band is available, it is worth noting that its initial allocation was for twenty-five brass players. From the 1830s onwards, brass band instrumentation was characterised by cornets as the main melody instruments, with an array of middle and low register brass instruments providing accompaniment.⁵¹ This was in accordance with the typical number of instruments in a brass band at that time. Following the British model of brass band instrumentation which had become standardised by about 1850 it is likely that the RIC band consisted of one Eb soprano cornet,

⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 December 1861, p. 3.

⁴⁹ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2004), p. 230.

⁵⁰ Donal J. O’Sullivan, *The Depot* (Oregon: Navillus Publishing, 2007), p. 36.

⁵¹ Arnold Myers, ‘Instruments and Instrumentation of British Brass Bands’, in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, ed. by Trevor Hebert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 155–186 (p. 155).

four Bb solo/1st cornets, one Bb repiano cornet, two 2nd and two 3rd Bb cornets, three Eb tenor horns (1st, 2nd and 3rd), two Bb baritones (1st and 2nd), two Bb euphoniums (1st and 2nd), two tenor trombones (1st and 2nd) and one bass trombone, two Eb basses, and two Bb basses.⁵² One Bb flugelhorn would complete the line-up. With the increase in band personnel to fifty members, this allowed for the addition of percussion and woodwind instruments and thus a military band was formed. The earliest known photograph of the band dates from 1875, two years after Hardy's departure as bandmaster, and shows forty-one musicians along with their bandmaster John Power Clarke.⁵³ In addition to the expected wind instruments there are two double basses, a feature of some military bands in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴

The duties of the bandsmen are outlined in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* in May 1870, noting the extremely heavy workload expected of these men. Following regular tours of night-time guard duty, the men attended parade followed by two hours of playing and a further hour of practice in the band room. They may then have had to play 'for the amusement of the city folk' until the early hours of the morning, receiving no extra pay or enticements for this additional work.⁵⁵

1.7.1 Musical Beginnings: Hardy's Career with the Band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards

In an era when both familial regimental loyalty and musical professionalism were often passed from one generation to the next, it is not surprising that service within the regimental bands of the British army forms the backdrop to Hardy's musical career. Following his father and

⁵² Trevor Herbert, 'The British Brass Band Movement', in *Oxford Music Online* < <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.may.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040774#omo-9781561592630-e-0000040774-div1-0000040774.4> > [accessed 27 October 2022]

⁵³ Photograph of RIC band received from Garda Jim Herlihy (Figure 1.1).

⁵⁴ Simone Dennis, *The Emotional Power of Music in Police Work* (New York: Cambria Press, 2007), p. 161.

⁵⁵ *Irish Times*, 16 May 1870, p. 2. This letter to the editor was written by a relative of one of the bandsmen and probably expresses the beginning of the unease in the band leading ultimately to Hardy's departure in 1872.

brother, Hardy enlisted as a musician with the 1st Regiment of Life Guards in London in 1840 aged eleven years and eight months, training as a French horn player and trumpeter.⁵⁶ While French horn was Hardy's principal instrument he was also a skilled cornet and flugel horn player.⁵⁷ His younger brother Frederick William Hardy also trained as a musician with the band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards and was an accomplished clarinettist.⁵⁸ The 1st Regiment of Life Guards formed part of the Household Cavalry of the British monarch, performing for royal occasions and processions.⁵⁹ Hardy's army service record lists him first as a trooper (underage) until the age of eighteen. He then served for one year and two hundred and thirteen days as a trooper and a further five years and nine days as a trumpeter. He was discharged by purchase on the 28 December 1852 upon payment of twenty-five pounds, a practice commonly known as buying one's way out of the army.⁶⁰ It is unclear exactly what training Hardy would have received while training and serving with this regimental band. However, two extracts from the 1st Regiment of Life Guards standing orders of 1827 may provide a suggestion as to the expectations for a musician attached to this regiment during the first half of the nineteenth-century:

Article II: Trumpeters are to be practiced twice a day until perfect, and the band at such hours as shall be approved by the Commanding Officer. Article III: The trumpeters and musicians are to take care of their own horses. Should any application be made for the band at any hour that interferes with stable duty, it cannot be granted, unless an arrangement can be made for the care of their horses.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Hardy's father, Lawrence, served as a soldier with the 1st Regiment of Life Guards from 1809–1836 and his brother, John, served as a musician with this regiment from 1835–1849. A younger brother, listed as William F. in army records, also served as a musician with this regiment from 1843–1859. William F. was also known as Frederick. This information was obtained from their service records held at Combermere Barracks, Windsor.

⁵⁷ *Leamington Spa Courier*, 5 July 1856, p.4 and *Irish Times*, 30 January 1865, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Leamington Spa Courier*, 5 July 1856, p.4.

⁵⁹ Alwyn Turner and Gordon Turner, 'The Band of the Life Guards', in *Droit: Band Histories, the Household Division* <http://military-bands.co.uk/life_guards.html> [accessed 11 August 2012]

⁶⁰ Windsor, Combermere Barracks, Army Service Records of 1st Life Guards, Reg. No. 728.

⁶¹ G. R. Lawn, *Music in State Clothing: The Story of the Kettledrummers, Trumpeters and Band of the Life Guards* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 1995), p. 11.

The early to mid-nineteenth century witnessed significant changes in military band instrumentation, organisation and leadership. Herbert notes that the instrumentation used in British military bands in the early years of the nineteenth century was similar to that of the *Harmoniemusik* popular in Germany in the late classical period.⁶² These bands consisted of approximately eight players where clarinets, oboes and bassoons formed the main body of the band with the possibility of one or two additional horns. The band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards however appears to have advanced rapidly from this format, as by 1820 a band of twenty two musicians, predominantly trumpeters, was reported present at a state review, this being a particularly numerically strong band for this period.⁶³ These highly skilled professional musicians were well placed to benefit from the massive changes in the world of brass instrument playing brought about in the 1840s with the adoption of new piston-valved instruments and the techniques associated with their usage.⁶⁴ This was the musical arena into which Hardy was placed as a child musician.

The 1st Regiment of Life Guards rotated between Regent's Park Barracks, Knightsbridge Barracks, and Windsor on a yearly basis. While based in London both 1st and 2nd Regiments of Life Guards bands gave popular regular performances in Kensington Gardens on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.⁶⁵ James Waddell (1797–1879) was bandmaster of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards band from 1832 to 1863, coinciding with Hardy's time of enlistment. The musical reputation of the band soared under Waddell's leadership due to his ability as a bandmaster and also due to his ability to arrange classical works for military band. Up until the mid-1840s, band repertory usually comprised of parts specially arranged and hand-

⁶² Trevor Herbert and Margaret Sarkissian, 'Victorian Bands and their Dissemination in the Colonies', *Popular Music*, 16: 2 (1997), 165–179 (p. 167).

⁶³ Lawn, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Trevor Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*, ed. by Trevor Herbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 10–60 (p. 24).

⁶⁵ Lawn, p. 11.

written by the bandmaster.⁶⁶ Waddell appears to have continued with this system and it is possible that his bandsmen, such as Hardy, contributed to the hand-written process of transcribing parts, thus giving them a greater understanding of arranging and composition. Two high profile engagements at which Hardy would have performed under Waddell were the first Grand Military Concert held in Great Britain in 1851 and the funeral of the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852) in 1852. The massed bands of the Household Cavalry, Royal Artillery and Foot Guards performed at this grand military concert. The classical pieces performed by the 1st Regiment of Life Guards were arrangements by Waddell himself, with his arrangement of *Euryanthe* being noted in *The Times* as the best piece performed.⁶⁷ The band was singled out once more in the press while playing at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, being noted particularly for its more extensive programme than that of other bands: ‘As while most of the bands played only the “Dead March in Saul” Mr Waddell’s musicians played the funeral March from Mendelssohn’s “Antigone” and a movement from Spohr’s “Power of Sound Symphony” in addition to Handel’s immortal march.’⁶⁸

Hardy acquired the appropriate skills and experience to equip him for service as a freelance bandmaster, composer and musician following his service with the band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards. A review of an early composition appeared in the *Morning Post* less than one year later⁶⁹ and reference to his pleasing French horn playing in the freelance arena is noted within a couple of months of departing military service.⁷⁰ Undoubtedly, he learned these skills by dedicated musical training from a very young age, exposure to the talent of bandmaster

⁶⁶ Trevor Herbert, ‘Brass Bands and Other Vernacular Brass Traditions’, in *Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 177–192 (p. 183).

⁶⁷ *The Times*, 18 June 1851, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Lawn, p. 14.

⁶⁹ *Morning Post*, 17 October 1853, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Daily News*, 10 February 1853, p. 2.

Waddell and performance opportunities at significant state and musical events in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

1.7.2 Moving On: Hardy's First Appointment as Bandmaster

The mid-nineteenth century saw significant change in the military band tradition, not only in instrumentation but also in terms of leadership. The British military band tradition had relied largely on foreign civilian bandmasters to lead regimental bands but from the mid-1800s onwards a new generation of British-born military bandmasters had now been trained. Hardy was ideally positioned to avail of one of the bandmaster positions created by the embodiment of militia regiments due to the Crimean War (1853–56). Acquiring his first appointment as military bandmaster in 1855, Hardy's service predates the establishment of The Military School of Music, later known as The Royal Military School of Music, by a mere three years. This dedicated military music school was established at Kneller Hall near London to train British-born musicians to conduct regimental bands.⁷¹ Hardy, however, was positioned on the seam between the old and the new and always maintained his civilian status despite his close connection with military band music throughout his musical career.

Hardy's first appointment as bandmaster was with the regiment of the 1st Warwickshire Militia. This regiment, embodied in December 1854 as a consequence of the Crimean War, quickly sought to establish a regimental band, placing an advertisement in the *Naval and Military Gazette* on 16 December 1854 wishing to recruit the following personnel: 'A drum-major who thoroughly understands teaching the drum and fife, and six musicians who can perform in a brass band: two cornopian players, two trombone players, one sax-horn player and one ophiclode player.'⁷² This specific combination of instruments is indicative of the brass

⁷¹ Herbert and Sarkissian, p. 168.

⁷² *Naval and Military Gazette*, 16 December 1854, p. 1.

band movement in Britain at that time. By the 1840s newly designed instruments, including those of the sax-horn family and other conical bore instruments such as the ophicleide, were widely available and due to advances in valve technology they were also considered easy to play in the early stages.

I have not located a specific advertisement wishing to recruit a bandmaster for the 1st Warwickshire Militia regiment at this time, though among the numerous advertisements spurred on by war in the Crimea, many composite types of advertisement appear in the *Naval and Military Gazette*, inserted by instrument manufacturers wishing to provide instruments for regimental bands as well as offering lists of suitable bandmasters. Herbert notes the bizarre relationship that existed at that time between the War Office, the regiments, their civilian bandmasters, and the instrument manufacturers who collectively created an enormous market for military music.⁷³ One such advertisement appeared on the *Naval and Military Gazette* of 16 December 1854 focusing particularly on the militia regiments that were being embodied due to the Crimean War. Henry Potter, a London musical instrument manufacturer, as well as providing military instruments was offering recommendations for good and efficient bandmasters.⁷⁴

Hardy's appointment was noted in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, which stated that 'Mr Harry Hardy, one of our best French horn players, has been engaged as bandmaster to the Warwick Militia'.⁷⁵ By the month of May the band was 'rapidly attaining a state of efficiency' under Hardy's judicious management.⁷⁶ The band appears to have flourished under Hardy's leadership as one year later the band numbered almost thirty men and boys who, according to a newspaper report in the *Daily News* of 8 February 1856, were not previously acquainted with music. They were credited in this report as being able to 'play military compositions and

⁷³ Herbert and Sarkissian, p. 169.

⁷⁴ *Naval and Military Gazette*, 16 December 1854, p. 1.

⁷⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 11 February 1855.

⁷⁶ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 5 May 1855, p. 7.

waltzes, &c., in a style which would do credit to old experienced bands'. Hardy's method of attaining a high musical standard within a relatively short period of time is not documented. However, it may be possible to surmise that the drum-major and six musicians sought at the embodiment of this regiment served as instructors for the musical novices who joined the ranks, while Hardy acted as overall musical director, this being an accepted method of musical instruction during this period.⁷⁷ Herbert comments that these new valve, conical bore instruments could be learned easily by rote or from printed elementary primers.⁷⁸ It was also necessary for the players to be able to read musical notation and Herbert posits that some early players in such bands may have been able to read music but unable to read words.⁷⁹ Following the cessation of the Crimean War the 1st Warwickshire Militia was disembodied on 24 June 1856.⁸⁰

1.7.3 Performing in the Theatre of War: Hardy as Bandmaster of the 23rd Welch Fusiliers

Military bands accompanied their regiments on tours of duty to the colonies of the British Empire during the nineteenth century. Hardy's next appointment as bandmaster saw him travel with the regimental band of the 23rd Welch Fusiliers bound for service in China in 1857.⁸¹ It is fair to presume that Hardy, finding himself without a position following the disembodiment of his militia regiment and wishing to further his career as a military bandmaster, was prepared to travel so far afield despite family ties in London.⁸² The regiment however was rerouted to

⁷⁷ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2004), p. 230.

⁷⁸ Herbert and Sarkissian, p. 178.

⁷⁹ Herbert and Sarkissian, p. 183.

⁸⁰ Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *The Story of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment* (London: Country Life, 1921), p. 106.

⁸¹ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 23 May 1857.

⁸² London, British Library, Arrivals: The New Calcutta Directory 1856-1857 IOR/Z/E/4/28/C137

face service in India due to the outbreak of the ‘Indian Mutiny’ in May 1857.⁸³ The previous generation of foreign civilian bandmasters had refused to follow their regiments into theatres of conflict.⁸⁴ Hardy, a British civilian, now found himself inadvertently present at a particularly bloody war, having a profound effect on his subsequent career choices.⁸⁵ Following his posting in Calcutta, Hardy came to Ireland as bandmaster to another regimental band, the band of the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons.⁸⁶

1.7.4 Forming a Relationship: Hardy and the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons in Ireland

It is unclear when exactly Hardy became bandmaster to the band of the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons, but it is possible to surmise that this posting may have commenced in autumn 1857. The regiment was garrisoned in Dundalk during this period and Hardy’s relationship with the people of this town is referred to in a later *Irish Times* article.⁸⁷ Despite the belief that the regimental band first emerged around 1765, ‘no bandmaster is documented until William Farrington’s appointment by Kneller Hall in October 1873’.⁸⁸ However, there are newspaper references in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman’s Journal* to Hardy conducting this band in July, August and September of 1859 in Kingstown, Bray, Salthill, and Malahide and in May 1860 at Dublin’s Mount Pleasant Square and the Rotundo Gardens respectively.⁸⁹ The regiment of the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons, subsequently renamed the 3rd King’s Own Hussars, was

⁸³ *Irish Times*, 1 May 1877, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Herbert and Sarkissian, p. 168.

⁸⁵ This information was received through personal correspondence with Margaret McLernon, a great granddaughter of Hardy.

⁸⁶ Reference to Hardy’s connection with this regiment first appeared when he conducted a performance with the band in Kingstown in July 1859. It is possible that Hardy took up his position shortly after a review of band personnel of the 3rd King’s Own Light Dragoons in September 1857. This regiment was renamed in 1861 as the 3rd King’s Own Hussars. See <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/3rd-kings-own-hussars> [accessed 21 September 2022]

⁸⁷ *Irish Times*, 30 June 1864, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Alwyn Turner and Gordon Turner, ‘The Band of the Life Guards’, in *Droit: Band Histories, the Household Division* <http://military-bands.co.uk/life_guards.html> [accessed 11 August 2012]

⁸⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 2 July 1859, p. 3, *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 August 1859, p. 4, *Irish Times*, 2 September 1859, p. 2, *Irish Times*, 21 September 1859, p. 2, *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 May 1860, p. 3, and *Irish Times*, 24 May 1860, p. 3.

stationed in Ireland for a six year period between 1857 and 1863.⁹⁰ In keeping with the smaller band sizes of the early nineteenth century, this band consisted of ten members in 1857, namely one trumpet major, one kettle drummer and eight trumpeters. When a review of personnel took place in 1860, while Hardy was bandmaster, the same complement of musicians was retained. As Hardy was of civilian status he was not accounted for in such personnel lists. During Hardy's tenure as bandmaster this regiment was stationed at Portobello Barracks, Dublin and subsequently at the Curragh of Kildare and Dundalk where Hardy appeared to form links with the local community, being remembered and respected there some years later when performing with the band of the RIC.⁹¹ Following the Earl of Cardigan's inspection of the regiment in October 1859 the Commanding Officer expressed his pleasure 'in communicating to all ranks of the regiment under his command his Lordship's entire satisfaction with their appearance, drill, and discipline in every respect'.⁹² Similar praise was expressed following inspection in May 1860.⁹³ Hardy appears to have formed a particular bond with this regiment, with his conductorship of its regimental band being mentioned in his obituary.⁹⁴

Having trained and served with the premier band of the Household Cavalry and initiated his conducting career first with a militia band and subsequently with regimental infantry and cavalry bands, Hardy was well positioned to take up the post as bandmaster to the RIC band, Ireland's first home based, national military style band.

⁹⁰ Hector Bolitho, *The Galloping Third: The Story of the Third King's Own Hussars* (London: John Murray, 1963), p. 172.

⁹¹ *Irish Times*, 30 June 1864, p. 3.

⁹² British Army, *Historical Record of the Third King's Own Hussars, containing an account of the Formation of the Regiment in 1685, and its subsequent services to 1927, Based on the Series by Richard Cannon* (Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1927), p. 239.

⁹³ *Historical Record of the Third King's Own Hussars*, p. 239.

⁹⁴ *Belfast News-Letter*, 13 April 1878, p. 1.

1.8 Hardy and the RIC Band: Early Success and Positive Reception

The degree and rate of competence attained by the RIC band appears to have been high and rapid. This is evidenced by the calibre of event at which they made their public debut performance, the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet attended by the Lord Lieutenant.⁹⁵ Particular mention is given in the press report of this occasion to the efficiency of Hardy in training this band to such a level of competency in so brief a period.⁹⁶ Hardy appears to have had a particular ability in educating quality performances from previously untrained musicians with comments made regarding Hardy in the British press during his career as bandmaster with the 1st Warwickshire Militia and subsequently in the Irish provincial press regarding his training of the Trim band.⁹⁷ Coinciding with expectations in nineteenth-century banding as outlined by Golby, the speed at which a bandmaster could attain a high standard of performance from their band appears to have been an important measure of band and bandmaster success.⁹⁸ The recruitment of a small core group of professional musicians to join the otherwise untrained bandsmen appears to have been a recognised technique in attaining rapid success. Hardy, in line with the practice of other bandmasters, recruited trained experienced musicians during the initial stages of training to bolster the performance standards of the RIC band.⁹⁹ Hardy had previously used this technique during his formation of the 1st Warwickshire Militia band.¹⁰⁰ Barlow describes this practice in relation to the band of the 1st Devon Militia in the mid-1850s when a new bandmaster, Herr Ernest Hartmann, was appointed. With a view to strengthening the band, he appointed four professional German musicians to its ranks.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ The performance of the RIC band at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet of 1863 is discussed in detail in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

⁹⁶ *Irish Times*, 12 February 1863, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Meath Chronicle*, 7 November 1914, p. 5.

⁹⁸ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, Oxon: Ashgate, 2004), p. 230.

⁹⁹ *Irish Times*, 14 December 1861, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Naval and Military Gazette*, 16 December 1854, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Helen Barlow, *The Cultures of Brass Project*, <<https://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/cultures-of-brass/military/diary/militia-band.htm>>, [accessed 2 July 2024]

The popularity and quality of the RIC band continued throughout Hardy's tenure as bandmaster. Five years after the band's formation a complimentary article appeared in the *United Services Gazette*, a British military journal, placing the band on a par musically and socially with the 'crack military bands of the regular services'.¹⁰² The article goes on to note the good fortune of the people of Dublin in having such a band in their midst, a band which satisfied and delighted its audiences on occasions of local festivity. Curtis, in his 1869 publication, considered the band among the most valued recent improvements made by the RIC. Believing the band to be unsurpassed by 'any military band in her Majesty's service, and equalled by very few', he attributed this exemplary standard to the musical ability, exquisite taste, and attractive personality of Hardy.¹⁰³

References to Hardy's musical ability and popularity abound in the newspapers of the day. In an *Irish Times* review of a benefit concert held at the Round Room of the Rotundo in 1863, the concert hall, which was packed to capacity, burst into universal applause as Hardy approached the stage, with the reporter commenting that Hardy himself was as popular as his compositions. Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, performed by the RIC band at that concert, was enthusiastically encored, 'a compliment seldom paid to full band performances'.¹⁰⁴

While genuine admiration for the RIC band did appear to exist, this admiration was applied to the band as a homogeneous entity, representing the colonial system in Ireland and the middle-class values of Victorian Irish society. Social convention and prejudice, as Golby points out, coloured the relationship between the music provider and the music consumer. Due to the social history underpinning the status of paid musicians those with consumer power chose to distance themselves from the paid music provider in order to maintain their own elite

¹⁰² A reference to the article in the *United Services Gazette* appeared in *Irish Times*, 23 October 1866, p. 3.

¹⁰³ Robert Curtis, *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary*, 2nd edn (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1871), p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ *Irish Times*, 14 Nov 1863, p. 3. *Valse Shilly Shally* is discussed further in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

status.¹⁰⁵ This attitude is expressed in a *Freeman's Journal* article of June 1864 where the author marvels at the performance standard achieved by the band, praising Hardy for his devotion and enthusiasm given the nature of the materials with which he has been obliged to work, namely musicians drawn from the rural working classes:

This band, which now deservedly ranks with some of the best of those in military service, has acquired the proficiency which it now exhibits through the exertions of the master, Mr Hardy, who has devoted himself with great energy and enthusiasm to the charge committed to him. It is quite surprising, considering the short time within which so much has been accomplished, and the nature of the materials with which Mr Hardy has had to deal, that his band should now be in a position to compete, and successfully compete, with so many “crack” regimental bands [...] The fact-for a fact it certainly is-adds only one to the many proofs already existing, that the Irish peasantry (from which the ranks of the constabulary are mainly, if not exclusively, recruited), have not only an innate love for, but a high capacity for, music.¹⁰⁶

While stereotyping the bandsmen's peasant Irish status with an innate capacity for music, the author is creating a firm divide between the audience and the paid music provider.¹⁰⁷

Correspondence which appeared in August 1864 in the *Irish Times* gives us some insight into the early reception of the RIC band. Written under the pen name ‘Fair Play’, a letter to the editor dated 20 August 1864 expressed the author's dismay at hearing a band of policemen playing instruments in the square of the Constabulary Depot. The writer was shocked to learn that this band, comprising sixty musicians, usually played in the Phoenix Park on Thursdays and Saturdays and also travelled to all parts of the country to play at social gatherings. They believed that there was no precedent for this band and considered it ‘a perversion of the money wrung from the poor taxpayers of Ireland’.¹⁰⁸ This letter elicited a

¹⁰⁵ Golby, p. 5

¹⁰⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 June 1864, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ For a discussion of the musicality of the Irish see for example Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity 1724–1824* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 36–39.

¹⁰⁸ *Irish Times*, 20 August 1864, p. 4.

barrage of replies correcting its suppositions and widely supporting the endeavours of the RIC band. The three letters selected for publication state that the band was paid for by the Constabulary members, consisted of less than sixty men, that band members worked regular hours of duty and that a precedent was to be found in the bands of the London Metropolitan Police. These letters universally considered the band to be a decided success and a worthwhile source of entertainment for the people of Dublin.¹⁰⁹ Following a six-year interval a letter under the authorship of 'Fair Play' was written to the editor of the *Irish Times*, expressing unequivocal support for the RIC band. 'Fair Play' praised the men of the band for their exemplary conduct, the quality of their playing as evidenced by the compliments they received from the Prince and Princess of Wales following their Irish visit, and the distinction they gained for the RIC. They also recommended that they be removed from guard duty and ought to be distinguished from other rank and file Constabulary members by attaching gold or silver lace to their caps and tunics.¹¹⁰ Whether the letter-writer 'Fair Play' of 1864 was the same author the 1870 letter is unknown, but if indeed they were one-and-the-same a complete conversion regarding their attitude to the value of the RIC band had taken place. This correspondence illustrates the regard in which the RIC band was held by urban dwellers in 1860s Ireland with this band gradually embedding itself in the leisure culture of the day.

1.9 Conclusion

Through an exploration of literature pertaining to the rationale for policing in nineteenth-century Ireland, this chapter has identified that both political upheaval and peacetimes influenced the reception of the RIC by civilians and the place of the RIC in Irish society. As the RIC band was formed during a period of relative tranquillity, it can be concluded that the

¹⁰⁹ *Irish Times*, 22 August 1864, p. 3.

¹¹⁰ *Irish Times*, 2 June 1870, p. 2.

band's establishment was a positive move by the RIC to enhance the lives of both RIC personnel and Irish civilians. By setting the socio-cultural and political scene into which the RIC band was born, it is possible to note the influence of popular mass culture, the growth of Ireland's middle class, and the modernisation of Irish society as major factors in launching the RIC band into the entertainment landscape of the era. This chapter demonstrated the imprint of British military music on the RIC band. With British regimental bands proliferating in Ireland, the concept of military band music was well known to Irish audiences. Furthermore, Hardy, who brought with him a wealth of musical knowledge gained from the British regimental band tradition and England's freelance music scene, was perfectly positioned to establish police force music in Ireland.



Figure 1.1 Earliest Known Photograph of the Royal Irish Constabulary Band, 5 January 1875

Chapter 2

Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Promenades, Parks, and Piers

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines RIC band performances at outdoor promenade venues such as parks, seaside resorts and piers. Using Russell's classification, these performances can be deemed as 'non-committal' from the listener's perspective, where attendees could come and go as they wished.¹ While an advertisement mentioning the presence of a band at a given venue may have enticed people to visit that location, the band performance alone may not have been what lured them to attend. The major attraction was the fresh air, along with an opportunity for social and fashionable interaction, while band music could set the stage for these pursuits, creating and supporting an atmosphere of ordered congeniality. This chapter provides an overview of the arrangements for public outdoor promenades in Dublin and the surrounding area during the typical summer season. It then focuses specifically on three major venues which featured military band promenades, namely the Phoenix Park, Bray, and Kingstown.² Using newspaper announcements, articles, and advertisements pertaining to music provision at these locations, this chapter compiles a comprehensive account of the RIC band's contribution to outdoor promenade performances. However, it is impossible to provide a definitive list of all the band's outdoor performances as not all performances may have been advertised and specific bands were not always named in newspapers announcements. Using supporting literature in both the general British and more specific Irish contexts, these performances are placed against the wider backdrop of the development of public parks and coastal resorts as places of recreation,

¹ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 171.

² The Dublin suburb of Dún Laoghaire was known as Kingstown from 1821 to 1920, a name given to it in honour of the visit of King George IV to this town. See 'What's in a Name? Dun Leary–Kingstown–Dún Laoghaire', *DLR County Council* <https://www.dlrcoco.ie/en/news/general-news/what%E2%80%99s-name-dun-leary-%E2%80%93-kingstown-%E2%80%93-d%C3%BA-laoghaire> [accessed 25 October 2022]

the growth of nineteenth-century Irish tourism, and the expansion of the Dublin suburbs. Placed in the third quarter of nineteenth-century Ireland, this chapter provides insight into the Victorian desire for control and civic order and the manipulation of public spaces for the furtherment of imperial and colonial purposes. In considering the audience profile at band promenades, this chapter casts light on the changing class structure in Ireland and considers if outdoor military band performances contributed to the democratisation of public spaces and music consumption.

2.2 Overview: Music Outdoors in Dublin and its Environs

Musical promenades were a popular form of nineteenth-century entertainment, often enjoyed in tandem with a trip to the seaside or public park. Referring to Victorian and Edwardian Britain, Russell comments that ‘the home, the street, the public house and the public park were almost as much musical centres as the concert hall and music hall’.³ With the availability of affordable public transport, a trip to the seaside was within the sights of a growing number of people. The development of parks within walking distance of urban areas rendered them a convenient destination for city and town dwellers. Again, in the context of nineteenth-century Britain, Martin Dauntton notes a move away from unruly forms of entertainment in the early part of the century to more sedate and regulated leisure activities in its later decades, with town councils anxious to provide respectable places of civic amenity.⁴ It is within this framework that outdoor musical promenades in nineteenth-century Ireland can be viewed. Taking place in the squares of Georgian Dublin, at various locations in the Phoenix Park, and at the coastal resorts of Kingstown, Bray, and Malahide, musical promenades provided an accompaniment to a stroll in a structured and regulated park or to a sojourn by the sea.

³ Russell, p. ix.

⁴ Martin Dauntton, ‘Society and Economic Life’, in *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles 1815–1901*, ed. by Colin Matthew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 41–82 (56–57).

By way of illustration, an article in the *Irish Times*, appearing in June 1862, clearly outlines the arrangements for public outdoor promenades in Dublin during the summer season. Musical promenades took place in the Dublin squares in early summer, followed by promenades at the various popular holiday suburbs, chiefly Kingstown and Bray, for the remainder of summer and early autumn. The music was provided by the bands of the regiments serving in the Dublin garrison, as well as the juvenile band of the Royal Hibernian Military School. The writer looks forward to the musical variety that will be provided by the five regimental bands that will be available, noting the lack of supply of bands in summer 1861 due to the relocation of troops to the Curragh in preparation for the visit of Queen Victoria to Ireland in August of that year. The author also welcomes the advent of the RIC band which has the possibility of stabilising the supply and quality of music for the promenade season. Being stationed permanently in Dublin the RIC band would have significant advantages over their regimental counterparts who were subject to the oscillations of army life.⁵

This timetable for promenades is borne out by a survey of newspaper announcements for summer band promenades in 1862. Promenades took place from early May to the end of June in Merrion Square, Fitzwilliam Square and Mountjoy Square on various weekdays from four o'clock until six. Two letters to the editor of the *Irish Times* in May 1863 provide insight into audience engagement with these promenades. The writers note that they are attended by inhabitants of the squares as well as those who travel a distance, and by taking place in the late afternoon they facilitate those who leave their office employment at four o'clock.⁶ Dovetailing with the band promenades in the Dublin squares, similar type events ran from June to September at the popular seaside and harbour resorts of Bray and Kingstown to the south of

⁵ *Irish Times*, 12 June 1862, p. 4.

⁶ *Irish Times*, 20 and 21 May 1863, p3.

Dublin, and at Malahide to the north. From 1863 onwards, RIC band performances also took place in the Phoenix Park, running from May to as late as November.

Musical promenades at the summer resorts were generally offered to the public free of charge with the cost of hiring bands shouldered by the railway companies, local businesses, or residents.⁷ Regimental bands or the RIC band were convenient choices when sourcing bands for these performances. Presenting as a ready-made package, these bands sported eye-catching uniforms and came equipped with their own instruments and musical paraphernalia. The RIC band wore emerald-green uniforms and caps with harp-shaped cap badges. RIC bandsmen carried their music cards in a black leather case attached to their waistband. Each band had a reputation and a dedicated following which attracted its own audience. The bands in return received payment which could help meet maintenance costs while also promoting their respective organisations with the public. The establishment of local civilian bands to provide summer entertainment had many drawbacks as evidenced by the case of the Kingstown band which will be discussed later in this chapter. However, civilian bands had the distinct advantage of flexible availability, not being restrained by the regimes of military life which may have dictated the times at which regimental bands were available to perform.

Other outdoor events involving musical performances for the non-fee-paying public included large-scale military spectacles held at the Phoenix Park. While these events were not intended or staged as public entertainment, they provided amusement for the masses who flocked in their thousands to witness the military field days and reviews of the Dublin garrison and the annual theatricals and sports of the Royal Hibernian Military School.

However, not all outdoor musical promenades were offered free of charge to the public, those held at Kingstown's Gresham Gardens and the Phoenix Park's Zoological Gardens being

⁷ These practices will be discussed later in this chapter in relation to band performances at Bray and Kingstown, with supporting evidence from newspaper articles.

cases in point. Entrance fees were indicative of both financial concerns of the promenade providers and a desire to offer a degree of exclusivity to one's audience. However, the nature of outdoor military band performances is such that the sound disperses further than the boundary fence of any given venue and the music can be enjoyed by a wider audience than the ticket holders alone.

2.3 Band Music in Parks and Public Spaces

Band performances were a common feature of nineteenth-century park life, ideally combining the health benefits of time spent among nature with respectable and uplifting music. Simon McVeigh points out that music was closely associated with the advancement of public parks during the nineteenth century.⁸ While there was no official policy regarding the use of music for the public good in Victorian Britain⁹, McVeigh suggests that the socio-cultural benefits of music were unconsciously forwarded by social reformers of the day.¹⁰ Attendance at musical promenades, where the public could listen to a band performance while strolling in the park, was a popular nineteenth-century pastime. These social events were also an ideal platform on which to parade the latest fashions, indicating a promenader's rung on the ladder of respectability, refinement, and wealth.¹¹

The provision of free military band performances in public parks had the potential to attract a crowd of mixed social class. In theory, both rich and poor could mingle, enjoying equally the fresh air, natural surroundings, and structured musical performances. Brück suggests that the agenda underpinning these performances was to expose the lower classes to

⁸ Simon McVeigh, '“Brightening the Lives of the People on Sunday”: The National Sunday League and Liberal Attitudes Towards Concert Promotion in Victorian Britain', in *Music and Victorian Liberalism: Composing the Liberal Subject*, ed. by Sarah Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 37–59 (p. 46).

⁹ McVeigh, p. 37.

¹⁰ McVeigh, pp. 38–39.

¹¹ Joanna Brück, 'Landscapes of Desire: Parks, Colonialism, and Identity in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 17 (2013), 196–223 (p. 209).

the urbane music favoured by their superiors. It was hoped then that the poor might be diverted from rougher forms of entertainment and may seek to mimic the civility of those with perceived better taste and social status.¹² Brück also suggests that parks were a haven for the newly emerging middle classes who could play safely in a structured and edifying environment. More generally, William Weber considers that promenade performances gathered together many strata of society by offering a mix of musical styles, noting that ‘the worlds of opera and classical music coexisted despite their differences as the new unitary bourgeoisie emerged’.¹³ Russell challenges the assertion, however, that there was a meaningful mixing of classes at free public park performances. He points out that although park concerts in England were conceived as a means of bringing wholesome entertainment to the poor, these performances do not seem to have attracted that group to any great extent.¹⁴ He posits that this may have been due to an indifference or ignorance of the poor towards philanthropic intention or simply the lack of suitable clothing to wear to such events.¹⁵

Grand scale military manoeuvres in public spaces were also accessible to the public. Scott Hughes Myerly asserts that military spectacle was an essential component of the British nineteenth-century army, displaying imperial power and encouraging soldiers’ morale while also being a popular form of free civilian entertainment for members of every social class.¹⁶ Military field days and grand reviews offered the public an all-encompassing grand-scale performance, including all the elements of exciting theatre. These mass gatherings involved a cast of thousands, colourful costumes, and live-action explosions, all to a musical accompaniment.¹⁷

¹² Brück, p. 207 and p. 210.

¹³ William Weber, ‘Art Music and Social Class’, in *The Routledge Reader on the Sociology of Music*, ed. by John Shepherd and Kyle Devine (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 221–230 (p. 225).

¹⁴ Russell, p. 172.

¹⁵ Russell, p. 172.

¹⁶ Scott Hughes Myerly, ‘The Eye Must Entrap the Mind: Army Spectacle and Paradigm in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Journal of Social History*, 26: 1 (1992), 105–131 (p. 106).

¹⁷ Hughes Myerly, p. 108.

2.3.1 Phoenix Park: A Place of Pure Pleasure or Politicisation?

Dublin's Phoenix Park was home to the RIC band, their barracks being situated inside its south-eastern perimeter. Therefore, it is not surprising that the band made frequent public appearances at this popular nineteenth-century place of recreation. The enclosed park, covering more than seven hundred hectares, had varied uses offering space for leisure pursuits as well as housing for the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary and the Under Secretary.

During the eighteenth century the Phoenix Park was extensively used for military purposes and park infrastructure from that period reinforces this strong military presence. Buildings such as the Magazine Fort, Mountjoy Cavalry Barracks, and the Royal Hibernian Military School were all constructed at this time. From the early nineteenth century however, greater importance was placed on the park as a place of public recreation, with park authorities favouring leisure activities over military.¹⁸ The Royal Dublin Zoological Gardens were opened in 1831¹⁹ and gas street lighting was installed in 1852.²⁰ From 1860 onwards, under the management of the Irish Board of Works, the park underwent developments including the creation of the People's Garden, the upgrading of the Wellington Testimonial, the installation of new sculptures, and the expansion of tree plantations.²¹

McCullen notes that purpose-designed public parks have their origins in the nineteenth century, supported by the rationale of social reform.²² This reform acknowledged the public park as a place which could promote the general wellbeing of the urban population. Writing in the general British context, Cecil C. Konijnendijk notes how this physical and spiritual wellbeing was also coloured with an 'agenda of character formation and citizenship'.²³ While

¹⁸ John A. McCullen, *An Illustrated History of the Phoenix Park: Landscape and Management to 1880* (Dublin: Government Publications, 2009), p. 10.

¹⁹ No author given, *Centenary Souvenir: The Zoo 1830–1930* (Dublin: The Trinity Press, 1930), p. 1.

²⁰ Brendan Nolan, *Phoenix Park: A History and Guidebook*, 2nd edn, (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2011), p. 16.

²¹ McCullen, p. 153.

²² McCullen, p. 191.

²³ Cecil C. Konijnendijk, *The Forest and the City: The Cultural Landscape of Urban Woodland*, 2nd edn (Vancouver: Springer, 2018) p. 129.

improvement of the physical environment and the provision of better amenities for the general public may well have been commendable, public parks with their railings, rules, and regulated view of nature also exemplify the Victorian desire for control. Andrew Saint observes the mid-nineteenth-century passion for linking health and welfare with didacticism and civic order.²⁴ This manipulation of public spaces held a further level of impact in the Irish context where physical structures and park activities could also further the British imperial project. Brück considers that ‘municipal parks must be seen as a politicized nexus of encounter in which landscape design, architectural style and social practice combined to create heterotopias of empire’.²⁵ Brück also suggests, however, that parks could be a platform for the construction of alternative identities to those intended.²⁶ Writing about Dublin’s Phoenix Park, Kate Moles discusses the manipulation of this park to forward colonialism, noting the anglicisation of the park’s name from *Fionn Uisce* to Phoenix, as part of the British colonisation process.²⁷ Arnold describes the remodelling of the Phoenix Park from the 1830s to 1849, noting the mirroring of architectural structures and practices with St. James’s Park and Regent’s Park in London. She suggests that this remodelling and reordering of the Phoenix Park gave visual prominence to the authority of the coloniser²⁸ while affording the Protestant bourgeoisie ‘an appropriate aesthetic expression of its cultural identity, which was both located in and dislocated from mainland Britain’.²⁹

This dissertation contends that while the presence of the RIC band in the Phoenix Park in many ways contributed to the park’s British imperial image, it also represented an expression

²⁴ Andrew Saint, ‘Cities, Architecture, and Art’, in *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles 1815–1901*, ed. by Colin Matthew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 255–292, (p. 261).

²⁵ Brück, p. 220.

²⁶ Brück, p. 220.

²⁷ Kate Moles, ‘Narratives of Postcolonialism in Liminal Space: The Place Called Phoenix Park’ (doctoral thesis, Cardiff University, 2007), p. 122. *Fionn Uisce* is the Irish language term for ‘clear water’ and has no association with the word ‘phoenix’.

²⁸ Dana Arnold, ‘Trans-planting National Cultures: The Phoenix Park, Dublin (1832–49), An Urban Heterotopia?’, in *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, ed. by Dana Arnold (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 67–86 (p. 83).

²⁹ Arnold, p. 76.

of a gestating independent Irish identity. While the colonial image of the Phoenix Park was manifested through its buildings, monuments, and statuary, the RIC band consisted of Irishmen from diverse backgrounds playing largely non-British music. Hardy, an Englishman who was horrified by the weight of British colonial might during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 while posted to Calcutta, chose Ireland as his home, settling in Bessborough Terrace near the North Circular Road entrance to the Phoenix Park. While relinquishing his connections to the British military he maintained his connection to British military music via the RIC band. In contrast with the bricks and mortar of British colonial structures, the Irishmen of the RIC band and their non-aggressive English bandmaster were corporeal beings, capable of building a relationship with park visitors during leisure time. Embedded in the life of the Phoenix Park, they built this relationship through frequent and regular public performances of non-threatening non-divisive music, appealing to the moderate Irish person of the middle ground, transcending the partisan divide. It is of note that the colonial statues of military men on horseback were removed from the Phoenix Park following Irish independence in 1922 while buildings and structures with less obvious colonial symbolic association remained in place.³⁰ The non-sectarianism of the music of the RIC band is evidenced in the back catalogue of the band of An Garda Síochána. Many of the scores and military band journals contained in this archive held at the Phoenix Park Garda Depot, used well into the twentieth century by the band of An Garda Síochána, were originally the property of the Dublin Metropolitan Police and various British regimental bands, and contain identical material to that performed by the RIC band during Hardy's tenure.³¹

Musical entertainment, often in the form of military band performances, was offered at a variety of locations and for a variety of events throughout Dublin's Phoenix Park. The Phoenix Park became synonymous with outdoor performances by the RIC band, held in the

³⁰ Moles, p. 133.

³¹ The specific nature of this repertoire is discussed in Chapter Seven of this dissertation. Today's Garda Depot occupies the same premises as the original RIC Depot in Dublin's Phoenix Park.

vicinity of its barracks from 1863 onwards. These promenades took place on various days and at various times over the nine-year period from 1863 to 1872. The practice of bands performing regularly outside their barracks for the benefit of the public had become standard practice by about the 1820s.³² This form of free entertainment spread access to popular works from the art music canon and current popular compositions to a wide range of social classes, many of whom may not have had access to indoor concert performances.

The RIC band also intersected and collaborated with neighbouring organisations, bands, and societies for promenades and other military and educational extravaganzas. The park offered free large-scale entertainments as well as ticketed events at which music was strongly featured. Grand military field days and outdoor theatrical performances which took place at an area known as the Fifteen Acres were enhanced by military band music and watched by audiences of thousands. Free promenade style performances took place outside the RIC depot, while ticketed promenades were held during the summer season at the Royal Zoological Gardens. It is beneficial to survey the general musical life of this park in order to contextualise the RIC band performances at this location.

2.3.2 Military Bands at the Phoenix Park: Music and Manoeuvres

Military Field Days and Reviews took place frequently in the Fifteen Acres in Phoenix Park. At these events the regiments of the Dublin garrison assembled along with their staff, bands, and colours. Encompassing military manoeuvres and the reviewing of troops, these large-scale displays included march-pasts accompanied by the regimental bands. In an *Irish Times* account of a Field Day of June 1862 the cavalry, infantry and artillery troops of the garrison assembled on the Fifteen Acres in the presence of the Lord Lieutenant Lord Carlisle (1802–64) and

³² Helen Barlow, 'The British Army and the Music Profession: The Impact of Regimental Bands on the Status and Identity of Professional Musicians', in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity*, ed. by Rosemary Golding (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 72–89 (p. 75).

Commander-in-Chief Sir George Brown (1790–1865). A large contingent of spectators gathered to watch the regiments as they marched with their bands to the event ground. Having completed various military evolutions the regiments formed in columns to march past the Lord Lieutenant, completing proceedings with the playing of the National Anthem.³³ An account of an infantry Field Day in September 1862 states that the bands of the three regiments present amalgamated to accompany a slow march-past, while each band played the march of its own regiment for the quick-time march-past.³⁴

Military bands also provided civilian entertainment in the Phoenix Park, though advertisements for these performances are sparse for the period 1861 to 1872. One such advertisement appeared in the *Irish Times* in 1861 stating that the band of the 47th Regiment would perform that afternoon on the Fifteen Acres.³⁵ It was announced in April 1870 that a regimental band of the Dublin garrison would perform on the Nine Acres every Tuesday and Friday from half past three until half past five until further notice.³⁶ Musical entertainment was also provided by regimental bands for garrison sports days and military encampments which took place at the Phoenix Park.³⁷

2.3.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band: Performances for the People at the Phoenix Park

The RIC depot, which opened in the Phoenix Park in 1842, was noted as the first police academy in the British Isles.³⁸ It acted as a training base for officer cadets and rank-and-file

³³ *Irish Times*, 10 June 1862, p. 2.

³⁴ *Irish Times*, 20 September 1862, p. 2.

³⁵ *Irish Times*, 8 May 1861, p. 3.

³⁶ *Irish Times*, 11 April 1870, p. 5.

³⁷ *Irish Times*, 21 May 1870, p. 5 and *Irish Times*, 30 August 1871, p. 5.

³⁸ Stanley H. Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 361 and 363.

policemen while also housing a reserve police force and a riding school for the mounted police.³⁹ In 1861 it added the RIC band to its list of inhabitants.⁴⁰

Following one year of intensive musical training the RIC band made their first public appearance at the Lord Mayor's banquet in February 1863.⁴¹ Police historian, Herlihy mentions that before this, the elite of Dublin society gathered for the first appearance of the band on the depot square for a gala performance to a hurricane of applause.⁴² Newspaper entries appear for outdoor performances by this band in the Phoenix Park from the first quarter of 1863 onwards.⁴³

This practice was similar to that of the divisional bands of the London Metropolitan Police who played at various public recreational places.⁴⁴ The RIC band's performances are predominantly listed as taking place on the barrack square and occasionally on the Nine Acres or near the Vice-Regal Lodge. The main building of the RIC depot, with a gravel parade ground to the fore, faced onto the Phoenix Park. The officers' mess and cavalry barracks, built in 1863, were located in the foreground to right and left.⁴⁵ An ornamental iron railing, added in 1861, separated the depot campus from the public roadway.⁴⁶ Performances took place variously on Thursday or Friday evenings, or on Saturday afternoons.⁴⁷ While mainly taking place during the summer months, these outdoor performances also took place as late as November.⁴⁸ This of course may have been a special performance to mark the eve of the feast of St. Cecilia and

³⁹ *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* (London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1867), 19 October 1867, p. 668.

⁴⁰ *Irish Times*, 20 November 1861, p. 4.

⁴¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 February 1863, p. 3.

⁴² Herlihy does not quote his source for this information. It is possible that this information comes from an early twentieth-century edition of the *RIC Magazine*. See website of Garda Síochána Historical Society <http://www.policehistory.com/phoenix_park.html> [accessed 22 September 2022]

⁴³ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 March 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 12 February 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁵ McCullen, p. 277.

⁴⁶ McCullen, p. 279.

⁴⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 July 1863, p. 3, *Irish Times*, 19 June 1868, p. 2, and *Freeman's Journal*, 13 June 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 21 November 1863, p. 3.

the anniversary of the foundation of the band. An advertisement for bandmaster Hardy's annual benefit concert of 1868 alludes to the popularity of the barrack-square performances. Noting the thousands who visited the Park to hear this favourite band, the writer was sure that a capacity performance would be assured for Hardy's upcoming concert at the Rotundo concert hall.⁴⁹

2.3.4 Playing with the Neighbours: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Collaborations with the Royal Hibernian Military School, Phoenix Park

The Royal Hibernian Military School, located in Dublin's Phoenix Park since 1770, was a school for orphaned and destitute children of soldiers.⁵⁰ It provided education for approximately four-hundred boys, with musical training undertaken by many of the school's attendees. Howard R. Clarke notes that the Royal Hibernian Military School band flourished during the 1860s and was recognised widely by the public due to its public performances and school parades and pageants.⁵¹ The statistics recorded in the *Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Recreation Rooms* for 1870 demonstrates the strength of band music among students while attending the school as well as in subsequent life. Of the 297 boys eligible for training or the learning of trades, 137 were involved in music.⁵² As of January 1870, 983 former students were serving in the British army, and of this number 606 (62%) were employed as musicians.

The RIC band performed at several events hosted by the Royal Hibernian Military School, most notably playing at the school sports days in 1863, 1869 and 1870. These sports

⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 4 May 1868, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Howard R. Clarke, *A New History of the Royal Hibernian Military School, Phoenix Park, Dublin 1765–1924*, (Cleveland: Howard R. Clarke, 2011), p. xxiv.

⁵¹ Clarke, p. 302.

⁵² Nineteenth Century House of Lords Papers, *Report by the Council of Military Education on Army Schools, Libraries and Recreation Rooms*, p. 23.

days took the form of large-scale entertainments, including military re-enactments and comic sketches, which could be viewed by the public at the Fifteen Acres. These extravaganzas often overtly proffered the rhetoric of colonialism with triumphalist and racist displays. The Sports Day of 1863 was attended by an estimated ten thousand people, with carriages and vending carts lining the nearby roadways. The RIC band, with the band of the 19th Regiment, provided entertainment as well as playing the National Anthem for the arrival and departure of the Lord Lieutenant. A spectacular re-enactment entitled ‘The Chinese War’ was produced while novelty and competitive athletics took place in an adjoining space.⁵³ The comic dramatic entertainment at the 1869 sports day, entitled ‘Borrioboola-Gha’, took on an African theme. The *Freeman’s Journal* reported that ‘...the visitors were many and fashionable-the weather was delightful, and the band of the Constabulary played good music.’⁵⁴

2.3.5 Playing with the Next-door Neighbours: Royal Irish Constabulary Band Promenades at the Royal Zoological Gardens, Phoenix Park

The Royal Zoological Gardens, located close to the RIC depot, opened its gates to the public in September 1831.⁵⁵ Noting a lull in public intellectual engagement following the resolution of the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, the founding Society considered that the establishment of a zoo would promote knowledge⁵⁶ as well as ‘offering the people a place for rational and quiet-minded recreation’.⁵⁷ The Guide to the Royal Zoological Gardens Phoenix Park published in 1861 mentions that ‘promenades are held in the Gardens during the year’.⁵⁸ However, it does not specify the frequency of these events. In 1862 and 1863 the *Irish Times*

⁵³ *Irish Times*, 4 July 1863, p. 4 and *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 July 1863, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 September 1869, p. 2.

⁵⁵ D. J. Cunningham, *The Origin and Early History of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland* (Dublin: Council of the Society and Dublin University Press, 1901), p. 12.

⁵⁶ Cunningham, pp. 4–5.

⁵⁷ *Centenary Souvenir: The Zoo 1830–1930* (Dublin: The Trinity Press, 1930), unpaginated.

⁵⁸ Dr. Charles A. Cameron, *Guide to the Royal Zoological Gardens Phoenix Park* (Dublin: M’Glashan and Gill, 1861), p. 54.

mentions the annual promenade of the Zoological Society.⁵⁹ These events, attended by the Lord Lieutenant, were well-attended and considered fashionable by the newspaper columnist. The bands of the 10th and 21st Regiments as well as the band of the Royal Hibernian Military School performed at the 1862 annual promenade while the band of the 10th Hussars and the band of the RIC performed at the 1863 event. It was proposed at a Royal Zoological Society Council Meeting following the 1863 promenade that the bandmaster of the RIC be paid two pounds for the performance.⁶⁰ A special arrangement was made between the Royal Zoological Society and the RIC the following year whereby Constabulary officers and cadets could visit the zoo free of charge during the summer season in return for occasional performances by the RIC band at promenades free of charge.⁶¹ Correspondence between the two parties shows that the Royal Zoological Society requested weekly gratis performances by the band but that a vaguer commitment was all that was granted by the Irish Constabulary.⁶² Programmes followed the typical format with the RIC band including the quadrille *Gorilla* written by Charles Marriott (1831–89) and arranged by Dan Godfrey (1831–1903), a composition deliberately chosen to fit its context, in a programme of May 1863.⁶³ While the imagery used on the front cover of the sheet music for these quadrilles, depicting a gorilla dressed in tail coat and a bow tie conducting an orchestra, can be viewed as racist it also is evidence of the ‘gorilla mania’ that took place in the United Kingdom in the early 1860s. The discovery of the gorilla by Paul du Chaillu during his 1855–1859 African expedition and the publication of Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 contributed to an explosion of both popular and scientific interest in this animal. The gorilla simultaneously became a subject of popular entertainment and

⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 18 June 1862, p. 2 and *Irish Times* 20 May 1863, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Dublin, Trinity College, IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Minutes of Council Meeting, 23 May 1863.

⁶¹ IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Rough Minutes of Council Meeting, 14 May 1864.

⁶² IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Rough Minutes of Council Meeting, 21 May 1864.

⁶³ *Irish Times*, 19 May 1863, p. 3.

education, being depicted in cartoons and magazines as well as being on view in natural history museums.⁶⁴ Popular poems about gorillas such as ‘The Gorilla’s Petition’ and ‘Monkeyana’ appeared in the *Penny Illustrated Paper* and *Punch* magazine while a profusion of general entries regarding gorillas appeared in newspapers particularly in 1861.⁶⁵ The music of the *Gorilla* quadrille may have been entertaining and in keeping with the surroundings of the zoo but when considered in its totality, including the front cover and accompanying words to section four, it becomes a racist text.⁶⁶ Considering the connection between the stereotypical depictions of African Americans and the peasant Irish, this composition depicting a gorilla dressed in conductor’s clothing, could be considered an affront to an Irish audience. Dressing the gorilla in human clothing and depicting him in the incongruous leadership role of band conductor served to mock rather than respect the animal. Dehumanising mocking depictions and descriptions of Irish people in both the British comic and mainstream press as apes and barbarous monsters were common and acceptable to British mainstream society.⁶⁷ This raises questions over the consumption of this music and why it was found acceptable by an Irish audience. W. H. A. Williams states that the stereotypical figure of the stage Irishman was created by English and Anglo-Irish society.⁶⁸ Therefore, it can be assumed that the Irish middle-class audience, who took on board the fashions and trappings of British Victorian life, accepted the racism implicit in this composition, viewing it through the lens of its creator rather than that of the indigenous Irish person.

⁶⁴ Alexander Scott, ‘The ‘Missing Link’ Between Science and Show Business: Exhibiting Gorillas and Chimpanzees in Victorian Liverpool’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 25:1 (2020), 1 – 20 (p. 2).

⁶⁵ Jochen Petzold, ‘How Like Us is that Ugly Brute, the Ape!’: Darwin’s Ape Theory and its Traces in Victorian Children’s Magazines”, in *Reflecting on Darwin*, ed. by Eckart Voigts, Barbara Schaff and Monika Pietrzak-Fanger (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 57–72 (p. 61).

⁶⁶ C. H. R. Marriott, *Gorilla*, <<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-175320674/view?partId=nla.obj-175321239#page/n5/mode/1up>> [accessed 2 January 2025]

⁶⁷ Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798–1882* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), p. 270.

⁶⁸ W. H. A. Williams, *‘Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 85.

1869 saw the introduction of weekly musical promenades during May, June and July. Performances took place between half-past three and six o'clock, with two bands often mentioned as performing. Records for the four-year period from 1869 to 1872, show that the regiments of the Dublin garrison, the RIC, and the Royal Hibernian Military School provided the bands for these events. Regimental bands received payment of three pounds and three shillings per performance while the boys' band of the Royal Hibernian Military School received a rate of approximately one pound less. The Royal Zoological Society wrote to the officers of the RIC in June 1869 informing them of the weekly promenades and reminding them of their agreement in 1864 regarding occasional band performances in lieu of free admission for officers and cadets.⁶⁹ Many accounts appear in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* regarding RIC band performances at the weekly summer musical promenades, including performances at the opening and closing promenades of the 1870 season at which the Lord Lieutenant Earl Spencer (1835–1910) and the Countess Spencer were present.⁷⁰

The first promenade of the 1869 season coincided with the opening of the new lion house. To mark this occasion the band of the 4th Regiment of Foot played the ballad *Roast Beef of Old England* as a procession consisting of wheelbarrows of beef, ladies holding beefsteaks on roasting forks, and leopards and lions, made their way to the new enclosures.⁷¹ Announcing the final musical promenade of the 1870 season, an unidentified newspaper article inserted in the Zoological Gardens' Minutes Book, noted the success of the summer promenades and the pleasure they had given to attendees. A suggestion was also made in this newspaper article that the promenades should be extended as they could entice further visitors. It was expected that Dublin, at a remove from agitation in mainland Europe, would be a popular destination for tourists avoiding the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71).⁷²

⁶⁹ IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Minutes of Council Meeting, 5 June 1869.

⁷⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1870, p. 4 and *Irish Times*, 28 July 1870, p. 3.

⁷¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1869, p. 4.

⁷² Unidentified newspaper clipping inserted in the Minutes of Council Meeting, 20 July 1870.

The report of the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland of 1872 gives an insight into the financial implications of offering these weekly summer musical promenades. There was an increased attendance on promenade afternoons resulting in higher ticket receipts, £104 16s 6d being realised in 1871. The increased attendance on musical promenade days warranted the construction of a new central walkway through the grounds.⁷³

While promenade days proved attractive to the public, generally resulting in increased attendance and consequently higher takings at the turnstiles, the Royal Zoological Society ultimately bore the financial risks involved in providing these entertainments. The balance sheet for the promenade held on 5 June 1861 shows the vulnerability of promenades to weather events. Bad weather caused the promenade to be cancelled yet the pre-emptive costs of advertising and the procurement of bands still had to be met. Expenses totalling more than seventeen pounds were accrued while ticket receipts merely totalled one pound and nine shillings.⁷⁴ The services of military bands, whose first duty was to their regiment, could also be withdrawn at short notice. The band of the 12th Royal Lancers was forced to withdraw from a band promenade of Thursday 9 July 1868 in consequence of being ordered to attend a military field day by their major general. Despite the risk involved in reserving military bands the Royal Zoological Society agreed to continue promenades until early October that year.⁷⁵

2.4 Band Promenades at Coastal Resorts: Music for Suburban Dwellers, Music for the Tourists

Open-air public and private promenade performances were popular forms of entertainment at nineteenth-century Irish seaside and tourist resorts. The RIC band regularly performed for band

⁷³ *Irish Times*, 10 January 1872, p. 3.

⁷⁴ IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Insert Preceding Minutes of Council Meeting, 15 June 1861.

⁷⁵ IE TCD MS 10608, Archives of the Zoological Society of Ireland, Minutes of Council Meeting, 11 July 1868.

promenades in the Dublin and Wicklow coastal towns of Kingstown, Malahide, and Bray. These suburban towns were both residential areas and tourist holiday locations and therefore had large numbers of residents and pleasure-seekers, particularly during the summer months.

The nineteenth century witnessed the move away from declining city centres to the suburbs, led by the upper bourgeoisie who were gradually followed by the growing middle classes.⁷⁶ With fashion preferences changing, the Georgian terraces of Dublin city centre gave way to villa type housing built on large plots in the respectable new suburbs.⁷⁷ The building of the railway enabled suburban development to expand to coastal areas that remained within easy reach of Dublin city centre. Dickson notes the increase in population of coastal areas from Booterstown to Dalkey with a proliferation of wealthy residents in the localities of Kingstown and Monkstown.⁷⁸ While some chose a permanent move to the coastal suburbs, many chose to rent houses in these locations for the summer and commute to the city centre by train whenever necessary.⁷⁹ Describing the exodus from Dublin for the summer season, a writer in the *Graphic*, a British illustrated weekly newspaper, states that ‘the Irish matrons and their broods are on the wing, but are sure to divide themselves between Bray, Dalkey, Blackrock, or Kingstown’.⁸⁰

The nature of tourism had been changing since the end of the eighteenth century due to the development of the railways, the expansion of leisure time, and nineteenth century attitudes that favoured the beauty and romanticism of nature. Tourism was further boosted in Ireland by the publication of a profusion of travel literature pertaining to this country from the 1780s onwards, with Arthur Young’s *Tour of Ireland* being one of the earliest guidebooks from this era.⁸¹ The opening of Ireland’s first railway in 1834, linking the port of Kingstown with Dublin

⁷⁶ Ruth McManus, ‘Brave New Worlds? 150 Years of Irish Suburban Evolution’, in *Imagining Irish Suburbia in Literature and Culture*, ed. by Eoghan Smith and Simon Workman (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 9–37 (p. 15).

⁷⁷ McManus, p. 16.

⁷⁸ David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2014), p. 325.

⁷⁹ McManus, p. 17.

⁸⁰ *Graphic*, 11 October 1879, issue 515, p. 359.

⁸¹ Irene Furlong, *Irish Tourism 1880–1980* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009), p. 18.

city centre, and the progress in steamship construction, allowed for easier access to the coastal areas of south Dublin and north Wicklow by both local and foreign tourists.⁸² Bray, a little further down the coast, could be accessed by horse drawn car from Kingstown until eventually the train line was extended to Bray in 1854.⁸³ Malahide, on the north Dublin coast, was serviced by the Dublin to Drogheda train.⁸⁴ Coastal locations became favoured places of recreation due to a penchant for sea-swimming beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century. Sea bathing became a popular and acceptable pastime among the British upper and middle classes, with the Anglo-Irish also adopting it for its health benefits.⁸⁵ Built environments, in the form of seaside resorts, emerged in Ireland in the nineteenth century, mirroring the upper-class resorts found in England.⁸⁶ Cusack notes that these resorts were part of ‘the ordering of cultural life into a series of discrete physical and moral spaces’, lending themselves to orderly modernisation.⁸⁷ Order and rationality were reflected in the construction of esplanades, promenades, seafront hotels and villas, along with the railway lines that connected these resorts to the main centres of population.⁸⁸

While there are many similarities between English and Irish nineteenth-century seaside resorts, differences seem to exist in the class profile of those who frequented them. Writing in the English regard Hanson believes that the railway enabled a greater mixing of social classes at seaside resorts.⁸⁹ Cusack considers, however, that Irish resorts were frequented by the wealthy and elite, some professionals and some literary families with the Catholic middle class

⁸² Furlong, pp. 15–16.

⁸³ Tricia Cusack, ‘“Enlightened Protestants”: The Improved Shorescape, Order and Liminality at Early Seaside Resorts in Victorian Ireland’, *Journal of Tourism History*, 2:3 (2010), 165–185, p. 174.

⁸⁴ John Christopher and Campbell McCutcheon, *Bradshaw’s Guide to the Railways of Ireland: Volume 8* (Stroud: Amberley publishing, 2015), p. 87.

⁸⁵ Cusack, p. 170.

⁸⁶ Cusack, p. 173.

⁸⁷ Cusack, p. 167.

⁸⁸ Cusack, p. 173.

⁸⁹ Gillian Mary Hanson, *Riverbank and Seashore in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Literature* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2006), p. 104.

gradually joining them as the nineteenth century progressed.⁹⁰ She suggests that Irish resorts followed a different trajectory to the typical English resort as the cultural divide between the dominant Protestant elite and the majority Catholic society was so immense.⁹¹

Music as an adjunct to the tourist experience in Ireland is referenced in eighteenth-century accounts of visitors to the Lakes of Killarney. Music and gunfire were used to create a special auditory experience, echoing among the mountains. The Rev. Daniel A. Beaufort describes his trip on the Lakes of Killarney in 1788 describing being carried in an eight-oared barge with a cannon gun on board, while music was performed by the band of the 55th Regiment.⁹² Military bands, however, were not the common performance ensemble for the Killarney Lakes tourist experience, a bugler and horn player being more likely.⁹³ Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, writing about the early nineteenth-century tourist experience in Kilkee and Lisdoonvarna, Co. Clare, notes the intersection of music and holidaymaking. He also mentions the seasonal work for pipers who entertained tourists on the steamers on the Shannon.⁹⁴

Performances by military bands at coastal resorts were part of the suite of activities that created a leisurely and fashionable ambience at these locations. Similar to parks, seaside resorts were fashionable places in which to be seen and to mingle while strolling along the pier or esplanade. Sea sports such as swimming races and sailing regattas also featured performances by military bands.⁹⁵ Seafront yacht clubs under royal patronage also served as venues for the performing bands.⁹⁶ Other places to pass a while in seafront locations were the churches, the billiard rooms, and hotel drawing rooms.⁹⁷

⁹⁰ Cusack, p. 178.

⁹¹ Cusack, p. 167.

⁹² William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century 1750–1850* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), p. 140.

⁹³ Williams, p. 141.

⁹⁴ Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin, *Flowing Tides: History and Memory in an Irish Soundscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 36.

⁹⁵ Cusack, p. 178. See also Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁹⁶ Cusack, p. 178. See also Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁹⁷ *Graphic*, 11 October 1879, issue 515, p. 359.

Writing in the general British context, Herbert and Barlow point out that band performances at seaside resorts may not have been an inconsequential entertainment but could variously be considered as a further endeavour to indoctrinate the people, improve society or ‘create musical opportunities for a class that was otherwise disenfranchised from it’.⁹⁸ Cusack adds another layer to this opinion considering the creation of exclusive seaside resorts in Ireland as a furthering of the British colonial project, ‘imposing a particular kind of functional orderliness that not only differentiated and delimited it from the surrounding rural landscape and Catholic homesteads, but also set an example of an improved environment associated with proper conduct’.⁹⁹ Military band performances conformed to the colonial sense of order and moderation and therefore blended well with the nineteenth-century holiday concept. The actions of the Bray Town Commissioners in 1870 clearly laid out activities that were not considered conducive to a respectable seafront sojourn, namely, ‘collecting money, riding bicycles, and establishing roulette tables.’¹⁰⁰

2.4.1 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Bray: Venues, Conditions, Audience Profile, and the Draw of a Good Band

The RIC band regularly performed at Bray, a seaside resort situated some eighteen kilometres south of Dublin city, on the north Wicklow coast. Formerly a rural market town, Bray first became popular with tourists during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries due to its proximity to both the Wicklow mountains and the sea. Bray was a gateway to the Glens of Wicklow which had become renowned internationally as a tourist destination between 1750

⁹⁸ Helen Barlow and Trevor Herbert, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 13.

⁹⁹ Cusack, p. 166

¹⁰⁰ Cusack, p. 179.

and 1850.¹⁰¹ Two Wicklow tourist sites, the Vale of Avoca and Glendalough, were popularised by their depiction in Moore's *Melodies*, drawing visitors to these areas.¹⁰² Bray's establishment as a popular seaside resort was enhanced by the opening of the Dublin to Bray railway line in 1854. William Dargan (1799–1867), the engineer responsible for Ireland's first railway line in 1834, was also instrumental in the opening of the Bray line. His involvement with Bray extended beyond the railways and he is credited as the chief architect behind the development of Bray as a popular seaside resort, similar to the upmarket resorts in England, and considered by some as the 'Brighton of Ireland'.¹⁰³ Edward Breslin also contributed greatly to the development of Bray and was proprietor of the Breslin Royal Marine Hotel and later the International Hotel.¹⁰⁴ Dargan funded the construction of three major entertainment venues in Bray, namely the Dargan Esplanade, the Carlisle Grounds and the Turkish Baths while Breslin hosted band performances in his hotel grounds.

The Dargan Esplanade, adjacent to the stony shoreline, was envisaged as a public walkway and recreation area, consisting of a wide green belt flanked on either side by a path. Military band performances were offered free of charge to the public on the Esplanade during the summer season, often funded by the railway company. *The Official Railway Handbook to Bray, Kingstown, the Coast, and the County of Wicklow*, mentions the Dargan Esplanade in fashionable Bray where 'if the visitor is fond of gaiety, a fine military band plays on the Esplanade or in the grounds of Breslin's; the great silent mountains spreading round the lively scene, where all are engaged in healthful and rational enjoyment'.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Williams, p. xi.

¹⁰² Williams, p. 92.

¹⁰³ James J. Gaskin, *Varieties of Irish History: From Antient and Modern Sources and Original Documents* (Dublin: W. B. Kelly, 1869), p. 313.

¹⁰⁴ Gaskin, p. 316.

¹⁰⁵ G. R. Powell, *The Official Railway Handbook to Bray, Kingstown, the Coast, and the County of Wicklow* (Dublin: M'Glashan and Gill, 1860) p. 9.

The existence of a solid bandstand structure on the Esplanade during the 1860s and early 1870s is unclear. As early as 1862 the lack of comfortable accommodation for bandsmen and their audiences was flagged. The inferior quality of infrastructure was noted in an *Irish Times* article in 1862, noting the lack of seating for the band, with bandsmen performing while standing for between two and three hours. Neither was seating provided for the audience.¹⁰⁶ An *Irish Times* article from 1869 also notes the absence of a proper bandstand such as those erected in European towns and resorts.¹⁰⁷ Another *Irish Times* article of July 1871 suggests that there was no formal bandstand in place at that time. The RIC band appears to have performed in a circular grass area with no boundary created between the band and the crowds. The bandsmen were reported as playing ‘with a lot of children pressing close on their heels’, the writer suggesting that a band area could be created by cutting a sod in a circular shape, gravelling it in, and demarcating the area with rope.¹⁰⁸ However, the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* lists a bandstand as being removed in 1870 and not replaced until 1884 by a temporary wooden structure on a nearby site.¹⁰⁹

Powell, when describing Breslin’s Marine Hotel, mentions the hotel’s Italian garden close to the strand, where military bands performed on Mondays during the summer season, the strains of the band carrying clearly to the surrounding area.¹¹⁰ The deep canopy outside Bray railway station was sometimes used as a temporary band performance space when bad weather drove the musicians and guests away from the nearby hotel gardens.¹¹¹

The RIC band is first noted as playing in Bray during the summer season of 1863 and regularly performed there during Hardy’s tenure as bandmaster. These engagements, paid for by the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway Company, generally took place on Mondays

¹⁰⁶ *Irish Times*, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Irish Times*, 22 June 1869, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 July 1871, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ K. M. Davies, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, No. 9, Bray* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1998), p. 14.

¹¹⁰ Powell, p. 13.

¹¹¹ Powell, p. 12.

from three to six o'clock, with the railway company offering special excursion rate reduced fares.¹¹² The RIC band appear to have been popular with audiences at Bray throughout the 1860s and early 1870s as confirmed in contemporary newspaper articles, being lauded for their talent and prestige.¹¹³ The band, as part of the general entertainment on offer, attracted large fashionable audiences and could bring fun and prestige to this seaside venue:

Tomorrow will be Whit Monday, and shop keepers and hotel proprietors have been anxiously looking forward in the hope of reaping a good harvest from the thousands of visitors and excursionists who are expected to arrive here in the consequence of the many inducements offered to them, which include a sailing match under the auspices of the Prince Alfred Yacht Club, and the Constabulary band, under Harry Hardy, which will play on the Esplanade from three to six o'clock.¹¹⁴

Policing duties are noted on two occasions as affecting the RIC band's appearance at Bray. Several of the band's members were absent during a performance in September 1865 due to their deployment to Cork to assist in the suppression of a Fenian conspiracy.¹¹⁵ Disappointment was also expressed at the absence of the band from Bray in July 1865 as band members were engaged with election duty.¹¹⁶

The accuracy of advertising by the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway Company for band performances at Bray was called into question by an *Irish Times* reader in June 1865. In a letter to the editor the writer considered it misleading that placards at railway stations announced the performance of military bands at Bray, but on arrival at their destination it was the RIC band that was often in attendance. While acknowledging the excellent quality of the RIC band, the writer nonetheless felt that cavalry and infantry bands could draw a bigger crowd. Army officers were entitled to free train-travel on military band performance days, but as they would likely be accompanied by family and friends this would result in increased

¹¹² *Freeman's Journal*, 13 July 1870, p. 3.

¹¹³ *Irish Times*, 4 June 1867, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ *Irish Times*, 10 June 1867, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ *Irish Times*, 23 September 1865, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *Irish Times*, 19 July 1865, p. 4.

revenue for the railway company.¹¹⁷ A contrasting view regarding the drawing power of the RIC band appeared in the *Irish Times* the following day. The writer, a constant visitor to both Kingstown and Bray, ascertained that the RIC band had the capacity to draw the largest attendance. The writer agreed that the word ‘constabulary’ should be substituted for ‘military’ in advertisements on days when the RIC band was to perform as this would draw even bigger crowds to Bray.¹¹⁸ While the above two letter-writers were not in convergence regarding the superior pulling power of a military or constabulary band, when advertised correctly, a uniformed band of the crowned forces held more sway than a civilian band. On Wednesday 21 June 1865 a smaller than expected crowd visited Bray. While a private band performed there for the afternoon, this had not been advertised and a military band had been in attendance in competing Kingstown.¹¹⁹

In contrast with the Dargan Esplanade, the Carlisle Grounds, situated close to the railway station, provided entertainment on a commercial basis. It hosted a variety of entertainments including military band performances, polo matches, firework displays and flower shows. The RIC band also often performed at this venue. An example of one such performance was the appearance of the band at a pyrotechnic display and balloon ascent. The band performed at intervals during the evening, adding to the general entertainment. This event was a commercial undertaking by the residents of Bray to cater for their own leisure needs. The gate receipts in addition to a subsidy by the railway company rendered the event profitable.¹²⁰

Newspaper reports of band performances at Bray regularly refer to the audience as both numerous and fashionable. If indeed audiences were large, it is reasonable to surmise that they were of mixed social rank. Contemporary tourist guidebooks emphasise the accommodation available in Bray for the upper classes. Gaskin lists these buildings as ‘beautiful and stately

¹¹⁷ *Irish Times*, 23 June 1865, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 24 June 1865, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ *Irish Times*, 22 June 1865, p. 4.

¹²⁰ *Irish Times*, 27 August 1867, p. 4.

marine villas, well-arranged terraces, and mansions of noble proportions and architectural beauty, palatial hotels, and oriental concert rooms'.¹²¹ The wealthy could stay at Breslin's or Quin's hotels and lists of the latest arrivals at these prominent hotels appear in the 'Fashion and Varieties' column of the *Freeman's Journal*. Taking summer 1865 as an example, guests at Breslin's Hotel included The Countess of Clonmel, Lady Edith Scott, Lord Killeen, and Isaac Butt QC.¹²² Gaskin asserts that Breslin's Royal Marine Hotel 'is patronized by the nobility of Great Britain, and Ireland, as well as of France, Italy, and Germany'.¹²³ Those wishing to spend the season in Bray could also rent properties. Excursion trips run by the railway company offered return tickets at single rates thus making an outing to Bray also affordable for those on lower incomes: 'It is well worthwhile to visit Bray station on the arrival of an excursion train. [...] It is indeed, a great thing that the artisan and middle classes of the city can enjoy for one day in the week the beautiful scenery and beautiful air of Kingstown, Killiney, or Bray.'¹²⁴ The presence of the extremely poor as visitors to Bray is more speculative. An *Irish Times* article bemoaning the lack of seating for ladies attending band performances suggests that the poor could make a business for themselves by renting out chairs for a penny, similar to the practice at French resorts. This illustrates how 'improvement' of the lower class could be harnessed to music: 'a few old soldiers or poor widows might be enabled to support life outside the poorhouse by providing seats for delicate persons who cannot walk or stand for a considerable length of time.'¹²⁵ Cusack notes that local Catholic labour was used for the most low-status jobs at nineteenth-century Irish holiday resorts citing an account in the Limerick and Clare Examiner of 1849 of a lady's maid who employed 'aboriginal inhabitants to do the rough work'.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Gaskin, p. 314.

¹²² *Freeman's Journal*, 7 July 1865, p. 3.

¹²³ Gaskin, p. 316.

¹²⁴ *Irish Times*, 15 September 1862, p. 4.

¹²⁵ *Irish Times*, 3 July 1862, p. 4.

¹²⁶ Cusack, p. 179.

2.4.2 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Kingstown: An Elite Location

The harbour town of Kingstown, located approximately thirteen kilometres south of Dublin city centre, was a popular nineteenth-century suburb and place of recreation. The harbour and village, formerly known as Dunleary, received the new name of Kingstown following the visit of King George IV in 1821.¹²⁷ Promoted as a summer resort, the town attracted day-trippers who availed of horse-drawn omnibuses, regular trams, and railway connections from the city centre which took a mere fifteen minutes. An estimated 6,000 holidaymakers visited the town during the summer season, with enticements offered by the railway company which included the provision of public band performances.¹²⁸

Galavan notes that by 1860 Kingstown had a resident population of 21,000 with housing development rapidly extending inward from the sea. Mansions and terraces with sea views lined the coast and rents were at a premium. The population was largely middle class but there was also a substantial working class, engaged in domestic service and employment resulting from the harbour and holiday resort.¹²⁹

Nineteenth-century tourist guidebooks recognised the attraction of Kingstown for visitors. Writing in 1869, Gaskin noted its affluence and popularity writing that ‘this highly favoured seaport, fashionable watering-place, and rendezvous for yachts, is considered the wealthiest and most populous township in Ireland’.¹³⁰ Kingstown harbour consisted of two large piers creating a horseshoe-shaped refuge for vessels entering Dublin from the Irish Sea. These substantial piers were ideal locations for the promenading public who consisted of the ‘shopocracy’ of the city as well as the more affluent who also patronised events at the two royal

¹²⁷ Dickson, p. 291.

¹²⁸ Susan Galavan, *Dublin's Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs 1850–1901* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), p. 83.

¹²⁹ Galavan, pp. 83–84.

¹³⁰ Gaskin, p. 107.

yacht clubs.¹³¹ Dickson suggests that Kingstown became ‘the Irish Sorrento to which affluent local Neapolitans could escape’.¹³² A writer in 1879 in the *Graphic* considers that: ‘The Kingdom of Kingstown is to Ireland what Brighton is to England, what Dieppe is to France, what Biarritz is to Spain, what Saratoga is to America, the hive of holiday folk. Situated between easy access of Dublin and Bray, Kingstown becomes, so to speak, the half-way house of everyone.’¹³³

The harbour area, and indeed parts of the town of Kingstown itself, exuded an air of imperial power and supremacy with monarchical monuments and street names evoking the names of British royalty.¹³⁴ At its time of completion in 1821 the harbour, formally named ‘The Royal Harbour of George the Fourth, Kingstown’,¹³⁵ was likely the biggest within the British Empire.¹³⁶

The dominant local bourgeois elite sought to ensure that recreation of a respectable nature dominated the harbour region, placing restrictions on what were deemed unsuitable activities. Band performances appear to have been considered as suitable entertainment as far back as the 1820s with permission granted for entertainments on land beside the Anglesea Arms Hotel, providing the only structure to be built was a wooden railing to enclose an area for band performances.¹³⁷

The Kingstown pier appears to have been the main attraction for visitors with band performances being a common and popular feature of the pier promenade experience. Indeed, they appear to have been the only form of structured entertainment, differing from the wrought iron and wooden pleasure piers found at some resorts in nineteenth-century mainland Britain

¹³¹ Dickson, p. 328. The clubhouses of the Royal St. George Yacht Club and the Royal Irish Yacht Club were built at Kingstown Harbour in the 1840s.

¹³² Dickson, p. 291.

¹³³ *Graphic*, 11 October 1879, issue 515, p. 359.

¹³⁴ Colm Breathnach, ‘An Historical Geography of Social Class in Early Nineteenth-Century Dun Laoghaire’ (thesis TCD for Doctor of Philosophy, November 2005), p. 94.

¹³⁵ Breathnach, p. 94.

¹³⁶ Breathnach, p. 83.

¹³⁷ Breathnach, p. 252.

which offered a variety of entertainments.¹³⁸ The previously mentioned writer in the *Graphic* newspaper describes in detail the attraction of a day out at Kingstown. By day, a saunter on the pier among ‘all types of the seven ages of man’ was accompanied by a military band playing ‘*opéra bouffes a la Offenbach*’. In the evening time a band was heard as the people waited for the arrival of a steamer. Pretty girls sat on a wall waiting to be walked down the pier by a possible suitor, while rowing boats bobbed on the water with their occupants singing and making music. After a short break the band started up again playing polkas, waltzes, and popular selections. As the night drew in, slow music was heard rebounding off the water, creating a romantic atmosphere reminiscent of Venice. The band concluded with *God Save the Queen*, and all returned to their lodgings.¹³⁹

Bands are reported as performing at a variety of venues in Kingstown, some requiring an entrance fee and some free to the public. The gardens next to the Royal Marine Hotel played host to band performances, with yearly subscriptions available for an entrance fee per performance. These gardens, known as the Gresham Gardens, were newly designed and refurbished to coincide with the opening of the Royal Marine Hotel in 1865. Owned by the Royal Marine Hotel, the gardens were situated opposite a residential terrace adjoining the hotel premises.¹⁴⁰ The upper section of the gardens, which was completed first, was the venue for band performances.¹⁴¹ The requirement to pay an entrance fee for afternoon band performances proved controversial for some in the early days of both the refurbished gardens and the locally organised Kingstown band. Audiences were accustomed to listening to afternoon performances by military bands free of charge on the pier and feared for Kingstown’s popularity if this practice were to persist.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Fred Gray, *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (London: Reaktion Books), p. 206.

¹³⁹ *Graphic*, 11 October 1879, issue 515, p. 359.

¹⁴⁰ Nineteenth Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 3:264, c.1723 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1881/aug/12/ireland-gresham-gardens-kingstown>> [accessed 2 November 2021]

¹⁴¹ *Irish Times*, 15 June 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴² *Irish Times*, 17 August 1865, p. 4.

Band performances also took place in public places free of charge. The locations mentioned for the period of my research (1861–72) are the East Pier, the jetty near the entrance to the East Pier, and an area of land beside the Royal Irish Yacht Club. A bandstand was not erected on the East Pier in Kingstown until 1890 and I have found no description of the infrastructure used by bands performing in that location for the period of my research.

In 1865 a group of the town's residents sought to establish a civilian band, dedicated to performing in Kingstown. To this end a committee was raised and approaches were made to the board of directors of the recently opened Royal Marine Hotel to seek financial aid and the possible provision of a performance venue at the hotel grounds, known as the Gresham Gardens. The band was to be financed by public subscription and also secured a contribution of six pounds per week from the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company.¹⁴³ At a meeting with the hotel directors, the committee proposed that a dedicated Kingstown band would be advantageous to both the town in general and to the business of the Royal Marine Hotel.

As the summer season was already underway, the best the committee could muster was the engagement of an existing band. They had already engaged the services of a sixteen-piece saxhorn band under the musical direction of Mr. R. M. Levey (1811–99) at a cost of twenty pounds per week. The entirely male band committee intimated that Mr. Levey's saxhorn band would be superior to that of the Constabulary band, with Mr. Boyce of the hotel board asserting that the ladies insisted that the Constabulary band was the best in Ireland. While the hotel board was essentially supportive of the venture it initially felt unable to provide a venue free of charge. The hotel intended to raise revenue from their gardens by charging admittance by yearly subscription at a rate of one guinea per annum. During band performances, non-subscribers could enter at a charge of six pence. Furthermore, the hotel would not be willing to

¹⁴³ *Irish Times*, 31 July 1865, p. 4 and *Irish Times*, 29 July 1865, p. 4.

fund the formation of a band but would be favourable towards paying for the services of musicians in an existing band. Following discussions, it was decided that the hotel would engage the services of the proposed band of the committee three days per week and would open the gardens for a further band performance free of charge on Saturdays.¹⁴⁴ As well as the proposed afternoon performances in the Gresham Gardens, it was intended that the Kingstown band would perform on the East Pier every evening in the week, except Sunday, from eight o'clock until half past ten.¹⁴⁵

Issues regarding the Kingstown band and its performance venues arose during its first summer season. The timbre of a saxhorn band was different to that of the more customary military band. A letter-writer to the *Irish Times* found the band's sound objectionable as all that travelled was the sound of the drum. This writer believed that visitors would choose Bray over Kingstown as a holiday destination as Bray was still providing military bands.¹⁴⁶

By August 1865 the afternoon performances had relocated from the Gresham Gardens to a grassy area adjoining the Royal Irish Yacht Club.¹⁴⁷ This venue was available free of charge to the public, 'giving all classes the opportunity of hearing good music during the summer season'.¹⁴⁸ The band continued its nightly performances on the East Pier with attendance reaching an estimated two thousand people by the end of August.¹⁴⁹ Levey did not appear to remain as bandmaster throughout the season with mentions of a Mr Wood and Mr John Bayley as bandmasters by mid-August.¹⁵⁰ A newspaper account of the following February intimated that while there was keen interest in the Kingstown Band of summer 1865, the quality of its performers had not remained consistent.¹⁵¹ Despite the heavy expenses incurred, the band

¹⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 27 July 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Irish Times*, 28 July 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ *Irish Times*, 17 August 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 22 August 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 21 August 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 28 August 1865, p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 22 August 1865, p. 4.

¹⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1866, p. 4.

project was generally deemed successful due to the large crowds it attracted nightly and the profit it accrued by the end of the season.¹⁵² The Kingstown band brought the season to a close in late September with a benefit concert for its bandmaster, Mr Bayley, in Kingstown's Sussex Hall.¹⁵³

Preparations for the organisation of the Kingstown Band for 1866 began in February of that year in the hope of securing the services of good quality musicians.¹⁵⁴ At a subsequent meeting in April it was decided that a band would be required to perform for evenings only for the duration of the summer season. Daytime military band performances at the Gresham Gardens twice weekly would be provided by the Royal Marine Hotel Company in conjunction with the railway company.

Tenders from four bands expressing an interest in acting as Kingstown Band for the summer season were put forward. These tenders provide insight to the rate of pay for civilian musicians at that time. Mr Cassidy put forward a tender of £1 5s per man per week, Mr Williams £1 7s, Mr Kennedy £1 8s, and Mr Clements £1 13s.¹⁵⁵ It was believed that the presence of the Kingstown Band the previous year had attracted large numbers to the town and that summer residents had remained in Kingstown until the close of the band season.¹⁵⁶ Mr Kennedy's tender, providing twelve musicians from Dublin's Theatre Royal at a cost of £16 per week for seventeen weeks, was accepted. The contract was conditional on receipt of sufficient donations from the public.¹⁵⁷ A subsequent article in the *Irish Times* suggests that Mr Cassidy's tender was successful.¹⁵⁸ However, the band performances did not proceed as envisaged with the railway company unexpectedly withdrawing their financial support.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² *Irish Times*, 27 April 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵³ *Freeman's Journal*, 26 September 1865, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ *Irish Times*, 13 April 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Irish Times*, 16 April 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 20 April 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 May 1866, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 11 June 1866, p. 4.

Following a month without performances, the band appears to have reconvened in mid-July under Mr. Kennedy to an appreciative and fashionable audience.¹⁶⁰

I have found no mention of a Kingstown band in contemporary newspapers for the year 1867. There are some mentions of a Kingstown band performing on the East Pier in 1868 under a Mr O'Donnell, to very large audiences.¹⁶¹ However, lack of funding appeared to dog the efforts to retain the services of the band. A mere ten bandsmen are reported as playing in this band in June 1868 with the *Irish Times* columnist suggesting that the railway company should subsidise the venture.¹⁶²

While the efforts of the Kingstown band committee in forming a professional civilian band for summer promenades seem somewhat successful, nonetheless this venture appears to have been cumbersome and not always reliable. These summer conglomerations of freelance musicians, with changing personnel from season to season, could not match the prestige of a recognised state-endorsed band such as that of the RIC. The RIC band came ready-packaged as a recognisable cohesive ensemble, equipped with its own brand, reputation, and charisma.

The RIC band was a frequent and popular performer at Kingstown during the tenure of bandmaster Harry Hardy. The earliest mention of the RIC band performing in Kingstown was at an outdoor promenade venue in 1863.¹⁶³ There are listings for RIC band performances from July to September 1864 in the Gresham Gardens, with this band closing the summer band season in late September to a numerous, highly fashionable and appreciative audience.¹⁶⁴

The RIC band opened the summer season of 1865, enhancing the entertainment experience of the leisured classes. An *Irish Times* account of June 1865 places the band at the centre of the amusement on offer:

¹⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 18 July 1866, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 July 1868, p. 7.

¹⁶² *Irish Times*, 23 June 1868, p. 4.

¹⁶³ *Freeman's Journal*, 15 July 1863, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ *Irish Times*, 24 September 1864, p. 4.

Kingstown is fast putting on its summer aspect. The number of yachts in harbours is being almost daily increased. The present genial weather has the effect of bringing to the town by the steamers Kingstown and Anna Liffey larger numbers of excursionists than usual, and that music may not be wanted to complete the attraction of the locality it is announced that the excellent band of the Constabulary of Ireland, under the direction of Mr. Harry Hardy, will perform to-morrow evening.[...] there can scarcely be any doubt that the advent of the Constabulary band will have the effect of bringing together considerably more pleasure seekers than usual and will serve to pass off the long summer evenings pleasantly and agreeably.¹⁶⁵

A review of the aforementioned performance emphasised the ability of the RIC band to attract an elite crowd. While the pier and harbour areas were quite empty the RIC band had enticed a sophisticated crowd to the Gresham Gardens. The writer believed that music is always an attraction, but that the Constabulary band in particular, with its well-earned reputation, had a special ability to draw a crowd.¹⁶⁶ Events of late July 1865 altered the schedule of band performances for the remainder of the summer season. With the formation of the Kingstown band, it is likely that other bands, including the RIC band, did not perform there as frequently.

The following summer it was envisaged that the Kingstown band would perform nightly on the pier while military bands would provide afternoon entertainment at the Gresham Gardens. An annual family subscription to the gardens was offered at £1 1s while single admission cost three pence. First and second-class railway ticket holders could gain free entry. The RIC band, consisting of thirty musicians, was engaged to play twice weekly during the month of July from four until six o'clock. This was quite a sizeable band considering that the Kingstown band of 1866 had only a muster of twelve.¹⁶⁷

The RIC band is mentioned as performing on the plot of land adjacent to the Royal Irish Yacht Club during the summer of 1867. Bad weather during June and July affected performances with the band relocating to the shelter of the railway station platform for a

¹⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 14 June 1865, p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ *Irish Times*, 15 June 1865, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 July 1866, p. 1.

performance in early July.¹⁶⁸ In close proximity to the main road, a serious accident occurred in which a woman was flung from a startled horse, during an RIC band performance.¹⁶⁹ There are no further accounts of the band performing at this location for the remainder of the 1867 summer season.

Regular announcements of RIC band performances at Kingstown appear in the *Freeman's Journal* for summer 1868, however the precise venue is not stated. Fewer performances are mentioned for 1869 but this may not represent actual performances.

The RIC band played a prominent part in performances at Kingstown during the summer season of 1870. Announcing the band promenades for the summer season, an *Irish Times* columnist noted how the inhabitants, visitors, and especially the ladies, would welcome the return of the RIC band to Kingstown's East Pier for afternoon performances.¹⁷⁰ Due to scorching weather on the very exposed East Pier, performances later in June were transferred to the more sheltered Gresham Gardens.¹⁷¹ For the remainder of the summer season the RIC band performed on Tuesday and Saturday evening from half past seven until nine o'clock on the East Pier and on Thursday afternoons in the Gresham Gardens.¹⁷² Also, an unnamed string band performed vocal and instrumental music each evening on the East Pier.¹⁷³

The final account of the RIC band performing at Kingstown under Harry Hardy is in late August 1871, attracting one of the largest and most fashionable audiences of the season: 'The music, which was rendered with the spirit and accuracy for which the band of the Royal Irish Constabulary is now so well known, was conducted by Mr Harry Hardy in his usual able and accomplished manner.'¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 4 July 1867, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 3 August 1867, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ *Irish Times*, 6 June 1870, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 30 June 1870, p. 3.

¹⁷² *Irish Times*, 2 July 1870, p. 3.

¹⁷³ *Irish Times*, 2 July 1870, p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ *Irish Times*, 31 August 1871, p. 2.

2. 5 Conclusion

This chapter documents the importance of public outdoor music in the greater Dublin area during the nineteenth century, highlighting the suitability of military bands, in particular the RIC band, for this purpose. Supporting the Victorian desire for order and rationality, the military band and its middlebrow music was compatible with the philosophy underpinning the development of public parks and coastal recreational resorts.¹⁷⁵ This chapter also underlines the significance of the Dublin to Bray railway line in facilitating the provision of band music for a public that was willing to travel some distance in pursuit of recreation and leisure. The development of tourism and the expansion of the Dublin suburbs acted as an impetus for the growth of venues and audience bases for bands, including that of the RIC. By analysing band performances at the Phoenix Park, Bray and Kingstown it is evident that band music acted in tandem with other leisure activities to provide a rounded recreational experience. Examination of archival accounts and newspaper columns provides insight into the financial implications of band promenades for their promoters and the remuneration of bands. This survey of promenade performances by the RIC band, regimental bands, and civilian bands in Dublin and its environs highlights the need for improved conditions and infrastructure for bands at the time, just preceding the era of the dedicated wrought iron bandstands of the later nineteenth century. This chapter adds to the debate regarding the democratisation of public spaces and music. It contends that while the main target audience for military band promenades may have been the leisured upper and middle classes, other strata of society such as stall holders, carriage drivers, harbour and resort workers, and those living in the backstreets of the suburbs were also privy to the sound of the far-carrying brass instruments of the bands. Considering the magnitude of crowds in attendance it is reasonable to presume a mixed audience profile. The bandsmen

¹⁷⁵ While the term ‘middlebrow’ was not coined until the 1920s, it is useful in describing nineteenth-century military band repertoire. This concept will be discussed in more detail when dealing with RIC band repertoire in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

themselves too were largely drawn from the working classes. Finally, while this chapter recognises the argument that Irish parks, piers and seafronts were in many ways an expression of British imperialism and that the RIC band was yet another construct of British colonialism, it identifies the role of the RIC band in offering a distinct local identity to its audiences. Through its interaction with the public in the Phoenix Park, Bray, and Kingstown an ownership by the public of the RIC band is evident. The ladies of Kingstown considered it their favourite band, while its superior and powerful drawing-power was recognised by event organisers in both Kingstown and Bray. Pride, loyalty, popularity, and respect of the people was gained by this band through its very public profile during outdoor promenade performances. As relationships were built between the RIC band and its numerous audiences at promenades in public outdoor places a space was being provided for the development of Irish middle-class urban identity within the confines of the British Empire.

Chapter 3

Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Sporting Fixtures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the performances of the RIC band at various sporting events between the years 1861 and 1872. In doing so, it places the band within a wider leisure and historical framework, highlighting the many social and economic ties between music, sport, and entertainment. This chapter surveys a selection of events at which the RIC band performed including sailing regattas, athletics meetings, cricket matches, and archery meetings. The period in question pre-dates the foundation of the Gaelic Athletic Association and therefore focuses on what David Hassan terms ‘sporting creations of the British Empire’, which were commonly played in Ireland’s larger urban areas.¹ An examination of newspaper articles and advertisements with titles pertaining to sports events reveals the wider recreational dimensions of these occasions. While sport may have been the headline attraction, other forms of popular entertainment such as music, firework displays, and balloon ascents offered an entire entertainment package to the consumer. Music, particularly military band music, appears a constant at a wide range of sporting events, often receiving considerable mention in advertisements and reviews. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that attendees at sporting fixtures appreciated and welcomed the coexistence of different forms of entertainment under the umbrella of sport. This investigation of sporting events at which the RIC band performed raises questions of audience profile, socio-cultural identity, and the crossing of boundaries between music and sport.

¹ Richard McElligott, ‘Contesting the Fields of Play: The Gaelic Athletic Association and the Battle for Popular Sport in Ireland, 1890–1906’, *Sport in Society*, 19:1 (2016), 3–23 (p. 3).

3.2 The Alliance of Music and Sport: More than Just Playing

Popular music and sport are both highly accessible and emotive forms of entertainment. When the two converge they strengthen each other's power to evoke intensely charged responses in the receiver. Anthony Bateman considers that 'far from being mere 'trivial pursuits', music and sport are two of the most widespread and powerful agencies in performance, contestation and reproduction of identities'.² John Nauright notes the collective nature of both popular music and sport consumption and their positive and negative ability to address our hopes and dreams.³ While the practice of sport is a serious pursuit for many, spectator and player motivations can be diverse. Mike Cronin raises the question of motivation for joining sports clubs, suggesting that social and business networking may often supersede a genuine interest in a given sport.⁴ The combination of sport and music as a platform for networking and the pursuit of fun is strongly evident in RIC band performances at sporting events.

In surveying the provision of music by the RIC band at nineteenth-century Irish sporting events, the synergy between music and the headline sporting event is evident. This band and its bandmaster could frame a sporting event with prestige and sophistication, connect spectators to the main action which may have been difficult to view, and entertain the crowds at down-times during play. The provision of music at British nineteenth-century sporting events is discussed by Russell, noting the use of brass and military bands. Music not only entertained the spectators while waiting for events to begin and during breaks in play, but also acted as a distraction from overcrowding and a buffer from rowdy behaviour.⁵ Referring to music at association football fixtures, Russell notes that bands from industrial schools and orphanages,

² Anthony Bateman, 'Introduction: Sport, Music, Identities', *Sport in Society*, 17:3 (2014), 293–302 (p. 4).

³ John Nauright, 'Sing a Powerful Song: The Saw Doctors, Sports and Singing Irish Identities', *Sport in Society*, 17:3 (2014), 388–401 (p. 399).

⁴ Mike Cronin, 'What Went Wrong with Counting: Thinking About Sport and Class in Britain and Ireland', *Sport in History*, 29:3 (2009), 392–404 (p. 398).

⁵ Dave Russell, 'See the Conquering Hero Comes! Sound the Trumpets, Beat the Drums, Music and Sport in England, 1880–1939', *Sport in Society*, 17:3 (2014), 303–319 (p. 308).

as well as bands from the elite regiments provided match-day entertainment.⁶ The residue of this nineteenth-century practice is still visible in Ireland today with the Artane Band, Army No. 1 Band and the band of An Garda Síochána regularly performing at sporting fixtures in Dublin's Croke Park and Aviva stadia. Russell considers, however, that the use of music at sporting events has changed in more recent times, becoming more commercial and less pure in its role of supporting and enhancing the total entertainment experience.⁷

Sport in Ireland underwent a radical and rapid transformation during the nineteenth century, particularly from the 1850s onwards. The once popular sports of animal baiting and cockfighting, attended by people of every class, were outlawed in the first half of the nineteenth century, and following the Act of Union hurling lost the patronage of the elite. New ideas regarding what was socially tolerable prevailed and distinctly Irish sports such as hurling were shunned by the ruling class.⁸ As the century progressed organised sporting clubs emerged, largely linked to growing urbanisation.⁹ Athletics, sailing, cricket, archery, rugby, association football and swimming numbered among the sports that intersected with the social and cultural lives of the growing urban population. Brian Griffin and John Strachan contend that these predominantly urban sports were mainly the domain of the elite, who did not welcome the masses to their ranks.¹⁰ Official widespread codification of sport did not seriously emerge in Ireland until the 1880s.¹¹

In recent years some comprehensive work has been produced relating to the history of sport in Ireland. This work relates to the period from 1600 to the twenty-first century, noting the demise and progression of various sports.¹² Significant coverage is given to the rise of the

⁶ Russell, p. 308.

⁷ Russell, p. 316.

⁸ Paul Rouse, *Sport and Ireland: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 87–91.

⁹ Rouse, p. 113.

¹⁰ Brian Griffin and John Strachan, 'Introduction: Sport in Ireland from the 1880s to the 1920s', *Irish Studies Review*, 27:3 (2019), 299–308 (p. 299).

¹¹ Griffin and Strachan, p. 299.

¹² Comprehensive work on the history of sport in Ireland has been produced by Paul Rouse, James Kelly, David Hassan and Richard McElligott.

Gaelic Athletic Association and the place of Gaelic games in Irish society from the inception of this organisation in 1884. Much of the literature covers the social and cultural history of sport in Ireland and in one publication, *Sport and Society in Victorian Ireland: The Case of Westmeath*, Tom Hunt uses the case of sport in Westmeath to illustrate the interplay between sport and society in Victorian Ireland. Brief passing mention is given to music in this body of scholarship, with mentions of bands being present at regattas, athletic races, political meetings and GAA events.¹³

A wider trawl through musicological literature locates a number of texts which expand on the synergy between sport and music.¹⁴ Mention is given to the use of music as an attraction at outdoor events in the nineteenth century and there is much discussion of the role and use of popular music at a wide range of sporting fixtures up to the current day. Bateman and Bale categorise the varying levels of significance of music at sporting events as ‘essential’, ‘important’ and ‘incidental’.¹⁵ Speaking in the modern context, they consider essential music as that which forms part of the sporting performance, important music as that which enhances the performance of the sports players, and incidental music as miscellaneous music such as national anthems and theme music used by the sports media. Intermission entertainment can also fall under the heading of ‘incidental’. Given this definition, military band music played at popular sporting events in nineteenth-century Ireland could be considered as incidental. However, the term incidental music, downplays the significance of this music and relegates it to a minor accompaniment to the main event. I contend that military band performances at Irish nineteenth-century sporting events, particularly performances by the RIC band, strongly coloured these events and in certain instances were concomitant with the headline sporting

¹³ Rouse, pp. 114, 135, 146, 181.

¹⁴ See *Sport, Music, Identities*, ed. by Anthony Bateman, *Sporting Sounds: Relationships between Sport and Music*, ed. by Anthony Bateman and John Bale and *We Are the Champions: The Politics of Sport and Popular Music* by Ken McLeod.

¹⁵ Anthony Bateman and John Bale, ‘Introduction’ in *Sporting Sounds: Relationships Between Sport and Music* ed. by Anthony Bateman and John Bale, pp. 1–13 (pp. 2–3).

occasion. Newspaper accounts suggest the ability of the RIC band to draw a crowd to sporting fixtures and note the fixation of attendees on band performances. As with other military bands, the specific programme of music to be performed was often listed in the press in advance and on event day the band was placed in a prominent position, in close proximity to its audience. Furthermore, lengthy descriptions of the progress and stature of the RIC band and its bandmaster appear in the sporting columns before the specific sporting competition is mentioned.

The significant alliance of music and sport at nineteenth-century sporting events may have had further implications in the construction and transmission of political and cultural identity, particularly in the case of the RIC band performing in the Irish context. Ken McLeod argues that ‘the combined spectacle of music and sports serves as an effective tool in nation building and image consolidation’.¹⁶ This is aided by ‘the cross-pollination of sports and militarism that underlies much of Western society’.¹⁷ By examining the convergence of the RIC band and sport it is possible to further consider their symbiotic participation in the building of Irish cultural and political identity.

3.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Regattas

Military band music featured strongly at sailing and rowing regattas. There are accounts of the RIC band performing at regattas in Cork, Kingstown, Bray, Malahide, Ringsend, Laytown and Trim. Regattas were multi-layered leisure events focussed on sailing or rowing but offering a well-rounded entertainment experience to those in attendance. Ian d’Alton notes that regattas

¹⁶ Ken McLeod, *We are the Champions: The Politics of Sport and Popular Music* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 158.

¹⁷ McLeod, p. 157.

combined competitive yacht racing with gambling, prize winning and general high-spirited entertainment.¹⁸

The Cork Harbour Regatta and the Kingstown Royal Irish Yacht Club Regatta were undoubtedly the most prestigious events of this type. The Water Club of the Harbour of Cork, renamed the Royal Cork Yacht Club in 1830, was the oldest sporting club in Ireland and the Cork Harbour Regatta was its highest profile event.¹⁹ The RIC band was a prominent feature at the Cork Harbour Regatta of 1864, receiving special mention in the national press. An article regarding the procurement of the RIC band for the duration of the regatta appeared in advance in the *Irish Examiner*.²⁰ To provide as much amusement as possible, the regatta committee successfully applied to the Commanding Brigadier of the RIC for the services of its band, arguing that the band would add prestige to the occasion as it was considered commensurate with the best in her majesty's service. Free train passage was provided by the railway companies for the transportation of the band from Dublin to Cork harbour.²¹ The practice of yacht clubs treating military band personnel generously is evidenced in an account of the 1862 regatta held by the Royal St. George Yacht Club at Kingstown where expenses are recorded for forty-two dinners for the regimental band of the 12th Regiment along with a supply of alcohol.²²

The *Irish Times* report of the second day of the 1864 Cork regatta provides a vivid description of the revelling and excitement of the large crowds who had travelled to Queenstown by heavily laden steamers and long trains. Similar to the practice mentioned in chapter two regarding travel and tourism to the coastal resorts of Bray and Kingstown, transport

¹⁸ Ian d'Alton, "Aquatic Gentlemen...": The Sport and Status of Sailing in the Gentry's World from the 1830s to the 1920s', in *Sport and Leisure in the Irish and British Country House*, ed. by Terence Dooley and Christopher Ridgway (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019), pp. 86–101 (p. 95).

¹⁹ Rouse, p. 114.

²⁰ *Irish Examiner*, 18 July 1864, p. 2.

²¹ *Irish Examiner*, 18 July 1864, p. 2.

²² d'Alton, p. 90.

companies provided additional services for day trippers wishing to enjoy some leisure time activity. Such was the draw of the RIC band that the quay area was densely packed, the walls along the upper roadways were all occupied, and the enclosure in which the band presided was thronged during their performance. The colourful and fashionable crowd surrounding the band was so numerous that it was difficult to reach the refreshment saloon. Bandmaster Hardy was highly praised for the standard of the lengthy performance, with the selections from the operas *Lucrezia Borgia* and *Faust* receiving greatest acclaim.²³ Hardy also included two of his own compositions in the programme, firstly his popular *Valse Shilly Shally* and secondly his new mazurka *Cupid's Dart*, mentioning its recent publication for piano.²⁴

The performance of the RIC band at this regatta was heard by a vast and varied audience. With sailing recognised as the preserve of the wealthy elite it could be presumed that many from this class were present. Advertisements for train tickets, at specially reduced fares, to cater for those travelling from Cork city and Youghal to Queenstown suggest the presence of middle-class spectators, probably accounting for the crowds on the quayside and the roadways.²⁵ Lower class ears would also have been privy to the sound of the band which would have carried along the shoreline. Describing the general air of excitement in Queenstown on regatta day the *Irish Times* reported that: 'The river steamers are thronged with visitors, the railway station is full of life and bustle, and motley groups of sailors and rustics lounge about the shore and landing places.'²⁶ The 'rustics' may have included those of the peasant class from the surrounding countryside. The sound of the band was not the sole preserve of the elite sailing club members who had hired its services. Its powerful, bright, and distinctly outdoor sound permeated the boundaries of the social divide.

²³ *Irish Times*, 22 July 1864, p. 3.

²⁴ *Irish Examiner*, 19 July 1864, p. 2.

²⁵ *Irish Examiner*, 16 July 1864, p. 2.

²⁶ *Irish Times*, 20 July 1864, p. 3.

The resolve of the Cork Harbour Regatta Committee to engage the services of the RIC band suggests an acute awareness of the value of music to their sporting event. On the most practical level a good band would provide good entertainment. Music was also a necessary conduit connecting the audience to the aquatic events which were not easily visible from the shore. On a more profound level, a carefully chosen band could express the cultural identity the Regatta Committee wished to project. Furthermore, using Simon Frith's theory that a particular piece of music or a musical performance produces rather than reflects identity,²⁷ a band had the power to create a powerful collective experience and engage in the unfolding process of identity formation. The British military band of the 11th Regiment, the commercial band of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company's S.S. Rangoon, and a civilian Dublin Band had been engaged for the previous year's regatta.²⁸ None of these bands received much notice in the press, save their presence at the event. Why therefore, did the presence of the RIC band at the 1864 regatta receive such attention and acclaim? While the standard of music performed by the RIC band may well have been high, this dissertation contends that the RIC band's allure lay in the fact that it was itself a symbol for an evolving Irish identity. It consisted of socially mobile Irish men, identifiable by their emerald-green uniforms and harp-shaped cap badges, playing in the familiar popular music ensemble of the military band. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, the distinctive uniform, musical instruments and band paraphernalia presented an established and recognisable entity, with its own reputation and identity, to the event organisers. This band was neither British regimental nor civilian. It was familiar yet unfamiliar. It engaged the auditory and visual senses of its audience, challenging them to experience the tried and tested format of popular British military band music through a new Irish medium. It offered the predictability and prestige of British state

²⁷ Anthony Bateman, 'Introduction: Sport, Music, Identities', *Sport in Society*, 17:3 (2014), 293–302 (p. 295) and Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), pp. 108–127 (p. 109).

²⁸ *Irish Times*, 18 July 1863.

authority yet also the freshness and freedom of local musical expression. Having proved its standing in Dublin, the RIC band was now spreading its influence beyond the pale, in a further engagement with Irish cultural identity.

The programme of music played on the first day of the Cork Harbour Regatta reinforces this representation of the band. The programme opened with a March from *The Bohemian Girl* by Irish composer Michael William Balfe (1808–70), followed by an overture from *La Bayadère* by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782–1871) and selections from operas by Vincenzo Bellini (1801–35) and Giuseppe Verdi (1831–1901). These potted versions of popular operas featured strong melodies and solos for clarinet, cornet, euphonium and bassoon. Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, a compilation of Irish melodies reworked for military band, began the final third of the programme followed by an up-tempo galop by Jules Prudence Rivière (1819–1900). The only overtly British music performed was the National Anthem, *God Save the Queen*.²⁹

The visual extravaganza on offer at the regatta also suggested a strong cultural and political identity. This is evident in an *Irish Times* description of the scene at Cork Harbour. Cork's coastal beauty acted as a backdrop for both the tranquil, white-sailed yachts and river steamers, and the huge battle ships and gunboats of the British Navy. This picture suggests a peaceful Ireland protected by a powerful Britain. This strong British image was further strengthened by the content of a fireworks display at the end of the day. Red and blue flares began the pyrotechnic display, while golden rocket showers were accompanied by bursts of blue and crimson stars.³⁰ While the programme of music performed by the RIC band may not have had a strong British influence, other ephemeral trappings of the day were overtly British

²⁹ *Irish Examiner*, 19 July 1864, p. 2.

³⁰ *Irish Times*, 21 July 1864, p. 3. It is worth noting that the flag of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland included the red St Patrick's saltire as reflected in the colours of the pyrotechnic display. The pyrotechnic display also reflected the red of St George's cross and the blue of St Andrew's cross as found in the Union flag.

in tone. D'Alton considers that the sport of sailing in the period in question was 'a socio-economic construct that cemented cultural connectivity to a particular variant of national identity'.³¹ It is d'Alton's view that high-end yachting's subtext to sport and leisure was the promotion of the 'loyal Irishman' living within the British Empire.³² d'Alton also notes, however, a gradual infiltration of the sport of sailing during the nineteenth century by those of the business and professional communities, with a growing representation of Catholics, driven by suburbanisation and the growth of the middle classes.³³ In considering the role of the RIC band at sailing events, this dissertation contends that while yachting may have been the prevail of the 'loyal Irishman' the presence of this band was a conduit in creating a space which enabled the evolution of the moderate Irish person. As part of a trajectory moving towards an eventual independent Ireland, the RIC band offered the elite sailing aficionado a prestigious local alternative to a British regimental band while offering the mixed regatta audience an Irish and European pot pourri of sound. In considering the entire carnivalesque entertainment package on offer at the Cork Harbour regatta, the excited crowds were treated to a sonic, visual, and visceral feast. While the visual stimuli of gunboats with red and blue flares were undoubtedly British, the sonic and visual messaging of the RIC band was more nuanced. The military band sound of this ensemble was recognisably British but its green uniforms, harp-shaped cap badges, and Irish bandsmen playing popular arrangements of Irish tunes disrupted the Britishness of the occasion. When the performance of the RIC band is understood in its time and place, set among the visual trappings of a nineteenth-century Irish regatta, and received by an excited audience of mixed political views, the complexities of nineteenth-century Irish identity are evident. Katherine L. Turner contends that 'Western pop musics and art musics repurposed to popular ends... are collectively rife with layers of ironies that may be

³¹ d'Alton, p. 86.

³² d'Alton, p. 86.

³³ d'Alton, p. 97.

deliberate or inadvertent, performed or implied, textual and musical'.³⁴ She further notes the influence of irony expressed through popular music on present-day matters and politics, placing a spotlight on the conflicting thoughts and feelings concurrently at play within an audience. This dissertation notes the irony at play at the RIC band performance at the Cork Harbour regatta and contends that the presence of the newly formed RIC band at busy sporting events offered its audience an Irish visual and auditory experience in an emotionally charged environment, challenging the hegemony of the British ascendancy in Ireland. This expression of Irishness may not have been republican or revolutionary but nonetheless it offered an Irish identity to those of moderate persuasion, an identity that still resonates with a certain Irish constituency today.

An account of the Bray Regatta of 1865 similarly shows the importance of band music at this type of sporting event. Densely crowded trains transported excited day-trippers from Dublin. The *Irish Times* reported that 'on the esplanade a large space was enclosed with ropes and as this commanded the best view of the races, and the most agreeable situation for hearing the music of the band, a very large number of ladies and gentlemen willingly paid the trifling fee which secured admission.'³⁵ The bands of the Dublin Light Infantry and the RIC both attended. Hardy was once more singled out for his success in producing such an accomplished band and his new waltz, *Norah, the Pride of Kildare*, was well played and warmly received. A description of preparations for the Bray Regatta two years later, at which the RIC band also played, mentions again this enclosed area bounded by ropes. This time however, it was in place 'so as to exclude the 'polloi' of the great unwashed'.³⁶ This segregation of attendees based on class and ability to pay is further evidence of the heterogeneous nature of the RIC band's

³⁴ Katherine L. Turner, 'Introduction: The Sound of Irony/The Irony of Sound', in *This is the Sound of Irony: Music, Politics and Popular Culture*, ed. by Katherine L. Turner (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1–16 (p. 1).

³⁵ *Irish Times*, 1 August 1865, p. 3.

³⁶ *Irish Times*, 15 July 1867, p. 4.

audience profile at sporting events. The practice of crowd segregation at sporting events in Ireland was further developed in the 1880s with horse racecourses introducing a three-tiered pricing system for entrance to the various spectator enclosures.³⁷

The RIC band, regular performers in Kingstown, performed at the two-day Kingstown Regatta of 1867. Despite the unfavourable weather conditions for sailing on the first day, and thus an uninteresting day's competition, the aristocracy gathered in large numbers on the yacht club roof and balcony. Non-club members walked the East Pier, sat on rocks, or rowed about in boats. Refreshment tents were located on the Carlisle Pier and there was a large presence of gamblers. The bands of the 92nd Highlanders and the RIC provided the musical entertainment from the yacht club balcony.³⁸ The following evening the RIC band performed again in the same location. A review of the 1867 Kingstown Regatta reported that the large crowds of people of all grades of society were well behaved. This was in contrast with behaviour in previous years when police cells were full to capacity with drunkards.³⁹ Due to a wide representation of people at regattas, including gentrified sailors and yacht club members, onlookers from the pier, and paid hands, the music of the RIC band fell on the ears of many strata of society.

The RIC band was similarly popular at smaller provincial regattas such as those held at the County Meath towns of Trim and Laytown. The Trim Regatta, at which the RIC performed in 1869 and 1870, also encompassed a flower show and velocipede races.⁴⁰ The velocipede was an early form of bicycle. Cycling was growing in popularity among the middle classes, with Ireland's first cycling club, The Amateur Velocipede Club, established in Dublin in

³⁷ Donna Landry 'Delight Makes All of the One Mind': Irish Collectivity at the Races', *Romantic Ireland: From Tone to Gonne; Fresh Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Paddy Lyons and others (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 337–347 (p. 343).

³⁸ *Irish Times*, 11 July 1867, p. 3.

³⁹ *Irish Times*, 13 July 1867, p. 4.

⁴⁰ *Irish Times*, 18 August 1869 and *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July 1870.

1869.⁴¹ Hardy, in tune with popular trends and entertainment, composed a galop in 1869 entitled *Velocipede* which was performed at the Inter Athletics Sports Day at the Exhibition Palace in the summer of 1869.⁴² Writing about the use of sport in music, Russell notes the emergence during the nineteenth century of dance music compositions with sporting titles. He identifies compositions pertaining to cricket, horse racing and association football as being best represented and documented, noting the need for further research in this regard.⁴³ The discovery of Hardy's *Velocipede Galop* and *Cupid's Dart Mazurka* add to the body of compositions that represent sport in music, connecting cycling and archery to popular dance forms.

3.4 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Athletics Meetings

Athletics events grew in popularity in Ireland from the late 1850s. Originally associated with army life, athletics gained prominence among the civilian population, drawing large crowds to these varied meetings.⁴⁴ While the Amateur Athletic Association was not established until 1880, athletic activity at boarding schools was assisting in its evolution during the nineteenth century often at light-hearted fun events.⁴⁵ A survey of the athletics events at which the RIC band played further reinforces the role of band music as a constituent part of popular leisure pursuits. Musical entertainment by military bands was provided at both large-scale events such as the University Foot Races at Dublin's Trinity College and smaller local events conducted in a promenade style. Attention was drawn to this musical provision in both advertisements and newspaper social columns. Examples of large-scale athletics events at which the RIC band

⁴¹ Brian Griffin, *Cycling in Victorian Ireland* (Dublin: Nonsuch Publishing, 2006), p. 33. See also William Murphy, 'Associational Life, Leisure and Identity Since 1740', in *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 383–401 (p. 390).

⁴² *Irish Times*, 19 July 1869, p. 3.

⁴³ Russell, p. 304.

⁴⁴ Rouse, pp. 134–135.

⁴⁵ James Kelly, *Sport in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), p. 333.

performed are the Royal Hibernian Military School Sports Day held in July 1863, a Scottish athletics event held at the Rotundo Gardens also in July 1863, and the renowned University Foot Races at which the band performed in 1868.

The Royal Hibernian Military School Sports Day of 1863 took place at the Fifteen Acres in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Attended by the Lord Lieutenant and many of high military rank, the programme promised attendees 'universal intoxication of delight'.⁴⁶ The main attraction of the day was a pageant-style performance which incorporated athletics and novelty races. Two bands, those of the 19th Regiment and the RIC, were present during the day's proceeding. The *Freeman's Journal* lists the programme of the RIC band, performed under its efficient bandmaster but supplies no details regarding the performance of the band of the 19th Regiment. The *Irish Times* estimates that a crowd of ten thousand people was present.⁴⁷

The RIC band gained special mention following its performance at the Scottish Athletic Sports and Highland Gathering held in the Rotundo Gardens on 27 July 1863. The unusual sports, fine weather, well-kept gardens and excellent band attracted large crowds to this event. The *Irish Times* commented on the superb performance of the RIC band, noting that under the efficient training of Mr Hardy, it was becoming one of the most popular bands in the city or its vicinity. Music competitions also featured, with three prizes awarded for the playing of strathspeys and reels on the pipes and a further two prizes for the playing of pibrochs on the great Highland bagpipes. Only Scottish applicants were eligible to partake in Highland games such as stone putting and caber tossing while other general athletics were open to all gentlemen approved of by the committee.⁴⁸

The Dublin University Foot Races, also known as the College Races, was an extremely popular annual athletics event attracting crowds of more than 20,000.⁴⁹ The event was even

⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 4 July 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 4 July 1863, p. 3 and *Freeman's Journal*, 4 July 1863, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 July 1863, p. 1 and *Irish Times*, 28 July 1863.

⁴⁹ Rouse, p. 135.

considered by one newspaper columnist to be ‘the most important and fashionable gathering for athletic purposes in the world’.⁵⁰ Two military bands, the band of the 89th Regiment and that of the RIC, performed on the first day of this two-day event in 1868. A stand-alone announcement appeared in the *Freeman’s Journal* of 5 May 1868 stating that the RIC band would attend the races on that day.⁵¹ The band’s contribution to the proceedings is also mentioned in the review of the first day’s racing in the *Irish Times*.⁵² Paul Rouse notes the phenomenon of the College Races as ‘an extraordinary social event’ in the city, with huge crowds in attendance and the presence of military bands.⁵³ Newspaper accounts of the 1868 College Races bear this description out. The *Freeman’s Journal* describes the ‘genial and well-bred excitement which seems to seize the upper and middle classes’ in anticipation of the event. While billed as an athletics event, the writer considers that less than one tenth of the estimated crowd of twenty thousand actually ‘saw, or heard, or cared, or thought one jot about the hurdle race, the cricket ball, the high jump, or the hammer’.⁵⁴ The College Races was an event at which to see and be seen, and to take pleasure from the general excitement of the day. The presence of women in the environs of Trinity College, a domain of male academic exclusivity, contributed to the thrill of the occasion. Some considered the informal beauty contest amongst the promenading women much more interesting than the athletics events. It appears that only eight competitions, one being a frivolous sack race, took place on day one, with small numbers of entrants recorded.⁵⁵ Social networking and an opportunity for fun would appear to have been the motivation for both competitors and attendees at the College Races. The military bands at the 1868 College Races, playing suitable musical selections, certainly contributed to the day’s

⁵⁰ Rouse, p. 135 also Trevor West, *The Bold Collegians: The Development of Sport in Trinity College* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1991), p. 40.

⁵¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 May 1868, p. 3.

⁵² *Irish Times*, 6 May 1868, p. 3.

⁵³ Rouse, p. 135.

⁵⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 May 1868, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 May 1868, p. 4.

fun, and were considered to have enlivened proceedings very much.⁵⁶ Bandsmen also competed in the athletic events, with six bandsmen listed competing in the bandsmen's two-hundred yards race.⁵⁷

The *Irish Times* review of the first day at the races gives valuable insight into the audience profile. With twenty thousand in attendance, fourteen thousand were ticket holders and a further six thousand were non-paying members of the public. The attendees were subdivided into three categories. Those of highest social rank, including Ulster King at Arms Sir Bernard Burke (1814–92), members of the judiciary, and clergymen, occupied a marquee. Reserved seating was available for ticket holders, while the general public occupied a designated cordoned-off area. Surprisingly, the third group, referred to as 'the roughs', are noted for their lack of bad behaviour while some occupants of the marquee are referred to as 'delinquents' due to their constant invading of the racecourse.⁵⁸ A writer in the *Freeman's Journal* suggested that the 6,000 non-ticket holders were the genuine audience and were 'present to see rather than to be seen'.⁵⁹ Rouse supports the view that a socially mixed grouping attended the College Races, noting that special accommodation was provided for the elite but that the races were attended by 'people from all across Dublin who were drawn to what became a huge open-air party', which could descend into unruly and drunken behaviour.⁶⁰ Describing attendance at the 1873 College Races, Rouse lists army colonels, naval commanders, judges, peers, and 'country swells' among those who received complementary tickets.⁶¹

Dickson considers that there was a four-way divide in the Dublin social class structure between the years 1830 and 1880, comprising the professional class, merchant class, productive

⁵⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1868 p. 4.

⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 6 May 1868, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Irish Times*, 6 May 1868, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1868, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Rouse, p. 135.

⁶¹ Rouse, p. 135.

working class and the destitute.⁶² It is probable that the subdivision of the viewing space at the University Foot Races into three distinct sections represents this hierarchical class structure. One can surmise that the segregated area for non-ticket holders was occupied by a mixed social grouping of the lower middle class and those of higher rank who failed to secure a ticket in advance. As the event took place during weekday daytime hours, this must have precluded the artisanal and craft workers, who worked a sixty-hour week,⁶³ from attending. The attendance of female artisans is also unlikely as a significant number were employed in trades such as clothing manufacture, working sixteen hours per day.⁶⁴ With the elite occupying the special marquee, the remaining attendees belonged to the various strata of the middle class. The previously mentioned account in the *Freeman's Journal* supports this assumption noting the excitement and enthusiasm of the upper and middle classes for the event.⁶⁵ Dublin had witnessed this cohort growing steadily during the nineteenth century. Increased education, a gradual move from manufacturing employment to commerce, a growth in clerical employment, and expansion of the transport system were major factors in the material progress of city dwellers. Greater disposable income expanded consumer demand for material goods, as well as for entertainment and leisure pursuits. This is evident during the season of the University Foot Races when a survey of the press shows the interaction between material and leisure consumables. An advertisement, entitled 'College Races', appeared on page two of the *Irish Times* on the first day of the races for new millinery and straw bonnets by Barnardos of Mary Street.⁶⁶ A separate advertisement appeared on the same page for the races themselves. The enthusiasm for the College Races seemed to be led by fashion; it was both fashionable to be there and fashionable dress attracted attention. This is reflected in an *Irish Times* article the

⁶² David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2014), p. 307.

⁶³ Dickson, p. 366.

⁶⁴ Dickson, p. 368.

⁶⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1868, p. 4.

⁶⁶ *Irish Times*, 5 May 1868, p. 2.

following day: ‘It is fashionable to be present at these contests, and as the weather at the chosen season is usually brilliant, a fair opportunity is given for the exhibition of the taste in dress for which the Dublin ladies are remarkable.’⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Hardy, capitalising on the high spirits in the busy city, held his annual benefit concert on the day immediately preceding the College Foot Races. The RIC band served as the musical anchor for the concert. Hardy’s concert advertisements shared the same page as advertisements for the College Foot Races and a review of the concert appeared on the same page as an in-depth account of the sporting event.⁶⁸ These newspaper articles show an overlap in those present at both events, including the Ladies Hamilton and the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. The most anticipated and lauded work performed at Hardy’s concert was “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*, composed by Heinrich Basquit (1824–77) for the occasion and dedicated to Hardy.⁶⁹ The connection between Basquit and Hardy is unclear. It is possible that they knew each other professionally as they both worked as bandmasters and freelance performers. Basquit, as bandmaster of the band of the 39th Regiment, was performing at that time on the Dublin circuit at similar events and venues to Hardy and the RIC band.⁷⁰ Like Hardy, Basquit also worked as a freelance performer playing piano, violin and singing and therefore may have met while playing together in other musical ensembles.⁷¹ “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* was a composition for military band, retelling the myth of Erin by linking together a series of popular Irish tunes. It aimed to construct a sonic image of Ireland that would be immediately recognisable and pleasing to a nineteenth-century Dublin audience under the umbrella of the mythic goddess Éire. Basquit was feeding into the

⁶⁷ *Irish Times*, 6 May 1868, p. 2.

⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 5 May 1868, p. 3.

⁶⁹ For biographical information regarding Basquit, a list of his compositions, and discussion of the views regarding German musicians in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland see Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

⁷⁰ For example, see *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 February 1868, p. 1.

⁷¹ For examples of Basquit’s career as a freelance musician see *Blackburn Standard*, 9 April 1851, p. 1, *Preston Chronicle*, 30 April 1853, p. 5, and *Irish Examiner*, 7 June 1875, p. 1.

marketplace of popular music, providing a product to be consumed by the aristocratic concert patrons and the middle-class concert-going public.

A substantial transmission of identity, by important social markers such as popular music and sport, is possible when both are consumed concurrently by large audiences. Bateman notes that ‘it is in the consumption of both sport and music that their convergence is significant’.⁷² Established at a time of great industrial development, urbanisation and growing disposable income, the RIC band amalgamated with other cultural and commercial interests in the venture of leisure consumerism. The example of the University Foot Races of 1868 demonstrates how the interaction of commerce, music and sport fed the consumer needs of attendees, reinforcing their social status and cultural beliefs.

3.5 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Cricket Matches

Cricket was at the hub of the sporting revolution in Ireland with a boom in cricket club formation between the 1850s and the late 1870s.⁷³ This highly popular sport was considered at the time to cross all boundaries of social rank.⁷⁴ Throughout the 1860s and early 1870s there are accounts of the RIC band performing at cricket matches in Dublin. A number of these performances took place in the general environs of the Phoenix Park, also the location of the band’s barracks. The earliest performance of the band at a cricket match took place in the grounds of the Vice Regal Lodge at the first fixture of the newly established Civil Service Cricket Club. The Lord Lieutenant, Lord Carlisle, himself a keen cricketer, kept the score at this match between this new Irish club and his own Vice Regal team. Newspaper announcements nod to the general ambiance of the occasion, noting the performance of ‘the splendid band of the Constabulary’ and the vast number of carriages passing the cricket ground

⁷² Anthony Bateman, ‘Introduction: Sport, Music, Identities’, *Sport in Society*, 17:3 (2014), 293–302 (p. 293).

⁷³ Murphy, p. 388.

⁷⁴ William Murphy, p. 388.

containing the rank and beauty of the metropolis.⁷⁵ Within a few weeks the RIC band also performed on the first day of play of the cricket match between the Viceregal team and the London Civil Service Cricket Team which took place on 17 August 1863.⁷⁶



Figure 3.1 George William Frederick Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle and the English Civil Service Cricket Club at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, 18 August 1863⁷⁷

There are further accounts of performances by the band at cricket matches at the Viceregal Lodge, the Phoenix Ground, College Park, Sandymount Cricket Ground and Civil Service

⁷⁵ *Irish Times*, 25 April 1863, p. 3 and *Dublin Evening Post*, 28th April 1863, p. 3. The Civil Service Cricket Club, formed in Ireland in 1863, is distinct from the London/English Civil Service Cricket Club. Both clubs played at the Viceregal Lodge in 1863.

⁷⁶ *Irish Times*, 18 August 1863, p. 3. The *Irish Times* refers to this cricket team as the London Civil Service while the photograph mentioned in footnote 77 refers to this same team as the English Civil Service Cricket Club.

⁷⁷ 'George William Frederick Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle and the English Civil Service Cricket Club', in *National Portrait Gallery* <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw112454/George-William-Frederick-Howard-7th-Earl-of-Carlisle-and-the-English-Civil-Service-Cricket-Club>> [accessed 20 October 2022] The RIC band performed on the first day of play of this cricket match between the Viceregal team and the London Civil Service Cricket Team on 17 August 1863. Lord Carlisle kept the score. See *Irish Times*, 18 August 1863, p. 3.

Cricket Ground.⁷⁸ Described as splendid and fine, the band is credited with enlivening the scene and adding greatly to the pleasure of the proceedings at various matches. The RIC band itself fielded its own cricket team at a match against the team of the Royal Hibernian Military School on 30 July 1870. Played on the school's ground in the Phoenix Park, it resulted in an easy victory for the bandsmen, taking the first innings by 128 runs. Bandsmen Rogers, Dalton, Ennis, Griffin, and Duggan are all noted for their contribution to the play.⁷⁹ A further match involving RIC personnel is mentioned in the *Irish Times* of 19 May 1871, with the RIC taking on the Phoenix Club at the Phoenix Ground. It is unclear if bandsmen took part in this match.⁸⁰ Returning to Russell's discussion, he further highlights the overlap between sport and music, citing examples of on-stage performances by sportsmen and also sports matches between the employees of various music halls.⁸¹ This crossing of boundaries between music and sport is evident in the RIC bandsmen's cricket playing as well as their involvement in the two hundred yards race at the College Races mentioned earlier.

3.6 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Archery Meetings

Archery experienced significant growth in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century with thirty-two clubs in existence in the 1860s.⁸² In contrast with cricket, athletics and boating, archery was exclusively a pursuit of the elite, serving 'as an important assertion of status and of separation from the rest of Irish society'.⁸³ An examination of the *Irish Times* and *Irish Newspaper* archives shows the RIC band performing at only two archery meetings during Hardy's tenure as bandmaster (1861–72). The first of these events was the three-day meeting

⁷⁸ For further accounts of RIC band performances at cricket matches see *Irish Times* 18 August 1863, p. 2, *Irish Times*, 10 June 1864, p. 3, *Irish Times*, 26 May 1871, p. 3, *Irish Times*, 17 June 1864, p. 1 and *Irish Times*, 30 May 1863, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *Irish Times*, 3 August 1870, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Irish Times*, 19 May 1871, p. 3.

⁸¹ Russell, p. 304.

⁸² Brian Griffin, 'The Big House at Play: Archery as an Elite Pursuit from the 1830s to the 1870s', in *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ciaran O'Neill (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 153–171 (p. 164).

⁸³ Griffin, p. 153.

of the Royal Irish Grand National Archery Club at the Leinster Cricket Club Grounds in July 1864. Accounts of this meeting in the *Irish Times* give good insight into the mindset surrounding this sport in Ireland. It associates archery with English militarism, good old times past, Robin Hood, and the conquering power of England over the Scottish patriotism of William Wallace.⁸⁴ Griffin suggests that the Irish elite chose to identify with the figure of Robin Hood to emphasise their distinction from the rest of Irish society and foster their connection with England.⁸⁵ It must therefore be asked if the absence of the RIC band from archery meetings during this period was of significance. As a non-regimental band of entirely Irish origin, it may not have converged entirely with the rationale underpinning archery in Ireland. The Royal Irish Grand National Archery Club Meeting of 1864, as in previous years, did not attract a large attendance. While the *Irish Times* tries to create a lively impression of the proceedings, it in no way compares to the carnival-type atmosphere described at other popular sporting fixtures: ‘...bright colours of the target, various dresses of the lady competitors, the keen emulation that appeared in the shooting, the changing motions of the groups that clustered round the targets, formed a striking ensemble, and the agreeable strains of the RIC band were in thorough keeping with the inspiring influences of the day.’⁸⁶ The *Irish Times* account of the Leinster Archery Meeting of 1869 at which the RIC band played, also records the low numbers in attendance.⁸⁷

Archery, unlike many other associational sports during this period, was played by women. The above competitions at which the RIC band performed held competitions for both Ladies and Gentlemen. Griffin notes that archery was ‘unusual in this period in that it allowed not merely for female participation, but also for female competition, which probably added to

⁸⁴ *Irish Times*, 28 July 1864, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Griffin, p. 162.

⁸⁶ *Irish Times*, 29 July 1864, p. 3.

⁸⁷ *Irish Times*, 7 October 1869, p. 3.

its attractions in the eyes of many women from Ireland's landed families'.⁸⁸ Cecilia Betham (1843–1913), Ireland's first female international sports champion, competed at both above-mentioned archery meetings. As well as participation and competition, archery also offered a convivial setting for the elite in which to socialise. Martin Johnes suggests that 'archery, complete with the romantic associations of Cupid and his bow and arrows, offered men and women an opportunity to meet, view and enjoy their social equals'.⁸⁹ In the same summer as the RIC band's appearance at the Royal Irish Grand National Archery Club Meeting, Hardy published his *Cupid's Dart Mazurka*, once again showing how he capitalised on the band's connections and targeted a specific audience.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter documents RIC band performances at popular nineteenth-century sporting events, drawing on newspaper accounts of the band playing at regattas, athletics meetings, cricket matches, and archery meetings. The period in question pre-dates the organised running of Gaelic games and therefore the sporting events under discussion in this chapter are those of British construct, associated mainly with urban living.

Similarities between music and sport are evident in this survey, in particular their mass appeal, their ability to awaken strong visceral responses, and their power to channel the hopes and dreams of individuals and large collective groups. When consumed in tandem, the innate potency of music and sport is strengthened. While sport may have been the headline event, the provision of military band music at sporting events acted as a significant attraction, occupying the crowd's attention during quiet times in play. This review of RIC band performances at sporting events argues that the presence of this band was much more than a sonic side-line

⁸⁸ Griffin, p. 167.

⁸⁹ Martin Johnes, 'Archery, Romance and Elite Culture in England and Wales, c. 1780–1840', *History*, 89:294 (2004), 193–208 (p. 199).

decorative diversion. It could give added value to a sports meeting and enrich the basic commodity on offer. This band suggested prestige and style, while generating significant excitement by its inclusion in match-day programming.

The audience profile of the RIC band is clarified further by this examination of its interface with sports people and sports supporters. While sailing and archery were essentially the domain of the wealthy elite, athletics and cricket attracted a wider demographic. The provision of outdoor military band music at sporting events could be enjoyed by sports club members, middle-class onlookers, and those of all social class along the shoreline or outside the boundary wall of sports grounds.

This chapter adds to existing scholarship regarding music repertoire with sporting titles. The discovery of Hardy's *Velocipede Galop* and *Cupid's Dart Mazurka* link the RIC band and its bandmaster to the nineteenth-century practice of composing and performing dance music with sporting titles. The companionship of music and sport is also evidenced with instances of RIC bandmen playing cricket matches and racing at athletics meetings.

Finally, it can be contended that the presence of the RIC band at sporting events could upset the primacy of British identity being expressed through the largely British sports played in nineteenth-century urban Ireland. The band's appearance, personnel, and repertoire suggested a 'moderate Irishness' that could forward and reinforce new forms of social cohesion, challenging the dominant British imperial project.

Chapter 4

Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Charity Bazaars

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the performances of the RIC band at charity and fundraising events in Dublin and beyond. Focusing on the band's performances at charity bazaars, this chapter highlights the intersection of music with philanthropy, social improvement, and the growth of the Catholic Church. The alleviation of poverty and the building of churches and institutions required copious financial support. At a time when the state-run institutional Poor Law system was treated with suspicion by the poor, charitable organisations played a vital role in providing for their sustenance. This coincided with the rise of the Catholic Church following Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the subsequent building boom in Catholic infrastructure. Various methods of fundraising were employed including the running of charity bazaars.

This chapter investigates the central role of band music in building a bridge between the commerce of the charity bazaar sales room and the various entertainments that were offered in tandem with these events. Drawing on examples of RIC band performances at charity bazaars in Dublin city centre, the Dublin suburbs, and one provincial town, the interchange of this band with leisure-time commerce and Victorian ideals of self-improvement is investigated. This chapter also teases out the relationship of this band with its audiences, raising questions regarding the complex connection between the RIC band and event organisers, often with contrary political ideologies.

While nineteenth-century charity bazaars can provide insight into philanthropy and the growth of consumerism, they can also add to our understanding of the entertainment of the leisured classes. Using music as the lens through which to view and assess the Irish nineteenth-century charity bazaar, additional light can be shed on the intersection of music and

philanthropy, the expansion of middle-class suburban Dublin, and the emerging differing views of Irish national identity.

4.2 The Nineteenth-Century Charity Bazaar

Charity bazaars were an attractive and fashionable means of fund raising for Irish nineteenth-century causes and philanthropic societies.¹ In the wake of the Great Famine numerous charities worked to alleviate the extreme poverty suffered by the destitute, needing copious funds to support their work.² The poor considered receiving support from private charity preferable to accepting assistance from the state-run Poor Law system, mistrusted due to its colonial instigation, which was mainly centred in the workhouse.³ Virginia Crossman notes that acute poverty was found predominantly in the west and in the major cities in post-Famine Ireland.⁴ She surmises that charity and emigration were the main channels for dealing with indigence in 1860s Ireland as relatively small numbers availed of state relief.⁵ Joe Curran considers that charitable organisations in nineteenth-century Dublin were driven by the middle classes, raising funds for both local and national causes.⁶ He also notes the considerable increase in charitable organisations during the Famine years listing healthcare, education, poverty relief and social care as part of their endeavours.⁷

¹ The material used in this section comes from a range of historical and political academic studies on poverty, economics and charity in Ireland and Great Britain in this period. Because there is relatively little written specifically on the charity bazaar in Ireland, the range of this material is quite general but provides a solid academic basis for this section.

² Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 176.

³ Virginia Crossman, *Poverty and the Poor Law in Ireland, 1850–1914* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), p. 2.

⁴ Crossman, p. 13.

⁵ Virginia Crossman, *Politics, Pauperism and Power* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 12.

⁶ Joe Curran, 'Charity, Finance, and Legitimacy: Exploring Stateless Capital Status in Early Nineteenth-Century Dublin and Edinburgh', *Journal of Urban History*, 47:4 (2021), 753–770 (p. 756).

⁷ Curran, p. 756.

Charitable organisations employed a wide range of means to secure financial support for their ventures, including the running of charity bazaars.⁸ The bazaar seems to have its origins in London's Soho bazaar, established by John Trotter in 1816, where widows and orphans of soldiers could rent a small counter for the purpose of selling homemade goods.⁹ F. K. Prochaska's work in the English context states that the charity bazaar, following the commercial bazaar, came to prominence in England in the 1820s.¹⁰ These charity fairs or bazaars were run over the course of a few days or weeks.¹¹ Irish charity bazaars seem to follow this timeframe with newspaper announcements for similar type events appearing from the late 1820s.¹²

Maria Luddy notes that 'philanthropy became the principal, if largely unpaid, occupation of a great number of middle-class women in the nineteenth century'.¹³ This was true in both the British and Irish context with many of these women brought into the public commercial sphere through their involvement in the organisation and running of charity bazaars.¹⁴ Prochaska considers that the running of bazaars was primarily a female project which was highly influential in the expanding role of women in philanthropy, due substantially to their organisational skills and innovative money-making ideas.¹⁵ While the charity bazaar was a lucrative means of appropriating funds for worthy causes it also placed consumerism and philanthropy cheek by jowl in an environment that challenged some Victorian attitudes,

⁸ Luddy, p. 179.

⁹ Gary R. Dyer, 'The "Vanity Fair" of Nineteenth-Century England: Commerce, Women, and the East in the Ladies' Bazaar', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 46: 2 (1991), 196–222 (p. 196).

¹⁰ F. K. Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 16:2 (Spring 1977), 62–84 (p. 64).

¹¹ Dyer, p. 208.

¹² *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March 1828, p. 1.

¹³ Luddy, p. 214.

¹⁴ Peter J. Gurney, "'The Sublime of the Bazaar': A Moment in the Making of a Consumer Culture in Mid-Nineteenth Century England", *Journal of Social History*, 40:2 (2006), 385–405 (p. 391).

¹⁵ Prochaska, p. 71 and p. 76.

particularly those regarding the exposure of women to the potentially corrupt world of commercialism.¹⁶

Charity bazaars, sometimes known as fancy fairs,¹⁷ were centred on the sale of hand-made and manufactured fancy goods while also offering the fun of the traditional fair.¹⁸ Combined with raffles, refreshments and various entertainments, bazaars offered the leisured classes the opportunity to socialise while financially supporting a designated cause. Hospitals, orphanages, church building projects, and charities for the alleviation of poverty numbered among the many benevolent ventures which benefitted from the proceeds of bazaars. Emmet Larkin notes in particular the burgeoning of Catholic Church infrastructure in Ireland during the nineteenth century with fundraising, including charity bazaars, becoming ‘an integral part of the Irish Catholic way of life’.¹⁹

4.3 Entertainment at the Charity Bazaar

Entertainment was a prominent feature of the nineteenth-century charity bazaar. Denis Condon notes that nineteenth-century charity bazaars were highly coordinated affairs, citing John Muir’s 1896 publication *Bazaars and Fancy Fairs: Their Organisation and Management*.²⁰ This manual informed bazaar organisers of the protocol surrounding the arranging of various aspects of these events, including the booking of sideshows. Musical performances were the most constant feature of these entertainments. While a variety of spectacular and carnivalesque sideshows were often offered at charity bazaars, band performances formed a significant and

¹⁶ Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), p. 120.

¹⁷ Prochaska, p. 62.

¹⁸ Dyer, p. 208 and p. 215.

¹⁹ Emmet Larkin, ‘Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland’, *The American Historical Review*, 72:3 (1967), 852–884 (pp. 864 and 865).

²⁰ Denis Condon, ‘Baits to Entrap the Pleasure-Seeker and the Worldling: Charity Bazaars Introduce Moving Pictures to Ireland’, in *Beyond the Screen: Institutions, Networks and Publics of Early Cinema*, ed. by Marta Braun, Charles Keil, Rob King, Paul S. Moore, and Louis Pelletier (New Barnett: John Libbey, 2012), pp. 35–42 (p. 38).

regular part of the arrangements. The language used in advertisements promoted the thrills of these novelty side-shows. In contrast, music was considered an integral part of the successful and smooth running of a bazaar, forming cohesion between the commerce and entertainment on offer. The importance of music at bazaars, more precisely military band music, is borne out by proceedings at a meeting held in Dublin's Mansion House regarding preliminary arrangements for the Grand National Lifeboat Bazaar at which the RIC band would perform four months later. A sub-committee was appointed to organise general entertainment while a further dedicated sub-committee was convened to arrange for military bands to perform.²¹ The importance of music is also evident in promotional material for the St. Vincent de Paul bazaar of 1865 with the *Freeman's Journal* suggesting that: 'Music will contribute its choicest harmonies to complete the measure of enjoyment. Apart from the consideration of charity, these entertainments will be among the most brilliant of the season, and all who desire a rare combination of attractions will attend.'²² The Dublin bazaars that I have surveyed were generally held over a two-day mid-week period. They began in the early afternoon and following a brief evening break resumed until approximately ten thirty. Prochaska observes the attraction of the leisured classes to the bazaar as it offered a pleasant day-time diversion, outside of the home, where visitors could partake in the lively ambiance created by the music of a military or quadrille band.²³

4.4 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Charity Bazaars

The RIC band performed at many charity bazaars, predominantly in Dublin, forming links with certain charitable organisations and fundraising groups. It regularly played at large bazaars held

²¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 November 1870, p. 3.

²² *Freeman's Journal*, 23 May 1865 p. 3.

²³ Prochaska, p. 73.

in Dublin city centre as well as at local bazaars held in the expanding Dublin suburbs. A discussion of four different types of fundraising bazaar now follows. The annual bazaars of the Society of St Vincent de Paul will be discussed as an example of large Dublin city centre bazaars while the Kingstown bazaars will be used to illustrate the Dublin suburban bazaar. Two further examples will be discussed, namely bazaars in aid of Catholic church building funds and a provincial bazaar held at Drogheda, Co. Louth.

4.4.1 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at St Vincent de Paul Bazaars

One prominent charitable organisation which regularly featured performances by this band at its bazaars was the Society of St Vincent de Paul. Performances are recorded at the society's annual bazaars for the period from 1864 to 1871, apart from the year 1867. It is possible that the RIC band did not play at the 1867 bazaar as it opened on Whit Monday, and not on a Tuesday as in previous year. Instead, the RIC band performed at the seaside resort of Bray that holiday Whit Monday with the *Irish Times* expecting thousands to be in attendance.²⁴ Newspaper accounts of this society's bazaars point to these events as significant players in the middle and upper-class social calendar, painting a vivid picture of the consumerism, sociability and fun they provided.

A survey of the St Vincent de Paul bazaars at which the RIC band performed gives a good insight into the type of entertainment that was on offer at these events. The lay-run Catholic charitable Society of St Vincent de Paul, focused on the alleviation of poverty, was founded in Paris by Frédéric Ozanam (1813–53) in 1833, its Irish branch being established in Dublin in 1844.²⁵ Many of the organisation's founding members were aligned with the Young

²⁴ *Irish Times*, 10 June 1867, p. 4.

²⁵ Geoff Meagher, 'Preface', in *The Society of St Vincent de Paul in Ireland: 170 Years of Fighting Poverty*, ed. by Bill Lawlor and Joe Dalton (Dublin: New Island Books, 2014), pp. ix–x (p. ix).

Ireland movement whose philosophy amalgamated both social and nationalist concerns.²⁶ The St Vincent de Paul Society quickly became the largest charitable distributor of food rations to Dublin's poor.²⁷ A description in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 1865 St Vincent de Paul bazaar, which was held at Dublin's Rotundo, claimed that 'seldom in the cause of charity, or indeed any cause, has so varied and so attractive a programme of entertainments been presented as that which appears in our advertising columns today'.²⁸ Coinciding with the timing of the Dublin Great International Exhibition, this bazaar hoped to attract some of the large cohort of expected visitors to the city.²⁹ The bazaar was a two-day and three-evening event that promised a grand balloon ascent and the most brilliant fireworks display ever attempted in Dublin.³⁰ The third evening took the form of a Grand Conversazione which included a display of scientific experiments, an exhibition of exotic flowers and shrubs, a recitation from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, and music performances. An orchestra accompanied songs by Henry Purcell (1659–95), George Linley (1797–1865) and Thomas Arne (1710–78). The chorus and band of the Orphanage of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, comprised of sons of soldiers killed in the Crimean and Indian wars, also performed during the evening.³¹ Military bands attended all stages of the bazaar, with accounts of the RIC band performing on both days. The 1871 bazaar took place at Dublin's Exhibition Palace in Earlsfort Terrace. Entertainment was carnivalesque in style with Professor Hastings' Royal Marionettes positioned in the main concert hall and a velocipede merry-go-round capable of holding fifty people operating in the Leinster Hall.³² The RIC band was noted as a great crowd-pleaser by the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Irish Times*

²⁶ Gerry Martin, 'The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul: The Early History', in *The Society of St Vincent de Paul in Ireland: 170 Years of Fighting Poverty*, ed. by Bill Lawlor and Joe Dalton (Dublin: New Island Books, 2014), pp. 3–20 (p. 12).

²⁷ Dickson, p. 375.

²⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1865, p. 3.

²⁹ The Dublin Great International Exhibition of 1865 is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

³⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1865, p. 1.

³¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 May 1865, p. 1.

³² *Freeman's Journal*, 26 April 1871, p. 5.

considered that the brilliant scene was enlivened by the music of the bands of the 30th Regiment and the RIC.³³

During the period 1864 to 1871 a variety of regimental bands also performed at the St. Vincent de Paul bazaars depending on which regiments were stationed in Dublin at any given time. In contrast with the transient nature of regimental bands, the RIC band was a regular feature of the bazaar entertainments and noted for their admirable programmes and their consistently good style.³⁴ While many of the founding members of the St Vincent de Paul Society were proponents of the nationalist Young Ireland movement, this did not appear to jar with the presence of regimental bands or the RIC band at their fundraising bazaars. The regularity of RIC band performances at these bazaars suggests their popularity and acceptability with the target audience, in no way equating this band with the degrading disparaging attitude of the British colonial authorities as described by John O'Hagan (1822–90), a founding member of the first Irish conference of the St Vincent de Paul Society:

It seems as if we shall have nothing but workhouses distributing stirabout in a country which produces twice the amount its population requires. Mechanics Institutes telling the people that their present condition is altogether the result of laziness, a National Education system teaching us Chinese, because more people speak that language than any other, and garrisons to prevent us from protesting against the whole-all presided over by the high and mighty boards most graciously appointed by ponderous charters written in a half-Saxon, half-Norman French dialect.³⁵

The programme of music performed at the 1868 bazaar is listed in the *Freeman's Journal* and features two of Hardy's latest compositions, namely a waltz *The Old, Old Story*

³³ *Irish Times*, 26 April 1871, p. 2.

³⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 June 1870, p. 4.

³⁵ This quotation is originally from *United Irishman*, 21 October 1899. The reel of microfilm for this newspaper for the year 1899 is currently missing from the National Library of Ireland. Therefore, no page number is available. The quote is used in Gerry Martin, 'The Society of St Vincent de Paul: The Early History', in *The Society of St Vincent de Paul in Ireland: 170 Years of Fighting Poverty*, ed. by Bill Lawlor and Joe Dalton (Dublin: New Island Books, 2014), pp. 3–20 (p. 12).

and a galop entitled *You and I*.³⁶ This band performance closed with the playing of *God Save the Queen*.

4.4.2 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at Kingstown Bazaars

The RIC band appear also to have had a strong relationship with the people of Kingstown, providing musical entertainment twice for the Kingstown Sailors' Home bazaar and for seven consecutive years at the Kingstown Annual Bazaar. The Kingstown Annual Bazaar was organised by a dedicated bazaar committee who donated the proceeds to various charities or projects in the Kingstown area. Proceeds for these two-day events were in the range of £1,000 annually.³⁷ Military band music was an important feature of the Kingstown bazaar as no other sideshows or entertainments are mentioned in connection with this event. In contrast with Dublin city centre bazaars which often occupied the entire suite of rooms, halls and gardens of the Rotundo, Kingstown bazaars were held in marquees erected in the Gresham Gardens in front of the Royal Marine Hotel in Kingstown, except for 1865 when it was held at the grounds near the Royal Irish Yacht Club. Kingstown bazaars raised their revenue by sales at stalls and large-scale raffles. Over one thousand raffle prizes including jewellery, furniture, and confectionery were offered annually, having been donated by benefactors. A large attendance would secure higher funds for the bazaar committee's chosen charity and therefore enticements such as train tickets to Kingstown which included entrance to the bazaar were available.³⁸ As with other annual fundraising events, a variety of regimental bands performed depending on the stationing of regiments at any given time. The RIC band began its relationship with the suburb of Kingstown in 1864, giving its debut performance at the Kingstown bazaar of that year.³⁹ Noted as 'the ladies band' in a *Freeman's Journal* description of the 1866 Kingstown

³⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 June 1868, p. 1.

³⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 July 1864, p. 4.

³⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 July 1864, p. 2.

³⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 July 1864, p. 3.

bazaar, the band evidently appealed to the large numbers of women both attending and presiding at stalls. As bazaars were predominantly the domain of women, it is reasonable to surmise that women were at the helm in the organisation and staging the Kingstown bazaars. The Kingstown ladies' preference for the RIC band had been expressed previously in 1865 when they insisted to the town committee that Hardy's band was the best in Ireland and the one they favoured for local performances.⁴⁰

The RIC band also performed at the bazaar in aid of the Kingstown Seamen's Home which took place in the Salthill Gardens on the outskirts of Kingstown in August 1867. Once more it is referred to as 'the favourite band' and was commended for its choice selection of music and talented leadership.⁴¹ The object of the bazaar committee was to raise funds for the building of what was variously referred to as a coffee room, reading room, club or home for seamen coming ashore at Kingstown. This club type facility would be a refuge for sailors where they could relax for a few hours and read newspapers and periodicals. It was hoped that this rational amusement would save the wayward sailor from wasting his health and money 'in the wild debauchery which too often characterises the conduct of Jack ashore'.⁴² The juxtaposition of social behaviours in the harbour town of Kingstown is evident in the intention to provide a reading room. Middle class respectability, embodied in the sounds, sights and behaviours of the charity bazaar, could use the proceeds of leisure-time commerce to tame the perceived waywardness of the lower classes. Marta Ramon notes that it was during the mid-nineteenth century that reading rooms, espousing the Victorian principles of respectability and rationality, flourished in Ireland.⁴³ Offering an alternative to the public house, these venues could act as a relaxing social space or as a meeting place where particular philosophies and ideologies could

⁴⁰ *Irish Times*, 27 July 1865, p. 4.

⁴¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 20 August 1867, p. 2.

⁴² *Irish Times*, 21 August 1867, p. 4.

⁴³ Marta Ramon, 'A Local Habitation and a Name': the Dublin Mechanics Institute and the Evolution of Dublin's Public Sphere, 1824–1904', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 46:1 (2019), 22–45 (p. 25).

be forwarded. While reading rooms with political leanings were established by Davis and the Young Ireland movement and O'Connell's Repeal Association, James Quinn notes that the reading rooms of non-political organisations often held nationalistic and patriotic reading material on their shelves.⁴⁴ Therefore, intentionally or unintentionally, reading rooms similar to that in Kingstown could simultaneously serve to refine, educate, politicise and mobilise their users, while funded by the middle class pursuit of recreation.

4.4.3 Bazaars in Aid of Catholic Church Building

Post-Emancipation Ireland witnessed a surge in the building of Catholic churches in the newly emerging Dublin suburbs. Following Catholic Emancipation in 1829 new Catholic churches were more imposing in both structure and location and were supported financially by the growing Catholic middle classes.⁴⁵ The building of churches in Dublin was a project promoted by Daniel Murray (1768–1852), archbishop of Dublin from 1823 to 1849, and continued by his successor, Paul Cullen who was archbishop of Dublin until 1878.⁴⁶ K. Theodore Hoppen notes this considerable investment in building in the Dublin diocese by Daniel Murray with £700,000 being spent on the construction of ninety-seven churches.⁴⁷ Indeed, this proliferation of Catholic Church infrastructure was replicated throughout Ireland until the late 1870s.⁴⁸ While the greater conspicuousness of Catholic churches indicated the newly emerging political power of Catholics in nineteenth-century Irish society, these churches also married the Victorian desire for order to the nineteenth-century drive for the construction of Irish identity.

⁴⁴ James Quinn, 'The *Nation*, History, and the Making of National Citizens', in *Literacy, Language and Reading in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Rebecca Anne Barr, Sarah-Anne Buckley and Muireann O'Conneide (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), pp. 53–65 (p. 64).

⁴⁵ Jeanne Sheehy, 'Irish Church Building: Popery, Puginism and the Protestant Ascendancy', in *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. by Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 133–150 (p. 137).

⁴⁶ Colin Barr, 'The Re-Energising of Catholicism, 1790–1880', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland Volume 3*, ed. by James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 280–304 (p. 284 and p. 303).

⁴⁷ K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, 2nd edn (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 69.

⁴⁸ Barr, p. 303.

Cara Delay notes the alignment of Irish Catholic practice with the Victorian desire for civility and order⁴⁹ while Jeanne Sheehy considers the use of Gothic-style architecture as an echo of the old Irish churches and abbeys of the Middle Ages.⁵⁰ These new Catholic churches forged a prominent position in the country's topography forming a sharp contrast with the 'poor miserable buildings' witnessed by Paul Cullen in 1835.⁵¹ Michael B. Barry suggests that religion, class and nationalism played a central role in the development of Dublin's geography and environment. There was a movement away from the declining city centre to new suburban centres, many featuring assertive Catholic church buildings in prominent locations.⁵² Sarah Roddy considers that the ornate, impressive and expensive style of architecture used in Irish Catholic church-building in the second half of the nineteenth century symbolised 'the new orthodoxy, self-confidence and ebullience of Irish Catholicism'.⁵³

These new Catholic churches were expensive to build, and funds were raised through donations, bequests and a variety of fundraising endeavours including bazaars.⁵⁴ Describing the ambitious building projects undertaken by the Catholic Church in Ireland between 1850 and 1880, Larkin states that 'bazaars, pilgrimages, shrines, altar societies, sodalities, confraternities, special collections on almost every Sunday and holiday of the year' formed the back bone of the massive fund raising drive to finance these endeavours.⁵⁵ Colin Barr notes the segregationist ideals advanced by Paul Cullen where the mixing of Catholics with Protestants

⁴⁹ Cara Delay, "'The Gates Were Shut': Catholics, Chapels, and Power in Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *New Hibernian Review*, 14:1 (2010), 14–35, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Sheehy, p. 143. See also Thomas P. Kennedy, 'Church Building', in *A History of Irish Catholicism Volume 5: The Church Since Emancipation*, no editor given (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1971), pp. 1–36 (p. 13).

⁵¹ Delay, p. 5 and Barr, p. 282.

⁵² Michael B. Barry *Victorian Dublin Revealed: The Remarkable Legacy of Nineteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Andalus Press, 2011), p. 86.

⁵³ Sarah Roddy, *Population, Providence and Empire: The Churches and Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 208.

⁵⁴ For further reading see Brendan Grimes 'Funding a Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', (unpublished doctoral thesis, National College of Art and Design, 2005) chapter 8. Also, Brendan Grimes, *Commodious Temples: Roman Catholic Church Building in Nineteenth-Century Dublin* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2010).

⁵⁵ Emmet Larkin, 'Economic Growth, Capital Investment, and the Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *The American Historical Review*, 72:3 (1967), 852–884 (pp. 864 and 865).

in schools, hospitals and other social settings was strongly dissuaded.⁵⁶ However, this segregationist policy does not appear to have applied to fundraising ventures for church building. Brendan Grimes notes the financial and material contributions of Protestants to Catholic church-building projects but also the requirement of those of all religious denominations to pay tithes for the support of the Established Church.⁵⁷ An article in the *Freeman's Journal* in the lead-up to the fundraising bazaar for St Michael's Church, Kingstown, in 1869 mentions that a Protestant gentleman has been one of the most generous donors to their fund.⁵⁸ Continuing in this vein, musical performances by the RIC band appear to have been very sought after by organisers of fundraising bazaars for Catholic church-building projects despite the RIC being part of the British establishment and predominantly under Protestant leadership.

The RIC band performed at fundraising bazaars in aid of several prominent church building ventures in affluent Dublin parishes. These include St. Peter's Church Phibsborough (1863 and 1865),⁵⁹ the Church of the Sacred Heart Donnybrook (1864),⁶⁰ the Church of the Immaculate Conception and St. Killian Clondalkin (1865),⁶¹ St. Joseph's Church Glasthule (1869),⁶² St. Alphonsus' Church Ballybrack (1871),⁶³ St. Patrick's Church Monkstown (1864, 1865, 1866 and 1867),⁶⁴ and for renovations to St. Michael's Church Kingstown (1869 and 1870).⁶⁵ Some of these bazaars took place in Dublin city centre's Rotundo while others were held at outdoor local venues. The bazaars in aid of both Phibsborough and Donnybrook

⁵⁶ Barr, p. 302.

⁵⁷ Grimes, p. 225 and p. 227.

⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 July 1869, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 December 1863, p. 2 and *Irish Times*, 9 January 1865, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 8 February 1864, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Irish Times*, 7 August 1865, p. 1.

⁶² *Freeman's Journal*, 30 June 1869, p. 3.

⁶³ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 September 1871, p. 1.

⁶⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 July 1864, p. 2, *Freeman's Journal*, 4 August 1865, p. 2, *Freeman's Journal*, 1 August 1866, p. 2, and *Freeman's Journal*, 30 July 1867, p. 3.

⁶⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 28 July 1869, p. 2, *Freeman's Journal*, 25 July 1870, p. 6, and *Freeman's Journal*, 26 July 1870, p. 1.

churches were held at the Rotundo, a venue which offered a variety of entertainment spaces and an added air of sophistication. The Phibsborough church bazaar which took place on 8 and 9 December 1863, coinciding with the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, was reported as a crowded and respectable affair. Entertainments included roulette and a novelty post office. A large and valuable raffle took place with first prize of a grand piano. The RIC band was positioned in the balcony and performed over both days and evenings, adding much to the entertainment.⁶⁶ The Donnybrook church bazaar was noted in the *Irish Times* for its most ‘distinguished patronage’ and ‘unparalleled splendour’.⁶⁷ It concluded with a concert in the Round Room of the Rotundo. A *Freeman’s Journal* writer expected that the combination of music and charity would attract a large audience. They considered this a worthy fundraising venture as it supported the work of a good priest, known for advancing the causes of ‘charity, religion, and patriotism’.⁶⁸ Billed as an ‘Ethiopian Concert’, it featured vocal and comedic material by the Missouri Minstrels and instrumental performances by the RIC band. The concert concluded with the performance of a so-called Ethiopian Irish jig.⁶⁹ More typically used in the context of minstrel parlour songs, the term ‘Ethiopian’ refers to the style of music used by black-faced minstrel groups. Richard B. Moore notes the use by European writers of the term ‘Ethiopian’ to mean African, dating back to the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ Writing in the 1880s, Edward Wilmot Blyden states that ‘Ethiopian’ was the established term used to identify the people of the African continent.⁷¹ The Ethiopian Irish jig performed at this concert may therefore have been a derogatory fusion of African-American and Irish dance styles, distorted in a racist fashion as a crude entertainment.

⁶⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 December 1863, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Irish Times*, 8 February 1864, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 February 1864, p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 February 1864, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Richard Benjamin Moore, *The Name “Negro”: Its Origin and Evil Use*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1992), p. 38.

⁷¹ Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, 2nd edn (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1994), p. 130. This is a reprint of this book which was originally published in 1888.

4.4.4 The Royal Irish Constabulary Band at the Drogheda Bazaar

To date I have found reference to only one bazaar outside Dublin at which the RIC band performed. This Grand Bazaar and Distribution of Prizes took place in the Whitworth Hall, Drogheda, Co. Louth, during the last week of September 1867. Its purpose was to raise funds for the completion of the new Christian Brothers' convent in Drogheda town. While many aspects of the proceedings and arrangements for this bazaar mirrored those of similar events held in Dublin, social and political complexities of the day coloured the reaction of the bazaar attendees to the three performing bands. Drawing on newspaper accounts from the *Freeman's Journal* and local Co. Louth publications, it is possible to interpret the atypical reception of the RIC band at this event.

The Drogheda bazaar displayed many of the trappings of the nineteenth-century bazaar. Railway companies offered return tickets at single fare prices, women were the main organisers and stall holders, while social rank and fashion were important to those in attendance. Side-shows, amusements, and a raffle with substantial prizes accompanied the sale of fancy goods at the various stalls. However, this bazaar contrasts significantly with the Dublin bazaars at which the RIC band performed in its overt show of Catholic and nationalist sentiment. Transmitted via language, symbolism, and music, this strong and complex expression of identity was delivered by both local Irish interests and more unexpected elements of the imperial power. A promotional article for the bazaar which appeared in the *Dundalk Democrat*, a local provincial publication, alluded to a new enthusiasm being enflamed in the Catholic populace. The writer suggested that the Christian Brothers, for whose benefit this bazaar was run, were capable of awakening 'a new spirit in the hearts of the people, favourable to the grand old religion of their fathers'.⁷² On entering the Whitworth Hall, the customary floral displays and shrubbery surrounded a statue of the Virgin and Child and was surmounted by the motto

⁷² *Dundalk Democrat*, 7 September 1867, p. 4.

of the Christian Brothers. Suspended from the shrubbery was a banner written in Celtic green and gold lettering displaying the Irish greeting ‘Cead Mile Failthe’ [sic]. A similar homogenisation of Catholicism and Irish nationalism was evident on the nearby stalls. The Misses Barron and Heaney hung a banner depicting an Irish harp and the slogan ‘Erin-go-Bragh’ above their stall while a nearby stand displayed a portrait of the Pope. A further stall sported a banner with the word ‘Erin’ outlined in roses and surmounted by a harp, while another depicted a harp festooned in greenery.⁷³ With the top prize of a grand piano, the raffle prizes included an oil painting of the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, a collection of poetical works by Thomas Moore (1779–1852), along with the customary collection of household goods, jewellery, and domestic and farm animals.⁷⁴

A lively and enthusiastic atmosphere is reported on all four days of the bazaar with band music at its core. A writer in the weekly local newspaper, the *Drogheda Argus*, noted with a week to go that arrangements were being made for music to be provided during the bazaar, considering that music was a prerequisite for a successful event. The tenet of the bazaar was already being suggested in this article through its comments on the bands and the music programmes to be performed. The writer confirmed that the band of the RIC and the St. Vincent’s Orphanage band would perform. It was hopeful also that the band of the 10th Hussars would be in attendance. Preferential comment was given to the band of the 10th Hussars, being described as ‘the military band for perfect instrumentation’. With a hint of sarcasm, the writer hoped that the RIC band would be amiably disposed to performing at the Drogheda bazaar as they had been loath to ‘waste their sweetness’ on the nearby Laytown regatta. The music to be performed was considered by the writer in the *Drogheda Argus* to be varied, recherche, operatic

⁷³ *Drogheda Argus*, 28 September 1867, p. 4.

⁷⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 September 1867, p. 1.

and national. This echoes well the tone of this bazaar; aspiring to sophistication but with a nationalist inclination.⁷⁵

On the first day of the bazaar the RIC band was situated in the gallery and was reported as playing ‘a fine programme in their usual admirable manner’, being rewarded with frequent and loud applause.⁷⁶ The RIC band programme is listed in the *Drogheda Conservative* and conforms to its typical format. Opening with the *William Tell Overture* by Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868), it continued with a variety of dance music and operatic selections. One composition, *St. Patrick Quadrille* arranged by Henri Laurent (French composer active in London in mid nineteenth century), suggests an Irish character. The programme, which is incomplete, does not state whether *God Save the Queen* was to be played. It was customary for bands to play this anthem on completion of their programme at public events. Music for the second day was provided by an amateur string band, probably the St. Vincent’s Orphanage band.⁷⁷ No comment is given regarding this band’s performance. The band of the 10th Hussars, garrisoned at Dundalk, provided entertainment on the third day, offering copious musical content to a highly enthusiastic audience:

The band of the 10th Hussars under their eminent conductor, Mr. Hartman, deserve the highest praise and credit for the generous ardour they evinced in their endeavours to contribute as far as in them lay to the success of the proceedings, as not content with performing double the number of pieces mentioned in their programme for the entire day in the most handsome manner, they kindly attended in the evening, and played and sang as became that gallant corps. “The Minstrel Boy”, as a vocal performance was rendered as we have seldom had the pleasure of hearing it, encored to the echo, and had to be repeated amidst vociferous applause.⁷⁸

The reported reception of the 10th Hussars’ band, a British regimental band, seems quite surprising given the obvious nationalist tone of this bazaar. Of course, as the band was

⁷⁵ *Drogheda Argus*, 21 September 1867, p. 4.

⁷⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 September 1867, p. 2.

⁷⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 September 1867, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 29 September 1867, p. 4.

garrisoned in Co. Louth there may have been ties of family or friendship between bazaar attendees and this regiment. The enthusiasm for their performance is expanded upon in the *Drogheda Argus*. Their programme was both vocal and instrumental and met with ‘the unbounded delight of the vast multitude that thronged the hall’. The *Drogheda Argus* reported that the performance met with rounds of cheers and applause, with the bandsmen being described as ‘gallant fellows’. Their performance spilled out onto the street as they marched to the railway station for their return trip to barracks at Dundalk. They were followed by a large and spirited crowd as they played the air *Garryowen*. In contrast, the RIC band was ‘fairly thrown in the shade, completely lost, in fact, and many were the regrets expressed that the Hussars were not had for the two previous days’.⁷⁹ The RIC band is referred to pejoratively as the band of the ‘R.le. Constabularee’. The incongruous reaction of the crowd to each of these bands may be related to political sentiment in Drogheda at that time. Almost seven months previously, on 5 March 1867, as part of the foiled Fenian rising, an estimated one thousand Fenians had clashed directly with the local RIC in the market area of Drogheda. Twenty-six men, predominantly tradesman and labourers from the town, were arrested. One of these men, Christopher Byrne, the foreman printer at the *Drogheda Argus*, was seriously wounded in the melee. The RIC arrested a further nineteen Fenian suspects the following day as they disembarked at the Drogheda docks from Liverpool.⁸⁰ This may account for anti-constabulary feeling implied by the *Drogheda Argus* correspondent in relation to the RIC band performance at the bazaar.

As mentioned in the Notes to this dissertation (p. xi), the Irish Constabulary was awarded the title of ‘Royal’ by Queen Victoria in recognition of the nationwide response of this police force to the Fenian rising, thus becoming the Royal Irish Constabulary. The RIC

⁷⁹ *Drogheda Argus*, 28 September 1867, p. 4.

⁸⁰ *Drogheda Conservative*, 9 March 1867, p. 2.

band was present at the ceremony on 6 September 1867 in the parade ground of the Phoenix Park Depot to mark the occasion of this award, coming in for particular praise in Curtis's description of the event: 'The magnificent band of the force, under the direction of their talented conductor, Harry Hardy, fell in a little to the left front, and it was never in greater strength-not a piccolo was absent', and as the Lord Lieutenant's carriage drove through the main entrance 'a crash of the National Anthem burst from Harry Hardy's well-trained men'.⁸¹ Curtis, himself a former member of the RIC, offered a biased view of the splendour of this occasion, giving no validity to the Fenian efforts. In his address the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Abercorn (1811–85) praised the courage, loyalty and discipline of the RIC in quelling the Fenian rising and announced that the harp and crown would be used as badges of the force from then on.⁸² The first policeman to be awarded a medal at this ceremony was Sub-Inspector Robert Gardiner of Drogheda, credited with taking many prisoners and a large quantity of arms and ammunition on the night of 5 March.⁸³ This recent affront to Fenianism by the authorities may explain the mocking title 'R.le. Constabularee' used by the columnist, emphasising the 'Royal' element of the title and omitting the word 'Irish'. Ironically, the membership of the RIC band was totally Irish, and their English bandmaster repudiated British army life after witnessing British army atrocities during the 1857 Indian Mutiny.

The attitude expressed in the *Drogheda Argus* raises questions regarding the motivation of the bazaar organisers in inviting the RIC band and the reasons for the band's acceptance of this invitation. Prestige, fashion, and social status were important to the organisers. They hoped to attract not only local support but also the support of those who could travel by train. The well-known RIC band was very popular with Dublin audiences and might therefore attract commuters from the capital. The willingness of the RIC band to play in Drogheda might infer

⁸¹ Robert Curtis, *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary*, 2nd edn (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1871), p. 187.

⁸² Curtis, pp. 190–191.

⁸³ Curtis, p. 188.

an air of finesse to the Drogheda crowd and a feeling of one-upmanship over their Laytown neighbours who had been denied the attendance of the band at their event.

Advertisements for this overtly Catholic bazaar prominently listed its numerous Protestant patrons, presumably offering a sense of sophistication and upward mobility to the predominantly middle-class Catholic attendees. As fundraising was the main purpose of the bazaar it was only prudent to pursue those with wealth and surplus income. The bazaar organisers may well have been moderate middle-class Catholics but may not have had their finger on the pulse of local political sentiment. Likewise, the RIC in allowing their band to attend may not have measured a growing move towards nationalism in the middle classes outside Dublin.

The question of the outright preference for the band of the 10th Hussars is much more complex. Was this preference based exclusively on the musicality of the ensemble or had it more profound roots? How could the undeniably nationalist crowd react so enthusiastically and supportively to a band of the crowned military forces? Ostensibly, both the RIC band and the band of the 10th Hussars performed very similar programmes. Both programmes opened with Rossini's *William Tell Overture* and continued with dance music and selections.⁸⁴

It would appear that the band of the 10th Hussars was indeed in tune with the political leanings of its audience, using music to manifest these inclinations publicly. Military bands did not normally include vocal numbers in their programmes, yet this band chose to sing *The Minstrel Boy*, its lyrics depicting the young fallen Irish bard carrying the sword of his forefathers and an Irish harp. In defiance of the foe the minstrel breaks his harp strings, proclaiming his utter opposition to the slavery of the oppressor. Sergeant Lee of the 10th Hussars band repeatedly sang these lyrics at the request of those gathered, using the combined power of music and word to muster their emotion. The recognisably Irish march *Garryowen*

⁸⁴ For programme of 10th Hussars band see *Freeman's Journal*, 28 September 1867, p. 2.

was an emotive sound to accompany the marching troops and their followers to the station in parade-style.

Why the band engaged in such a way with the crowd is a matter for supposition. It is likely that concurrent highly-charged political events were a contributing factor. Fenian awareness at both national and international level was high during September 1867 with the arrest and subsequent rescue in Manchester of prominent Fenians Colonel Thomas J. Kelly and Captain Timothy Deasy. Kelly and Deasy were sprung from a prison van on 18 September 1867, a deed which ultimately led to the case of the Manchester Martyrs.⁸⁵ The *Drogheda Conservative* newspaper reported that among those arrested in the aftermath of the Kelly Deasy rescue were some Drogheda natives.⁸⁶

Fenian sympathies within the British army had already been identified following surveillance work carried out in 1865 by the RIC and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, estimating that there were 15,000 sworn Fenians and many more Fenian sympathisers within the ranks.⁸⁷ The prominent Fenian leader, John Devoy (1842–1928), claimed that there were certain regiments within the British army which harboured strong Fenian membership. The 10th Hussars was one of these so-called ‘crack Fenian regiments’. The primary recruiter from within the ranks of the 10th Hussars was John Boyle O’Reilly, a native of Dowth, Co. Meath, some nine kilometres from Drogheda. Boyle O’Reilly had spent four years apprenticeship with the *Drogheda Argus*, a newspaper with nationalist inclinations, before ultimately enlisting with the 10th Hussars regiment in Dundalk in 1863.⁸⁸ While the 10th Hussars was a predominantly English regiment, Boyle O’Reilly is credited with bringing eighty of its one hundred Irish

⁸⁵ Owen McGee, “‘God Save Ireland’: Manchester-Martyr Demonstrations in Dublin, 1867–1916”, *Éire-Ireland*, 36:3 and 4 (2001), 39–66 (p. 39).

⁸⁶ *Drogheda Conservative*, 28 September 1867, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Ian Kenneally, *From the Earth, a Cry: The Story of John Boyle O’Reilly* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2011), p. 17.

⁸⁸ Kenneally, p. 7 and p. 9.

soldiers into the Fenian ranks.⁸⁹ Arrests of Fenian suspects from within army ranks began in February 1866, particularly targeting recruiters.⁹⁰ Boyle O'Reilly was duly arrested and found guilty. His sentence of twenty years penal servitude was read to him in the Royal Barracks Square (now Collins Barracks, National Museum of Ireland: Decorative Arts and History), in front of some several thousand troops including his own 10th Hussars regiment. He was then publicly stripped of his army uniform and re-dressed as a convict, to the accompaniment of a slow drumbeat.⁹¹ Following incarceration in various British prisons, Boyle O'Reilly along with sixty-one other Fenians, boarded the HMS Hougoumont, the last convict ship to Australia, in early October 1867, mere days after the close of the Drogheda bazaar.

No doubt the 10th Hussars bandmembers performing at the bazaar were acutely aware of the fate of their former army comrade Boyle O'Reilly, having witnessed his public humiliation one year previously and possibly having played for his drumming out from the army. Boyle O'Reilly was well liked and respected amongst all ranks of his regiment with members of the officer class testifying to his good character during his trial.⁹² Boyle O'Reilly, a poet, journalist and Fenian, could well have been the minstrel boy about whom Sergeant Lee sang to such an invigorated crowd at the Drogheda bazaar.

Removed from the buffer of middle-class Dublin, the RIC band found itself in the midst of provincial nationalist expression. Given the timing of the Drogheda bazaar, the awareness of the RIC to local political sensitivities is questionable. The awareness of the bazaar organisers to the level of local nationalist sympathies is also unclear. Nationalist symbols were openly permitted in the hall and the organisers must have believed that the RIC band could blend with this image. In contrast with the report of events in the nationalist *Drogheda Argus*, the report in the *Drogheda Conservative* following the bazaar was quite moderate in tone. It gave equal

⁸⁹ Kenneally, p. 21.

⁹⁰ Kenneally, p. 22.

⁹¹ Kenneally, p. 36.

⁹² Kenneally, p. 31.

recognition to both bands, commending the ‘fine programme’ of the RIC band and the ‘excellent band of the 10th Hussars’.⁹³

4.5 Conclusion

To view the nineteenth-century Irish charity bazaar solely from the perspective of philanthropy, commerce, and women’s involvement in charitable ventures, sells short its function as a significant entertainment of its day. Shopping, combined with a wide variety of sideshows, offered amusement to the leisured classes who organised and patronised these events. Military band music linked the sales floor to the wider sphere of entertainments on offer. The RIC band was a significant contributor to this type of entertainment, involving itself in fundraising for hospitals, children’s charities, the alleviation of poverty, church building ventures and various other causes for social improvement.

Diverging understandings of Irish identity are evident in the contrasting receptions of the RIC band at the bazaars this chapter has surveyed. In Dublin the band appeared as regular performers at annual events, forming relationships with charitable societies and local communities. The question of the band’s national identity or political allegiance did not arise, suggesting that what it represented was convergent with or irrelevant to the political views of bazaar organisers and attendees. This band of Dublin-based Irish musicians was viewed as reliable and efficient by its middle-class Dublin audience who valued the entertainment and music the band had to offer. The reception of the RIC band in Drogheda in 1867 is a more complex affair. The bazaar organisers were happy to use the tried and tested Victorian forum of the charity bazaar to raise funds for an Irish Catholic worthy cause, employing the typical format for such an event. The cohesion, discipline and organisation of the RIC band as a musical entity could lend credence and superiority to the bazaar credentials. However, when

⁹³ *Drogheda Conservative*, 28 September 1867, p. 2.

viewed under the spotlight of a community at a remove from Ireland's centre of power, these same attributes rendered the RIC bandmen as mere puppets of the British Crown. In contrast, the abandon with which the band of the 10th Hussars performed was highly appealing to this audience. This band repeatedly sang and played what the crowd wanted, was not restrained by a timetable or programme, and continued its performance on the street away from the confines of the bazaar. What could be viewed by some as the indiscipline of British army bandmen could be viewed by others as an expression of Irish nationalism.

Newspaper reportage of charity bazaars provides valuable information regarding band programming and the role of band performances at these events. Reports in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* of RIC band performances at Dublin bazaars promoted the established view of this band providing good quality entertainment in a fashionable setting. These accounts accepted and promoted, without question, the positive contribution of the RIC band to proceedings. In contrast, the provincial press in Co. Louth expressed more partisan views. The nationalist *Drogheda Argus* considered the RIC band to have been completely overshadowed by a regimental band, albeit a band with Fenian leanings. The inferiority of the RIC band to regimental bands is not supported by any other newspaper reports surveyed by this dissertation or indeed the more pro-establishment *Drogheda Conservative*.

The difference in reception of the RIC band at the Dublin and the Drogheda bazaars suggests a variance in the public acceptance of colonial domination within and without the capital city. It would appear that Dublin audiences were accepting of the RIC band, identifying with it as a local and familiar ensemble who could provide high quality entertainment that would attract footfall to a charity bazaar. Dubliners were accustomed to living in a cityscape of overt colonial domination expressed through its buildings, monuments, and strong army presence. Yvonne Whelan states that by 1850 British monarchical and military statues were prominent in the city with Nelson's Column taking centre stage in Dublin's main Sackville

Street.⁹⁴ Henry Fairbrother notes the ever-strengthening numbers of British soldiers in Dublin throughout the nineteenth century along with the large-scale military installations required to house and service them and the military parades, marches, and ceremonies which they conducted.⁹⁵ British militarism contributed significantly to the economic and social life of the city with soldiers and their families integrating into general city life.⁹⁶

The difference in reception of the RIC band at the Dublin and the Drogheda bazaars demonstrates the non-binary political and cultural identity of this band's audience. Tempting as it may be to place Dublin audiences in juxtaposition to their Drogheda counterparts, diametrically opposed as loyal British subjects and Irish nationalists, this would not be a true reflection of their loyalties. A more nuanced analysis identifies the in-between spaces bounded by the extremes of British unionism and Irish nationalism, recognising the multiple layers of Irishness as evidenced at all the bazaars discussed. Though published in 1914 and set in Dublin in 1904, some thirty years after the remit of this dissertation, Joyce's short story *The Dead* throws up some perceptive considerations on the question of Irish nationalism and so-called 'West Britishness'. The moderate Catholic middle-class Dubliner, Gabriel Conroy, is accused by his colleague Molly Ivors of being a 'West Briton', someone who considers Ireland as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, while she proudly aligns herself with Irish nationalism and the Irish cultural revival.⁹⁷ David Spurr in his analysis of Conroy considers him 'trapped between the narrowminded demands of nationalist sentiment and the profoundly oppressive effects of colonial domination'.⁹⁸ In the context of the RIC band reception at the Drogheda bazaar, this band, like Joyce's Conroy, may too have felt trapped in a conundrum

⁹⁴ Yvonne Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape: Monuments to British Monarchs in Dublin Before and After Independence', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 28:4 (2002), 508–533 (p. 511).

⁹⁵ Henry Fairbrother, 'The British Army Presence in Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, 70:1 (2017), 70–80 (p. 71 and p. 72.)

⁹⁶ Fairbrother, p. 72.

⁹⁷ James Joyce, 'The Dead', *Dubliners* (London: Grant Richards, 1914), p. 216.

⁹⁸ David Spurr, 'Colonial Spaces in Joyce's Dublin', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 37:1 (1999–2000), 23–42 (p. 26).

between staunchly held positions, being Irish yet working for the Crown and the subject of ridicule by the nationalist crowd. While writing in the context of twentieth century Ireland, Fintan O'Toole makes observations about Irish society that probably also hold true for 1860s and 1870s Ireland. He contends that people negotiate ways of living 'in a society in which power seems permanent while ordinary life is changing. If it appears that the structures of authority are so deeply rooted that they will not alter even as the society is being transformed, the vast majority of people will not confront that authority directly. They will navigate their way around it'.⁹⁹ This dissertation contends that the RIC band while employed by the British colonial authorities navigated their way through the ambiguous society which they entertained, essentially supporting the common cause of improvement in social conditions in Ireland.

⁹⁹ Fintan O'Toole, *We Don't Know Ourselves: A Personal History of Ireland Since 1958* (London: Head of Zeus, 2021), p. 171.

Chapter 5

Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performances at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Inaugural Banquets

5.1 Introduction

The RIC band performed on six occasions between 1863 and 1871 at the inaugural banquet of the Lord Mayor of Dublin. This chapter focuses primarily on three of the banquets at which the RIC band performed, namely those of 1863, 1867 and 1871. These three distinct performances, placed at the beginning, middle and end of Hardy's tenure as RIC bandmaster, have been selected as they document clearly both the musical and political progression evident at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's inaugural banquets at that time. The banquet of 1863 was the RIC band's first public performance, with much of the programming consisting of Moore's *Melodies*. The 1867 and 1871 banquets coincided with significant political agitation in the form of Fenian discontent and the early stages of Home Rule respectively. The programmes of music played at these three banquets are identified, linking the musical content to the broader social and political context within which the music was performed. In doing so issues of religious equality, Irish identity, and gender inclusion will be explored. The positioning of music within the oratorical process is discussed, noting the importance of music programming in providing a cohesive and engaging listener experience. This chapter also briefly mentions Hardy's compositions that were performed at the Lord Mayor's banquets during the period 1863 to 1871.

The Lord Mayor was the highest-ranking official of Dublin Corporation. The Lord Mayor's banquet was an annual event that took place in the Round Room, also known as the King's Room, of Dublin's Mansion House in late January or early February, marking the beginning of the one-year tenure of the Lord Mayor. This event, hosted by the newly elected Lord Mayor, was attended by the Lord Lieutenant, members of the Dublin gentry, and the

professional and mercantile classes.¹ James H. Murphy considers this annual banquet as ‘perhaps the most important political event to occur during the castle season’ as it was here that the Lord Lieutenant could interface and communicate with the many Catholics and nationalists who belonged to Dublin’s political and mercantile communities.² Following the Municipal Corporations Reform (Ireland) Act of 1840, which based eligibility to vote in civic elections on property ownership irrespective of religious affiliation, Daniel O’Connell became the first Catholic to hold the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin since the reign of James II. This heralded a new democratic era in Dublin Corporation which involved greater participation of the Catholic commercial classes.³

5.2 The Format of the Annual Lord Mayor’s Inaugural Banquet

Highly detailed newspaper accounts show that the Lord Mayor’s inaugural banquets followed a strict etiquette.⁴ An army regiment escorted the Lord Lieutenant to the Mansion House where he was received by a regimental guard of honour. Numerous toasts and speeches were made following dinner. The first toast was to the Queen followed by toasts to the Prince of Wales and the Royal Family, the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor, and a variety of others holding public rank. Further toasts included those made to the House of Lords, the House of Commons, Dublin Corporation, the Irish Bar, the Trade and Commerce of Dublin, the Army and Navy, and the Press. Each toast was followed by a piece of music. The main address was given by the Lord Lieutenant. One or two bands were stationed in the gallery of the Round Room. These

¹ Colin W. Reid, ‘Constitutional Rhetoric as Legal Defence: Irish Lawyers and the Languages of Political Dissent in 1848’, in *Crime, Violence and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Kyle Hughes and Donald McRaid (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), pp. 112–130 (p. 113).

² James H. Murphy, *Ireland’s Czar: Gladstonian Government and the Lord Lieutenancies of the Red Earl Spencer, 1868–86* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2014), p. 8.

³ Lisa-Marie Griffith and Ruth McManus, ‘An Introduction to Dublin’s First Citizens’, *Leaders of the City: Dublin’s First Citizens, 1500–1950*, ed. by Lisa-Marie Griffith and Ruth McManus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 15–34 (p. 28).

⁴ For an example of the protocol for the Lord Mayor of Dublin’s annual inaugural banquet see *Irish Times*, 20 February 1867, p. 3.

bands had two musical functions; to entertain those present with the typical fare of popular band music, and to punctuate the various after-dinner toasts and speeches with musical interludes.

The elaborate and extensive speeches which held a core position at the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets must be considered against the backdrop of nineteenth-century oratory. Speculation regarding the impact of these speeches is best considered within the overall context in which they were delivered. Joseph S. Meisel notes that 'in the later nineteenth century, oratory was deeply connected to, and materially embodied in the substance and institutions of society'.⁵ He considers that 'it is by looking at how oratory interacted with, and at times helped shape the material and the structural development of the nineteenth century, that we see how public speech-its theatricality, sense of occasion, and sheer verbosity-must be understood as nothing less than a key defining characteristic of British public life in the Victorian era'.⁶ This dissertation contends that given the strong performance element of public oratory, the sonic, visual and social accompaniments which completed the packaging of nineteenth-century speeches must also be considered when attempting to understand the impact of such speeches. While the text of speeches given at nineteenth-century Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets may be available in print, our best attempt at grasping their reception can be aided by including a survey of the music and bands that couched their delivery. With individual airs following each toast, music was embedded within the fabric of the post-dinner speeches, forming part of the message being communicated. It may even be argued that the music was more impactful than the often long and verbose speeches and may have re-awoken the listeners' attention as it punctuated long tracts of oratory. Rhetorical impact depends on more than just the spoken word as an orator seeks to grasp their audience emotionally. Well-selected airs, chosen to

⁵ Joseph S. Meisel, *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 5.

⁶ Meisel, p. 290.

compliment the words of the speech-giver or the group they represented, strengthened both the emotional and intellectual impact of the speeches they accompanied.

Programmes of typical military band music were also performed at the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets, most likely played as guests arrived and during dining. With the band situated in the gallery and not on a level with the diners, this music took on a background role. This was in contrast with the very visible positioning of the band at public outdoor and indoor events. Discussing Kant's arguments regarding background music at banquets Peter le Huray notes that in Kant's opinion such music served to 'relax the guests, encourage conversation and aid the digestion', providing an enjoyable accompaniment that did not require the attention of the diners.⁷ Stationed at an elevated remove in the gallery of the Mansion House's Round Room, above the main dining floor, the bands put diners at ease performing the musical fare with which they were accustomed. However, this dissertation contends that background music performed at the Lord Mayor's banquets held more than a perfunctory decorative role. Issues of identity were voiced through the performance ensemble present and through the choice of programme. The presence of the RIC band spoke of Irish identity within the British empire while British regimental bands emphasised complete accord with the Crown. The inclusion of compilations of Irish music in programmes performed by the RIC band further underlined a sense of Irish identity.

The press played an important part in disseminating the tenet of the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets to a wider audience than merely those present. Entire transcripts of the after-dinner toasts and speeches, including inserts quoting audience reactions, were printed in the newspapers the following day.⁸ In-depth descriptions of the décor, the food, and the music as well as entire lists of those in attendance appeared in the press, possibly attempting to

⁷ Peter Le Huray and James Day, 'Introduction', *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 1–16 (p. 1).

⁸ For an example see *Irish Times*, 20 February 1867, p. 3.

recreate the atmosphere and mood of the occasion. Writing in the British and North American context, Carolyn Eastman notes the role of the print media in giving the reading public access to political speeches and empowering them to pore over their every detail. Aware of this widespread exposure, politicians became more careful in the construction of their speeches.⁹

The music programmes for the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquets were printed in their entirety by the press before or after the events. The music to be performed by the attending bands for general entertainment preceding and during dinner was listed in newspaper columns announcing the banquets. In the newspaper accounts, the titles of the airs that followed speeches and toasts were often integrated into the printed script, suggesting that they supported and were integral to the surrounding verbal content. It is not clear if these airs were simply played by the bands or if they were also sung by the diners and attendees.

5.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1863

The RIC band gave its first public performance outside the confines of their Phoenix Park barracks at the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet of 1863, following the inauguration of John Prendergast Vereker (1822–91).¹⁰ Considering that this was possibly the most important political event of the Dublin Castle season the RIC band, still in its infancy, must have been considered equal to the task of performing to a suitable standard by the event organisers. In accepting this calibre of event for the band's debut on the Dublin social scene, bandmaster

⁹ Carolyn Eastman 'Oratory and Platform Culture in Britain and North America, 1740–1900', *Oxford Handbooks Online*, (July 2016)

<<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-33>> [accessed 12 May 2022]

¹⁰ For a list of Dublin Lord Mayors for the period 1863 to 1872 see Ruth McManus and Lisa-Marie Griffith, 'Appendix 1: Dublin Mayors from 1500–2021', *Leaders of the City: Dublin's First Citizens 1500–1950*, ed. by Lisa-Marie Griffith and Ruth McManus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 176–190 (p. 187).

Hardy must have had confidence in his band's ability. This confidence was boosted by the presence of a second band at the event, that of the 36th Regiment under bandmaster J. P. Clarke (1816–89).¹¹ The *Irish Times*, supportive of the establishment politics, gave special mention to this debut by the RIC band, noting its rapid progress under Hardy in reaching a sufficient standard to play for such an auspicious occasion.¹² The entertainment programme provided by the RIC band is listed in the *Irish Times* of the following day.¹³ Hardy included a selection from Verdi's *Il trovatore*, and a variety of dance music including a composition of his own, *Heart's Delight Valse*. The programme of the band of the 36th Regiment was listed in a separate column and was more extensive than that of the constabulary. Dance music played by the band of the 36th Regiment is listed separately, with the newspaper noting that "in the interval between the operatic selections the band played a favourite selection of new dance music".¹⁴ While composers of this dance music selection are not listed in the newspaper, the British Library catalogue attributes six of these compositions to J. P. Clarke, bandmaster to the band of the 36th Regiment.¹⁵ The British Library catalogue holds these as piano scores, all published in 1862 Or 1863.

¹¹ J. P. Clarke succeeded Hardy as bandmaster to the RIC band in 1872. For further information regarding Clarke's military band career see 'Mr. J. P. Clarke, Late of the Scot's Guards', *The British Bandsman: A Monthly Magazine for Bandmasters and Members of Military and Brass Bands*, Vol.1:2 (1887), pp. 26–29. The *Irish Times*, 14 February 1863, p. 3, mistakenly states that the band of the 37th Regiment under bandmaster J. P. Clarke was in attendance. The *Freeman's Journal* correctly names J. P. Clarke's regimental band as that of the 36th Regiment, *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

¹² *Irish Times*, 12 February 1863, p. 3.

¹³ *Irish Times*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

¹⁴ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1863, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Kathleen Machree, Peggy Bawn, Irish Frisk, The Brunette Kate, Monsieur Tonson, Postman or Night Mail* are attributed to J. P. Clarke in the British Library catalogue.

Table 5.3.1: Music Performed by the Royal Irish Constabulary Band at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863¹⁶

Overture	<i>Deefees Au Roses</i>	Marie
Quadrille	<i>Popular Tunes</i>	Godfrey
Selection	<i>Il trovatore</i>	Verdi
Valse	<i>Heart's Delight</i>	Hardy
Galop	<i>Victor Emmanuel</i>	Verdi
Bolero	<i>Spanish</i>	Cambier
Pot Pourri	<i>Hibernian Bouquet</i>	Kappey
Quadrille	<i>Alphonse</i>	Marie

Table 5.3.2: Music Performed by the band of the 36th Regiment at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863¹⁷

Overture	<i>Reminiscences of Ireland</i>	Clarke
Grand Operatic Selection	<i>Simon Boccanegra</i>	Verdi
Fantasia	<i>William Tell</i>	Rossini
Pot Pourri	<i>Martha</i>	Flotow
A Selection of Airs	<i>Der Freischütz</i>	Weber

Table 5.3.3: Dance Music Performed by the band of the 36th Regiment at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Banquet, 1863¹⁸

Valse	<i>The Angels' Whisper</i>	Walker
Galop	<i>The Whipper-in</i>	unidentified
Quadrille	<i>Kathleen Machree</i>	Clarke
Valse	<i>Peggy Bawn</i>	Clarke
Galop	<i>Irish Frisk</i>	Clarke
Quadrille	<i>The Vis-à-Vis</i>	unidentified
Valse	<i>The Royal Bride</i>	unidentified
Galop	<i>The Brunette Kate</i>	Clarke
Valse	<i>The Sky-lark</i>	unidentified
Quadrille	<i>Monsieur Tonson</i>	Clarke
Galop	<i>Postman or Night Mail</i>	Clarke

The opulence and grandeur of this banquet is described well in the newspaper report of the following day.¹⁹ A sumptuous menu of French fare was supplied by Mr Reynolds of the

¹⁶ *Irish Times*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1863, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1863, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1863, p. 3.

International Hotel and consumed by those at the top table from a solid silver dinner service. Over this table was a canopy decorated with the Lord Mayor's coat of arms surmounted by the crown and the letters 'V.R.' in crystal, illuminated with gas. A display of substantial silver-plated pieces adorned a sideboard, and the room was further decorated with ferns and tropical plants. Surrounded by this display of wealth and plenty the Lord Mayor referred to the three successive bad harvests that had brought deprivation to Ireland. In toasting the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, he praised his benevolent character and his sympathy with the poor.

The Earl of Carlisle, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from March 1855 to March 1858 and again from June 1859 to November 1864, presided at a time when Ireland was emerging from the Famine and was credited by some with fostering social improvement in Ireland during his tenure. Gaskin, who regarded Carlisle as a patron and friend, wrote in 1866 following Carlisle's death about the many improvements in infrastructure at the time, implying that credit was due to Carlisle for his influence in this regard.²⁰ He notes that this was a prolific time for the construction of churches, bridges, and docks. It also witnessed the opening of the new Dublin Cattle Market, the Exhibition Palace, museums, the Irish National Gallery, and the Vartry Water Works which supplied improved water to Dublin. A number of hospitals, schools and colleges were also built.²¹ The rationale for the establishment of the RIC band in 1863 is in line with this general air of societal improvement, with bandsmen receiving a music education and a platform to perform at a wide variety of cultural events. Following Carlisle's death in December 1864 a memorial concert was held in Dublin's Rotundo. The concert, performed by a choir of one hundred voices, concluded with an ancient Irish Bardic *Caoine*, adapted as per the Irish custom to honour Carlisle.²² This gesture demonstrates the genuine belief among a section of Irish society that Carlisle cared for and identified with Ireland and its

²⁰ J. J. Gaskin, *The Viceregal Speeches and Addresses, Lectures and Poems, of the Late Earl of Carlisle, K. G.*, (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1866), p. 47.

²¹ Gaskin, p. xlviii.

²² Gaskin, pp. lxvii–lxviii.

people. Hoppen, however, considers Carlisle an ineffectual Lord Lieutenant who ‘devoted himself to low-level geniality and crowd-pleasing displays typified by turning up on St. Patrick’s Day engulfed in ‘an extra-enormous bunch’ of shamrock’.²³

The music that was played following each speech and toast at the Lord Mayor’s Banquet of 1863 was particularly Irish in nature. The air *St. Patrick’s Day* followed the toast to the Lord Lieutenant while several Moore’s *Melodies* followed the remaining toasts. These included *The Young May Moon*, *The Meeting of the Waters*, *The Groves of Blarney*, *The Harp that Once Through Tara’s Hall*, *The Minstrel Boy*, and *Nora Crena*. The Lord Lieutenant was familiar with and fond of the works of Moore as evidenced by his address on the occasion of the installation of the statue of Moore at Westmoreland Street, Dublin, in 1857. During this address he noted that ‘the affections and genius of Moore were eminently Irish’, while he himself sang excerpts of Moore’s songs as part of the proceedings.²⁴

In his speech at the 1863 banquet the newly inaugurated Lord Mayor, John Prendergast Vereker, expressed an awareness of the poverty that was prevalent in Ireland. As a gesture of support to Irish trades and manufactures, he had requested that men attending the banquet wear waistcoats made from Irish tabinet and have their coats faced with Irish poplin.²⁵ This further emphasised the Irish tone of the event.

This non-aggressive form of nationalism evident in the selection of Moore’s *Melodies* and the wearing of waistcoats manufactured from Irish textiles was consistent with the symbols of Irish nationalism incorporated into the furniture and fittings of Dublin City Hall, the meeting place of Dublin Corporation since 1851. The Lord Mayor’s ceremonial chair, made in 1852, featured shamrocks, harps, and Irish wolfhounds, along with the Lord Mayor’s official coat of

²³ K. Theodore Hoppen, ‘A Question None Could Answer: ‘What Was the Viceroyalty For? 1800–1921’, in *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c. 1541–1922*, ed. by Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012), pp. 132–157 (p. 135).

²⁴ Gaskin, p. xxxix.

²⁵ *Leinster Express*, 31 January 1863, pp. 3 and 4.

arms, a Grecian urn, and the cap of maintenance. Mary E. Clark considers the decoration of this ceremonial chair as an attempt to marry nationalist iconography to that of the Dublin mayoralty, a mayoralty which had previously only used British symbolism.²⁶

5.4 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1867

By 1867 there was a perception that the annual Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet had taken on a political hue with speeches being used as an opportunity to express political views. An editorial article in the *Irish Times* following the Lord Mayor's 1867 banquet commented quite critically on the gradual politicisation of these festive occasions, with the Lord Lieutenant using them to express his opinions regarding the state of the country.²⁷ The editor went on to say that Lord Abercorn, the Lord Lieutenant in office in 1867, spoke frankly and to the point. The determination with which the Lord Lieutenant asserted that recent Fenian discontent had been orchestrated from abroad was noted along with his resolve to quash any further attempts at rebellion with the might of the British Empire. The editorial was at pains to emphasise the strength of loyalty to the crown that was displayed following the toasts to the Queen and the Prince of Wales. The writer asserted that guests from throughout the country, of every religious persuasion, cheered more enthusiastically than ever, sensing that this display of loyalty to the crown had an added significance, being the antitheses of recent disloyal behaviour. The Lord Mayor's speech also stressed Ireland's loyalty to the crown saying, 'I trust that the sound which will go forth from this place tonight will re-echo through the hills of Killarney amongst the

²⁶ Mary E. Clark, 'Daniel O'Connell and Dublin's Quest for a New Mayor Image, 1841–71', in *Leaders of the City: Dublin's First Citizens, 1500–1950*, ed. by Lisa-Marie Griffith and Ruth McManus (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), pp. 107–119 (p. 112).

²⁷ *Irish Times*, 20 February 1867, p. 2.

ranks of the disaffected, and to all England and Scotland, that the heart of the nation is most loyal'.²⁸

The RIC band played a typical programme during the banquet including an overture by Auber, selections by Charles Gounod (1818 – 93), and a variety of dance music including two of Hardy's compositions. The airs that were played following each toast were heavily flavoured by Moore's *Melodies* including *Fly Not Yet*, *Let Erin Remember* and *One Bumper at Parting, Tho' Many*. The Irish anthems of *St. Patrick's Day* and *Garryowen* as well as *In Happy Moments Day by Day* by Willam Wallace (1812–65) were also featured. The choice of airs that followed the toasts to the Lord Mayor, Cardinal Cullen, and the Army and Navy is interesting. It is unclear who selected the music to follow each toast and without this information one can only surmise the intention behind each selection.

The air *Oh, Limerick is Beautiful* followed the toast to the Lord Mayor, William Lane-Joynt (1824–95). Lane-Joynt belonged to a Huguenot family that had settled in Limerick in the late seventeenth century.²⁹ He served as Mayor of Limerick in 1862 before becoming Lord Mayor of Dublin for 1867. In respect of his Limerick connections, it would seem fitting that a song regaling the beauty of Lane-Joynt's native place be played. There are two versions of this song however, one of which has strong Fenian overtones. One version is an anonymous lament for lost love while the other was written by Michael Scanlan (1833–1917), a Limerick native who emigrated to America and played an active role in the organisation of the Fenian attack on Canada in 1866. Scanlan's version was published in 1869 in a collection of his work entitled 'Love and Land', which included *Address to the Fenians*, *The Flag of Green*, and *The Fenian Men*.³⁰ While published as part of a collection in 1869, Scanlan's *Oh, Limerick is Beautiful*

²⁸ *Irish Times*, 20 February 1867, p. 3.

²⁹ 'Estate: Joynt (Clareville)', *Landed Estates Database, NUI Galway* <<https://landedestates.ie/family/1931>> [accessed 17 June 2022]

³⁰ Mannix Joyce, 'Michael Scanlan: Poet Laureate of Fenianism', *The Capuchin Annual*, ed. by Fr Henry (Dublin: Irish Province of the Capuchin Franciscans, 1962), 150–158 (p. 156). See also <https://tunearch.org/wiki/Annotation:Limerick_is_Beautiful> [accessed 26 September 2022]

may have been written by 1867. Another version of *Oh, Limerick is Beautiful* appeared as a song in the play *The Colleen Bawn*³¹ by Dion Boucicault (1820–90) which was first performed in 1860.³² This version is simply a love song, is in no way antagonistic towards British authority, and implies a matter-of-fact acceptance of the trappings of empire including the Lord Lieutenancy and the British army regiments.³³ This is more likely to be the source used for this performance considering the popularity of Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn* and those likely to have selected the music. Indeed, the melody of this tune may simply have been played, with no accompanying words.

The presence of the Roman Catholic Cardinal Paul Cullen at the 1867 banquet, occupying a place of honour next to the Lord Lieutenant, caused mixed reaction in the press and the House of Commons. The *Freeman's Journal* noted the 'warm and cordial reception' the cardinal received from all present and the cheer which followed the cardinal's speech, considering this one of the most successful banquets since 1840.³⁴ Murphy notes Cullen's own satisfaction with the hearty approval his toast received, coming from those of a wide variety of religious denominations.³⁵ Cullen's invitation to the 1867 banquet is significant considering the previous Protestant dominance of Dublin Corporation. Early nineteenth-century Dublin held a strong Protestant identity but by the second half of the century this identity was being eroded. The Municipal Reform Act of 1840 allowed Catholics to be elected to Dublin Corporation and in 1841 Daniel O'Connell became the first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin

³¹ Marianna Gula, 'As Good as Any Bloody Play in The Queen's Royal Theatre': Performing the Nation in the 'Cyclops' Episode of "Ulysses"', *Irish University Review*, 36:2 (2006), 257–279 (p. 267).

³² Janet Murphy and Eileen Chamberlain, *The Poor Man's Daughter: A Return to the Colleen Bawn* (place of publication not identified, Lulu.com, 2012), p. 28.

³³ For lyrics of *Colleen Bawn* version of *Oh! Limerick is Beautiful*, see <
<https://www.loc.gov/item/amss.sb20290b>> [accessed 26 September 2022]

³⁴ 1840 marked the year of the reform of Dublin Corporation, allowing for greater Catholic representation. See James H. Murphy, 'Undermined Authority: John Reynolds and Dublin Corporation', in *Figures of Authority in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Raphaël Ingelbien and Susan Galavan (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 57–76 (p. 57).

³⁵ James H. Murphy, 'Paul Cullen and Political Communication, 1868–74', in *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, ed. by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 243–259 (p. 253).

since 1690.³⁶ Daly notes Cullen's quest to have a Catholic presence, representative of the significant Catholic majority, in the various spheres of society including politics.³⁷ Cullen was already connected with the office of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, acting as a co-treasurer of the Mansion House Relief Committee which he had helped establish in 1862.³⁸

From Cullen's perspective attendance at the Lord Mayor's banquet was an astute move. Andrew Gibson considers that Cullen could masterfully straddle the imperial worlds of both the British empire and the Roman Catholic church, gaining status for Catholics in a British-ruled Ireland. Gibson mentions Cullen's attendance at the Lord Mayor's banquet of 1867 as a step-too-far for some Catholics, with his entry alongside the Lord Lieutenant viewed by many nationalists as tantamount to collusion with the colonial power.³⁹

Cardinal Cullen's attendance at the Lord Mayor's inaugural ball was not universally accepted by the Establishment either with the matter being raised in the House of Commons. Mr. Newdegate, M.P. for North Warwickshire, raised the issue of the legality of a Cardinal Legate of the Court of Rome being present at such an event. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that preferential treatment was not afforded to the Catholic Cardinal and that leaders of many other denominations had also been invited to the event. He also hoped that the presence of Cullen at the banquet would cultivate better relationships between Catholics and Protestants.⁴⁰

³⁶ Christine Kinealy, *Daniel O'Connell and the Anti-Slavery Movement: The Saddest People the Sun Sees* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 90.

³⁷ Mary E. Daly, 'Catholic Dublin: The Public Expression in the Age of Paul Cullen', in *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, ed. by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 130–145 (p. 131).

³⁸ Ciarán O'Carroll, 'The Pastoral Vision of Paul Cullen', in *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, ed. by Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 115–129 (p. 122). Also 'Committee List', *Report of the Mansion House Committee for the Relief of Distress in Ireland, 1862* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1862), (front material) p. 2.

³⁹ Andrew Gibson, *The Strong Spirit: History, Politics and Aesthetics in the Writings of James Joyce, 1898–1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 134.

⁴⁰ 'Ireland-The Lord Mayor's Banquet-Cardinal Cullen', in *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 25 February 1867, Third Series, Volume 185, Page Column 931-1002 <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.jproxy.nuim.ie/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds3v0185p0-0015?accountid=12309>> [accessed 17 May 2022]

The air chosen to follow the toast for Cardinal Cullen, the Moore's Melody *And Doth Not a Meeting Like This Make Amends*, may have represented the view expressed by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Commons. He considered that the presence of a Catholic Prelate of Ireland at events such as the Lord Mayor's banquet 'would to a great extent terminate asperities for which there is no foundation whatever'.⁴¹ The renewal and restoration of old friendships is the underlying theme of the chosen Moore's Melody. One can surmise that this choice of music supported the Lord Mayor's invitation to Cardinal Cullen, suggesting a recognition of the injustice of the exclusion of Catholics in the past and a willingness to atone for former oppression. As it is unknown who chose the music to accompany toasts, it is only possible to surmise that it was a collaborative process between the Lord Mayor, his staff, and the bandmaster. If this was the case, the selection of *And Doth Not a Meeting Like This Make Amends* was a positive reinforcement of the recognition of Catholics in Dublin middle-class society.

While the format of the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet was quite consistent during the 1860s and '70s, social and political events of the day influenced changes in the profile of those in attendance. The inclusion of women as diners at the 1867 banquet was a significant indicator of societal and political change during this period. At previous banquets women who had been 'favoured with tickets' sat in one of the gallery areas to observe proceedings while the band occupied the gallery space opposite.⁴² In contrast, in 1867 the *Irish Times* reported many women attending as guests. These women were 'not caged in the galleries', the editor of the newspaper considering this 'an agreeable novelty' that 'added much to the beauty and

⁴¹ 'Ireland-The Lord Mayor's Banquet-Cardinal Cullen', in *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 25 February 1867, Third Series, Volume 185, Page Column 936 <<https://parlipapers-proquest-com.jproxy.nuim.ie/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds3v0185p0-0015?accountid=12309>> [accessed 17 May 2022]

⁴² *Irish Times*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

enjoyment of the scene'.⁴³ While many ladies are mentioned as attending banquets in subsequent years it is not clear if they were invited to dine on the floor of the Round Room or if they were cordoned off in one of the hall's balconies. An *Irish Times* column preceding the banquet of 1871 mentions that the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress intended reintroducing the pleasing innovation of inviting ladies as well as gentlemen to their banquet. This suggests that while several ladies were reported as attending in the intervening years between 1867 and 1871, they may have occupied the gallery opposite the performing bands. In 1871, while women formed part of the main group of diners, the gallery known as 'the ladies gallery' was also occupied by both men and women.⁴⁴

5.5 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Performance at the Lord Mayor's Inaugural Banquet, 1871

The Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet which took place during the first week of February 1871 held a political significance that set it apart from previous inaugural banquets. Two highly politically charged events had taken place shortly before this banquet, namely the election of the first Home Rule Association M.P. on 17 January and the implementation of the Irish Church Act on 1 January.⁴⁵ The Home Rule Association, founded in 1870 by Isaac Butt (1813–79), hoped to secure self-government for Ireland within the United Kingdom. The Home Rule Association held a banquet the day after the Lord Mayor's banquet to mark the election of their first successful candidate, John Martin (1812–75), as M.P. for Meath. Writing about the two banquets, the *Freeman's Journal* noted that: 'many of the same people will attend both. Many of the same topics will be handled in the speeches but from a different viewpoint. For those

⁴³ *Irish Times*, 20 February 1867, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 8 February 1871, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867–1921* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 33.

who attend both they will hear how to obtain prosperity for Ireland from the Irish and from the Imperial stand-points by men of earnest purpose.’⁴⁶ The Lord Mayor’s inaugural banquet, attended as usual by the Lord Lieutenant, did indeed forward ideas for the prosperity of Ireland while emphasising Irish loyalty to the British crown. The *Freeman’s Journal* reported a crowd of approximately nine hundred in attendance at the Lord Mayor’s banquet with tables set in the Mansion House’s Oak Room as well as the Round Room to facilitate the numerous diners. Crowds also gathered in Dawson Street to watch the guests arriving.⁴⁷ The reports following the Lord Mayor’s banquet that appeared in the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman’s Journal*, not unexpectedly, are quite starkly opposed. The *Freeman’s Journal* enthusiastically noted the spirit of equality that was evident at the event, noting that the Catholic Cardinal Cullen ‘in the full robes of his exalted office, sat side by side with the Queen’s representative on terms of social and political equality’.⁴⁸ The writer of this article perceived that a spirit of Irish patriotism combined with loyalty to the British Empire prevailed, noting that the Lord Lieutenant’s speech highlighted the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the positive effect this would have in removing barriers that had previously divided Irish people.⁴⁹ In contrast, the *Irish Times* lamented the lack of Irish nobility and landed gentry present at the banquet, considering that their places were now occupied by ‘a batch of lawyers, and of noisy nobodies, whose habitual prominence at these banquets is a painful proof of the disorganisation of Irish society’.⁵⁰

The music played by the RIC band following each toast in the post-dinner protocol is quite different from that performed during their public debut performance at the banquet some eight years earlier. While the airs which accompanied toasts in 1863 were predominantly

⁴⁶ *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 Feb 1871, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 Feb 1871 pp. 3 and 4.

⁴⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 February 1871, pp. 3 and 4.

⁴⁹ The disestablishment of the Irish Church received royal assent in July 1869 and came into effect on 1 January 1871.

⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 9 Feb 1871, p. 4.

Moore's *Melodies*, no Moore's *Melodies* are listed for 1871. They were replaced by Irish dance tunes and songs of more recent composition, as discussed further below. The stalwarts of *Garryowen* and *St. Patrick's Day* remained.

It is not clear why this change in programming took place. Had Moore's *Melodies* simply fallen out of fashion, to be replaced by a selection of more contemporary popular music or did the choice of music suggest a change in social and political direction? Moore's *Irish Melodies*, which had been published between 1808 and 1834, were a combination of Irish airs and Moore's own poetic compositions. Many of the airs used were taken from the collections of Edward Bunting (1773–1843) which were published following the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792. Úna Hunt notes that 'Moore recognised the unique beauty of the melodies as well as perceiving their symbolic significance and he interweaved these qualities into his verses'.⁵¹ Writing about the change in attitude towards Moore's music, White considers that Moore was 'overtaken by a more strident nationalism which subtracted the aesthetics of art music in favour of the militant immediacy of ballad poetry'.⁵² White also notes that 'Moore's writings came to embody a romanticized political sentiment'.⁵³ McHale, writing about the Moore centenary some eight years later in 1879, observes however that Moore's *Melodies* were still capable at that time of articulating a brand of nationalism concurrent with Home Rule politics.⁵⁴

While many Moore's *Melodies* had political overtones, the upper classes were their intended initial audience, the volumes being dedicated 'To the nobility and gentry of Ireland'.⁵⁵ The brand of patriotism used by Moore was not overt and echoed a glorious past rather than a

⁵¹ Úna Hunt, '“My Gentle Harp”: The Genesis of the *Irish Melodies* and an Introduction to the New Audio Archive', in *Thomas Moore: Texts, Contexts, Hypertext*, ed. by Francesca Benatti, Sean Ryder and Justin Tonra (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 27–44 (p. 37).

⁵² Harry White, *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 38.

⁵³ White, p. 38.

⁵⁴ Maria McHale, 'Moore's Centenary: Music and Politics in Dublin, 1879', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, 109C (2009), 387–408 (p. 408).

⁵⁵ Una Hunt, *Sources and Style in Moore's Irish Melodies* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

revolutionary future. However, these songs, which fitted in well in the upper-class and bourgeois drawing rooms, could also appeal to nationalist sensibilities. In a highly charged political environment, is it possible that those selecting the music programme for the banquet chose to avoid music that held any hint of nationalism? Is it possible that the enormous crowd of ‘noisy nobodies’ might not have appreciated music that was originally intended for the nobility and gentry of Ireland?

The music performed at the 1871 Lord Mayor’s banquet included popular songs including *Come Back to Erin Mavourneen*, *A Place in Thy Memory Dearest* and *The Bells of Shandon*. *Come Back to Erin Mavourneen* was a relatively contemporary popular ballad, composed in 1866 by Charlotte Alington Pye Barnard (1830–69) under the penname Claribel, while *A Place in Thy Memory Dearest* by Gerald Griffin (1803–40) was composed prior to 1840 and *The Bells of Shandon* by Francis Sylvester Mahony (1804–66) was probably popular since the 1850s.⁵⁶ These songs could be identified as Irish, yet they do not appeal to patriotism or nationalism. They row a middle ground, covering themes of love and love of one’s native place. The Lord Lieutenant’s speech at this banquet which called for a time of peace and quiet may have been supported by this style of non-combative sentimental and moderate national music.⁵⁷

5.6 Hardy’s Compositions at the Lord Mayors’ Banquets

Hardy used these high-profile banquets to perform and promote his own compositions, sometimes availing of the occasion to launch new works. *Heart’s Delight* valse, performed at

⁵⁶ For further information regarding *Come Back to Erin Mavourneen* see William H.A. Williams, *Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800-1920* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 41. The earliest version of *A Place in Thy Memory Dearest* listed in the British Library catalogue dates from approximately 1835, see British Library Music Collections G.805.g.(52.) The earliest versions of *The Bells of Shandon* listed in the British Library catalogue date from 1854 and 1860 respectively, see Music Collections H.1254.(69.), Music Collections H.1772.a.(3.) and Music Collections H.1491.(32.).

⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 8 February 1871, p. 5. This type of sentimental Irish music is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

the 1863 banquet was listed as a new waltz by Hardy.⁵⁸ The music listing for this event which appeared in the press also included the name and address of this composition's publisher, Scates of Westmoreland Street, which was untypical for contemporary listings.⁵⁹ This was possibly done as a promotional measure to inform newspaper readers where this music could be purchased. The *Bachelors' Galop* was composed specially for the occasion of the 1865 banquet, a banquet at which only men were seated for dinner. Subsequent advertising capitalised on the fact that it had been encored at the Lord Mayor's banquet.⁶⁰ The cover of this composition depicts symbols of the recreational life of the leisured gentleman such as pipes, a smoking cap and glasses of alcohol. Hardy's *Buckle-To Galop* was performed for the first time at the 1867 banquet,⁶¹ while *Maid of Athens Valse* was performed at both the 1867 and 1869 banquets⁶² and the *Farmer's Galop* at the 1870 banquet.⁶³ "Erin" *Grand Fantasia* by Basquit, a composition closely associated with Hardy and mentioned previously in chapter 3 of this dissertation, was performed by the RIC band at the banquets of 1869 and 1870.⁶⁴

5.7 Conclusion

This dissertation contends that the inclusion of the RIC band at the inaugural banquets of the Dublin Lord Mayors during the period in question fits well with the process of gradual disentanglement of Ireland from Britain at that time. For the first time, a band that identified as loyal to the Crown, yet of predominantly Irish Catholic personnel permanently located in Ireland, provided the soundtrack for a politically significant annual social event. This dual identity, which had been at play since the 1850s in the iconography of Dublin mayoral

⁵⁸ *Irish Times*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 February 1863, p. 3. For further information about the publisher Joseph Scates, see <https://dublinmusictrade.ie/search/node/Scates%20type%3Arecord> [accessed 27 September 2022]

⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 7 February 1865, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1867, p. 3.

⁶² *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1867, p. 3 and *Freeman's Journal*, 9 February 1869, p. 3.

⁶³ *Freeman's Journal*, 8 February 1870, p. 5.

⁶⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 9 February 1869, p. 3 and *Freeman's Journal*, 8 February 1870, p. 5.

paraphernalia, was evidenced in the pieces of music that were interwoven into the rhetorical protocol and general entertainment. The central role of the Lord Lieutenant at the Lord Mayors' banquets also fed into this quandary of identity. The purpose of the Lord Lieutenancy in nineteenth-century Ireland was ambiguous since the Act of Union gave no indication as to its role, authority, or relevancy. The presence of the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland appealed to nineteenth-century Dublin's moderate nationalists and unionists on the grounds that it offered a sense of autonomy from Britain while still part of the Union.⁶⁵ Lord Lieutenants Carlisle, Wodehouse (1826–1902) and Spencer who attended banquets at which the RIC band performed, all grappled with the contradictions of the position in which they found themselves. In an attempt to 'fit in' with the Irish people Carlisle undertook to learn all the national dances.⁶⁶ Wodehouse struggled to take his role seriously, finding formal situations which he attended farcical.⁶⁷ Spencer, perceived as impartial by some and naïve by others, displayed his quandary regarding the Irish situation in his speech at the Lord Mayor's banquet of 1869. Placing different interpretations of patriotism on a common level, he recognised the political divergence that drove them but the common purpose of public good that underpinned them.⁶⁸ This lack of condemnation of Irish nationalism suggests that he recognised the validity of various expressions of Irishness while standing as the figurehead of the Queen's authority over Ireland.

The Irish music performed at the banquets in question including Moore's *Melodies*, compilations of Irish dance tunes, sentimental Irish themed songs, and marches and anthems, were all non-combative in nature and conveyed an image of a noble glorious past and a romantic sentimental view of contemporary Ireland. While Irish tunes often greatly

⁶⁵ Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue, 'Introduction', *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c. 1541–1922*, ed. by Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (Dublin: UCD Press, 2012), pp. 1–14 (p. 3).

⁶⁶ Hoppen, p. 136.

⁶⁷ Hoppen, p. 136.

⁶⁸ *Nenagh Guardian*, 10 February 1869, p. 2.

outnumbered those of British origin, the British anthems and marches exuded power and might. *God Save the Queen* and *Rule Britannia* were strong sonic reminders of the weight of Empire, while Moore's *Melodies* and other popular Irish ballads focused on the Ireland of the past that had been lost and vanquished. Just as the individual colours on a painter's palette merge on the artists canvass to form a picture, so too the variety of music performed at the Lord Mayors' inaugural banquets contributed to the nuanced picture of Irish identity on display at these events. Viewed individually these pieces of music may appear random or incongruent but when viewed as an amalgam, and performed by the RIC band, they convey a picture of middle-class Irish identity, congruent with social and political thought of the day.

A comparison of the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet held on 7 February 1871 and the Home Rule banquet which took place the previous evening illuminates further this teasing out of Irish identity by the middle classes. Many of the same people attended both events. The Home Rule banquet, celebrating the election of former Young Irelander John Martin as the first Home Rule representative to the British parliament, followed much the same format as the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet. Toasts and speeches took centre stage, but newspaper accounts of the event make no mention of music. Following the toast to the Queen shouts of 'No' and 'Yes' were made along with both hissing and clapping. Speeches at this serious, men-only event strongly noted the neglect and injustice experienced in Ireland. In contrast, the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet, held twenty-four hours later, was a much more genial affair with both women and men present. Music played a prominent role, complimenting speeches which extolled the prosperity of Ireland, a country which was considered to successfully combine Irish patriotism with honouring the British Empire. The toasts to the Queen and royal family were received respectfully. How could the behaviour and attitudes of attendees at these two events be so at odds when they were largely attended by the same people? Commenting on the Lord Mayor's inaugural banquet, Mr Galbraith speaking at the general meeting of the Home

Government Association on 8 February 1871 commented that ‘with regret scarcely a sincere sentiment was uttered at it, for men were afraid to speak their minds’.⁶⁹ This dissertation contends that these banquet attendees were caught in the middle ground, forging a centrist identity between those beating the drums of radical nationalism and Unionism. The familiar trappings and status of Empire were still attractive to the Dublin middle classes, yet the strains of a different song were drawing them in an uneasy traction towards a new vision of what Ireland might be.

⁶⁹ *Irish Times*, 9 February 1871, p. 3.

Chapter 6

The Royal Irish Constabulary Band and Exhibitions of Industry and Manufactures

6.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the role of music at 1860s and 1870s national and international exhibitions in Dublin, paying particular attention to Hardy and the RIC band. It focuses on three exhibitions, namely the Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Arts held at Leinster House in 1864, the International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures held at the Exhibition Palace in 1865, and the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures held at the Exhibition Palace in 1872. Music played a central role at exhibitions, not just as an entertainment but as part of the greater plan of exhibition organisers to educate the crowds who passed through the doors of these vast exhibition centres. Exhibitions, typically with a six-month run, put music on display alongside industry and manufacture, and art and design. This was achieved through musical exhibits and musical performances. This chapter shows how music interfaced with key political, social, economic, and cultural issues encountered at Dublin exhibitions. It places Hardy and the RIC band at the centre of questions of Irish identity, played out on a stage that oscillated from Irishness to Britishness as event organisers saw fit. The question of music as a commercial enterprise is examined through a survey of Hardy's freelance engagements at exhibition events, noting his work as a conductor, composer, music contest adjudicator, musical advisor, and concert impresario. Through identifying the controversies and conflicts that arose during the exhibitions in question this chapter highlights the crucial role of military band music, particularly that of the RIC band, in the successful running of these events.

6.2 Background and Rationale for Industrial Exhibitions

Exhibitions of industry and manufactures were a significant economic, social and cultural feature of Victorian life in the United Kingdom and beyond. The purpose of these exhibitions was both commercial and philanthropic, aiming to boost the local economy and educate consumers. Through the display of industry, manufactures, and art and design the public could interface with the progress and achievements of the era while being influenced by the economic and social philosophies that underpinned them. Exhibitions had their origins in eighteenth-century Europe with the first industrial exhibition held in Paris in 1798.¹ London's Great Exhibition of 1851 was probably the most renowned exhibition venture, one to which all subsequent exhibitions could aspire. The Royal Dublin Society (RDS) was the primary exponent of this phenomenon in Ireland. As the nineteenth century progressed exhibitions became vast events which could disseminate the agendas of the organisers to large swathes of the paying public. Sadiya Qureshi, approaching Exhibition culture from an anthropological perspective, observes that while these agendas may have been cited as the promotion of international peace, and educational and social progress, they were underpinned by the desire for financial gain.² Ostensibly displaying and promoting objects of national and international manufactures and design, these spectacular events stand out as a significant marker of material and social progress during the nineteenth century.

Given the enormous economic, industrial, and social change of the nineteenth century, Paul Young notes how mid-nineteenth-century consciousness was both enthused and unsteadied by this unfettered expansion.³ In an attempt to comprehend, mentally process, and internalise this massive upheaval, the Victorian exhibition provided a systematic display-case

¹ *Guide-Book to the Industrial Exhibition; With Facts, Figures, and Observations on the Manufactures and Produce Exhibited* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1851), p. 4.

² Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 222.

³ Paul Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 2.

for manufactured items which categorised and ordered goods and cultures on an expansive scale.⁴ The exhibition construct presented organisers with an opportunity to express and articulate the identity they wished to portray and promote it in a structured and rational manner.

Music was blended into the exhibition experience, fulfilling its role as an exhibit, an educator, and a conveyor of rational amusement. Kirby notes the ambition of exhibition organisers to include all aspects of human achievement, including music, in their ventures.⁵ Music was displayed materially in the form of musical instruments but also in the form of commodified performances. Music performances can be further categorised into concerts of art music to edify and educate the audience, and entertainment music for the masses. Music also featured in the exhibition experience at opening ceremonies, balls, banquets, and band contests.

The display of music at exhibitions did not sit quite so easily as displays of material items such as manufactured goods or works of art and design. While displays of musical instruments could be accommodated along the lines of other physical items, the sound of music could not be so simply captured. Therefore, concerts and popular musical entertainment in the form of band performances and organ recitals, were categorised in Victorian exhibition ideology under the heading of rational recreation. The concept of rational recreation or amusement in mid-nineteenth-century Britain endeavoured to replace the perceived uncouth pastimes of the pre-industrial age with organised and refined activities, resulting in a more compliant society.⁶ Kirby notes, however, that music purists, including the musical press, resented the concept of music as pure entertainment, and considered the performance of operatic selections and pot-pourris as ‘degrading to the profundity of the art’.⁷ Despite the

⁴ Young, p. 3.

⁵ Sarah Kirby, *Exhibitions, Music and the British Empire* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022), p. 27.

⁶ ‘Rational Recreation’, in *Oxford Reference Online* <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.may.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810105712808>> [accessed 28 September 2022]

⁷ Kirby, p. 45.

negative bias of some, popular music for entertainment purposes was one of the most successful aspects of exhibition life between 1851 and the 1870s.⁸

Bands, with their programmes of popular selections and dance music, both concurred with and challenged the exhibition rationale. While recognised as rational recreation for both players and audience, the music of these bands was considered by Duncan Blythell to ruthlessly butcher musical classics and provide trashy incidental numbers.⁹ However, despite the questionable credentials of popular band music, its utilitarian function to draw a crowd and bolster ticket sales to the exhibition halls could not be denied. It also democratised the consumption of art music, making it available to the masses in bite-sized digestible enjoyable segments.

Nineteenth-century Irish exhibition culture fell largely in line with British and international exhibition culture. While music at Irish exhibitions fulfilled its role as an example of industry, an educator, and purveyor of rational recreation, it also conveyed broader concerns of the day including issues of identity, musical taste, and leisure-time activity.

6.3.1 Music at the National Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art (1864)

The National Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art of 1864, which ran for a six-month period from 25 May to 31 December, was held in the grounds of Leinster House, then the home of the RDS, in Dublin's Kildare Street.¹⁰ This was the last in a series of eleven triennial exhibitions held by the RDS since 1834.¹¹ The main exhibition area consisted of a temporary structure constructed from glass and iron, located on the Shelbourne Yard to the

⁸ Kirby, p. 47.

⁹ Kirby, p. 135, quoting from Duncan Bythell, 'Provinces Versus Metropolis in the British Brass Band Movement in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of William Rimmer and His Music', *Popular Music*, 16:2 (1997), 151–163 (p. 152).

¹⁰ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 3.

¹¹ John Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part 1: The Irish Arts and Industries Exhibition Movement 1834–1864', *Dublin Historical Record*, 35:1 (1981), 2–13 (p. 9).

south of Leinster House, where the National Museum of Ireland now stands, and an adapted and decorated main hall of the RDS building.¹² This building consisted of a main hall, known as the Centre Hall, flanked by dining rooms, picture galleries and refreshment saloons. The First-Class Refreshment Saloon led to an outdoor horticultural display area with covered-in marquees, while a passageway linked the Centre Hall to the Machinery Court. The organ and orchestra space held a dominant position at the head of the hall in direct alignment with the main entrance.¹³ This decorative exhibition campus provided an attractive platform for the display of seven distinctive features of the Exhibition, including predictable objects such as machinery and native manufactures but also including fine art and music.¹⁴ With music appearing at number seven on the list of distinctive features it is not clear if it was placed at the bottom of a hierarchical list or if all seven features were considered mutually dependent. Whatever the case may be, music performances on an enlarged scale, both morning and evening, were envisaged as part of the overall structure of the Exhibition.¹⁵

The Exhibition Catalogue lays out clearly and precisely the music ensembles and genres that would feature during the run of the Exhibition.¹⁶ It states that following the opening ceremony at which music would hold a prominent position, military and orchestral style bands would perform daily and a grand vocal concert would take place once a week. A dedicated

¹² *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

¹³ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), pull-out page in front material of catalogue, Plan of Exhibition Building and Index Map.

¹⁴ *The Visitor's Handy Guide to the Royal Dublin Society's Triennial Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art for 1864* (Dublin: Thomas Hackett, 1864), p. 47. The distinctive features of the Exhibition are listed as follows 1st-Irish Manufactures of every description, 2nd-Machinery of all Nations, chiefly in motion, suited to Manufactures, including the most modern appliances used in the production of Linen and Woollen Fabrics. 3rd-Specimens of all Minerals of the Country, 4th-How the Water-power of the Kingdom may be economised, and more extensively used in manufactures, 5th-How the Bogs may be utilized, so as to render them a source of wealth, 6th-A Fine Arts Gallery containing important Pictures from the Government Collection at South Kensington, from the galleries of Private Collectors, and from the Studios of many of the leading Artists in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, 7th-Musical Performances upon an enlarged scale, Morning and Evening, during the Exhibition.

¹⁵ *The Visitor's Handy Guide to the Royal Dublin Society's Triennial Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art for 1864* (Dublin: Thomas Hackett, 1864), p. 47.

¹⁶ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 90.

choir of forty voices, under the direction of Mr John Dunne, along with leading professional vocal soloists would perform at these concerts. The programmes would include a choice selection of choral works and part-songs in ‘the manner of the German choirs’.¹⁷

This was the first exhibition of industry and manufactures at which the RIC band performed. Following their establishment in 1861, Hardy and the RIC band were already acquainted with the premises of the RDS having played there for the Christmas Cattle Show in 1863¹⁸ and the Great National Horse Show in April 1864.¹⁹ They were also familiar with other exhibition-type events such as the seasonal shows of the Royal Horticultural Society²⁰ and the Rathdown Horticultural Society.²¹ Hardy himself, a former bandsman with the 1st Regiment of Life Guards, is likely to have attended London’s Great Exhibition of 1851, being stationed at Hyde Park Barracks adjacent to the exhibition location.²² RIC band performances at the 1864 exhibition were scattered throughout its six-month run. They performed at the opening ceremony, the closing concert and for many promenades.²³

6.3.2 The Inaugural Ceremony

The inaugural ceremony took place on 25 May 1864. The account in the following day’s *Irish Times* devotes considerable space to the music performed on the occasion.²⁴ The numerous spectators outside on Kildare Street were entertained prior to the ceremony by airs played on Irish manufactured bells supplied by Mr J. Murphy of Thomas Street, Dublin. Ceremonial

¹⁷ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 90.

¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 17 December 1863, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Irish Times*, 16 April 1864, p. 4.

²⁰ *Irish Times*, 19 August 1863, p. 4.

²¹ *Irish Times*, 3 July 1863, p. 4.

²² The band of the 1st Life Guards regiment performed at the Royal Botanic Society exhibition in London’s Regent’s Park in May 1851, *Daily News*, 15 May 1851, p. 5. This band also performed at the Grand Military Music Festival at the Royal Hospital Chelsea in May 1851, *Morning Post*, 7 June 1851, p. 1. This shows that Hardy, who was a French horn player with this band, was working in central London at the time of the Great London Exhibition.

²³ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 3.

²⁴ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

proceedings in the Great Exhibition Hall were attended by an audience of more than three thousand invited guests, season ticket holders and members of the RDS. Following a processional march arranged by Hardy for trumpets and the playing of ‘God Save The Queen’, an address was given by Mr Maunsell, the Secretary of the RDS, to which Lord St Lawrence delivered the reply on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant. A specially written ode, with literary text by John Francis Waller (1809–94) and musical text by Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–94), was performed by solo vocalists, double choir and orchestra. Its lyrics and instrumentation reflected the themes of labour, mechanical power and cottage industry. The lyrics suggest that labour, originally a curse imposed by God as a punishment, has now become a blessing. The lyrics also assert that science and art are now at the disposal of the labourer and Ireland will find her place among the nations in the peaceful pursuit of mechanical and hand-crafted manufacture, under the endorsement of a benevolent God.²⁵ This reflects the educational theory of Sir Henry Cole and the Prince Consort as noted in John Turpin’s *The Irish Arts and Industries Exhibition Movement 1834-1864*: ‘A new alliance of science (they meant technology), and Art (they meant design), would overcome the acknowledged ugliness of industrial mass production’.²⁶

It was the opinion of the *Irish Times* writer who reviewed the opening ceremony that despite the volume of the two-hundred-piece orchestra and large choir, it was not sufficient to fill the exhibition space; the closing performance of ‘Hallelujah Chorus’ by George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) was overshadowed by the vastness of the venue.²⁷ The official proceedings were followed by a selection of music performed by the RIC band with special mention given to Hardy’s *Valse Shilly Shally* which drew the admiration of the audience.²⁸ While it is mentioned in another *Irish Times* article that various military bands would attend

²⁵ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 3.

²⁶ Turpin, p. 3.

²⁷ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

²⁸ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

the ceremony,²⁹ the only band singled out for attention is that of the RIC. Attendees availed of ices and cold drinks provided by Mr Galligan. A banquet was held later that evening in honour of the opening of the exhibition with music provided by the band of the 86th Regiment.³⁰

A survey of the musical content of this inaugural ceremony reflects the philosophy underpinning the ethos of the exhibition movement. This philosophy, outlined by the exhibition promoters in the Exhibition catalogue, suggested that Ireland was now ready for the promotion of manufacturing industry and the exploitation of natural resources and infrastructure.³¹ It could be assisted in this endeavour by using British machinery. The specially commissioned ode, performed at the opening ceremony, glorified the vast machinery, steam power and iron industry that could feed potential Irish manufacture. Mentioning the ‘treasures of our native land’ it nods towards the use of Irish peat, Irish minerals and hydro-power.³² With the opening of the Exhibition heralded by eight trumpeters of the 11th Hussars,³³ powerful music using ‘the cymbal and loud sounding instruments’ to emulate the sound of manufacturing industry,³⁴ and the texture of a fugue used to embody the work of one hundred hands,³⁵ the narrative of the glorious Irish worker was created. The music and lyrics of the specially commissioned ode strongly reflected these sober and earnest sentiments, promoting hard work and large-scale industry as the way forward for Ireland. The accompaniment to the verse ‘Hail Thee, all conquering labour’ was noted as being particularly martial while a busy fugue created the texture for a verse regarding the mass labour required by steam industry.³⁶ While Exhibition organisers viewed the promotion of industry in Ireland as progress that could lead to societal

²⁹ *Irish Times*, 23 May 1864, p. 1.

³⁰ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

³¹ *The Visitor's Handy Guide to the Royal Dublin Society's Triennial Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art for 1864* (Dublin: Thomas Hackett, 1864), p. 47.

³² For lyrics of John Francis Waller's *Inauguration Ode* for the occasion of the opening of the 1864 Exhibition see *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 3 and *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), pp. 1–4.

³³ *Irish Examiner*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

³⁴ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

³⁵ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

³⁶ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 3.

improvement, it could also be viewed as colonial and paternalistic interference with the ‘dominant elite subordinating a colonized ‘inferior’ native population’.³⁷ This segued into the entertaining music of Hardy and the RIC band. The foundation of the band three years earlier symbolised both physically and sonically the hopeful home-grown progressive tenet of the Irish exhibition movement. These native Irish bandsmen, predominantly of rural working-class origin, were working under the tutorage of an English bandmaster, in a British-style military band. The powerful display of brass instruments served to accompany their audience on an informative yet entertaining journey towards an aspirational and improved Ireland.

6.3.3 Royal Irish Constabulary Band Promenade Performances at the Exhibition of 1864

The RIC band gave regular promenade performances at the exhibition variously at three o’clock or eight o’clock, often following this with a further three-hour performance at suburban Kingstown or Bray. Regular advertisements appeared in the *Irish Times* entitled ‘Bands at the Exhibition–Kildare Street’, announcing the bands that would be performing along with the programmes of music to be performed.

A survey of RIC band programmes suggests musical content of one-hour duration, which may have been punctuated by breaks. A typical RIC band programme consisted of eight or nine pieces followed by ‘God save the Queen’. As per the practice outlined elsewhere in this dissertation, the performance opened with a march followed by alternating dance music and popular music medleys.³⁸ Dance music including quadrilles, waltzes, mazurkas and galops was interspersed with overtures and operatic selections. Hardy also included his own compositions in the programmes performed. The publication of Hardy’s mazurka, *Cupid’s Dart*, coincided

³⁷ Patrick J. Duffy, ‘Colonial Spaces and Sites of Resistance: Landed Estates in 19th Century Ireland’, in *(Dis)Placing Empire*, ed. by L. J. Proudfoot and M. M. Roche (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 15–40 (p. 15). Also, < https://mural.maynoothuniversity.ie/5594/1/PD_Colonial.pdf > [accessed 28 September 2022]

³⁸ RIC band repertoire is discussed in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

with the opening of the Exhibition. Reference to the RIC band performing at the Exhibition on that day is appended to, or immediately precedes, the advertisement for Hardy's latest composition.³⁹ Hardy and his publishers were undoubtedly attempting to favourably influence prospective consumers through associative advertising. Music sales could possibly be boosted by associating *Cupid's Dart* with the fashionable social scene at the Exhibition. Hardy could also use the opportunity to boost his own professional profile and business ventures by strongly aligning himself with both the RIC band and the Exhibition. The novelty, excitement and prestige of the Exhibition could create a profile for the composition and place it in the sights of its target market. *Cupid's Dart* was performed by the RIC band at various engagements throughout the summer as well as at Exhibition promenades.⁴⁰ It was also included in a programme of the band of the 86th Regiment performing at the Exhibition, demonstrating the success of Hardy's promotional endeavours.⁴¹

6.3.4 Weekly Concerts at the Exhibition of 1864

Weekly concerts took place in the Centre Hall of the exhibition building. As the concerts were anticipated to be very popular and well attended by residents of the suburbs of Kingstown and Bray, a request was made for extra trains to be provided on concert nights.⁴² This series of twenty-six concerts, beginning on 2 June 1864 and concluding on 26 November 1864, consisted of choral and vocal works performed by the Exhibition choir and a variety of soloists.⁴³ It appears that problems with the acoustics were encountered due to the size and

³⁹ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1864, p. 2.

⁴⁰ For examples of performances of Hardy's *Cupid's Dart* see *Irish Times*, 30 May 1864, p. 2, *Irish Times*, 3 June 1864, p. 2, and *Irish Times*, 27 June 1864, p. 2. For performance of Hardy's *Cupid's Dart* at the Exhibition see *Irish Times*, 12 September 1864, p. 2. *Cupid's Dart* is also mentioned in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, noting its performance at sporting events in 1864.

⁴¹ *Irish Times*, 27 May 1864, p. 2.

⁴² *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 4.

⁴³ See *Irish Times*, 1 June 1864, p. 3 for names of some performing soloists. Also, see *Irish Times*, 2 June 1864, p.1 for advertisement for first weekly concert and *Irish Times*, 25 November 1864, p. 2 for details of twenty-sixth concert.

structure of the building.⁴⁴ This issue persisted despite sound reflectors being installed after the first concert.⁴⁵ This however did not deter large audiences from attending the concerts for the majority of their run. More than two thousand people were estimated to have attended the fourth concert which took place on 24 June.⁴⁶ Entering the second month of the exhibition, the Friday evening concert series was attracting large crowds. Apart from the interesting nature of the exhibits, musical performances considerably enhanced the ambience for viewing.⁴⁷ Fashionable audiences attended these concerts which were reported as one of the most attractive features of the exhibition.⁴⁸

Following a temporary drop in mid-July, audience numbers were considerably boosted in August by a one-shilling reduction in ticket prices.⁴⁹ The tenth concert reported seats being occupied well in advance of the performance and those who could not get seats crowded into the exhibition galleries.⁵⁰ More than two and a half thousand people were estimated to have attended the twelfth concert on 19 August.⁵¹ Military bands were thought to enliven proceedings and act as a further attraction⁵² and so by the eighteenth concert on 30 September military bands were being included as part of the concert programme.⁵³ The RIC band did not perform at any of these concerts. The twenty-fourth concert was even advertised as a ‘popular concert’, possibly in an attempt to maintain a high attendance.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 3 June 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Irish Times*, 9 June 1864, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 11 June 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Irish Times*, 25 June 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 2 July 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 16 July 1864, p. 3.

⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 10 August 1864, p. 1 and *Irish Times*, 13 August 1864, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 6 Aug 1864 p. 3.

⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 20 August 1864, p. 3.

⁵² *Irish Times*, 8 October 1864, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 22 October 1864, p. 3.

⁵³ *Irish Times*, 30 September 1864, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Irish Times*, 11 November 1864, p. 2.

6.3.5 The Closing Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1864

The conclusion of the exhibition was marked by a Grand Concert for the benefit of the officers of the exhibition on 31 December 1864.⁵⁵ In contrast with previous concerts held during the exhibition, this was an amateur performance assisted by three military bands including that of the RIC. Mr Lee, the conductor of the Amateur Musical Society and distinguished amateur vocalists gave their services free of charge and performed a selection of ‘excellent songs and duets’.⁵⁶ Once more, Hardy used this occasion to coincide with his latest composition, the waltz *Emblems of Love*. *Emblems of Love* was strongly endorsed in the *Irish Times* concert review as ‘an exceedingly graceful and pleasing composition’ and likely to become as much a favourite as *Valse Shilly Shally*. The reviewer recommended it to the musical public based on its performance at the concert and noted its imminent publication.⁵⁷

6.3.6 Musical Exhibits at the Exhibition of 1864

Irish musical instrument makers were invited to exhibit under the category of *Horological and Musical Instruments*.⁵⁸ Exhibits were to be exclusively of Irish manufacture with the exception of large machinery which might assist with future industry in Ireland. Despite the ‘unexpectedly large number of applicants for space in every department’,⁵⁹ very few exhibits relating to music appear in the exhibition catalogue and they were not displayed in a dedicated exhibition area. A total of six music related exhibits appear in the catalogue, displayed in dispersed locations and all listed as *Miscellaneous*. An exhibit of cornopeans by J. McNeill, a Capel Street brass instruments maker, was displayed in the entrance to the West Gallery.⁶⁰ T.

⁵⁵ *Irish Times*, 30 December 1864, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Irish Times*, 31 December 1864, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 2 January 1865, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 16.

⁵⁹ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 19.

⁶⁰ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 43.

Hoey & Co. displayed brass and copper music wire for securing music scores on music stands at the North Gallery Counter.⁶¹ In the Agricultural Museum Gallery, M. Gunn & Sons of Westland Row, displayed models of two reasonably priced instruments; a well-built organ suited for a small country church at a price of £48 and a new mezzo-grand pianoforte by Kirkman of London.⁶² A peal of eight bells in the key of D made at the brass foundry of J. Murphy, Thomas Street and one church bell by J. Sheridan of Church Street were exhibited in the Courtyard of the Agricultural Section.⁶³ It is unclear if this small and disparate display of music related goods was indicative of the extent of instrument manufacture in Ireland during this period. It may, however, reflect the attitude of the Exhibition organisers who considered ‘the pith and marrow, the bone and sinew’ of the Exhibition to be coarse raw material and practical manufactures, while ‘fanciful creations’ would simply add charm and attractiveness to the proceedings along with ‘mental elevation’.⁶⁴ Kirby notes a similar lack of musical instrument displays at London’s Great Exhibition of 1851 and subsequent British exhibitions, suggesting that it might tie into broader arguments of the day regarding the ephemeral nature of music.⁶⁵ It may therefore have been considered easier to display music through practical engagement with musical performances.

A specially built Telford organ, displaying blue and gold pipes occupied a prominent position in the Centre Hall of the exhibition buildings.⁶⁶ It was placed to the rear of a stage which could accommodate three-hundred performers.⁶⁷ Built by William Telford of Stephen’s

⁶¹ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 46.

⁶² *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 60.

⁶³ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 82.

⁶⁴ *The Visitor’s Handy Guide to the Royal Dublin Society’s Triennial Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art for 1864* (Dublin: Thomas Hackett, 1864), p. 47.

⁶⁵ Kirby, p. 32.

⁶⁶ *Irish Times*, 23 May 1864, p. 3.

⁶⁷ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 49.

Green and on loan to the Exhibition before moving to its intended church location in the south of Ireland,⁶⁸ it was described as a two manual organ with pedals, suited to an ordinary country church.⁶⁹ Organ recitals at exhibitions leaned strongly in the direction of popular music, featuring selections of popular works and some organ compositions by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) or Handel.⁷⁰ The programme for an organ concert given by at the Dublin Exhibition of 1864 bears this out with Mr G. H. Tilbury performing a Handel overture followed by popular marches and selections.⁷¹ The RIC band also performed on the night of this concert, with similarities between the programmes of both the band performance and organ concert. The RIC band programme included excerpts from ‘Bellini’s Favourite Operas’ while the organ programme included a selection from Bellini’s opera *Norma*. Paul Rodmell identifies the operas of Bellini among the most popular operas performed in both Dublin and London between 1862 and 1870.⁷² The organ programme also included the overture from Rossini’s *Semiramide*, a piece which was played regularly throughout 1864 by the RIC band.⁷³ Kirby observes that along with band performances, popular organ recitals were among the main successes of exhibition life between 1851 and the 1870s.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 June 1864, p. 4.

⁶⁹ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864, p. 29. For further information regarding William Telford see Catherine, Ferris (also Brian and Barra Boydell), ‘Telford, William’, in *dublinmusictrade.ie* <<https://www.dublinmusictrade.ie/node/462>> [accessed 27 September 2022]

⁷⁰ Kirby, p. 46. Kirby does not name any specific compositions by Bach or Handel that were included in performances at exhibitions.

⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 22 June 1864, p. 2.

⁷² Paul Rodmell, ‘The Italians are Coming: Opera in Mid-Victorian Dublin’, in *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton, pp. 97–114 (p. 98).

⁷³ For RIC band performances of the overture to Rossini’s *Semiramide* see Appendix 2: Survey of RIC Band Repertoire for Six-Month Period from February to July 1864.

⁷⁴ Kirby, p. 47.

6.3.7 The Role of Music at the Exhibition of 1864

While the primary intention of the Exhibition was the display and promotion of Irish industries and manufactures, the organisers recognised that these economically-driven endeavours could benefit by being cushioned amongst fine art and musical performances. Gas lights and a perfumed fountain in the Centre Hall appealed to sight and smell.⁷⁵ Music could sonically decorate the exhibition space while providing suitable subliminal instruction to attendees who in turn would contribute to the financial success of the venture. Concerts and band performances could create the suitable mood music to accompany the promotion of Irish manufactures, machinery, minerals, water-power, peat production, and fine art. Music could also provide rational entertainment and instruction for exhibition attendees and be used to forward the ethos of the exhibition promoters. Practical general improvement of society was the core intention of the exhibition organisers, recognising the mass emigration and depopulation caused by the serious crop failures of the previous decades.⁷⁶ The Lord Mayor of Dublin's lecture of 28 November considered the objectives of the organisers to be 'self-culture, combined with the moral and social elevation' of the country. Manufacture and industry, he believed, could raise the indolent Irish peasant 'who lives in a mud hut with a pig as a companion and tasting no other food than the potato'.⁷⁷ Magnitude and grandeur were the intended pertinent features of musical performances with choral works in the style of the German choirs noted as the main-stay of regular concerts.⁷⁸ The newly erected and decorated exhibition buildings were an apt setting for the production of splendid and elevated music. The 22,000 square foot Centre Hall, constructed from iron and glass, was considered convenient

⁷⁵ *Irish Times*, 1 June 1864, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 30 June 1864, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *The Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society from July 31, 1864, to June 29, 1865, Appendix No. II*, (Dublin: The University Press and M. H. Gill, 1865), pp. xii–xvi and *Irish Times*, 26 May 1864, p. 3.

⁷⁷ *Irish Times*, 29 November 1864, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 90.

and solid yet bright and elegant.⁷⁹ Such an attractive location would inevitably act as a leisure venue and not solely as a place of instruction. The organisers recognised that ‘the more fanciful creations’ would prove a decided attraction amongst the matter-of-fact products, ‘adding an attractive charm to the sober common-places of everyday life’.⁸⁰ A commentator in the *Irish Times* noted that:

All sorts of tastes are provided...Those whom neither ingenious machinery, pleasing pictures, or the finest productions of the loom can interest, may enjoy the comfort of a quiet lounge, the animation of a fashionable crowd, and the music of a fine band or a well-trained choir.⁸¹

The desire to be seen at the exhibition, particularly at events patronised by the aristocracy, gave an added value to the exhibition venue. Jody Berland believes that ‘through the evolution of such spaces, commercial entertainment emerged both as an industry and as a focal site for the expression and policing of urban popular culture’.⁸²

It would appear that the high ideals of alleviating poverty and promoting general moral improvement were interwoven with the desire of the middle-class stylish consumer for fun and entertainment. For some, the perceived frivolity of musical entertainments sullied the overriding tenet of the exhibition. Yet, if attendance could be boosted by popular and lucrative musical entertainments, the message of the exhibition could be furthered and nurtured. Letters appeared sporadically in the *Irish Times* during the exhibition run bemoaning the fact that the true purpose of the venture was being obscured by pleasure seekers. One writer suggested that the exhibition ideals were being compromised by self-centred idlers wishing to listen to music.⁸³ A further letter lamented the fact that the exhibition appeared destined to be a fashionable lounge for those with sufficient financial resources. It suggested that ticket prices

⁷⁹ *Irish Examiner*, 17 May 1864, p. 4.

⁸⁰ *The Visitor's Handy Guide to the Royal Dublin Society's Triennial Exhibition of Manufactures, Industry, and Fine Art for 1864* (Dublin: Thomas Hackett, 1864), p. 47.

⁸¹ *Irish Times*, 2 June 1864, p. 3.

⁸² Jody Berland, *North of Empire: Essays on the Cultural Technologies of Space* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), p. 137.

⁸³ *Irish Times*, 30 July 1864, p. 3.

be reduced to enable the artisan classes to attend. They too could amuse themselves with concerts while being afforded the opportunity of improving their minds.⁸⁴ The self-indulgent middle-class concertgoers were also criticised by a more serious-minded music-lover who berated them for their audible conversations, laughter during performances, and general rudeness.

The organisation of musical events also received criticism from exhibitors who found their manufactures side-lined in order to provide extra seating for musical performances. Cabinets of linen from Drogheda were consigned to the shaded peripheries to accommodate concertgoers, causing distress to exhibitors.⁸⁵ It is indeed curious how the promotion of manufacture, industry and diligence could live side-by side with perceived frivolity and indolence. Conscientious workmanship of the linen manufacturers could be easily superseded by the leisure and recreational needs of the middle classes. Popular entertainment, comprised of performers, audience, and event promoters, was sharing a space with the marketplace, and finding its own niche as both a supporter and participant in industry. This interlacing of popular music and business has also been analysed by Derek B. Scott, who argues that popular music was becoming viewed as a commodity capable of yielding profit for the entrepreneur.⁸⁶ Indeed, the exhibition organisers were savvy business-minded entrepreneurs, using music to ensure good attendances and a resultant profit, even at the expense of manufacturers and their displays of produce.

6.3.8 Music and the Finances of the Exhibition of 1864

The financial outlay on music at the exhibition supports the status and drawing power given to music among the distinctive features of this venture. A survey of the General Statement of

⁸⁴ *Irish Times*, 14 October 1864, p. 3.

⁸⁵ *Irish Times*, 27 Sept 1864 p. 3.

⁸⁶ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 87.

Receipts and Expenditures by the Managing Committee to the Royal Dublin Society shows a figure of £2,343 7s 2d as expenditure on Music.⁸⁷ This was a substantial amount of the entire expenditure of £14,099 8s 6d which included the financial outlay on buildings, wages, advertising, maintenance, and the support of a Fine Art department. A break-down of this spending is not supplied so it is not possible to ascertain how or to whom the money was dispersed. Following the opening of the Exhibition a notice appeared in the *Irish Times* thanking the numerous performers, both vocal and instrumental, for performing free of charge at the opening ceremony.⁸⁸ The Telford organ was supplied on loan to the Exhibition, incurring no cost to the organisers.⁸⁹ It would appear that the military bands, including that of the RIC, received no fee for their performances. The Exhibition managing committee thanked the commandants and colonels of regiments for their readiness and courtesy in permitting their bands to perform daily at the exhibition.⁹⁰ A reference appears in the *Irish Times* regarding the subsequent exhibition of 1865 which suggests that the services of the constabulary band were offered to exhibition organisers by the goodwill of the Constabulary officers.⁹¹ It remains possible that expenditure on music may have pertained to the weekly concerts involving choir director Mr. Dunne, soloists and accompanists as well as the impromptu inclusion of extra concerts during the final month of the exhibition.

6.3.9 Controversy at the Exhibition of 1864

The final month of the exhibition witnessed significant controversy regarding musical performances. Following the Lord Mayor's Lecture at the Exhibition on 28 November 1864 a

⁸⁷ *The Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society from July 31, 1864, to June 19, 1865* (Dublin: The University Press and M. H. Gill, 1865), p. xv.

⁸⁸ *Irish Times*, 1 June 1864 p. 1.

⁸⁹ *Royal Dublin Society Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of Manufactures, Machinery, and Fine Arts, 1864* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1864), p. 29.

⁹⁰ *The Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society from July 31, 1864, to June 29, 1865, Appendix No. II*, (Dublin: The University Press and M. H. Gill, 1865), p. xvii.

⁹¹ *Irish Times*, 12 May 1865, p. 3.

disturbance broke out.⁹² A bandsman of the 78th Highland Regiment intervened in a brawl involving an officer of his regiment. Several bandsmen had to be restrained by their bandmaster amidst loud noise, the breaking of furniture, and pushing. Terrified ladies climbed to the safety of the band platform followed by men wanting to avoid being hit by a ‘chair wielded by the sinewy arms of a Macgregor’.⁹³ As order could not be restored, the band of the 78th Highlanders was directed to strike up the tune *St Patrick’s Day* in the hope of calming the crowd, succeeding with this strategy.⁹⁴ In response to this outburst Sir George Brown, the Commander of Military Forces in Ireland, ordered that military bands were no longer to perform at the Exhibition. This left a significant lacuna in music programming. The Exhibition organisers reacted swiftly, engaging the services of the Christy Minstrels who had just completed engagements in Dublin and Cork.⁹⁵ This black-face minstrel troupe gave three performances to great popular acclaim attracting massive audiences particularly on 2 December when the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Wodehouse were in attendance.⁹⁶ Meanwhile a deputation of the Exhibition Managing Committee to Sir George Brown succeeded in lifting the ban on military band performances by 1 December 1864 and regimental band appearances were restored as an integral part of the exhibition experience.⁹⁷

In an endeavour to maintain music as an attraction to the Exhibition the Managing Committee also secured the services of Mr Bernard and Miss Brougham for operatic performances.⁹⁸ Following a successful concert on 5 December, advertised as a ‘Grand Comic Operatic Entertainment’, these performers were scheduled to perform daily for one week.⁹⁹

⁹² *Nation*, 3 December 1864, p. 6.

⁹³ *Carlow Morning Post*, 3 December 1864, p. 4.

⁹⁴ *Carlow Morning Post*, 3 December 1864, p. 4.

⁹⁵ The Christy Minstrels performed in Dublin’s Rotundo from 3-19 November 1864 and in The Atheneum in Cork from 21-26 November 1864. See *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 November 1864, p. 1, *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 November 1864, p. 1, *Irish Examiner*, 15 November 1864, p. 1, and *Irish Examiner*, 26 November 1864, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Irish Times*, 3 December 1864, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 1 December 1864, p. 2.

⁹⁸ *RDS Exhibition 1864 Managing Committee*, Minutes of Meeting, 6 December 1864.

⁹⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 December 1864, p. 1.

They would receive the sum of £25 for the first concert, £20 for the second, and £15 for the remaining performances.¹⁰⁰ The Council of the RDS did not view the performances of either the Christy Minstrels or Comic Opera Entertainments so favourably. At a meeting of the Council of the RDS on 8 December 1864 it was deemed that these entertainments, not originally intended as part of the musical arrangements, were completely contrary to the ideology of the Society and unsuitable for inclusion at the Exhibition.¹⁰¹ They requested that the Managing Committee not organise any further performances of a similar nature. Initial advertisements for the operatic concerts were more brash than previous Exhibition concert announcements and did not include music listings.¹⁰² Newspaper notifications regarding concerts involving Mr Bernard and Miss Brougham after the Council's request are much more subdued in tone. They appear as simple one-line announcements or in the 'Fashion and Varieties' column on an inner page.¹⁰³ Operatic numbers, including music by Balfe, Julius Benedict (1804–85), and Stephen Glover (1813–70) were interspersed with performances by the band of the 84th Regiment.¹⁰⁴ The performance of a military band alongside questionable performances such those of Mr Bernard and Miss Broughman, appeared to extend respectability to concerts.

The musical turbulence of the Exhibition's final weeks suggests an underlying unease between austere work-driven Victorian values and the emerging inclination towards leisure pursuits. While the exhibition floor seems an unlikely site for an unseemly melee of bandmen, it demonstrates the fragility of the veneer encasing fashion and respectability. It may have reflected an uneasy tension in the emergence of a new Irish society with working class British

¹⁰⁰ *RDS Exhibition 1864 Managing Committee*, Minutes of Meeting, 6 December 1864.

¹⁰¹ *The Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society from July 31, 1864, to June 29, 1865, Appendix No. II*, (Dublin: The University Press and M. H. Gill, 1865), pp. 30–31.

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal*, 5 December 1864, p. 1. These concerts were billed as 'Grand Comic Operatic Entertainment' and 'Extraordinary Operatic Entertainment'.

¹⁰³ For examples of this type of advertising see *Freeman's Journal*, 7 December 1864, p. 1 and *Freeman's Journal*, 9 December 1864, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Irish Times*, 10 December 1864, p. 2 and *Freeman's Journal*, 10 December 1864, p. 4.

bandsmen, middle-class Dubliners, businessmen, clergy men, gentry, academics, and large numbers of women gathering together in a shared pleasure-ground. The acknowledgement of music as an agent for commercial gain is evidenced by the panic that ensued following the withdrawal of the bands from the exhibition. Musical performances were imperative for the sustenance of public interest and consequently the exhibition coffers. While the Managing Committee appears to have been unaware of how at odds these musical genres were with RDS ideology they were highly aware of their target audience, demonstrating an acceptance of the growing move towards consumerism. Entertainments such as the Christy Minstrels offered fun and enjoyment yet undermined the glorification of hard work and austerity espoused by organisations such as the RDS. These racist concerts depicted idle contentedness and promoted American popular culture with their Irish audience. This was in stark juxtaposition with the foundation stone of rational elevated amusement for the working class on which the brass bands they replaced were built. The military bands in Ireland furthered this ideal by embodying British Imperial power and playing selections of perceived high-class music. The short withdrawal of military bands from the Exhibition highlighted the crucial part the bands played in the overall Exhibition experience. Military bands were a guaranteed crowd-puller, fitted in with the Exhibition ethos, and could dilute the effect of less reputable entertainment.

The National Exhibition of Industries and Manufactures of 1864 was deemed a successful venture on many fronts despite incurring a deficit of £1,593 11s 9d.¹⁰⁵ An attendance of 335,577 was recorded¹⁰⁶ and the report of the managing committee considered the continuing promotion of the linen and woollen industries to be one of the Exhibition's greatest achievements.¹⁰⁷ It set the stage for the much greater international exhibition of the following year for which preparations were already well underway.

¹⁰⁵ *The Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society from July 31, 1864, to June 29, 1865, Appendix No. II*, (Dublin: The University Press and M. H. Gill, 1865, p. xv.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

6.4.1 Music at the Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1865

The 1865 Dublin International Exhibition was the brainchild of a group of Dublin businessmen and Anglo-Irish aristocrats, including William Dargan and Benjamin Lee Guinness (1798–1868).¹⁰⁸ Their intention was to erect a permanent building in Earlsfort Terrace to ‘afford the people of Dublin and its neighbourhood rational amusement, blended with instruction, and supply a want which has been long felt in this city’.¹⁰⁹ Recognising that the population of Dublin and its suburbs had doubled in the space of forty years, this group believed that it was important to provide a venue to accommodate rational amusements, including music, which would have a civilising effect on all classes of people, including the most wealthy citizens who also lacked opportunities to enjoy music and the fine arts.¹¹⁰ Ticket sales for musical performances, including public concerts, musical promenades, performances of oratorios, and music festivals, would contribute to the financial viability of the Earlsfort Terrace building.¹¹¹ The inauguration of this building, which would be known as the Exhibition Palace and Winter Garden, was to coincide with a great international exhibition.¹¹² It was intended that instruction would be provided through the display and demonstration of modern inventions and trade techniques and that rational amusement would be provided through the exhibition of fine art and musical entertainments. Rains in her study of commodity culture in Dublin suggests that social improvement was a primary motivator of the exhibition patrons.¹¹³ The display of goods in an inviting and stimulating atmosphere would aid in developing a modern Irish economy, less dependent on a fragile agricultural base which was still recovering from the effects of the Famine. Consequently, it was hoped that a prospering economy would also provide political

¹⁰⁸ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 36.

¹⁰⁹ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 16.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹¹³ Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), p. 68.

stability.¹¹⁴ The recognition that music could play a vital role in this social, economic, and political progress is evident in the infrastructure of the exhibition complex which included two concert halls, a rehearsal room, an extensive glasshouse structure which could accommodate musical promenades and ten acres of gardens facilitating outdoor military band performances.¹¹⁵

6.4.2 The Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1865

A combined choir and orchestra of one thousand performers, under the direction of Mr Joseph Robinson (1815–98), performed at intervals throughout the ceremony.¹¹⁶ This vast number of musicians was gathered from the principal towns and cities of Great Britain and Ireland who availed of special railway and steam packet fares to convey them to Dublin.¹¹⁷ The choir performed a selection of oratorio choruses from works by Handel, Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and Felix Mendelssohn (1809–47) with the orchestra playing Handel’s *Coronation Anthem* and the Grand March from *Le Prophète* by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864). The ceremony concluded with a ‘Danish National Air’ played by three combined military bands. This extravagant, triumphant, large-scale musical production was aided by the percussive sound of the world’s biggest drum, an enormous instrument with a buffalo skin eight feet in diameter.¹¹⁸ The *Belfast News-Letter* vividly describes the formidable effect and grandeur created through music and pageantry at the close of this ceremony which encompassed the soundscape of Dublin city.¹¹⁹ Rockets were launched from the Exhibition Palace gardens and a flourish of trumpets sounded from the front of the building, while Handel’s *Hallelujah Chorus* was being

¹¹⁴ Rains, p. 71.

¹¹⁵ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), pp. 26, 28, 31, and 32.

¹¹⁶ Joseph Robinson was a Dublin-born singer, composer, conductor, and professor of music. See *Dictionary of Irish Biography* <<https://www.dib.ie/biography/robinson-joseph-a7726>> [accessed 8 August 2024]

¹¹⁷ *Nation*, 6 May 1865, p. 12.

¹¹⁸ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 92.

¹¹⁹ *Belfast News-Letter*, 10 May 1865, p. 3.

performed by the very substantial choir and orchestra within. This coincided with a Royal salute which thundered simultaneously from the Pigeon House Fort on the eastern flank of the city to the Phoenix Park Magazine Fort on the city's western flank.¹²⁰ A rendition of the National Anthem followed which was introduced by an imposing drum crescendo. The article concluded by stating that Dublin had accomplished something 'worthy to be remembered' and 'of which any city in Europe might be proud'.¹²¹

A cantata written by William Scribble for the occasion of the opening of the Exhibition Palace complex and the Industrial Exhibition also furthers the connection between industry and the arts. William Scribble was the pseudonym used by William Smyth (1813–78) who was a Dublin-born actor, writer, and painter.¹²² Entitled *Erin's Fairy Spell, or the Palace of Industry and Pleasure: A Vision*, this three-act libretto plots an imaginary journey through the Exhibition building. Terpsichore, the Muse of dance, leads the followers of Industry and Pleasure in a dance in the building's concert hall. Industry is invigorated by Pleasure and its mind is soothed by 'music's measure'.¹²³ This assertion that industry, pleasure and music work successfully in tandem to produce a prosperous Ireland is reiterated throughout the work. It concludes with Erin holding hands with Agenoria, Psyche, Apollo, the Muses, and Sister Graces.

Music for the opening ceremony was not without controversy. The London correspondent of the *Irish Times* noted the dissatisfaction of the Irish in London at the lack of Irish music to be performed at this ceremony.¹²⁴ This article suggested that music of Irish origin was considered inferior by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who struck it off the programme that

¹²⁰ *Wexford People*, 13 May 1865, p. 3.

¹²¹ *Belfast News-Letter*, 10 May 1865, p. 3.

¹²² David Murphy, 'William Smyth', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* <<https://www.dib.ie/biography/smyth-william-a8179>> [accessed 8 August 2024]

¹²³ William Scribble, *Erin's Fairy Spell, or the Palace of Industry and Pleasure: A Vision* (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1865), p. 19.

¹²⁴ *Irish Times*, 3 May 1865, p. 3.

had been submitted for his approval. The matter was raised in the House of Commons by Irish MP Mr John Pope Hennessy (1834–91), a Conservative politician for King’s County.¹²⁵ In raising this matter he enquired of Sir Robert Peel (1822–95), the Chief Secretary for Ireland, as to the involvement and possible bias of the Lord Lieutenant in selecting the music for the opening ceremony. Denying any knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant’s involvement and assigning the choice of music to the Irishmen of the Dublin Exhibition Committee, Peel forwarded the view that it was ‘perhaps undesirable that the music of Mozart and Handel be mingled with “Garry Owen” and “Boyne Water”’. Hennessey refuted this argument quoting Handel’s own admiration for a particular Irish melody. He further suggested that the Lord Lieutenant should follow the example of one of his predecessors, the Earl of Eglinton, in approving the inclusion of Irish music at International Exhibitions ‘if he hoped to gain the hearts of the Irish people’.¹²⁶ An article in the *Freeman’s Journal* following the Exhibition’s opening ceremony voiced the disbelief of the London press at the lack of Irish music during the opening ceremony considering the abundance of Irish airs and the general esteem in which Irish music was held:

There is no nation in the world which has such a collection of airs as Ireland possesses – that is to say, thoroughly national airs, the property of the common people, the music which is handed down from mother to child through generations, as distinguished from the music of the educated classes, which can seldom be called national music. The exquisite complicity and melody of these common airs have endeared them to the lovers of the severest styles of music, and putting aside all considerations of patriotism – supposing that the Musical Committee were Spaniards, let us say – and then taking it for granted they knew Irish airs, and knew that this Exhibition was to be opened on Irish ground, I cannot understand how they could possibly have ignored Irish music.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Hansard*, HC Deb, 4 May 1865, vol. 178 cc1470-1.

¹²⁶ *Irish Times*, 8 May 1865, p. 4.

¹²⁷ *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 May 1865, p. 4. This article quotes a column in London’s *Morning Star* newspaper regarding the opening ceremony of the Dublin International Exhibition.

The *Irish Examiner*, quoting from the *Star* newspaper, mocked Sir Robert Peel's ignorance regarding Irish music and noted the strong alignment between the heart of a nation and its music. This article doubts the role of the Lord Lieutenant in removing Irish music from the opening ceremony and suggests that it was 'contrived by the purblind toadyism of subordinates, who erroneously supposed that they would curry favour with English officials'.¹²⁸ Some observers were more direct in articulating the opinion that the omission of Irish music was the deliberate evil doing of an 'Anti-National Exhibition Committee' and that Irish people should respond to this insult by avoiding the Exhibition.¹²⁹

The Exhibition Committee certainly appears to at least have misjudged the public sentiment, both in Ireland and England, regarding the inclusion of Irish music at the opening ceremony or at most to have completely ignored it, wishing to distance themselves from anything distinctly Irish. They appear to have been so consumed by reproducing the British Exhibition experience, in a bid to please their perceived British superiors, that they took their finger off the pulse of strong popular Irish sentiment.¹³⁰

The officers of the RIC were also excluded from the commencement of the Exhibition while free admission tickets, including admission to the opening ceremony, were given to all the officers of the British army garrison.¹³¹ In accordance with custom, the officers who funded the bands of their respective regiments, would in return permit their bands to perform during the Exhibition. A strongly expressed editorial in the *Irish Times* states that the officers of the RIC received no such tickets despite having already offered the services of their band. Furthermore, the Exhibition Committee refused to explain or reverse their decision when

¹²⁸ *Irish Examiner*, 9 May 1865, p. 3.

¹²⁹ *Nation*, 29 April 1865, p. 8.

¹³⁰ While the jettisoning of Irish music and products from this exhibition may indicate a desire to quell excessive individualism within the confines of the United Kingdom, there may also have been more pragmatic considerations when choosing the music programme for the opening ceremony. The music performed may have been the mainstay of repertoire that was familiar to the choirs and orchestral musicians from Ireland as well as those who had travelled from Britain.

¹³¹ *Irish Times*, 12 May 1865, p. 3.

approached by the RIC commanding officers. In consequence, the RIC refused to allow their band to perform at the Exhibition. The Editorial Article of the *Irish Times* regretted the fact that one of the finest bands in the Kingdom would not be present to perform, depriving the public of an entertainment they would have expected to enjoy, noting the general popularity of this particular branch of Her Majesty's service.¹³² The absence of the RIC band was indeed felt and expressed in a letter to the *Irish Times* three months after the commencement of the Exhibition.¹³³ Recalling the band's excellent performances at the 1864 National Exhibition the writer considered that the inclusion of Ireland's national band would further enhance the display of Irish talent on show, entice more visitors, and satisfy the needs of female attendees who wished to hear their favourite band. A reply to this letter considered it stupid and discourteous of the Exhibition Committee to exclude the RIC from the opening ceremony, suggesting also that the public had felt the loss.¹³⁴ The repercussions of the Exhibition committee's decision to snub the RIC officers at the opening ceremony rumbled on for four years with the RIC refusing to allow their band to perform at that venue until May 1869.¹³⁵ An *Irish Times* article printed in March 1869 recalled the events of 1865 noting the heavy involvement of Hardy and the RIC band in the lead-up to the 1865 Exhibition.¹³⁶ Hardy had acted in a musical advisory role, some bandsmen were engaged on a freelance basis in the orchestra, and the band was involved in rehearsals for the opening ceremony. It was during such a rehearsal that the band was withdrawn from the Exhibition Palace building.

Questions must be raised as to the attitude of the Exhibition Committee towards specific Irish representation at the Exhibition. With no area dedicated to the display of Irish goods, the exclusion of Irish music from the opening ceremony, and the omission of the RIC and

¹³² *Irish Times*, 12 May 1865, p. 3.

¹³³ *Irish Times*, 8 May 1865, p. 4.

¹³⁴ *Irish Times*, 21 August 1865, p. 3.

¹³⁵ *Irish Times*, 15 May 1869, p. 3.

¹³⁶ *Irish Times*, 4 March 1869, p. 3.

consequently their band with which the Irish public closely identified, it appears that this Exhibition sought to place Ireland as an entirely integrated component of the United Kingdom. Turpin notes the Unionist inclinations of the organising committee in the joint displaying of British and Irish produce and the controversy this decision provoked.¹³⁷ British colonies were individually cited in the catalogue and placed in the ‘Colonial Department’. Meanwhile Irish goods were subsumed in the ‘British Department’ and Irish cultural markers such as music were excluded. An article in the *Nation* newspaper rather cynically describes preparation for the Exhibition and its opening ceremony suggesting that a storm of music would shake the walls of the Exhibition Palace in a show of power while ‘bunting of many colours-every colour but the National-will wave from the windows of loyal and prudent shopkeepers’.¹³⁸ These ‘loyal and prudent shopkeepers’ may have concurred with a writer in the English newspaper, the *Daily News*, which hoped that the Exhibition would sway popular opinion in Ireland to recognise ‘the advantages of the Imperial connection to Ireland’.¹³⁹ It also believed that ‘the most ignorant sedition-monger on either side of the Atlantic will hardly pretend that this event could have taken place under any scheme of “independence” practicable in Ireland’. For some, there was a belief that Ireland’s prosperity was indeed dependant on its union with Great Britain. John Brew discusses the attitudes produced by of the Act of Union (1801-1922), gathering the views of various authors on this topic. These attitudes included the belief in the dominance of the larger island of the British Isles, and the view of Ireland’s assimilation with Britain while still maintaining its distinctive nature.¹⁴⁰

The Exhibition Committee’s reason for choosing to treat the officers of the RIC differently to officers of army regiments remains ambiguous. One can only surmise why this

¹³⁷ John Turpin, ‘Exhibitions of Arts and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part 2: Dublin Exhibitions of Arts and Industries 1865-1885’, *Dublin Historical Record*, 35:2 (1982), 42–51 (p. 46).

¹³⁸ *Nation*, 6 May 1865, pp. 8–9.

¹³⁹ *Daily News*, 10 May 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ John Brew, ‘Ireland Under the Union, 1801–1922’, in *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland*, ed. by Richard Bourke and Ian McBride (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 74–108 (pp. 82–83).

occurred and question why the Exhibition Committee, many of whom enthusiastically and financially endorsed the previous year's national exhibition, took this course of action. While the RIC was an agent of the British empire, nonetheless, it was comprised mainly of Irishmen. Holding this ambiguous position, the RIC may have been viewed as too British by some and too Irish by others. The RIC's image was entangled in a mesh of British and Irish identity, finding itself in a no-man's-land somewhere between mainstream Britain and middle-class Ireland. Possible complex reasons for the exclusion of the RIC may include the growing fear of Fenian sentiment, a genuine belief that Irish prosperity was only possible in the context of the British Empire, and a desire to elevate Dublin as the prosperous peaceful second city of the Empire. A more sinister interpretation may suggest the deliberate suppression of growing middle-class national awareness, that could be transmitted and advanced via the emotive qualities of music which could be evoked by the RIC band.

The Fenian movement, formed in 1858, had grown in strength during the 1860s attracting lower-middle-class nationalists to its ranks in both Ireland and the United States. R. V. Comerford notes that Fenian activity in the 1860s was predominantly situated in the cities and towns, appealing to 'respectable' wage earners with some disposable income to spend on leisure activities.¹⁴¹ These were the very people who might visit the International Exhibition and it is possible that the Exhibition organisers in no way wished to reinforce a sense of national pride or patriotism through an overt display of Irish goods or talent. Rains cites the substantial number of shop workers, office workers, and draper's assistants listed among several Fenians arrested in the mid-1860s, noting particularly employees of Arnott & Co. and McSwiney, Delany & Co. who were arrested in 1865.¹⁴² Directors of the Dublin Exhibition Palace, and Winter Garden Company included those with business interests in the major Dublin retail

¹⁴¹R. V. Comerford, 'Patriotism as Pastime: The Appeal of Fenianism in the Mid-1860s', in *Reactions to Irish Nationalism, 1865–1914*, ed. by Alan O'Day (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), pp. 21–32 (p. 23 and p. 24).

¹⁴² Rains, p. 58.

outlets such as Thomas Pim of South Great George's Street and John W. Switzer of Grafton Street. The Exhibition Committee was aware of the Fenian threat that could destabilise their business interests and may have moved to distance themselves from Irish exclusivity. Juliana Adelman supports this theory that latent fear of Fenianism underpinned the decision not to segregate Irish exhibits from those of Britain at the 1865 Exhibition. She qualifies this by observing that a subsequent exhibition in 1872, which was no less loyal in tone, segregated Irish and British exhibits, now that the serious Fenian threat had passed.¹⁴³

An article from the *Daily Telegraph* which was printed in the *Irish Times* on the day of the opening of the Exhibition expressed the view that Erin, due to her poor geographic location, could only prosper when she accepted the true friendship of England and Scotland.¹⁴⁴ The article goes on to say that foreign visitors to the Exhibition would see the gold of the Saxon glittering in every direction and no evidence of the 'hated Sassenach [sic]'. Fenians who visited the Exhibition would notice the abundance of products from other countries in comparison to the dearth of Irish wares and realise that 'all the Rapparee songs in Connaught and Chicago together will never have the slightest effect on isothermal lines'. The association of the Prince of Wales with the opening of the Exhibition added stature to the event, while the visible and public presence of the monarch's son in Dublin reinforced the prestige of association with the Empire. As part of the House of Commons debate previously mentioned, it was also suggested that the controversial programme of music for the opening ceremony had been submitted to the Prince of Wales for approval. Accounts of the journey of the Prince of Wales from the Vice-Regal Lodge to the Exhibition Palace depict crowds of all classes gathered along the route, cheering their future King.¹⁴⁵ The Exhibition organisers considered this support for the Prince

¹⁴³ Juliana Adelman, *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009), p. 126.

¹⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 9 May 1865, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 May 1865, p. 5.

of Wales as an act of patriotism and an expression of the people's desire for peace and prosperity within the United Kingdom.¹⁴⁶

6.4.3 Military Band Performances at the Exhibition of 1865

Military band performances, an expected attraction at nineteenth-century exhibitions, were not prominently featured in the early weeks of the Dublin International Exhibition. As predicted in an *Irish Times* editorial article of 12 May 1865, the exclusion of the RIC band from the Exhibition's musical arrangements would lead to a dearth of military band music. Most of the regiments then stationed in Dublin were due to relocate to the Curragh and therefore it would be difficult to provide this popular source of entertainment on a regular basis.¹⁴⁷ Another *Irish Times* article identified a lack of organisation regarding musical performances at the Exhibition and suggested that a musical programme for the season should be settled upon and published with haste. They identified a direct link between the provision of music and Exhibition attendance, strongly voicing the opinion that one military band performance per week was insufficient if the Exhibition organisers wished to increase receipts.¹⁴⁸

With the commencement of evening promenades in early July, military bands became more of a presence at the Exhibition.¹⁴⁹ However, a perceived lack of quality brass band music was noted in the *Irish Times*, suggesting the recruitment of a dedicated Exhibition band containing five or six eminent musicians would ensure the proper provision of this musical genre.¹⁵⁰ This suggestion was not adopted. With the further expansion of evening opening hours during the month of August, military band music was featured much more extensively. Popular performances by the boys' band of the Hibernian Military School took place during

¹⁴⁶ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 88, quoting from *Irish Times*, 10 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 12 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Irish Times*, 29 May 1865 p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 6 July 1865 p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 29 July 1865, p. 4.

this period as well as performances by the bands of the 8th King's Own Regiment, the 11th Hussars, the 24th Regiment, and the 61st Regiment.¹⁵¹

The bands also performed as part of the *conversazioni* which commenced in mid-July. The *conversazione* was typically a soiree held by learned and art societies, where the society's work was exhibited as part of a social gathering. The linking of science with entertainment had been popularised by John Henry Pepper (1821–1900) of the London's Royal Polytechnic Institution who used optical tricks, plays, and musical acts to promote scientific instruction.¹⁵² The *conversazione*, which took place on 21 July, combined a programme of mixed musical content, including a piano duet performed by William Charles Levey and Mrs H. A. Cruise and a performance by the band of the 78th Highlanders, with a reception for the jurors of the Exhibition.¹⁵³ Numerous objects of scientific interest were on exhibition at this event, while the public could view the circulation system of a frog through a microscope. During the nineteenth century the concept of music as purely metaphysical was challenged and questions regarding the science of sound, and consequently music, were being raised. The combining of music with popular science at public events is noted by Edward J. Gillin who observes that throughout Great Britain 'scientific popularizers mobilized musical resources to attract diverse new audiences to lectures'.¹⁵⁴ This change in perception about the origins of music, which coincided with the expansion of industry, science, and imperialism, altered the perception of music by those in positions of power. Gillin considers that 'attempts to define, explain, utilize, control, measure, and regulate sound, and specifically music, were above all, about cultural

¹⁵¹ For examples of these performances see *Freeman's Journal*, 8 August 1865, p. 1 (Band of the 8th King's Own Regiment), *Freeman's Journal*, 22 August 1865, p. 1 (Band of 11th Hussars), *Freeman's Journal*, 11 September 1865, p. 4 (Boys Band of the Hibernian Military School), *Freeman's Journal*, 2 October 1865, p. 1 (Band of the 24th Regiment), and *Freeman's Journal*, 11 October 1865, p. 3 (Band of the 61st Regiment).

¹⁵² Bernard Lightman, 'Science and Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. by Francis O'Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 12–42 (pp. 15–16).

¹⁵³ *Irish Times*, 22 July 1865, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ Edward J. Gillin, *Sound Authorities: Scientific and Musical Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021), p. 2.

authority'.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, while music at a *conversazione* might entertain attendees, the recognition of its scientific basis left it on a par with the scientific experiments and exhibits with which it mingled. A similar *conversazione* and grand reception were held for the mechanical engineers who had provided exhibits, with military band music listed as an attraction.¹⁵⁶ Music for the *conversazione* of 3 August included cornet duets with organ accompaniment, duets on two pianos, and a performance by the band of the 10th Hussars.¹⁵⁷

While lack of foresight regarding the planning of military band performances in the early stages of the Exhibition was evident, this was probably amplified by the non-inclusion of a dedicated committee from the early planning stage to oversee music. At a meeting held in Dublin's Mansion House during the planning phase of the Exhibition on 5 August 1864, six committees of advice and assistance were formed, with honorary heads appointed to each. These committees were to oversee various aspects of manufacture and fine arts, but no music committee was formed.¹⁵⁸ A music committee appears to have been formed at a later date with six meetings regarding music recorded prior to the Exhibition. In a list of meetings recorded in the *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* music appears as an add-on at the bottom of the list along with meetings of the traffic committee, reception committee, and refreshment committee.¹⁵⁹

6.4.4 Hardy as a Freelance Musician

Although the RIC band did not perform at the Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures of 1865, Hardy as a civilian freelance musician was employed in a variety of ways at this prominent Dublin venture. He served as musical director for two balls, promoted

¹⁵⁵ Gillin, p. 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 29 July 1865, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Irish Times*, 4 August 1865, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), pp. 42 and 46.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

his own compositions and acted as an adjudicator at a brass band contest. While best known as a bandmaster, Hardy never confined himself to this description, naming himself as ‘musician’ or ‘professor of music’ on any identifying documentation. His concerts were the meeting point for his various types of music employment. As bandmaster, freelance musician, teacher, composer and military musician, he drew on these connections to produce and promote his concerts.

Hardy was similar to many musicians in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who were defined as artisans or journeymen by Rebecca Gribble, with the exception that Hardy supplemented his main income by the typical activities of artisan and journeymen freelance musicians.¹⁶⁰

Hardy’s début performance as a freelance musician in London’s Exeter Hall in 1853 was at Allcroft’s annual monster concert, a large-scale mixed concert “which the largest musical appetite could not possibly swallow...much less digest”.¹⁶¹ Special mention is given in this review to Hardy’s quality French horn playing.¹⁶² Hardy had also played as a member of Jullien’s orchestra during this period.¹⁶³ Jullien, who had brought the concept of the popular promenade concert with him from Paris and achieved great public appeal from 1840 to 1858, played populist programmes with an emphasis on spectacle and flamboyance, for a reasonably priced admission fee.¹⁶⁴ While Hardy in no way achieved Jullien’s fame, nonetheless he recreated a similar spectacular stage performance at his 1868 benefit concert, using a combined military band of up to eighty performers and a choir of fifty. Albeit on a much smaller stage than Jullien, Hardy had gained his own prominence and popularity in Ireland. Newspaper

¹⁶⁰ Rebecca Gribble, ‘The Finances, Estates and Social Status of Musicians in the Late-Eighteenth Century’, in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity*, ed. by Rosemary Golding (Oxon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 12–31 (p. 15).

¹⁶¹ *Morning Post*, 25 January 1853, p. 5.

¹⁶² *Morning Post*, 25 January 1853, p. 5 and *Morning Advertiser*, 25 January 1853, p. 6.

¹⁶³ *Royal Leamington Spa Courier and Warwickshire Standard*, 21 July 1855, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Simon McVeigh, “‘An Audience for High-Class Music’: Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London”, in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914, Manager, Charlatans and Idealists*, ed. by William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 162–184 (p. 175).

accounts abound referring to his general popularity. An account of a performance at Mr Montague's benefit concert in 1864 devotes sixteen lines to praising Hardy, noting his popularity and the exuberant audience response on seeing him approach the stage.¹⁶⁵

Many nineteenth-century musicians further supplemented their income by teaching and used the benefit concert as a shop window for attracting prospective instrumental pupils. The advertisement for Hardy's 1868 concert immediately identifies Hardy as a professor at the Irish Academy of Music. Hardy began this appointment as professor of wind instruments in 1862 at an annual salary of £40.¹⁶⁶ Arrangements regarding Hardy's salary were amended in 1867 with him in receipt of an annual salary of £20 and an additional payment of £1 per student per annum.¹⁶⁷ His half-yearly payments for 1867 show that he taught six students during each half of the year.¹⁶⁸ This increased to eight students in 1868.¹⁶⁹ Hardy ceased employment at the Irish Academy of Music in December 1868.¹⁷⁰ Rohr notes that "school appointments were valued for the dependable income they provided; ...and the teacher was less likely to be victimised by the unreliability of individual students or the possibility of parents reneging on the tuition".¹⁷¹ Hardy's concert advertisements served a dual purpose; they promoted Hardy as a teacher and gave prominence to the Irish Academy of Music as a music school. A violin student of the Irish Academy of Music, Master William Byrne, also performed at the concert. While not a student of Hardy, he nevertheless demonstrated the value of studying at that

¹⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 14 November 1863 p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Margaret O'Hara, 'Foundation 1, 1848 – 1870', in *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848–1998*, ed. by Richard Pine and Charles Acton (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), pp. 33–95 (p. 69). Also, *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 28 May 1862, National Archives 1120/1/2.

¹⁶⁷ *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 9 January 1867, National Archives PRIV/1220/1/4.

¹⁶⁸ *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 19 June 1867 and 11 December 1867 National Archives PRIV/1220/1/4.

¹⁶⁹ *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 1 April 1868 and 30 September 1868, National Archives PRIV/1220/1/4.

¹⁷⁰ *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 9 December 1868 and 29 December 1868, National Archives PRIV/1220/1/4.

¹⁷¹ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 149.

academy. A well-run prestigious concert could raise the teaching profile of the organising musician.

It is difficult to calculate the income Hardy may have earned from his benefit concerts. Taking his 1868 benefit concert as an example, ticket prices ranged from one shilling to three shillings and sixpence, with an average price per ticket of two shillings and threepence.¹⁷² The *Irish Times* concert review reported a crowded venue with capacity attendance.¹⁷³ The concert venue, Dublin's Rotundo, had an audience capacity of two thousand.¹⁷⁴ However, without knowing the expenses incurred and the number and type of tickets sold it is impossible to calculate the revenue earned from such a venture.

Newspaper accounts show Hardy working as a freelance French horn player for once-off events and also as an orchestra member at the Dublin operas and at Dublin orchestral concerts. Hardy identifies himself as the principal horn player with the "Philharmonic, Antient and University Concerts, Dublin" in a letter to the editor of the *Cork Examiner* in 1862.¹⁷⁵ At a Pontifical High Mass to mark the opening of the new transept of St. Teresa's church, Clarendon Street, Dublin, Hardy is named as French horn player in a twenty-strong orchestra performing a Haydn mass.¹⁷⁶ Hardy's performance is singled out for mention during the opera seasons of 1864 and 1866, playing the French horn obligato in the first act of Gounod's *Faust*.¹⁷⁷ Hardy is also named as French horn player in the orchestra of the Philharmonic Society, playing at the society's December concert in 1865.¹⁷⁸ The payment Hardy received for his freelance performances is unknown.

¹⁷² *Freeman's Journal*, 28 April 1868, p. 1.

¹⁷³ *Irish Times*, 5 May 1868, p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Desmond F. Moore, 'The Rotunda Buildings', *Dublin Historical Record*, 19:3 (1964), 85–93 (p. 90).

¹⁷⁵ *Cork Examiner*, 8 May 1862, p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ *Nation*, 25 February 1865, p. 1.

¹⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 September 1864, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 13 March 1866, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 21 December 1865, p. 3.

Hardy was a valuable asset to the Dublin orchestral scene as high calibre French horn players were difficult to secure at that time. A letter to the editor of the *Dublin Evening Telegraph* in 1889 outlined the reasons for this difficulty and mentioned the late Hardy as a first-rate player and teacher of the instrument.¹⁷⁹ John O'Donnell, the writer of the letter, cited the challenges in attracting students to the instrument, the difficult nature of the instrument, the length of tuition time required and the low earnings for French horn players in Dublin. Due to the lack of work in Dublin, a French horn player may have earned approximately ten pounds per year compared to a possible one hundred and fifty pounds per year in the cities of England. Therefore, orchestral work for French horn players in Dublin was more suited to a musician with other complimentary sources of income. Regimental bandsmen were the best French horn players as the obedience of army training resulted in quality playing. Retired regimental bandsmen were the mainstay of orchestral French horn players in England. As regiments only visited Dublin for tours of duty their retired musicians tended not to reside in Ireland after retirement. Hardy, consequently, had the ideal profile for a freelance French horn player in Dublin being trained in the army tradition to a high standard and having many other sources of income.

Hardy further supplemented his income by the sale of piano sheet music versions of dance-music compositions originally composed for performance by the RIC band. These compositions are discussed in detail in chapter seven of this dissertation. It is not possible to ascertain the precise income that Hardy might have made from sheet music sales as the list of his compositions in Appendix 1 of this dissertation may not be complete. From this list of Hardy's compositions that have been identified to date, he appears to have composed between two and four pieces of music per year. It is not known, however, if all these compositions were published and sold as piano sheet music. From analysis of available newspaper advertisements

¹⁷⁹ *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 20 February 1889, p. 4.

for Hardy's piano sheet music it would appear that during the eleven-year period of his tenure as RIC bandmaster (1861–72), Hardy produced approximately twelve published works. As discussed in chapter seven, it is likely that Hardy received a once-off payment from the publisher for each of these pieces, ranging between one and ten pounds. Furthermore, Hardy may have received income from the preparation of scores for performances. Speaking as a witness in a case involving the concertina player Joseph Scates which took place at Dublin's Court of Exchequer in 1862, Hardy estimated that the payment for such work which involved "the knowledge of thorough bass and counter parts" should be between £2 2s and £3 3s depending on length.¹⁸⁰

It is not possible to calculate Hardy's total income, however, it is accurate to say that he earned at least £240 per annum based on exact information regarding his RIC and Irish Academy of Music appointments. He supplemented this income with receipts from freelance work as a musician, his own personal benefit concerts held between 1867 and 1873, and the sale of between two and four publications of piano sheet music per annum.

6.4.5 Hardy as Freelance Conductor: Balls at the Exhibition

Hardy was musical director for two prestigious balls held in the initial days of the exhibition. The first of these took place on the evening of 9 May 1865 at Dublin's Mansion House, while the second took place three days later in the large concert hall of the Exhibition Palace.

The Mansion House ball was hosted by the Lord Mayor, Sir John Barrington (1824–87), in honour of the Prince of Wales's visit to Dublin for the opening of the Exhibition. An estimated three thousand invited guests attended, arriving constantly until two o'clock in the morning.¹⁸¹ Hardy conducted a string band led by Mr Daly, which greeted the prince and

¹⁸⁰ *Dublin Daily Express*, 14 February 1862, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Irish Times*, 10 May 1865, p. 3.

provided music for the ball.¹⁸² This may have been a freelance band, formed specially for the occasion as the band is not named in newspaper accounts. It can be surmised that the embargo on RIC band participation at the Exhibition included ancillary events held outside of the Exhibition premises and therefore, Hardy, who was employed by the RIC but retained his civilian status, was engaged as bandmaster in a freelance role. The Prince of Wales ‘heartily joined in the spirit of the dance’ and following supper, the dancing was resumed and ‘sustained with unabated vigour until the Princely party retired’.¹⁸³ The enthusiastic dancing, however, was interpreted as uncouth behaviour by a writer to the *Irish Times*, noting that valuable jewellery mislaid or stolen at the ball had not been returned to its owners.¹⁸⁴ An extensive programme of quadrilles, vales, lancers and galops was performed at the ball, featuring Hardy’s compositions *Emblems of Love Valse*, *The Bachelors’ Galop*, *Valse Shilly Shally*, and *Norah Valse* which was composed specially for the occasion.¹⁸⁵ *Norah Valse*, when published for piano the following year, was entitled *Norah (the Pride of Kildare)*, suggesting that this was an Irish-themed composition. It may be possible that Hardy, in his independent role as conductor, was quietly subverting the ‘non-Irish’ repertoire stance that was evident during the Exhibition’s opening ceremony by including his Irish-themed compositions in the ball programme.

Three days later the exhibition venue played host to a Grand Ball in aid of the Irish Academy of Music,¹⁸⁶ a private music school which had been established in Dublin in 1848.¹⁸⁷ The Irish Academy of Music, which became the Royal Irish Academy of Music in 1872,¹⁸⁸ was the first music institute in Ireland to offer music education in an organised and practical

¹⁸² *Irish Times*, 11 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁸³ *Irish Times*, 10 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ *Irish Times*, 11 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Richard Pine, ‘Introduction’, in *To Talent Alone*, ed. by Richard Pine and Charles Acton (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998), pp. 1–11 (p. 1).

¹⁸⁷ *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Pine and Acton, p. 107.

manner.¹⁸⁹ Accounts of the ball cite a colourful and lively attendance of up to three thousand people comprising aristocracy, gentry and mercantile classes. Set among a profusion of mechanical and technical paraphernalia a reporter from the *Freeman's Journal* felt confident that the beautiful science of music would benefit from this fundraising event for an organisation that worked towards the 'cultivation of musical talent and the diffusion of the highest class of musical education' in the city of Dublin.¹⁹⁰ The *Irish Times* added that funds raised would bolster an institution 'which at once increases the numbers of competent musicians, and raises the standard of popular taste'.¹⁹¹

The band consisted of forty instrumentalists under the baton of Hardy.¹⁹² Hardy was employed as professor of wind instruments at the Irish Academy of Music from 1862 to 1868.¹⁹³ Music commenced at eleven o'clock with dancing proceeding until well into the morning, with a special train scheduled for three o'clock in the morning to ferry ball attendees home on the Kingstown and Bray line.¹⁹⁴ Once more, Hardy's dance music *Emblems of Love*, *Shilly Shally*, *The Bachelors' Galop*, and *Norah* are listed in the programme.

The list of those in attendance at the Irish Academy of Music ball gives an insight into the changing class structure underway in mid-Victorian Ireland. Nineteenth-century Dublin witnessed a significant shift in power from the Protestant ascendancy, as Catholics gradually infiltrated the world of local politics, business and the professions. While many Protestants considered England and Ireland as the same country, many middle-class Catholics also were happy to accept the status quo. This may be better understood if societal change in Ireland is considered within the wider remit of the rise of bourgeois society in general and not solely

¹⁸⁹ Pine and Acton, p. 1.

¹⁹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁹² *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 3.

¹⁹³ For information regarding Hardy's appointment by Irish Academy of Music see *Minute Books of Irish Academy of Music*, Minutes of 28 May 1862, National Archives 1120/1/2. Also, for information regarding Hardy's salary at Irish Academy of Music, see National Archives PRIV/1220/1/4. For information regarding Hardy's termination of employment at Irish Academy of Music, see Minutes of 23 December 1868, National Archives PRIV/1220/1/5.

¹⁹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1865, p. 1.

within the nationalist narrative. Ciaran O'Neill recognises the nineteenth century as the era when bourgeois middle-class society came into its own, commenting that 'it was the moment when the educated and polished middle classes reigned supreme, having finally wrested control of the poor from the rich through control of philanthropy, charity and education, and in the process usurped the asset-rich and landed as the natural governors of society'.¹⁹⁵ O'Neill notes the wide breadth of the nineteenth century bourgeois class ranging from low-ranking bureaucrats to merchants and professionals.¹⁹⁶ This social structure of Protestant ascendancy along with the various strata of middle-class Catholics provided the main attendance at this ball. Aristocrats such as Her Excellency Lady Wodehouse,¹⁹⁷ the Duke of Leinster, and the Marchioness of Downshire danced alongside the Murphys, Byrnes and O'Briens who had the purchasing power to buy tickets ranging from ten shillings for a female season ticket holder to one pound ten shillings for a male non-season ticket holder.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile Hardy, the Englishman, who had risen through the musical ranks from bandsman to music entrepreneur, provided the soundtrack to an entertainment of two social groups whose worlds were ultimately heading towards collision with the struggle for Irish independence some fifty years later. The popular Mr Hardy, who less than a decade later would be rejected by Irish middle-class Catholic society, was a middleman caught between the retreating Irish gentry and the advancing middle-class native population.¹⁹⁹ A political and social game was being played out on the dance floor of the Exhibition Palace where personal loyalty to Hardy, a liminal figure, could easily give way to deepening nationalist ideologies.

¹⁹⁵ Ciaran O'Neill, 'Bourgeois Ireland', in *The Cambridge History of Ireland Volume III 1730–1880*, ed. by James Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 517–541 (p. 518).

¹⁹⁶ O'Neill, p. 522.

¹⁹⁷ Lady Wodehouse was the wife of John Wodehouse, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1864 – 1866.

Hardy's waltz *Emblems of Love*, composed in 1864, was dedicated to Lady Wodehouse. See Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁸ For list of attendees at ball see *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 3. For ticket prices see *Freeman's Journal*, 8 May 1865, p. 1.

¹⁹⁹ See Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 22 for list of events that gradually led towards the decline of the Protestant ascendancy and gentry in Ireland.

6.4.6 Hardy's Compositions and Publications at the Exhibition of 1865

Hardy's *Bachelors' Galop* was listed as 'new' when performed at the ball in the Mansion House to mark the opening of the Exhibition.²⁰⁰ Already popular as a military band arrangement, a run of advertisements appeared in the press as early as February 1865 announcing that it was in preparation for printing.²⁰¹ Priced at an introductory half-price of one shilling and sixpence it was available free of post from the publishers M. Gunn and Sons of Grafton Street, who were exhibitors at the Exhibition.²⁰² While this may be yet another inconsequential nineteenth-century dance tune it does however cast light on the consumer demand for published sheet music of the day. Sheet music had become a mass medium, with nineteenth-century printing technology enabling multiple copies per edition. Progress in engraving techniques led to the mass production of colourful lithographic illustrations for front covers making sheet music attractive as a commodity in its own right. Peter L. Schmunk considers that publishers responded to the eagerness of the continually growing consumer market by producing enormous amounts of sheet music often with visually appealing covers.²⁰³ Anne F. Howey further notes that new and improved technologies, including lithography and chromolithography, enabled the production of more affordable sheet music.²⁰⁴ Lithographers T.T. Williamson²⁰⁵ and Forster & Co.,²⁰⁶ both of Crow Street, Dublin occupied stands at the Exhibition, S. & G. Wiseheart²⁰⁷ of Nassau Street, Dublin, displayed music printing and

²⁰⁰ *Irish Times*, 11 May 1865, p. 3.

²⁰¹ *Irish Times*, 7 February 1865, p. 2.

²⁰² *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 239.

²⁰³ Peter L. Schmunk, 'Artists as Musicians and Musical Connoisseurs: Musicians, *Mélomanes*, and the Ideas of Music Among Nineteenth-Century Artists', *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, ed. by Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 265–273 (p. 266).

²⁰⁴ Anne F. Howey, *Afterlives of The Lady of Shalott and Elaine of Astolat* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 99.

²⁰⁵ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 269.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

engravings, while H. Bussell of Dublin's Westmoreland Street was listed as a displayer of musical publications.²⁰⁸

6.4.7 Brass Band Contest at the Exhibition of 1865: Hardy as Adjudicator

Brass bands and brass band contests were a popular feature of Victorian music-making, and this trend was supported at the 1865 Exhibition by the inclusion of such a contest. Only five years previously the first Grand Brass Band Contest to be held outside the North of England, homeland of brass banding, took place in London's Crystal Palace, the venue for the Great Exhibition of 1851.²⁰⁹ Contests were viewed as highly entertaining occasions and held similarities with sporting event. Bands became more ambitious and gathered loyal followers.²¹⁰ With the advent of rail transport, brass bands could now travel more easily to far-flung parts of the United Kingdom, with band contest organisers negotiating special rate fares for contestants and their supporters.²¹¹ Of the fourteen bands entered for the Dublin contest at the 1865 Exhibition, ten or eleven came from England, from the areas of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire.²¹² This suggests that three or four of the bands were Irish. A *Freeman's Journal* article mentions that the three bands that played on the first day of the competition were Irish.²¹³ These bands were Dr Spratt's Temperance Band, St Peter's Amateur Brass Band, and St Cecilia's Amateur Brass Band. A website entitled *Brass Band Results* lists fourteen bands

²⁰⁸ For names of these publishers listed at the Exhibition see *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 241.

²⁰⁹ Trevor Herbert and Arnold Meyers, 'Music for the Multitude: Accounts of Brass bands Entering Enderby Jackson's Crystal Palace Contests in the 1860s', in *Early Music*, 38:4 (2010), 571–584 (p. 571).

²¹⁰ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 162.

²¹¹ Herbert and Meyers, p. 576.

²¹² *Irish Times*, 12 October 1865, p. 1. Details regarding the number of bands entered in the competition vary. The *Irish Times* lists fourteen bands but the *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865, p. 2 mentions that sixteen bands were entered.

²¹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865, p. 2.

performing in the competition.²¹⁴ In addition to the three Irish bands already mentioned it also identifies the Benevolent Society of House Painters' band as Irish. Unfortunately, the sources used by this website are not stated. Holman, in his *Brass Bands of Ireland: A Historical Directory* (2019), lists the four Irish bands mentioned above stating that Dr Spratt's Temperance Band was active in Dublin in 1865, St. Peter's Amateur Brass Band was from Phibsborough in Dublin and active between 1865 and 1895, St Cecilia's Amateur Brass Band was from Dundrum in Tipperary and active between 1865 and 1870, and the Benevolent Society of House Painters' band from Dublin (also known as the Dublin Regular Painters' Brass band) was active from 1865 to 1895.²¹⁵

Reduced ticket prices for boat and train were offered for some other musical events at the Exhibition so it is possible that similar travel incentives were offered to the brass bands.²¹⁶ The prizes were also very attractive totalling £194 18s, with first prize alone offering £57 6s, a silver cup or its value of £30, a Higham Euphonium worth £11 11s, and a subscription to Chappell's Brass Band Journal worth £15 15s.²¹⁷ This prize was significantly higher than that offered at the prestigious First National Brass Band Contest held in London's Crystal Palace in 1860 which offered £40 as first prize.²¹⁸ Based on the principals of social improvement and Victorian diligence this eclectic collection of working-class bandsmen could provide a cohesive message of moral elevation to its vast cross-class audience through the medium of music.

²¹⁴ Sharon Sawyer and Tim Sawyer, 'Results of Brass Band Contest at Dublin International Exhibition, 1865', in *Brass Band Results* <<https://brassbandresults.co.uk/contests/dublin-international-exhibition/1865-10-12/>> [accessed 28 September 2022]

²¹⁵ Gavin Holman, *Brass Bands of Ireland: A Historical Directory* <https://www.academia.edu/38234853/Brass_Bands_of_Ireland_a_historical_directory> [accessed 28 September 2022]

²¹⁶ *Nation*, 6 May 1865, p. 12. Special arrangements were made with railway and steam packet companies to convey performers from the principal towns of Great Britain and Ireland to the Exhibition's opening ceremony.

²¹⁷ *Irish Times*, 12 October 1865, p. 3.

²¹⁸ Trevor Herbert and Arnold Meyers, 'Music for the Multitude: Accounts of Brass bands Entering Enderby Jackson's Crystal Palace Contests in the 1860s', in *Early Music*, 38:4 (2010), 571–584 (p. 572).

Hardy, along with three regimental bandmasters, acted as adjudicators at what was intended to be a three-day event.²¹⁹ Military bandmasters were the preferred choice as adjudicators at nineteenth-century band contests as it was thought that amateur wind players could learn from the high standards expected within military band circles.²²⁰ One of Hardy's fellow adjudicators, bandmaster of the 10th Hussars regimental band Herr Hartmann, had previously acted as adjudicator at the London Crystal Palace band contests in 1861.²²¹ As bandmaster of the RIC band Hardy was both a popular and prudent choice. Enthusiastically received by his audiences, Hardy had also earned the reputation for bringing previously unskilled musicians to a high level of competence within a short space of time,²²² with his band considered to be one of the best bands in Europe and the British Empire.²²³

Following an advertising campaign in the English²²⁴ and Irish²²⁵ press the contest attracted entries from the possibly fourteen amateur brass bands already mentioned. Public viewing tickets were priced at one shilling and the *Freeman's Journal* recorded strong audience numbers.²²⁶ It was intended that this would be a three-day event with three bands congregating each day to play *God save the Queen*.²²⁷ A total of six prizes of money and brass instruments were offered, all sponsored by Joseph Higham, a Manchester brass instrument maker, and Chappell and Co. of London. A special prize for solo cornet was also offered. Band membership ranged between eleven and thirty players. Repertoire chosen by each band included the typical fare of operatic selections and dance pieces.

²¹⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865, p. 2 lists the other adjudicators as John Lee (5th Dragoon Guards), Mons. F. Stradl (8th King's Own Regiment), and Herr Hartmann (10th Hussars). The website <https://brassbandresults.co.uk/contests/dublin-international-exhibition/1865-10-12/> names the bandmaster of the 8th King's Own Regiment as T. Stradiot.

²²⁰ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 163.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

²²² *Daily News*, 8 February 1856, p. 6.

²²³ Robert H. Curtis, *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary* (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1871), p. 58.

²²⁴ *Musical World*, 43: 39, 30 September 1865, p. 1.

²²⁵ *Irish Times*, 4 October 1865, p. 1.

²²⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865 p. 2.

²²⁷ *Irish Times*, 12 October 1865, p. 3.

However, the contest was not deemed to be a success. Three Irish bands performed on the first day but due to stormy conditions on the Irish Sea the English bands were unable to compete.²²⁸ Details of the Irish competitors' performances are not consistent between the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal*. The *Irish Times* cites Dr Spratt's Temperance Band, with a membership of twenty, performing a Grand march, 'Erin-go Bragh Quadrilles' and 'Tara's Halls' while the *Freeman's Journal* notes this band's performance of 'The Rifle Galop' under the direction of Mr J. Tighe.²²⁹ Other Irish bands which performed were St Peter's Amateur Brass Band and St Cecilia's Band, under the direction of Mr C. Conliffe and Mr J. Tighe respectively.²³⁰

The inclusion of a brass band contest conformed well to the ethos of the Exhibition, promoting rational and social improvement. The convergence of technical, social and economic circumstances in mid-Victorian Britain had led to the development of brass banding and brass band contests. John Shepherd observes that 'there was a widespread belief among the middle and upper classes that collective music-making was both morally beneficial for the working classes and in accord with a broader set of values conducive to social cohesion'.²³¹ A predominantly working-class pursuit, brass banding provided its members with educational, travel and leisure opportunities not generally available to others of this socio-economic group. Of course, this position could be viewed more cynically as the manipulation of a perceived inferior class towards middle-class taste and morals.

²²⁸ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866, p. 544.

²²⁹ *Irish Times*, 12 October 1865, p. 1 and *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865, p. 2.

²³⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 October 1865, p. 2.

²³¹ Trevor Herbert, 'Brass Band', *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World Volume 2*, ed. by John Shepherd, David Horn, David Laing, and Peter Wicke (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 13.

6.4.8 Instruments on Display at the Exhibition of 1865

A display of instruments, predominantly of pianos, took place at the Exhibition. Listed as ‘Machinery’ and under the sub-heading of ‘Musical Instruments’, a considerable portion of the Descriptive Catalogue is devoted to the merits of piano playing for ladies citing it as a worthy form of daily employment, an important part of female education and a ‘comforter and resource ever after’.²³² The catalogue considers the piano as a social marker which can cross social boundaries, being an essential requirement for the nobleman’s mansion and the shopkeeper’s cottage.²³³ Emphasis is also placed on the science of sound production with an in-depth description of the mathematical precision required for the manufacture of the modern piano.²³⁴

Music shops and manufacturers held displays with stands occupied by Gunn, Pigott, McNeill, Brown, Scates and Bussell of Dublin along with many well-known English music houses such as Boosey and Chappell.²³⁵ Keyboard, brass and wind instruments dominated the Irish and English displays. Belgium, France, and Italy, Austria, Baden, and Bavaria also displayed a variety of instruments and novelty items.²³⁶ Irish award winners listed among those of the United Kingdom, were J. Scates (concertina manufacture), J. McNeill (cornet manufacture) and W. Brown (church organ builder).²³⁷ The Royal Italian Commission published their own catalogue listing the Italian contributions to the Exhibition. The largest contributor of Italian musical instruments was Giuseppe Pelitti of Milan who displayed a large

²³² *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 238.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239 and p. 241.

²³⁶ For listings of musical exhibits from various foreign countries see *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866) as follows: Austrian exhibitors p. 394, Baden p. 473, Bavaria p. 473, Belgium pp. 396–397, France p. 402, and Italy p. 428.

²³⁷ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 250.

collection of brass instruments,²³⁸ being awarded an Exhibition medal ‘for his contrafagattone and other inventions in military instruments’.²³⁹

6.4.9 The Close of the Exhibition of 1865

Following a six-month run the International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures closed on 9 November 1865.²⁴⁰ The Exhibition catalogue considered that the Exhibition had demonstrated Ireland to be a country of progress and promise, not of turbulence and discontent.²⁴¹ In a speech given during the closing ceremony, the Right Honourable James Whiteside (1804–76), Conservative MP for Dublin University, proposed that the Exhibition had promoted peace and prosperity by introducing and including the working classes to rational and intellectual pursuits such as had been offered at the Exhibition.²⁴² A Grand Triumphal March composed specially for the occasion by W. C. Levey was performed by a compilation of five regimental bands.²⁴³ In contrast with the music performed at the opening ceremony, the headline piece used the recognisably Irish airs of two Moore’s *Melodies Let Erin Remember* and *By That Lake Whose Gloomy Shore*. However, being performed with ‘singular unity and completeness’²⁴⁴ by the massed bands of the entire Dublin garrison,²⁴⁵ Ireland’s position within the British Empire was reinforced. This was followed by the massed military bands playing *God Bless the Prince of*

²³⁸ Dublin International Exhibition, 1865: Kingdom of Italy, Official Catalogue (Turin: Printing and Publishing Union, 1865), pp. 55-56. Pelitti is noted for making several improvements and inventing new features for brass instruments. He employed between forty and fifty men in the annual manufacturing of approximately four thousand instruments per annum.

²³⁹ ‘List of Jury Awards’, Dublin International Exhibition, 1865: Kingdom of Italy, Official Catalogue (Turin: Printing and Publishing Union, 1865), p. 2.

²⁴⁰ *Irish Times*, 8 November 1865, p. 1.

²⁴¹ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 547.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 550.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

²⁴⁵ *Irish Times*, 8 November 1865, p. 1.

Wales and *God Save the Queen*, conducted by the senior bandmaster of the garrison, Herr Sauer.²⁴⁶

One hundred and fifty years on, the physical legacy bequeathed to us by this exhibition, namely the National Concert Hall Building in Earlsfort Terrace, remains a premier Dublin concert venue. While the glass conservatories and vast exhibition halls no longer stand, the economic, social and cultural influences of the 1865 extravaganza still remain. Globalization and technology may not have been the buzzwords of the day, yet it was at exhibitions such as this that these concepts and themes were conceived.

6.5.1 Music at the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries and Manufactures and Loan Museum of Works of Art, 1872

Following the 1865 International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures at Dublin's Exhibition Palace, the building proceeded to operate as a venue for popular entertainment as originally intended. However, this was not a successful venture and in 1870 the Winter Garden Company, having accrued £50,000 in unpaid loans, sold the Exhibition Palace to Sir Arthur Guinness (1840–1915) and Cecil Guinness (1847–1927).²⁴⁷ In 1871 the Guinness brothers offered the building as a venue for an Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures under the direction of a Committee of Noblemen and Gentlemen.²⁴⁸ The purpose of the Exhibition, which opened in June 1872,²⁴⁹ was to promote Irish resources and a section of the building known as the Leinster Hall was reserved solely for the display of Irish goods. Irish goods took centre stage, yet this was not intended as an exclusively national exhibition, with 'British and Foreign'

²⁴⁶ *The Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865* (London: E. and F. N. Spon, 1866), p. 551.

²⁴⁷ John Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part II: Dublin Exhibitions of Art and Industries 1865-1885', *Dublin Historical Record*, 35:2 (1982), 42–51 (p. 47).

²⁴⁸ *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), p. i.

²⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 29 May 1872, p. 5.

products placed in the Main Glass Building.²⁵⁰ In contrast with the Exhibition of 1865 which portrayed Ireland solely as a component of the British Empire, separate markers of Irish identity were evident at this Exhibition of 1872. It was reported that the ‘real Gaelic Irish’ was heard for the first time at the Exhibition²⁵¹ and that the building’s newly decorated circular apse was inscribed with various mottos in the Irish language including ‘Caed Mille Falthe [sic]’.²⁵² The RIC band, noted in correspondence to the *Irish Times* at the time of the 1865 Exhibition as ‘Ireland’s own band’, ‘our national band’, and a ‘credit to Irish talent’, performed throughout this 1872 Exhibition.²⁵³

The official Exhibition catalogue stated that the Exhibition would be open daily from ten o’clock until six o’clock for a six-month period featuring musical performances, choral meetings, and oratorios being performed sporadically during its run.²⁵⁴ Early advertising flagged military band promenades, vocal and instrumental concerts, organ recitals, and pianoforte performances.²⁵⁵ Significant renovations and preparations were made to accommodate such performances. The Grand Concert Hall, which contained a spacious stage and a large organ, had a capacity for upwards of three-thousand people. A further orchestral stand was placed in a prominent position at the intersection of the nave and the vast conservatory-style Leinster Hall. A third stage was constructed in the gardens to the rear of the building.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), pp. i–iii.

²⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 18 October 1872, p. 2.

²⁵² *Irish Times*, 6 June 1872 p. 10.

²⁵³ *Irish Times*, 19 August 1865, p. 4.

²⁵⁴ *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), inside of back cover.

²⁵⁵ *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 June 1872, p. 1, *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 June 1872, p. 1, and *Freeman’s Journal*, 14 June 1872, p. 1.

²⁵⁶ *Irish Times*, 6 June 1872, p. 10 and ‘Dublin Exhibition, 1872-Ground Plan’, *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), front material.

6.5.2 The Opening Ceremony of the Exhibition of 1872

The opening ceremony took place on 5 June 1872 and was attended by the Duke of Edinburgh, the Lord Lieutenant, aristocracy and gentry, and season ticket holders.²⁵⁷ A musical performance by a choir of five-hundred voices, full orchestra, and organ was included as part of this ceremony with George Vandeleur Lee as conductor.²⁵⁸ The specific programme was not included in newspaper columns or advertisements. However, reference is made to the performance of an Ode with lyrics written by John Francis Waller and music by Robert Prescott Stewart.²⁵⁹ It is not clear if this is the same ode written and performed for the opening ceremony of the 1864 Exhibition of Industries and Manufactures held at the RDS. The military band of the 15th and 16th Regiments were also in attendance at the opening ceremony accompanied by twenty trumpeters of the garrison.²⁶⁰ This musical performance was repeated one week later as a Grand Concert with a five-hundred strong choir named as the New Philharmonic Society. Mr W. H. Gater presided at the organ. It is unclear who acted as principal conductor as two names, that of Mr R. M. Levey and Mr Lee, are mentioned in this respect.²⁶¹

6.5.3 Concerts and Recitals at the Exhibition of 1872

A variety of concerts and recitals took place during the run of the Exhibition. The Irish Academy of Music staged their Pupils' Annual Concert on 6 June, attracting the elite of the aristocracy. This concert was also attended by the Duke of Edinburgh, himself a musician, following a busy day of engagements at Leinster Lawn, the National Gallery and the Royal Horticultural Society Show at the Rotunda. Female music students wore white muslin robes with green sashes to portray a 'chaste and national character'.²⁶² The programme included

²⁵⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 June 1872, p. 2.

²⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 5 June 1872, p. 1 and *Irish Times*, 6 June 1872, p. 5.

²⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 6 June 1872, p. 5.

²⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 4 June 1872 p. 2.

²⁶¹ *Irish Times*, 13 June 1872, p. 3.

²⁶² *Irish Times*, 7 June 1872, p. 3.

orchestral, choral and chamber music as well as solo vocal and instrumental performances. Several afternoon organ recitals, which included arrangements of popular tunes, took place during September given by Mr Hamilton Croft.²⁶³ Evening concerts included string performances by the Brousil family and a host of vocalists.²⁶⁴ Instruments were sometimes provided by exhibiting music shops. One such concert took place on 11 October 1872 during which a two-thousand two-hundred guinea piano was provided by Cramer, Wood, and Co.²⁶⁵

6.5.4 Military Band Performances and Concert Promenades at the Exhibition of 1872

Military band performances and concert promenades were an important attraction at the 1872 Exhibition.²⁶⁶ The RIC band, the regimental bands of the King's Dragoon Guards, the 15th Regiment, Prince Albert's Light Infantry, the Rifle Brigade, as well as the band of the *Irish Times* provided afternoon entertainment and evening pre-concert and post-concert performances.²⁶⁷ It was noted that military bands, with special note given to the RIC band, frequently played excellent programmes of music.²⁶⁸ Of course, the RIC band had not performed at the Exhibition Palace from 1865 to 1869 following the debacle which excluded the RIC from the opening ceremony of the 1865 Exhibition. The situation was resolved following the publication of an article in the *Irish Times* in 1869 which explained the circumstances under which the RIC withdrew their band from performing at the Exhibition of 1865, suggesting that amends should have been made by the Exhibition committee long since.²⁶⁹ This article extolled the pedigree of the band, acknowledged Hardy's work ethic, taste and skill, and acclaimed the band's musical prestige within Ireland, the United Kingdom, and

²⁶³ *Irish Times*, 9 September 1872, p. 2

²⁶⁴ *Irish Times*, 16 September 1872, p. 6.

²⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 12 October 1872, p. 3.

²⁶⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 July 1872, p. 1.

²⁶⁷ For examples see *Irish Times*, 3 September 1872, p. 2, *Irish Times*, 5 September 1872, p. 2, *Irish Times*, 16 September 1872, p. 1, *Irish Times*, 5 October, p. 1, and *Irish Times*, 13 August 1872, p. 3.

²⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 11 June 1872, p. 2.

²⁶⁹ *Irish Times*, 4 March 1869, p. 3.

Europe. It suggested that the Exhibition Committee owed an explanation for their actions in order that the public could hear the band of which they were proud. An apology was duly given by the Exhibition committee to the RIC officers who then allowed their band to perform at the Exhibition Palace venue.²⁷⁰ The RIC band immediately resumed performing at promenade events.²⁷¹

6.5.5 Hardy's Concert at the Exhibition of 1872

A variety of concerts, promenades, organ recitals, and performances on instruments on display at the exhibition were planned to take place during the run of the Exhibition.²⁷² Military band promenades took place in the afternoons and evenings with admission sometimes including attendance at a promenade and concert. For these evening entertainments typically the building and gardens would be open between the hours of half past seven and ten o'clock.²⁷³ On 14 and 17 August, respectively, Hardy staged concert promenades featuring solo vocalists and instrumentalists, along with the RIC band.²⁷⁴ One concert was initially envisaged but owing to the first concert's considerable success it was requested that the performance be repeated three days later.²⁷⁵ The venue was open to concert goers between half past seven and ten o'clock, who for the price of one shilling could enjoy an evening's promenade and concert entertainment. The RIC band acted as the anchor performance ensemble, providing promenade performances in the Exhibition building and grounds while also punctuating the main concert with military band standards.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ *Irish Times*, 15 May 1869, p. 3.

²⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 18 May 1869, p. 3.

²⁷² *Irish Times*, 27 June 1872, p. 6.

²⁷³ For examples of the evening entertainment that combined military promenade and concert see *Irish Times*, 26 August 1872, p. 1 and *Irish Times*, 12 September 1872, p. 1.

²⁷⁴ *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 3 and *Freeman's Journal*, 17 August 1872, p. 1.

²⁷⁵ *Irish Times*, 15 August 1872, p. 6.

²⁷⁶ For RIC band promenade programme see *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 5.

Advertised as a Grand Miscellaneous Concert, the more formal musical performance boasted an array of ‘exclusively native and eminent popular artistes’.²⁷⁷ Singers included Miss Bessie Herbert, Mr Barton McGuckin (1852–1913), and Mr Grattan Kelly. Clarinet, cornet, euphonium, and oboe solos were performed by instrumentalists from the RIC band. These solos were provided by Mr R. Brickell, Mr F. Despard, Mr W. Duggan, and Mr A. G. Lowe,²⁷⁸ while Mr J. O’Rorke acted as piano accompanist.²⁷⁹ A special feature of the concert was the debut performance of Miss Kate Hardy, daughter of Harry Hardy, appearing as a vocalist and solo pianist. Due to Hardy’s popularity and prominence in musical circles throughout Ireland, a large audience was in attendance to support his daughter’s first professional appearance.²⁸⁰ The *Freeman’s Journal* described the audience as ‘large and fashionable’ noting that the transept, the Leinster Hall and galleries of the Exhibition palace were open to the public for the occasion and that the Concert hall was ‘filled by the lovers of music’.²⁸¹ The *Irish Times* review considered the concert a very successful entertainment. Kate Hardy’s performance was an unequivocal success, and the critic believed that a brilliant musical future awaited her.²⁸² The *Freeman’s Journal* commented that Kate Hardy’s singing showed ‘all the realities required by a high class singer’ predicting that she would become popular as a performer with Dublin audiences.²⁸³ It also praised her piano performance noting its approval by the audience. As a student and prize-winner of the Royal Academy of Music,²⁸⁴ London, and having studied under

²⁷⁷ *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 3.

²⁷⁸ Bandsman Lowe is named as Mr H. J. Lowe in *Irish Times*, 17 August 1872, p. 1. An article by T. Moore which appeared in the *The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine* forwarded the opinion that bandsmen Despard, Brickell, Lowe, Duggan and Zinkhart were all musicians far beyond the average. This article was accessed via <https://irishconstabulary.com/the-royal-irish-constabulary-band-1861-1922-t1460.html> [accessed 29 September 2022]. This article is not dated on the photograph of the pages posted online. The *Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine* is a monthly magazine that was issued between 1911 and 1916. It is available to view at the British Library, General Reference Collection P.P.4044.h.

²⁷⁹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 August 1872, p. 1.

²⁸⁰ *Irish Times*, 13 August 1872, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 15 August 1872, p. 6.

²⁸¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 August 1872, p. 2.

²⁸² *Irish Times*, 15 August 1872, p. 6.

²⁸³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 August 1872, p. 2.

²⁸⁴ *Era*, 29 July 1882, p. 4.

Sir Julius Benedict,²⁸⁵ Kate Hardy went on to pursue a professional career in music as a piano teacher and vocal soloist.²⁸⁶ The instrumental solos of RIC bandmen Brickell and Despard were particularly applauded, and Hardy excelled as conductor of the proceedings. Due to a special request by the audience the concert was repeated the following Saturday evening.²⁸⁷ The programme for the promenade included Hardy's valse, *Parting Vows*. Composed in 1860 while bandmaster to the 3rd King's Own Light Dragoons,²⁸⁸ it had not appeared regularly on RIC band programmes in the intervening years. The inclusion of this composition may have alluded to Hardy's impending departure from his position as RIC bandmaster and the parting of ways with his wife of twenty years.

The programme for the additional concert on 17 August 1872 was very similar. However, the overture and galop were replaced by *Poet and Peasant* by Suppé (1819–1913) and *Star of Dublin* by Hardy, Herbert replaced her aria with *Or Son Sola* by Auber, Hardy's *Parting Vows* was replaced by a Grand Fantasia on *Guillaume Tell* by Sydney Smith (1839–89), Despard's solo was replaced by *Grand Polka de Concert: Star of France* by Nicolas Antony Lamotte (1819–1912), and the Trio was replaced by *Turn On Old Time* by Wallace.²⁸⁹ It is unclear why these changes were made to the programme for the second concert; perhaps it was anticipated that a number of the same people would attend both concerts and might appreciate a variety in programming.

²⁸⁵ *Irish Times*, 13 August 1872, p. 3.

²⁸⁶ Kate Dennison Hardy, daughter of Harry Hardy, is listed in the 1881 England Census as a 'Professor of Music'. See 'Kate D. Hardy', in 1881 England Census <https://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7572&h=7668282&tid=&pid=&queryId=86f09af48159c160bad16aa9d6daea2b&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rqO1790&_phstart=successSource&_gl=1*13ro2v7*_ga*NDazNTc3NTg3LjE1MjQ3NzA1MTA.*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*MTY2NTkyOTYwNi4yMy4xLjE2NjU5Mjk2ODAuNTYuMC4w> [accessed 16 October 2022]. For examples performances see *Bristol Mercury*, 10 October 1882, p. 3 and *Western Mail*, 6 March 1884, p. 3.

²⁸⁷ *Irish Times*, 15 August 1872, p. 6.

²⁸⁸ *Parting Vows* appears in the programme of the 1st Dragoons Band in *Irish Times*, 30 August 1860, p. 3. *Parting Vows* is advertised under 'New Music' in *Nation*, 2 February 1861, p. 1.

²⁸⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 August 1872, p. 1.

Table 6.5.5.1 Programme for Hardy's Concert on 14 August 1872²⁹⁰

Genre	Title	Composer/Arranger	Performer
Overture	<i>Oberon</i>	Weber	RIC Band
Song	<i>The Wolf</i>	Shield	Mr Grattan Kelly
Aria	<i>Bel Reggio</i>	Rossini	Miss Bessie Herbert
Paraphrase de Concert	<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	Sydney Smith	Miss Kate Hardy
Song	<i>I Arise from Dreams of Thee</i>	C. Salaman	Mr Barton McGuckin
Song	<i>By the Sea</i>	L. Chaeffer	Miss Kate Hardy
Cornet Solo	<i>Il Staccato</i>	Bonnisseau	F. Despard (RIC)
Valse	<i>Parting Vows</i>	Harry Hardy	RIC Band
Song	<i>The Winds that Waft My Sighs to Thee</i>	Wallace	Mr Grattan Kelly
Duette	<i>Leave Me While 'Tis Yet Unbroken</i>	Virginia Gabriel	Miss Kate Hardy and Mr Barton McGuckin
Song	<i>Savourneen Dheelish</i>		Miss Bessie Herbert
Solo (Clarionet)	<i>Op. Norma</i>	Bellini	R. Brickell (RIC)
Song	<i>Once Again</i>	Arthur Sullivan	Mr Barton McGuckin
Trio	<i>Maiden Fair</i>	Bishop	Herbert, McGuckin, and Kelly
Galop	<i>Gallant and Gay</i>	Carroll	RIC Band

²⁹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 August 1872, p. 1.

Table 6.5.5.2 Programme for Hardy's Concert on 17 August 1872²⁹¹

Genre	Title	Composer/Arranger	Performer
Overture	<i>Poet and Peasant</i>	Suppé	RIC Band
Song	<i>The Wolf</i>	Shield	Mr Grattan Kelly
Aria	<i>Or Son Sola</i>	Auber	Miss Bessie Herbert
Grand Fantasia (Piano)	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Sydney Smith	Miss Kate Hardy
Song	<i>I Arise from Dreams of Thee</i>	C. Salaman	Mr Barton McGuckin
Song	<i>By the Sea</i>	L. Chaeffe	Miss Kate Hardy
Cornet Solo			
Granda Polka de Concert	<i>Star of France</i>	Lamotte	Mr Frank Despard (RIC)
Song	<i>The Winds that Waft My Sighs to Thee</i>	Wallace	Mr Grattan Kelly
Duette	<i>Leave Me While 'Tis Yet Unbroken</i>	Virgina Gabriel	Miss Kate Hardy and Mr Barton McGuckin
Song	<i>Rich and Rare</i>	Joseph Robinson (arr.)	Miss Bessie Herbert
Song	<i>Once Again</i>	Arthur Sullivan	Mr Barton McGuckin
Trio	<i>Turn On Old Time</i>	Wallace	Herbert, McGuckin and Kelly
Galop	<i>Star of Dublin</i>	Hardy	RIC Band

6.5.6 Musical Exhibits at the Exhibition of 1872

The Exhibition was divided into three sections; (A) Natural Products, (B) Works of Art, and (C) Industries and Manufactures.²⁹² Irish exhibits were to be entirely of home manufacture.²⁹³

²⁹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 August 1872, p. 1.

²⁹² *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), p. i.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

Musical instruments were displayed in Section C Class 4 under the heading of ‘Scientific Inventions, Musical and Optical Instruments, Jewellery, and Carriage Work, &c’.²⁹⁴ Only three musical instruments of Irish manufacture were exhibited, namely a church organ by William Browne and two pianofortes, priced twenty-eight guineas and twenty-five guineas respectively, by M. Gunn and Sons.²⁹⁵ A further two Irish music houses, Henry Bussell and Cramer, Wood, and Company, displayed pianos but these are listed under British and Foreign Class III, ‘Printing, Book-Binding, Leather Work, Woodcarving, Metalwork and Furniture’.²⁹⁶ An American organ by Metzler and Co. was also listed in this section. Cramer, Wood, and Company undertook extensive newspaper advertising for the duration of the Exhibition, promoting the pianos that had been specially manufactured for the Exhibition.²⁹⁷

6.5.7 Audience Profile at the Exhibition of 1872

The Exhibition Committee, in keeping with the philosophy of rational amusement, education and self-improvement, sought to entice a cross-section of social groups to attend this Exhibition. In this regard, they collaborated with transport companies, travelling from the north, south and west of the country, in offering special-offer day excursion tickets which included a day pass to the Exhibition and a reduced-price train fare.²⁹⁸ Similar excursion trips were offered by rail and steam ship companies to tourists from England, Scotland and the Isle of Man.²⁹⁹ While all classes of excursionists from throughout Ireland could derive education and benefit from their day-trip to the Exhibition a writer in the *Irish Times* deemed it important that a positive image of Ireland, free from political strife, could be put on display for foreign

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

²⁹⁵ *Official Catalogue, 1872, Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, and Loan Museum of Works of Art* (Dublin; John Falconer, 1872), p. 39.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 49.

²⁹⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 June 1872, p. 4.

²⁹⁸ For advertisements for these excursions see *Irish Times*, 17 June 1872, p. 7, *Irish Times*, 19 July 1872, p. 5, and *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 5.

²⁹⁹ *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 5.

excursionists via the Exhibition: 'The advantages to trade are obvious, but we deem it of even more importance that visitors from all countries should see an industrious and peaceful people living in harmony with each other, and caring very little, indeed, for the frothy ebullience of professional agitators.'³⁰⁰ Special gala day excursions were also arranged which were aimed at the poor and artisan classes. Hot meals were available at a reasonable price of one shilling per head and numerous musical entertainments including instrumental recitals, concerts, and military band performances were staged throughout the day. The fifth such excursion day took place on 17 October 1872 and received attention in the *Irish Times*.³⁰¹ The day was interspersed with a wide variety of musical performances. Four-hundred members of the new Philharmonic Society sang selections of choral music, organ and piano recitals were given, and concerts of vocal and instrumental content took place. Military bands were in attendance and the two children of the bandmaster of the 12th Regiment, aged seven and nine, gave solo performances. All the amusement associated with such a large-scale endeavour succeeded in attracting a multitudinous attendance of seven-thousand people. These excursionists represented all classes of society but were mainly comprised of 'artisan and middle grades'. Children also attended in large numbers. Clergymen attended, accompanied by labourers from their parishes. All but the 'peasant' classes were present. The *Irish Times* commented on the wide range of accents that were to be heard that day at the Exhibition and noted that 'real Irish Gaelic' was heard for the first time in the Exhibition.³⁰² While the rural working poor were not represented at this Exhibition, nonetheless, a gradually improving and transforming Irish society was evident. The presence of the Irish language also nodded towards the transformation afoot in the Irish Catholic population and was a harbinger of the cultural revolution which was to take off in the following decades. While the Irish language revival did not come to full fruition until the final

³⁰⁰ *Irish Times*, 14 August 1872, p. 5.

³⁰¹ *Irish Times*, 18 October 1872, p. 2.

³⁰² *Irish Times*, 16 October 1872, p. 5 and *Irish Times*, 18 October 1872, p. 2.

decade of the nineteenth century with the establishment of *Conradh na Gaeilge* in 1893, this revival had followed a gradual trajectory with markers along the way such as the foundation of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in 1876.³⁰³ The presence of Irish language speakers at this exhibition may also have been evidence of the wide geographical spread from which people were travelling to attend this event, pointing to its successful marketing and wide appeal.

6.5.8 The Closing of the Exhibition of 1872

The Exhibition concluded on 30 November with a ceremony attended by the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Spencer.³⁰⁴ A stage was extended to accommodate more than five-hundred vocal and instrumental performers, conducted by Mr G. V. Lee. A selection of verses from Dr Waller's new ode, which extolled the role of manmade art and science in praising God, were performed. Three regimental bands performed in succession for the evening, with the band of the 1st Dragoons performance of the *Colleen Aroon Quadrilles* being encored. The bands amalgamated at half-past ten for the playing of the national anthem. The Exhibition was considered a success having enticed 420,000 visitors over a period of one hundred and fifty-four days.³⁰⁵

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that music at exhibitions in 1860s and 1870s Dublin was put on display in many ways, fulfilling numerous roles and functions. While manufactured objects

³⁰³ 'The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language', in *The Concise Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* < <https://www.oxfordreference-com.may.idm.oclc.org/display/10.1093/acref/9780192800800.001.0001/acref-9780192800800-e-2214?rkey=FEzCYX&result=2209> > [accessed 2 January 2025]

³⁰⁴ *Irish Times*, 2 December 1872, p. 3.

³⁰⁵ *Irish Times*, 2 December 1872, p. 3.

could be logically codified and displayed at exhibitions, the codification of music proved somewhat more elusive and sometimes controversial.

Questions of national identity, expressed through the provision of music at exhibitions, have been identified. The staging of large-scale imposing musical performances demonstrated the British imperial power that was at the heart of industrial expansion and exhibition culture in Ireland during this period. Meanwhile, the exclusion of the highly competent and well-loved RIC band, seen as Ireland's own homegrown band, demonstrated a reluctance of elements of Ireland's business community to recognise Ireland as a distinct nation.

This chapter noted the importance of military band performances, especially RIC band performances, to attendance at exhibitions. When bands were withdrawn from performing following various controversies, musical arrangements were thrown into disarray and exhibition committees made poor choices in finding musical acts which would be a good fit with exhibition philosophy. Military band music concurred with bourgeois taste, performing music that did not challenge notions of rational amusement.

Through an exploration of Hardy's involvement in Dublin exhibitions this chapter has noted various aspects of the career of a freelance musician in Victorian Dublin. Hardy carved out a wide-ranging career demonstrating the place of a musician as entrepreneur in the commercial world of music. Independent from his position as RIC bandmaster Hardy earned a living as a freelance conductor, composer, concert organiser, musical advisor, teacher, and band contest adjudicator.

This examination of the intersection of music, particularly musical performances, with industry and manufacture shows the grappling of nineteenth-century industrialists and philanthropists with the temporal arts. In their attempt to exhibit music, they sought to consider music as a science, placing it alongside scientific experiments and industrial displays, and endeavouring to locate it in the company of material advancement and achievements.

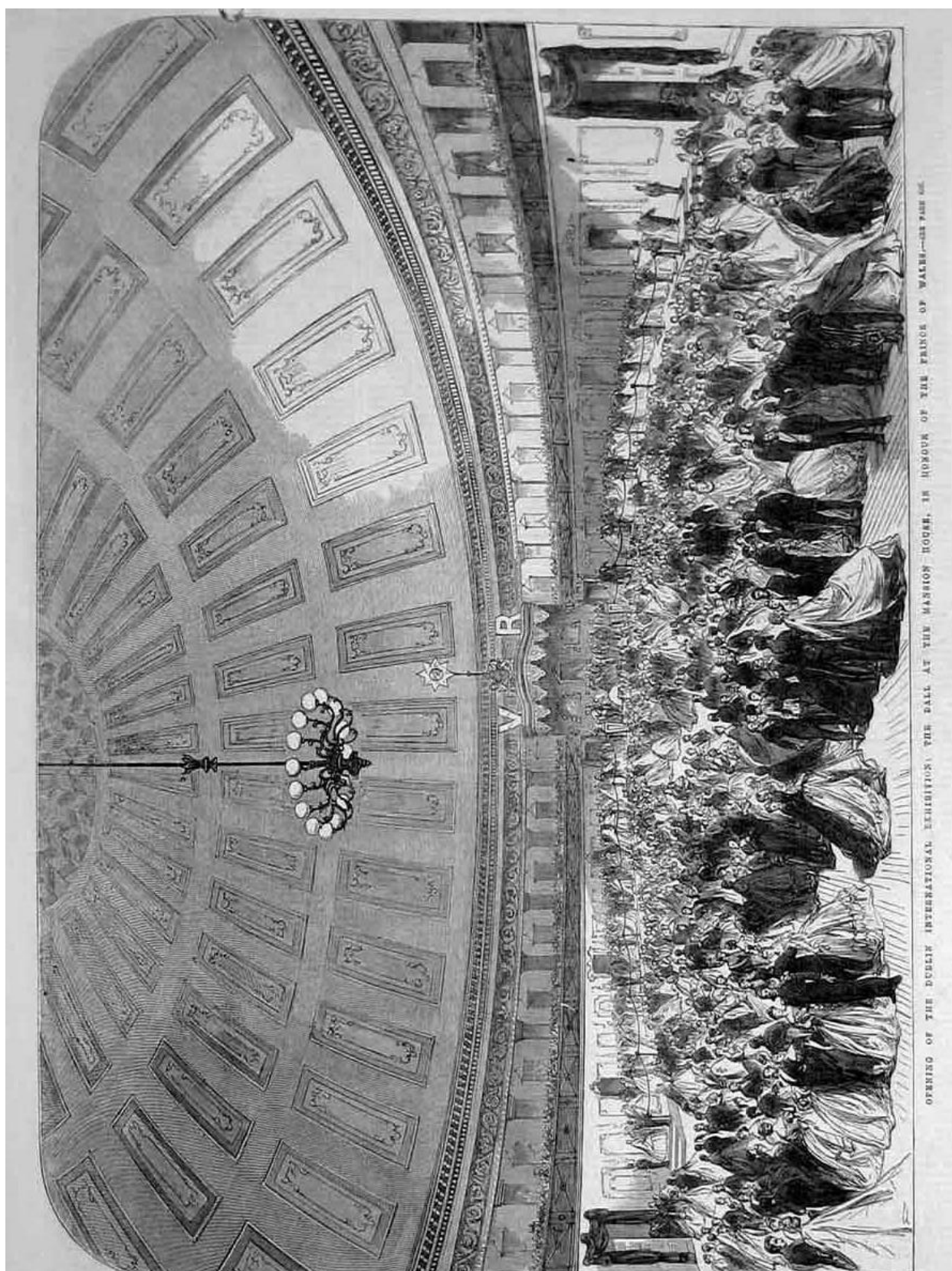


Figure 6.1 Hardy Entertains at Dublin's Mansion House Ball, 9 May 1865³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ 'Opening of the Dublin International Exhibition in Honour of the Prince of Wales', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1865, p. 488.

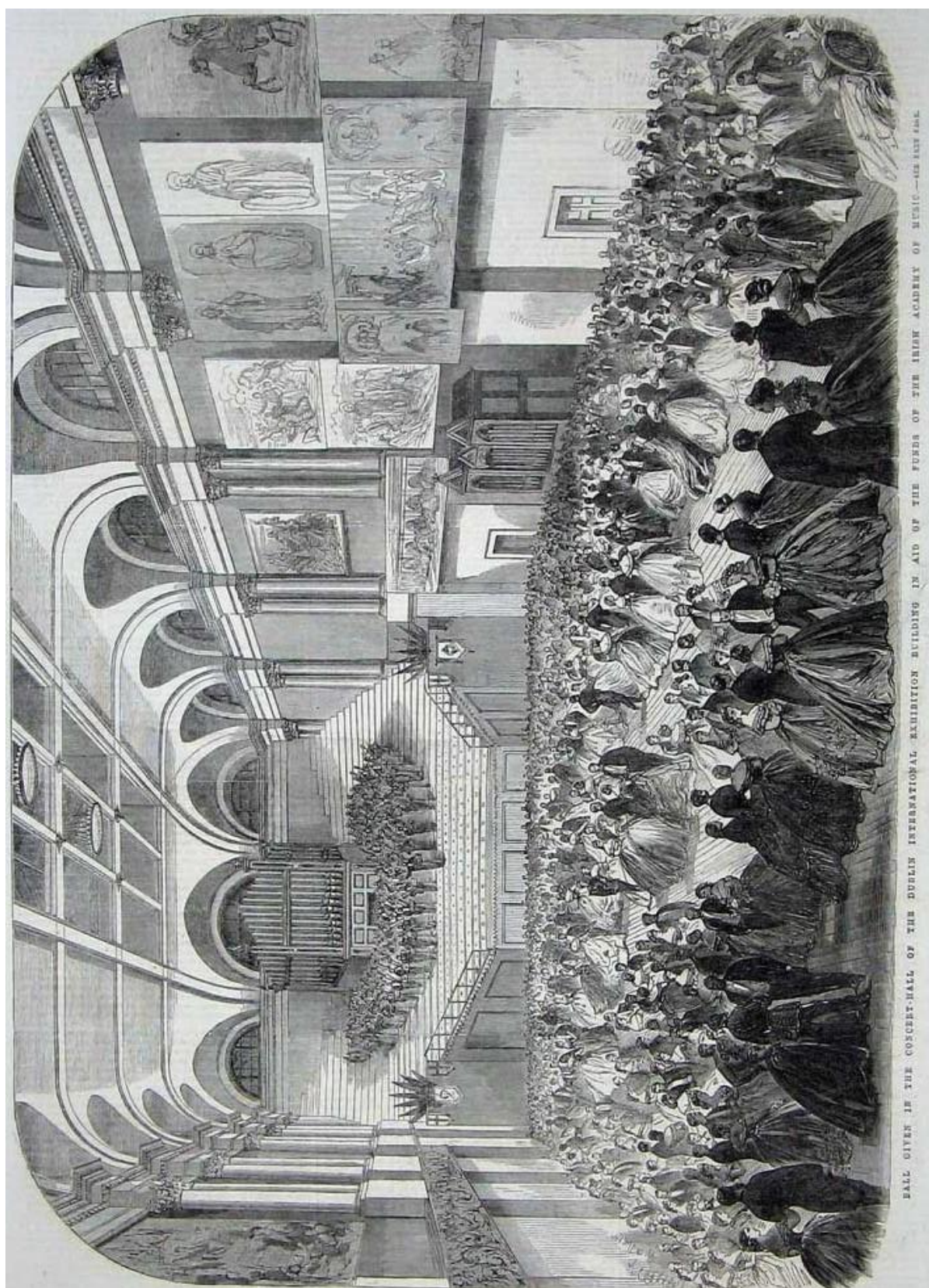


Figure 6.2 Hardy Conducts Irish Academy of Music Orchestra at the Exhibition Palace, 12 May 1865³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ 'Ball in the Dublin International Exhibition Building', *Illustrated London News*, 17 May 1865, p. 513.

Chapter 7

Royal Irish Constabulary Band Repertoire

7.1 Introduction

This chapter documents and explores the repertoire used by the RIC band during the period of Hardy's tenure as bandmaster. It demonstrates that by examining newspaper listings of RIC band programmes a picture can be built of the types of music performed by this band. This examination of RIC programmes also acts as an entry point to compiling a list of Hardy's own compositions, many of which were used by the RIC band. This chapter places the RIC band repertoire within the overall context of military band repertoire of its day, noting the importance of military band journals in disseminating material to these ensembles. An analysis of RIC band programmes shows the reliance of this and other bands on arrangements and reworked material rather than original compositions. It identifies the lesser-known composers as well as the more well-known of the creators of selections, fantasias, and potpourris played by them. The popularity of dance music in band programmes is discussed, noting its place at both dance and non-dance events. This chapter concludes with two case studies of compositions performed by the RIC band, namely *Valse Shilly Shally* composed by Hardy and "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* composed by Basquit which was performed by the RIC band at Hardy's 1868 benefit concert. These case studies illustrate the relevance of such works in the musical consumption of their largely middle-class audiences. Appendix 2 contains a survey of RIC band repertoire for the six-month period from February to July 1864. This survey enriches the level or raw data contained within this dissertation and supports the discussion of aspects and implications of RIC band repertoire within this chapter. It is intended as a representative rather than exhaustive sample of the band's repertoire during the band's busy outdoor season, as any survey will necessarily be incomplete due to the nature of the records available. As the main focus of this

dissertation is not the repertoire of the RIC band, further research into this subject was beyond the scope of this study.¹

7.2 The Sources

Three types of sources exist that cast light on the repertoire of the RIC band during Hardy's tenure as bandmaster, namely miscellaneous documentary sources from newspapers, printed sources such as Hardy's own compositions in short score piano arrangements, and brief mentions of band performances in RIC literature. Newspapers contain a wealth of information regarding RIC performances at civilian entertainments. This information includes programme listings, post-performance reviews, advertisements for new music, and comments regarding new music performed. Newspapers do not provide information regarding performances by the RIC band at events held within the confines of the RIC's Phoenix Park Depot. Unfortunately, no original manuscript sources of either the RIC band's repertoire or Hardy's compositions have been located to date. Following an extensive search of the Garda band music archive, no music scores marked as the property of the RIC band were identified. The oldest material in this archive is stamped as the property of the Dublin Metropolitan Police band (founded in 1873) with some scores also showing the stamp of British regimental bands. The search for RIC band material is ongoing, with enquiries currently underway with former RUC bandsmen in Northern Ireland. Copies of Hardy's piano music have been sourced in libraries, archives, auction houses, and online. By analysing the available newspaper sources and printed sources it is possible to build a profile of the musical identity of this band.

¹ A study of a comparative six-month slice of RIC band repertoire may not yield any extra conclusive data. If, for example, more dance music was found in a comparative slice the reason for this would still be unclear.

7.3.1 Types of Performance and their Requisite Repertoire

Herbert and Barlow identify three musical functions of nineteenth-century regimental bands, namely, to play for army marches and parades at rallying points, to play in garrisons and camps for the entertainment of officers and troops, and to play for the entertainment of the local civilian populations in places where they were garrisoned.² The RIC band was styled in much the same way as regimental bands, the main difference however being their permanent location in Dublin's Phoenix Park Depot. Their functions were similar to those of the regimental band, excluding the possibility of accompanying a regiment to the battlefield. Repertoire to fulfil the three functions of a regimental band or the RIC band fell into two categories: marches for drills and parades, and mixed programmes for general entertainment both inside and outside of the barracks.

7.3.2 Performances Within the Barracks

Information regarding the repertoire of the RIC band for parades and drills is scant. T. Moore provides a little insight into the positive impact of the RIC band on the parade ground. Before the inception of the band, drills and march pasts were done to the beat of a drum, rendering these occasions, in Moore's opinion, as melancholy, serious, solemn, and sad events.³ With the establishment of the band Moore notes that drills and march pasts were conducted to 'the inspiring music of *The Young May Moon*' which became the regimental march of the RIC band. *The Young May Moon*, a popular Moore's Melody, remained as the regimental march of the RUC, following the disbandment of the RIC in 1922. R. J. K. Sinclair and F. J. M. Scully

² Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 248.

³ T. Moore, *The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine*. This article was accessed via <https://irishconstabulary.com/the-royal-irish-constabulary-band-1861-1922-t1460.html> [accessed 29 September 2022]. This article is not dated on the photograph posted online. The *Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine* is a monthly magazine that was issued between 1911 and 1916. It is available to view at the British Library, General Reference Collection P.P.4044.h.

provide some information regarding the adoption by the RIC of this march but unfortunately, they do not provide any sources for these details.⁴ They state that *The Young May Moon* is a traditional Irish jig set at the Light Infantry step of 140 paces per minute. As the RIC practiced the Light Infantry Field Exercises since 1822 this tune suited this fast-marching speed. They also observe that many songs were set to this air and were popular with soldiers during the Peninsular War. J. L. Lucas includes *The Young May Moon* in a list of old Irish marching tunes compiled by him in 1915 which also includes tunes such as *Garryowen*, *The Peeler and the Goat*, and *The Girl I Left Behind Me*.⁵ The origins of the tune used for *The Young May Moon* by Thomas Moore (1779–1852) appear uncertain with it possibly being Irish, English or Scottish.⁶ Moore incorrectly identifies the tune used for his song, *The Young May Moon*, as *The Dandy O!*, the correct tune being *Robin Hood*.⁷

In an account of the ceremony held at the RIC's Phoenix Park Depot in 1867 to mark to contribution of the RIC to the quelling of the Fenian uprising, Curtis mentions the band's rendition of the National Anthem, *God Save the Queen*, on the arrival and departure of the Lord Lieutenant.⁸

The RIC band also provided entertainment within the confines of the depot for the officers and men. Accounts of these events do not appear in the press. Writing in the context of regimental bands, Herbert and Barlow suggest that as the bands were funded largely by the officers, the bands' role on the parade ground was secondary to their role at army social events.⁹

⁴ R. J. K. Sinclair and F. J. M. Scully, *Arresting Memories: Captured Moments in Constabulary Life* (Belfast: Royal Ulster Constabulary Diamond Jubilee Committee, 1982), front piece material with no page number.

⁵ J. L. Lucas, 'Marching Tunes', *Musical Times*, 56:863 (1915), 31.

⁶ For example see 'The New May Moon', in *The Session* <<https://thesession.org/tunes/6334>> [accessed 16 October 2022] and 'The Gallant Tipperary Boys', in *The Session* <<https://thesession.org/tunes/4209>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

⁷ Veronica Ní Chinnéide, 'The Sources of Moore's Melodies', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 89:2 (1959), 109–134 (p. 123).

⁸ Robert Curtis, *The History of the Royal Irish Constabulary* (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, 1871), p. 187 and p. 193.

⁹ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, 'The British Military as a Musical Institution', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Rodmell (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 247–266 (p. 261).

Therefore, the musical taste of the officers, along with the input of the bandmaster, was what determined the repertoire for mess social events. This repertoire consisted of the typical mix of marches, overtures, dance music, and selections that the bands commonly played at civilian events. It is reasonable to presume that the repertoire of the RIC band at RIC social events mirrored this practice.

7.3.3 Playing in the Park: Repertoire for Shows, Exhibitions and Outdoor Events

The RIC band repertoire consisted of military band arrangements of extracts from operas and classical works, popular dance tunes, functional music such as anthems and marches, and works that particularly reflected its Irish location. This was in line with the typical repertoire of nineteenth-century regimental bands. Herbert and Barlow recognise that as the size of regimental bands increased during the nineteenth century, their repertoire broadened in line with their capabilities, consisting in the main of arrangements of classical and operatic works, arrangements of well-known and national tunes, and regimental marches.¹⁰ Herbert notes that for the duration of the nineteenth century no composers of note contributed to band repertoire and no specific compositions for this ensemble featured prominently in band programmes.¹¹ The lack of repertoire expressly composed for military band and the use of recycled musical material in the form of compilations and arrangements, raises questions about the status, quality and purpose of the music performed by bands such as that of the RIC. Herbert believes that due to the lack of instrument standardisation in early nineteenth-century bands, composers considered writing explicitly for this genre inferior. Therefore, bandmasters chose to piggyback on the success of recognised orchestral and operatic works, presenting them in finely crafted arrangements for mass public entertainment and education.¹² Indeed, part of the training of a

¹⁰ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music and the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 8.

¹¹ Herbert and Barlow, p. 9.

¹² Herbert and Barlow, p. 9.

British regimental bandmaster at Kneller Hall was the arranging of operatic and classical repertoire.¹³ Despite having its roots in high culture, the hand-me-down nature of band repertoire placed it in the realm of popular middle-class culture as well as in the domain of the working class players and audiences of brass and military bands. Herbert observes that repertoire was not a marker of social class and that a general standardisation of band repertoire permeated all classes who listened to brass and military band music.¹⁴ When viewed from a commercial rather than an aesthetic standpoint, these musical compilations served to promote and advertise the original works to a wide and varied consumer base, pushing out the narrower boundaries of high culture and the upper classes. Therefore, commercially, it may be more accurate to regard this repertoire as ‘pre-loved’ rather than ‘shabby second-hand’ material. Montemorra Marvin notes the repurposing of operatic material in instrumental arrangements as potpourris and even dance forms for orchestras, military bands, and piano, making this music accessible and popular across the class divide.¹⁵ Describing the role of this style of band music at the Victorian industrial exhibitions, Kirby presents the contrasting and conflicting attitudes of the British musical press and exhibition organisers to typical band repertoire. While the musical press criticised the blatant commercial and populist ends to which this music appealed, those outside of elite musical circles admired it as rational recreation.¹⁶ The musical press particularly despised the selections, fantasias, and pot-pourris played by the bands as they tore apart the original concepts of composers.¹⁷ The lack of originality in this music was compensated for by the performance that delivered it, with uniformed bandsmen playing large and bright instruments under the baton of amiable and often charming bandmasters. Herbert

¹³ Hebert and Barlow, p. 190.

¹⁴ Trevor Hebert, ‘The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band’, *Popular Music*, 9:1 (1990), 117–132 (p. 122).

¹⁵ Roberta Montemorra Marvin, ‘Selling a ‘False Verdi’ in Victorian London’, in *The Idea of Art Music in a Commercial World, 1800-1930*, ed. by Christina Bashford and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 223–247 (p. 224).

¹⁶ Sarah Kirby, *Exhibitions, Music and the British Empire*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2022), p. 129.

¹⁷ Kirby, p. 135 and p. 144.

also notes the use of these arrangements of operatic overtures and selections as test pieces for band contests, suggesting that the technical skill required to play them outstripped that required to play the brass parts in the orchestral repertoire.¹⁸ Dennis Taylor, writing in the context of brass bands of the time, refers to the lesser-known early composers for this genre as ‘arranger/composers’.¹⁹ This is an apt term as many of these composers adapted music from other contexts or blended their own musical ideas with popular dance or march formats. Their talents lay in their ability to score and harmonize.

Lists of music to be performed by military bands at popular public indoor and outdoor events in mid-Victorian Dublin were regularly publicised in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman’s Journal* in advance of such performances. It is from listings such as these that a profile of the typical musical programme of the RIC band for an outdoor public event can be built. The nature of these events is important to consider when viewing the musical content of these performances. While attending an agricultural show, a sporting event or promenade extravaganza in the park, music was not the primary focus of those in attendance but nonetheless was expected to be performed as an adjunct to the primary purpose of the visit. Therefore, Hardy’s choice of music for these events was determined by popular appeal and entertainment value, both reflecting and influencing public taste. A typical RIC band performance began with a march which was followed by an overture, a selection of dance music, and selections from opera. The music set usually closed with a lively dance tune such as a galop and proceedings were rounded off with the anthem *God Save the Queen*. The following are examples of programmes played by the RIC band in 1864 at the Irish National Horse Show in Dublin and in 1870 at the Kildare Horticultural Show in Naas.

¹⁸ Trevor Hebert, ‘The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band’, *Popular Music*, 9:1 (1990), 117–132 (p. 122).

¹⁹ Dennis Taylor, *English Brass Bands and Their Music, 1860–1930* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), p. 68.

Table 7.3.3.1: Irish National Horse Show, Royal Dublin Society, Dublin, 15 April 1864

March	<i>Bellone</i>	Follot
Quadrille	<i>Royal Danish</i>	Rivière
Overture	<i>La Bayadere</i>	Auber
Grand Selection	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Auber
Valse	<i>Shilly Shally (requested)</i>	Hardy
Selection	<i>Puritan's Daughter</i>	Balfe
Dance of the Fairies	<i>Floral Fete</i>	Anderson
Galop	<i>The Long-wished-for</i>	Miss McClevaty

‘God Save the Queen’²⁰

Table 7.3.3.2: County Kildare Horticultural Show, Naas, 5 July 1870

Overture	<i>Oberon</i>	Weber
Valse	<i>Norah</i>	Hardy
Cornet Solo	<i>Hurricane</i>	Nicholson
Fantasia on Irish Airs	<i>Erin (solos for clarinet, cornet, French horn, euphonium, &c.)</i>	Basquit
Quadrille (new)	<i>Home Sweet Home (variations for the principal instruments)</i>	Honseman
Grand Selection	<i>Grand Duchess</i>	Offenbach
Galop	<i>Magdala</i>	Martin

‘God Save the Queen’²¹

It was typical for the bands of the regiments that were garrisoned in the towns and cities to perform at local leisure events. While the format of regimental band performances was similar to those of the RIC band there appears to be very little overlap in the programmes of music used by the various bands during any season. For this to occur, there must have been communication between the bandmasters regarding the list of music they intended to draw from for any given season. Despite there being no evidence of such communication regarding programming it is reasonable to surmise that bandmasters liaised on this matter. Variety between the programmes of bands naturally occurred when bandmasters included their own compositions or pieces relating to their own regiments. During its time in Dublin the band of

²⁰ *Irish Times*, 16 April 1864, p. 4.

²¹ *Irish Times*, 1 July 1870, p. 5.

the 86th Regiment played its own regimental marches as part of its set, while Hardy consistently included his own compositions in RIC band performances.²² However, some popular tunes did appear on the programmes of a variety of bands. This was inevitable as all bands were sourcing material from the same pool of military band journals. An example of similar programming occurred at a promenade held at Sandymount Cricket Club on 20 June 1864 when the band of the 12th Regiment and the RIC band were both engaged to perform. Both bands included the overture from *Zampa* by L. J. Ferdinand Hérold (1791–1833) and the *Gorilla* quadrille by Charles H. R. Marriott in their programmes. The band of the 12th Regiment played a further three pieces, namely, selections from *Semiramide* by Rossini and *The Puritan's Daughter* by Balfe, and *Il Corricolo Galop* by Edouard Durand de Grau, which regularly occurred in RIC band programmes around this period.²³

A survey of RIC band performances shows the programming method used by Hardy and the quantity of music played by the band. As all newspaper mentions of RIC band performances are not accompanied by lists of music played it is impossible to form a complete inventory of repertoire. However, it is possible to take a snapshot of the music performed by reviewing the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* newspaper listings of RIC band programmes over the six-month period from February to July 1864.²⁴ Examining thirty programme listings from this period it is evident that the band chose from a repertoire of approximately sixty-three pieces during this time. While no two programmes were completely identical, consecutive performances included many of the same pieces. A core set of pieces remained on programmes during this period, with others only performed once. The repetition of pieces enabled audiences

²² *Irish Times*, 16 April 1864, p. 4.

²³ See *Freeman's Journal*, 18 June 1864, p. 1, for full programmes played by the band of the 12th Regiment and the RIC band at the event at Sandymount Cricket Club. See Appendix 2 for list of pieces performed by RIC band from February to July 1864.

²⁴ Several members of the RIC band appear to have been on leave of absence during January 1864. An account in the *Irish Times*, dated 28 January 1864, of a Masonic event mentions that the RIC band was unable to play for it due to several members being on leave. Therefore, the six-month period surveyed begins in February 1864 rather than at the beginning of that year.

to become familiar with works while the gradual addition of new pieces kept the programmes fresh. Some pieces played in early March were still appearing on programmes in late June. Two of the most frequently performed pieces were Hardy's own compositions, namely *Cupid's Dart Mazurka* which was first performed in April 1864 and *Valse Shilly Shally* which was composed in 1863. This demonstrates Hardy's use of the RIC band to promote his own compositions and the popularity of Hardy's compositions with RIC band audiences. Of the sixty-three pieces listed, dance music accounted for forty-six per cent of all pieces performed, followed by selections at twenty-four per cent, marches at seventeen per cent, overtures at ten per cent, and miscellaneous pieces at three per cent.

The format, commonly used by military bands at that time, was promoted by Louis Antoine Jullien (1812–70), a French entrepreneur conductor based in England, noted for his promenade concerts. Jullien's concerts established a programme pattern that consisted mostly of quadrilles, instrumental solos, galops, waltzes, opera selections, and popular overtures.²⁵ Promenade concerts, which became popular in the first half of the nineteenth century, were extensive elaborate commercial ventures, held in lavishly decorated indoor venues or lush parks during the summer period.²⁶ Military band promenade performances followed a similar programme pattern to the more opulent large-scale commercial concerts, performing in both indoor and outdoor venues. Viewed as informal entertainment, these concerts posed no threat to expressions of high culture and were considered as beneficial in the corralling of the people into social order.²⁷ An English newspaper advertisement for a promenade concert given by Hardy and the band of the 1st Warwick Militia in 1855, mentions that Hardy was late of

²⁵ George C. Foreman, 'The Remarkable Monsieur Jullien and his Grand American Tour', in *Wind Band Activity In and Around New York ca. 1830–1950: Essays Presented at the 26th Biennial Conference of the College Band Directors National Association February 2005*, ed. by Frank J. Cipolla and Donald Hunsberger (New York: Alfred, 2005), pp. 1–30 (p. 5).

²⁶ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna Between 1830 and 1840* (London: Routledge first published in 1985, e-book published in 2017), p. 126.

²⁷ Weber, p. 127.

Jullien's orchestra.²⁸ It is possible that Hardy performed with Jullien's orchestra either as a freelance musician or as a military bandsman at Jullien extravaganza concerts.

Quoting from the memoirs of John Mackenzie-Rogan, a former military bandsman and conductor, Jeffrey Richards lists a nineteenth-century military band programme as march, overture, mazurka, selection (operatic), quadrille, polka, and galop. Writing in 1926, Mackenzie-Rogan, whose musical career had begun in 1867 as a boy musician with the 11th (North Devon) Regiment of Foot, realised how old-fashioned these programmes now seemed.²⁹ Mackenzie-Rogan's programme list mirrors those of RIC performances.

7.4 The Military Band Journal

While not definitive, it is reasonable to surmise that the RIC band had recourse to and use of military band journals of the day, subscription publications which contained arrangements of light popular pieces and art music. The concept of the music journal dates to the second half of the eighteenth century with these publications containing miscellaneous music related articles, musical excerpts or piano pieces.³⁰ Carl Boosé (1815–68), a German clarinettist and British regimental bandmaster, envisaged this music journal concept in a new way, developing journals of band arrangements that could be circulated among other bands.³¹ With Boosé as editor, Boosey and Company began publishing *Boosé's Military Journal* in 1846.³² This was a significant marker in the dissemination of military band music as very little band music had been published before this date.³³ As well as broadening the scope of band repertoire, band

²⁸ *Royal Leamington Spa Courier and Warwickshire Standard*, 21 July 1855, p. 2.

²⁹ Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 417.

³⁰ James C. Moss, 'British Military Band Journals from 1845 through 1900: An Investigation of Instrumentation and Content with an Emphasis on *Boosé's Military Journal*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2001), p. 33.

³¹ Moss, pp. 32–33.

³² Moss, p. 72–73.

³³ Moss, p. 72.

journals led to the standardisation of instrumentation in military bands.³⁴ In its first thirty-two years of circulation Boosé's *Military Journal* produced 832 band compositions and arrangements.³⁵ Both Jullien and Adam Joseph Schott (1794–1864) also commenced producing military band journals from the mid to late 1840s.³⁶

The primary military band journals available for purchase during the eleven-year period to which this dissertation pertains (1861–72) were *Boosé's Military Journal*, *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal*, *The Army Journal*, and *The Army Journal Supplemental Numbers*. *Boosé's Military Journal* and *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal* were published by Boosey & Co. who began publishing military band journals in the 1840s.³⁷ *Boosé's Military Journal* was issued as twelve numbers per year with each number containing either one large arrangement, two or three dances, or six marches.³⁸ *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal*, beginning in 1858, issued six numbers per year. Chappell & Co. also began publishing *The Army Journal* in 1858, with *The Army Journal Supplemental Numbers* beginning in 1865.³⁹

Publications such as *Jullien's Journal for Military Bands*, *Boosé's Military Journal* (which was renamed *Boosey's Military Journal* in 1883⁴⁰) and *Chappell's Army Journal* became popular with brass and military bands from the 1840s onwards.⁴¹ The Godfrey family, steeped in the military music tradition, were prodigious contributors to military band journal publications.⁴² The military bandmaster Charles Godfrey (1790–1863) prepared the arrangements for *Jullien's Journal for Military Bands* while his son, Dan Godfrey (1831–

³⁴ Moss, p. 32.

³⁵ Moss, p. 50.

³⁶ Moss, p. 70.

³⁷ Moss, p. 72.

³⁸ Moss, p. 73.

³⁹ Moss, pp. 86 and 91.

⁴⁰ Moss, p. 74.

⁴¹ Trevor Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ed. by Trevor Herbert, pp. 10–60 (p. 48).

⁴² See Grove Music Online for information regarding the various members of the Godfrey family involved in military music. E. D. Mackerness, 'Godfrey Family', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11340>> [accessed 20 October 2024]

1903), prepared arrangements for *Chappell's Army Journal*.⁴³ Arrangements by both of these men, as well as arrangements by Dan Godfrey's brother Fred Godfrey (1837–82), are included in programmes performed by the RIC band.⁴⁴ The Godfrey family had its roots in military band culture with Herbert noting their connection with the band of the Coldstream Guards back to the late eighteenth century.⁴⁵

A survey of RIC band programmes for 1864 shows that a number of pieces performed by the band that year were published in *Boosé's Military Journal*, *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal* and *Chappell's Army Journal*. The *Kate Kearney Valses* by Charles Coote (1809–80), *Somebody's Luggage Lancers* by Coote, *Il Corricolo Galop* by Durand de Grau and the *Royal Boudoir Quadrille* by Coote which were played by the RIC band during 1864 were all published in *Boosé's Military Journal* Thirty-Sixth Series of 1864.⁴⁶ At a performance in June 1864 the RIC band performed both the *Veronika Polka* and the *Sophien Galop* which were both published in *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal* Number 206.⁴⁷ This suggests that the RIC band may have held subscriptions to these publications.⁴⁸ Further band arrangements published in *Boosey's Orchestral Operatic Selections* and *Boosey's Orchestral Overtures* that were advertised by Boosey in 1864 appear in RIC band programmes for that year.⁴⁹ The *Floral Fete Polka*, arranged by Charles Godfrey, which featured in many RIC band performances in 1864, was published in *Jullien's Military Journal* Number 151. *Jullien's*

⁴³ Foreman, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Examples of the inclusion of arrangements or compositions by the Godfrey's are as follows: Godfrey is named as the arranger of a *Grand Selection from Bellini's Favourite Operas* in an RIC band listing in the *Irish Times* of 13 June 1864 and D. Godfrey appears on RIC band listings in the *Irish Times* of 13 February 1863 and 19 May 1863.

⁴⁵ Trevor Hebert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ed. by Trevor Herbert, pp. 10–60 (p. 16).

⁴⁶ Information regarding back issues of Boosey's *Military Journal* is printed on the back cover of *Boosey's Military Journal* 141st Series 1921.

⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 3 June 1864, p. 2.

⁴⁸ RIC band repertoire for 1864 includes arrangements from *Boosé's Supplemental Military Journal* of Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (Journal No. 185), *La Dieu de la Bayadere* (Journal No. 199), Coote's *Fairy Visions Quadrille* (Journal No. 204), Faust's *Veronika Polka* and *Sophien Galop* (Journal No. 206), Kuhner's *Minstrel's Song Quadrille* (Journal No. 208) and arrangements of selections from Gounod's *Faust* and *Roméo é Giulietta* from *Chappell's Army Journal* number 34. Details of these publications can be viewed in the British Library catalogue.

⁴⁹ *Musical World*, 27 February 1864, p. 144.

Military Journal was the name given to the back catalogue of 168 numbers from the former *Jullien's Journal for Military Bands* that had been acquired by Thomas Boosey Jr (1795–1871) from the bankrupt firm of Jullien and Co. in the late 1850s.⁵⁰ The *Floral Fete Polka* is dated as 1856 in the British Library catalogue. This suggests that the RIC band may have had access to military journals predating the existence of the band. It is possible to speculate that some of the band material was the personal property of Hardy or that the band purchased back issues of *Jullien's Military Journal*.

Hardy also wrote arrangements for military band of works that were not his original compositions. RIC band programmes of 1864 mention Hardy's arrangement of a selection from *The Bridal of Triermain* by Alan Parker Close. Following a performance in Kingstown's Gresham Gardens it was noted in the *Irish Times* that Hardy's arrangement was much admired for its excellence.⁵¹

7.5 The Composers

Composers of the music performed by the RIC band fall loosely into five categories: well-known major composers, lesser-known composers, composers for military and brass bands, military bandmaster acquaintances of Hardy, and Hardy himself. Music by well-known composers was generally from the operatic genre and took the form of arrangements of selections from their operas by arrangers employed by the military band journal publishers. Well-known major composers whose works appeared in this format on RIC band programmes included Bellini, Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848), Rossini, Verdi, Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), Franz Schubert (1797–1828), Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), Gounod, Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87), Louis Spohr (1784–1859), Meyerbeer, Friedrich von

⁵⁰ Moss, p. 74.

⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 24 September 1864, p.4.

Flotow (1812–83), Jacques Offenbach (1819–80), Johann Strauss I (1804–49) and Johan Strauss II (1825–99). Minor composers, such as Auber, whose work was popular with nineteenth-century audiences, were also included.⁵²

Lesser-known composers whose work featured in RIC programmes include Charles Louis Napoléon d'Albert (1809–86), Rivière, Josef Gung'l (1809–89), and Durand de Grau. D'Albert was known as a dancing master and as a composer of popular dance music which was published in band journals and also as piano sheet music.⁵³ Rivière was a composer and music publisher who with fellow Frenchman Joseph-René Lafleur (1812–74) published *Alliance Musicale*, a journal for reed or brass bands.⁵⁴ Rivière was also well known as a conductor, associated primarily with promenade concert venues in London and the Welsh pier pavilions in Llandudno and Colwyn Bay, Wales.⁵⁵ Gung'l was a Hungarian musician, bandmaster and composer who often visited Britain. He wrote numerous dance pieces and marches.⁵⁶ Durand de Grau features among a list of Italian, French, and British composers who were composing a wide variety of dance music during the 1860s.⁵⁷ His *Il Corricolo Galop* was performed by the RIC band.⁵⁸

The British father and son, both named Charles Coote, produced a sizeable amount of dance music and arrangements.⁵⁹ Their music featured frequently in RIC band performances

⁵² Herbert Schneider, 'Auber, Daniel-Francois-Esprit', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01489>> [accessed 30 June 2022]

⁵³ A. J. Hipkins and David Charlton, 'Albert, Charles Louis Napoleon d'', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00433>> [accessed 15 July 2022]

⁵⁴ Dennis Taylor, *English Brass Bands and their Music 1860–1930*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), p. 52.

⁵⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 27 December 1900, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Stanley Goscombe, 'Gung'l [Gungl], Josef', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12030>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

⁵⁷ *London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Society* (London: William Little, 1861), Vol 3: July–December 1861, 28 December 1861, p. 812.

⁵⁸ *Irish Times*, 19 June 1865, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, vol. 10, 25 January 1879, p. 454.

and included *Kate Kearney Valse* by Charles Coote Senior (1809–80) and *Fairy Visions Valse* by Charles Coote Junior (1831–1916).⁶⁰

Spelling errors in newspaper programme listings can sometimes render it difficult to correctly identify some of the less prominent composers of RIC band repertoire. Careful comparisons and interpretation of a number of programme listings eventually lead to clarification of some composers' names. Examples of spelling inconsistencies include the name of Durand de Grau whose name is listed as 'Duranddepean' and Nesvadba whose name is spelled as 'Noswadba' or 'Neswadlen'.⁶¹ Josef Nesvadba (1824–76) was a Bohemian composer whose *Loreley* was included in RIC band programmes.⁶² This work is a paraphrase or adaptation of his work *Loreley*, the title being a translation from the German title *Lorelei*. This title is also misspelled as *Sorely* and *Lorley* in newspaper programme listings.⁶³

The work of three regimental bandmaster acquaintances of Hardy, Rudolph Zabel, Basquit and Waddell, appear on RIC band programmes. Zabel was bandmaster to the 58th Regiment, performing on the same circuit as the RIC band. His galop, *The Ghost*, was performed by the RIC band during 1864.⁶⁴ This may have been a handwritten score given to Hardy by Zabel or it may have been a published work. Six of Zabel's compositions for piano are held at the British Library, including the *Erin go Bragh* quadrilles, published in Dublin in 1857.⁶⁵ Compositions such as the *Erin go Bragh* quadrilles, exemplify the common nineteenth-century practice of musical exoticism where the composer seeks to evoke a place considered by those in the centre as different or distant. Ralph P. Locke notes the use of extramusical

⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 19 June 1865, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 30 May 1864, p. 2

⁶¹ For Durand de Grau references see *Irish Times*, 19 June 1865, p. 3 and *Irish Times*, 3 September 1872, p. 2. For Nesvadba references see *Irish Times*, 13 June 1870, p. 5 and *Irish Times*, 7 March 1872, p. 3. Joseph Nesvadba (1824–76) was a Bohemian composer

⁶² Daniel Gregory Manson, *The Art of Music: Modern Music, A Narrative History of Music, Book 3* (New York: The National Society of Music, 1915), p. 180.

⁶³ *Irish Times*, 13 June 1870, p. 5 and *Irish Times*, 7 March 1872, p. 3.

⁶⁴ *Irish Times*, 2 November 1864, p. 2.

⁶⁵ A copy of the *Erin go Bragh Quadrilles* by Zabel is also held at the National Library of Ireland, Call Number C62.

markers, such as titles, to suggest the place this music represents.⁶⁶ In this case Zabel entitles his composition in a quasi-Irish language vein to give an Irish identity to a popular nineteenth-century dance form. Hardy and his stepdaughter, Miss Williams, performed at a concert in Newry, Co. Down, to mark Zabel's departure from Ireland. Hardy attended in a personal capacity to conduct the band of the 58th Regiment who performed Hardy's composition, the *Valse Shilly Shally*.⁶⁷ This suggests a friendship between the two bandmasters. Hardy also sang with Miss Williams during this concert. Basquit, bandmaster of the 33rd Regiment, originally dedicated his composition "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* to Hardy, to be debuted at Hardy's benefit concert of 1868. The score for this work at its debut performance may have been in handwritten manuscript form as it was not officially published until 1879 in *Boosey's Military Journal* where it was subtitled 'Composed in honour of H.R.H. Prince of Wales' visit to Ireland'. Writing in the context of the brass band, Taylor notes that while music was being published by the 1860s, individual bandmasters produced music for their own bands as required, suggesting that music from handwritten scores was still being played.⁶⁸ The RIC band also performed music by James Waddell, the bandmaster of the 1st Lifeguards Regimental band, under whom Hardy served as a bandsman in his early career.⁶⁹

7.6 Operatic Selections

While selections from operas were a feature of military band performances the opera selections included in the RIC band's performance listings reflect the particular operas that were popular in Dublin at that time. Improved transportation between London and Dublin in the mid-nineteenth century facilitated the more frequent staging of opera at Dublin's Theatre Royal

⁶⁶ Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 74.

⁶⁷ *Irish Times*, 1 April 1864, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Dennis Taylor, *English Brass Bands and their Music 1860-1930* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), p. 57.

⁶⁹ *Irish Times*, 28 July 1864, p. 3. The RIC band performed a piece called *Victoria* by Waddell.

with singers, orchestral players and sets of costumes travelling from London for the September and October opera season.⁷⁰ An *Irish Times* article of 1863 suggests the atmosphere and the mixed audience profile at these entertainments: ‘The too brief Italian opera season of Dublin was inaugurated on Saturday evening with all the bustle and excitement of theatre officials and frequenters, and (shall we add?) with all the noise and shouting, whistling and singing (?) on the part of the Olympians of the “one shilling gallery”, usual on such occasions.’⁷¹ The lower middle-class subscribers of the “one shilling gallery”, along with the higher classes purchasing more expensive seats, also formed the core audience of the RIC band. Rodmell reiterates the excitement and enthusiasm with which the Dublin opera season was anticipated in the late 1850s and 1860s.⁷² He has compiled a list of the thirteen most popular operas performed by Mapleson’s companies in Dublin and London between 1862 and 1870 noting which of these held particular affection with the Dublin audience.⁷³ Comparing this list with the operatic selections performed by the RIC band distinct similarities are noticeable. Taking the 1864 repertoire of the RIC band as an example, operas performed in Dublin in the 1863 and 1864 seasons featured frequently. These included Gounod’s *Faust* and *Mirella*, Verdi’s *Il trovatore*, *La traviata* and *Un ballo in Maschera*, Donizetti’s *Lucrezia Borgia*, and Flotow’s *Marta*. *Marta*, which Rodmell notes as a particular favourite due to its inclusion of an arrangement of Moore’s ‘The Last Rose of Summer’, was very frequently featured by the RIC band.

During subsequent seasons RIC band programmes included selections from Weber’s *Oberon*, Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots*, and Bellini’s most popular operas. While selections from opera were regularly included in RIC programmes, it appears that operatic music was strongly

⁷⁰ Paul Rodmell, ‘The Italians are Coming: Opera in Mid-Victorian Dublin’, in *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton, pp. 97–114 (p. 98).

⁷¹ *Irish Times* 28 September 1863, p. 3.

⁷² Rodmell, p. 107.

⁷³ Rodmell, p. 111. The list of most popular operas performed by Mapleson’s companies in Dublin and London, 1862–1870 includes Gounod *Faust*, Verdi *Il trovatore* and *La traviata*, Bellini *Norma*, Donizetti *Lucrezia Borgia* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Flotow *Marta*, Mozart *Don Giovanni*, *Die Zauberflöte* and *Le nozze di Figaro*, Weber *Oberon*, Meyerbeer *Les Huguenots* and Beethoven *Fidelio*.

represented at some performances. After a performance at a banquet in Cork the following report appeared in the *Irish Times*: ‘The splendid band of the constabulary, under the direction of Mr Harry Hardy, was stationed in the billiard room, and during the evening played selections from the operas.’⁷⁴

Hardy’s personal affiliation with opera may also have influenced his choice of programmes. As a freelance French horn player, he played as an orchestral musician in opera performances in Dublin. His playing was singled out for praise in performances of Gounod’s *Faust* in 1864 and Weber’s *Oberon* in 1867.⁷⁵ Both of these operas, as well as the other operas of those seasons *La traviata* and *Lucrezia Borgia*, featured in RIC band programmes.⁷⁶

As evidenced in chapters two to six of this dissertation, selections from operas featured strongly in RIC band performances at a wide range of venues and events. This repertoire was performed at both indoor and outdoor events including outdoor promenades, sporting fixtures, charity bazaars, banquets, balls, and exhibitions. The tunes made popular in the opera house environment transferred well to the more transitory music of the promenade, thus consolidating and spreading their appeal among a vast and varied audience.

7.7 From Ballroom to Bandstand: Dance Music and Hardy’s Dance Compositions

Dance music, including quadrilles, mazurkas, polkas, galops and waltzes, was a prominent feature of RIC band performances. Less common dances such as the redowa and bolero also featured.⁷⁷ This dance music had two distinct functions. It was played by the RIC band to

⁷⁴ *Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 11 August 1864, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Irish Times*, 27 September 1864, p. 3. Also, ‘Italian Operas-Oberon’, *Irish Times*, 30 September 1867, p. 3.

⁷⁶ The performances of *La traviata* and *Lucrezia Borgia* are mentioned in the newspaper articles cited in footnote 12.

⁷⁷ The redowa was a Czech folkdance, adapted as a salon dance in the nineteenth century. For further details see John Tyrrell, ‘Redowa’, *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.jproxy.nuim.ie/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23038>> [accessed 7 January 2020]. The redowa performed by the RIC band was *Crown of Flowers* by Bouquet, *Irish Times* 8 February 1864, p. 2. The bolero was a Spanish dance in simple triple time. For further details see Willi Kahl and Israel J. Katz, ‘Bolero’, in

accompany dancing at balls such as the grand ball of the Royal Agricultural Society which took place in Londonderry in 1868, and also as an object of pure auditory entertainment at promenade and concert performances.⁷⁸

A survey of RIC band programmes at balls and of instances where Hardy conducted string bands at balls shows the quantity, variety, and order of dance music performed. Typically, between nineteen and twenty-two dance pieces were played, beginning with a quadrille and concluding with a galop. Other dances included waltzes, lancers, mazurkas, and country dances. Newspaper listings for music at balls during this period always includes the type and order of dances to be performed. However, unlike typical programme listings for band performances, they do not always include the titles of pieces or their composers.⁷⁹ Describing military band performances at nineteenth-century British regimental balls, Mackenzie-Rogan notes the different dances used at regimental officers' balls and those of the non-commissioned officers and men. In addition to the lancers, vales, mazurkas, quadrilles, polkas, and galops that were played at both classes of ball, schottisches and varsovianas were played at the dances for non-commissioned officers and men.⁸⁰ The newspaper accounts of balls at which the RIC band performed or at which Hardy conducted on a freelance basis were civilian events attended by the middle and upper classes. Their dance lists align with those of balls for regimental officers (as identified by Mackenzie-Rogan) rather than the lower ranking orders.

The dance types of his period fall into two main categories, namely group dances that were danced by sets of eight people in square formation and round dances danced by couples. The quadrille, which originated in France in the late eighteenth century and made its way to

Grove Music Online <<https://doi-org.jproxy.nuim.ie/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03444>> [accessed 7 January 2020]. The bolero performed by the RIC band was *Spanish Bolero* by Mimart, *Irish Times* 14 September 1864, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 29 August 1868, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Examples of band performances conducted by Hardy as bandmaster of the RIC band or as freelance conductor of string bands can be found in *Irish Times*, 13 May 1865, p. 3, *Irish Times*, 11 May 1865, p. 3, and *Irish Times*, 12 December 1867, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Richards, p. 417.

Britain in the early nineteenth-century, is an example of a group dance based on the earlier cotillion and square-eight dances.⁸¹ The quadrille was a suite of ballroom dances, usually in five movements, written in 2/4 time with a 6/8 Finale. Sets of quadrilles were often written using themes from popular songs and works.⁸² An example of a quadrille set in the RIC band repertoire was *Somebody's Luggage* by Charles Coote Sr. It is both listed as a quadrille and a lancers,⁸³ the lancers being a type of quadrille. Dedicating the piece to Charles Dickens (1812–70), Coote cleverly uses the five items of lost luggage depicted in the Dickens novel of the same title, to align with the movements of a quadrille. The score of this music held at the British Library also lists a further three figures to complete this work.⁸⁴ While no written score has yet been located for Hardy's *Emerald Wreath Quadrilles*, Hardy surely followed this practice of using popular themes as the basis for this composition.⁸⁵ The quadrille, which had been in favour since the eighteenth century, maintained its place in the mid-nineteenth century, while the waltz and galop were growing in popularity at this time.⁸⁶ Dowling notes the practice of quadrille dancing taking place in a separate room to the main dance area in nineteenth-century Dublin.⁸⁷ This practice seems to have persisted to some extent to mid-nineteenth-century Dublin with quadrilles being danced in a separate room at balls held in the Rotundo. The Independent Order of Oddfellows Annual Ball appears to have followed this format during the

⁸¹ Helen Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance* (Maryland: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2001), p. 23 and Rebecca S. Miller, *Carriacou String Band Serenade: performing Identity in the Eastern Caribbean* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), p. 79.

⁸² Andrew Lamb, 'Quadrille', in *Grove Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22622>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

⁸³ *Irish Times*, 3 June 1864, p. 2.

⁸⁴ The British Library catalogue describes Charles Coote's lancers *Somebody's Luggage* as five sectional movements and figures, namely, *His Boots*, *His Umbrella*, *His Black Bag*, *His Writing Desk*, *His Portmanteau*, *Martha the Milkman's Daughter*, *Old Rosin the Beau*, and *The Soldier's Joy*. A piano arrangement of this piece can be viewed on the Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, Plate Number 24612. <<https://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/collection/059/071>> [accessed 1 July 2022]

⁸⁵ Hardy's *Emerald Wreath Quadrilles* were also played by other bands. Therefore, it is possible that band parts may have been published and may be held in the archives of other bands. For band programmes of the 5th Dragoon Guards which include Hardy's *Emerald Wreath Quadrilles* and *Norah Valse* see *Freeman's Journal*, 6 February 1866, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Gayle Kassing, *History of Dance: An Interactive Arts Approach* (Leeds: Human Kinetics, 2007), p. 147.

⁸⁷ Martin Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 66.

1860s with typically two military bands playing in the Round Room and a quadrille or string band playing in the Pillar Room.⁸⁸ This was also the arrangement for bands and dancing at the Foresters' Annual Ball held at the Rotundo in October 1863 with the RIC band and band of the 4th Hussars performing in the Round Room while Mr Connolly's string band performed for quadrilles in the Pillar Room.⁸⁹ An account of an event at the Viceregal Lodge describes an evening party given by the Lord Lieutenant and Countess Spencer. Mr Liddell's quadrille band performed a programme of quadrilles and waltzes while the RIC band performed a mixed programme of selections and waltzes. It is not clear if the performances of Mr Liddell's band and the RIC band took place simultaneously in separate rooms or at different times during the evening.⁹⁰

Round dances were a group of dances that emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century and remained fashionable throughout the century. Round dances included the waltz, polka, mazurka, and galop,⁹¹ with the waltz and galop maintaining the strongest popularity.⁹² The waltz, brought to prominence by the Strauss family, was a dance in 3/4 time whose music functioned well as a concert piece as well as a dance accompaniment.⁹³ The galop was a lively dance in 2/4 time consisting of up to two trios, an introduction and a coda.⁹⁴ RIC programmes commonly closed with a galop, followed by the anthem *God Save the Queen*.

⁸⁸ *Irish Times*, 18 October 1862, p. 1 and *Freeman's Journal*, 29 December 1864, p. 1.

⁸⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 October 1863, p. 3.

⁹⁰ *Irish Times*, 7 March 1872, p. 3.

⁹¹ Egil Bakka, 'The Round Dance Paradigm', in *Waltzing Through Europe: Attitudes towards Couple Dances in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Egil Bakka, Theresa Jill Buckland, Helena Saarikos, and Anne Von Birra Wharton (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2020), pp. 1–26 (p. 1).

⁹² Dorota Gremlicová, 'Decency, Health, and Grace Endangered by Quick Dancing?: The New Dance Style in Bohemia in 1830', in *Waltzing Through Europe: Attitudes towards Couple Dances in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Egil Bakka, Theresa Jill Buckland, Helena Saarikos, and Anne Von Birra Wharton (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2020), pp. 149–176 (p. 158).

⁹³ Andrew Lamb, 'Waltz', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.may.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000029881?rkey=3yuVF5>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

⁹⁴ Andrew Lamb, 'Galop', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10589>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

While the RIC band played dance music by well-known composers of this genre such as Charles Coote (senior and junior) and Rivière, as well as music by more obscure composers such as Hodges, Miss M'Clevaty/Miss M'Cleverty and Bauret, a common feature of their performances was the inclusion of dance compositions by their own bandmaster, Harry Hardy. Hardy's compositions, which were largely reworkings of pre-existing tunes, included quadrilles, polkas, waltzes and galops. By performing Hardy's compositions, the RIC band became crucial in building Hardy's reputation and disseminating his new music through regular public performance.

Hardy's earliest documented composition found to date is a set of waltzes entitled *The Howard Waltzes*, composed while Hardy resided in London. Performed by the orchestra at London's Lyceum theatre, this dance music was praised in the press for its rhythmic quality,⁹⁵ with *Reynolds's Newspaper* stating that "the author is a young composer, and his present production evinces musical talent of no ordinary calibre, and gives promise of future excellence".⁹⁶

La Tendresse Valses was composed by Hardy in 1853. A very mixed review of this composition appeared in the *Morning Post* noting Hardy's rhythmic feel for dance music and reasonable attempt at melody writing. However, the monotony of the harmony and the pretensions of the French title come in for severe criticism with the writer playing with words while describing "une hardiesse dans les harmonies".⁹⁷ This rather scathing review is in stark contrast with the reviews of Hardy's work some ten years later with his *Valse Shilly Shally* becoming somewhat of a sensation with audiences and reviewers.

Piano sheet music for eight of Hardy's compositions have been located at repositories in Ireland, England, Scotland, and the United States. The *Warwick Polka*, *Mary of Argyle*

⁹⁵ *Atlas*, 2 October 1852, p. 11.

⁹⁶ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 June 1862, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Morning Post*, 17 October 1853, p. 6.

March, *Madcap Galop*, and *Bachelors' Galop* are held at the British Library. Other copies of *Madcap Galop* are held at the University of Cambridge Library and the National Library of Scotland. A copy of *The Star of Warwick Waltz* is held at the University of Cambridge Library while another copy is in private ownership in Dublin. Copies of *Valse Shilly Shally* are held by the Irish Traditional Music Archive (Dublin), the Ward Irish Music Archives (Milwaukee, USA), William and Mary University (Virginia, USA), the University of Michigan (USA), and in private ownership in Dublin. *The Bugle Call Polka*, arranged by Hardy, is held at the National Library of Ireland (Dublin). While *You and I Galop* is listed on the National Library of Scotland catalogue, it has unfortunately been mislaid by this institution since 2017. No scores of Hardy's band compositions or arrangements have been found to date.

While Hardy's compositions may merely number among the copious similar popular compositions of their day, nonetheless an examination of these pieces is valuable. It can contribute to our understanding of the particular social, cultural, and even technological history of Hardy's era, with so much evident from the titles of these pieces alone. Choosing the dance formats of the galop, waltz and polka most commonly for his compositions, Hardy reflected the attraction of these popularised dances that were considered 'new and fast and threateningly disruptive' in mid-nineteenth-century Victorian Britain.⁹⁸ Molly Engelhardt maintains that dance culture can reflect the spirit of a particular age providing corroborative material for studying a people's cultural temperament.⁹⁹ Using Hardy's dance music choices as a barometer of cultural temperament the polka, galop, and fast waltz reflect the period of rapid social change afoot in Ireland at that time. Titles such as the *Lottie Valse* reflect the prevailing cultural and political situation in Ireland, as it was dedicated to the Lord Lieutenant's wife Lady Charlotte Spencer (1835–1903). Hardy composed the *Lottie Valse* in early 1869 shortly after the

⁹⁸ Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing Out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009), p. 3.

⁹⁹ Engelhardt, p. 8.

appointment of Earl Spencer as Lord Lieutenant, keeping his composition title current and fashionable for his prospective audiences and sheet music customers.¹⁰⁰ This composition, described as an ‘admirable composition’,¹⁰¹ remained popular into 1870 being played by special request at the Royal Horticultural Society of Ireland’s summer exhibition.¹⁰² Hardy uses an interesting title for one of his galops, *Velocipede*, displaying an interest in technological advances in nineteenth-century transport, velocipede being the generic word in common usage until the early 1870s for the predecessor of the bicycle.¹⁰³ As mentioned in chapter 3 of this dissertation, Hardy’s *Velocipede* was performed by the RIC band at a Dublin athletics event in 1869. Hardy’s compositions also convey information regarding his own musical career and personality. Two of Hardy’s titles connect him with his period as bandmaster to the 1st Warwickshire Militia band namely the *Warwick Polka*, which he dedicated to the officers of that regiment, and the *Star of Warwick Waltz*, a composition for piano and solo cornet. The galop entitled *Star of Dublin*, first appearing in a listing for the band of the third King’s Own Hussar’s in 1859, marks Hardy’s posting in Ireland while his *Galop: The Bachelors*, which contains a small section of lyrics, possibly reflects his personal attitude towards women:

Ladies fair beware beware
 Bachelors’ smile but to deceive
 When they flatt’ring come to woo you
 All they say do not believe.¹⁰⁴

A further aspect of Hardy’s musicianship is evident in relation to his composition *Emblems of Love*. Similar to the practice of both Johann Strauss Senior and Johann Strauss Junior who both

¹⁰⁰ An advertisement for the Lottie Valse was printed in *Irish Times*, 29 May 1869, p. 1. Earl Spencer was appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in December 1868, see *Irish Times*, 7 December 1868, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ *Irish Times*, 27 January 1870, p. 3.

¹⁰² *Irish Times*, 1 July 1870, p. 2.

¹⁰³ David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Hardy, *Galop: The Bachelors*, fourth edition (London: Hutchings and Romer, c.1870), p. 3.

played while conducting their orchestras, Hardy played a flugelhorn part during band performances of this waltz.¹⁰⁵

A piece of piano sheet music, the *Bugle Call Polka*, held at the National Library of Ireland is evidence of Hardy arranging compositions of lesser-known or aspiring composers.¹⁰⁶ The *Bugle Call Polka* was advertised in both the Irish and English press and was available for sale at principal music shops in Ireland and England. It could also be obtained through the office of *Meath Herald and Cavan Advertiser* newspaper.¹⁰⁷ The *Bugle Call Polka* boasts an elaborately decorated cover stating that it is composed by Mrs Garnet Falloon, dedicated to the Inspector General of the RIC, Sir Henry Brownrigg (1798–1873), and the officers of the Irish Constabulary, and arranged by Harry Hardy, musical director of the Constabulary of Ireland. Mrs E. L. Garnet Falloon was the wife of a sub-inspector stationed at Rosbercon, New Ross, Co. Wexford at the time of composition.¹⁰⁸ Despite Mrs Garnet Falloon being the composer, Hardy's name appears in larger print and has significantly more prominence. Brownrigg's name supersedes that of the composer and is written in similar size print. Mrs Garnet Falloon had already gained some recognition as a writer with her collection of stories *Wild Flowers from the Glens* published in 1840.¹⁰⁹ In the first edition of her book the author is only identified as E. L. L., which stood for her maiden name Edwardina Lawson Long, but a third edition published in 1864 identifies her as Mrs Garnet Falloon. Anne Colman notes that nineteenth-century Irish female writers typically used devices such as initials and men's names to hide their own identity.¹¹⁰ This woman's literary work lived under the shadow firstly of what may have been her initials and subsequently her husband's name. Her piano composition existed

¹⁰⁵ *Irish Times*, 30 January 1865, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Mrs Garnet Falloon, *Bugle Call Polka*, publisher not given, 1864.

¹⁰⁷ *Meath Herald and Cavan Advertiser*, 9 January 1864, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Irish Times*, 28 March 1870, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Keith D. M. Snell, *The Bibliography of Regional Fiction in Britain and Ireland, 1800–2000* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), p. 143.

¹¹⁰ Anne Colman, 'Far from Silent: Nineteenth-Century Irish Women Writers', in *Gender Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Public and Private Spheres*, ed. by Margaret Kelleher and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), pp. 203–211 (p. 203).

under the shadow of the male dominated RIC and male dominated music industry. There is no evidence to suggest that the *Bugle Call Polka* was arranged for military band or performed by the RIC band.

The copies of Hardy's compositions that have been located to date all state on their front covers that they have been entered at Stationers' Hall. This suggests that these compositions were registered for copyright at the Worshipful Company of Stationers in London, giving permission only to the publisher to print them. However, only one composition, *The Star of Warwick*, appears in the Stationers' Hall register.¹¹¹ Writing in the context of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Michael Kassler notes that it was a common practice to print 'Entered at Stationers' Hall' on the front covers of publications despite the publication not being entered. He suggests that publishers may have considered the phrase 'Entered at Stationers' Hall' a deterrent to those who might consider copying the work illegally, and also a sign of the publisher's intention to enter the work if confronted for non-registration by Stationers' Hall.¹¹²

Composers such as Hardy did not earn significant income from the sale of their work. Writing about the sale of songs during the 1860s, Scott states that composers sold their work, giving the outright copyright to the publisher. This meant that the composer received a once-off payment from the publisher and no royalties per copy sold. Fees ranged from one to ten pounds per song.¹¹³ It is reasonable to suppose that a similar situation pertained to the production of piano sheet music. This may account for the large volume of compositions produced by musicians such as Hardy, who made their money by constantly selling new work rather than capitalising on the popularity of any individual composition. This system of handing

¹¹¹ *Star of Warwick* was published by H. T. Cooke and Son, Warwick and was entered at Stationers' Hall, the records of which are held at the National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom.

¹¹² Kassler, Michael, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710–1818: From Lists Prepared for William Hawes, D. W. Krummel and Alan Tyson and from Other Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. xviii.

¹¹³ Scott, Derek B., *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2001), p. 126.

over a composition along with its complete copyright to a publisher, with no possibility of royalties or further payment if a composition proved popular, remained in place until the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ David Rowland states that if the copyright was owned by the publishing company statements such as ‘printed and sold by...’ or ‘printed for the author and sold at...’ followed by the name of a publisher appeared on the front cover of a composition.¹¹⁵ Hardy’s *Valse Shilly Shally* aligns with this practice as ‘Published for the Author by M. Gunn & Sons’ appears on the front cover of its second edition. Therefore, Hardy received a once-off payment for this work and no further financial benefit despite its huge popularity.

Nine of Hardy’s compositions that have been identified to date are dedicated by the composer to specific people or groups of people. As all of Hardy’s compositions are not known or available to view it is possible that more of Hardy’s work features dedications. The reason Hardy chose to dedicate some, but not all, of his compositions may reflect the shifting economy in printed music production that occurred between the late eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries. Hardy chose to dedicate twenty-five per cent of his identified compositions demonstrating the waning trend of dedication as the nineteenth century progressed, while still recognising the lure for the consumer and composer of association with powerful or prestigious figures. Emily Green considers that “this one paratext pushed against capitalist pressures, at least for part of the nineteenth century, until it ceased being published so prominently and became a point of quaint trivia”.¹¹⁶ With a move away from patronage towards the free marketplace, mid-nineteenth century composers sometimes straddled these two worlds, using a diluted form of dedication to add marketability to their work. While deference to upper class patrons was in recession by this time, the dedication of a piece of popular music to a person or group of people of perceived superior social pedigree could still lend it a sense of cultural taste,

¹¹⁴ David Rowland, ‘Composers and Publishers in Clementi’s London’, in *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp. 32–52 (p. 33).

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 35.

¹¹⁶ Emily H. Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785–1850* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019), p. 75.

sophistication or elevated status. The association of a composer with a prestigious dedicatee could enhance the composer's profile both musically and sociably while expanding their celebrity and branding in the commercial sphere. Under the model where compositions were sold outright to the publisher, the use of dedications was also popular as a publisher's advertising and marketing tool.¹¹⁷

Hardy's dedications fall into three categories namely dedications to women of high social status, dedications to his employers, and dedications to his consumer base. Spanning from his early days of composition in England to his days as a well-known popular composer in Ireland, Hardy linked a small number of his compositions to high-ranking women through the dedication process. Two of these women were wives of lieutenant colonels of regiments with who Hardy was associated, linking the dedication also to his employers. *Mary of Argyle*, composed in 1855, was dedicated to Lady Francis Gordon (c.1816–92), the wife of Scottish aristocrat Francis Arthur Gordon (1808–57) who was lieutenant colonel of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards during Hardy's time as bandsman to that regiment.¹¹⁸ Hardy's 1860 composition *Parting Vows Valse* was dedicated to the Honourable Mrs H. M. Monckton, the wife of Horace Manners Monckton, colonel of the 3rd King's Own Light Dragoons.¹¹⁹ Hardy was bandmaster to this regiment at the time of composition.

Hardy dedicated two compositions to vicereines of Ireland, Lady Wodehouse and Countess Spencer. Green suggests that such dedications evoked the tradition of aristocratic decorum and artistic servitude.¹²⁰ By association with the aristocracy there was an exchange of social and cultural capital; the composer gained an authenticity for their work, giving it a value above the mere monetary gain of the marketplace while the dedicatee maintained the dignified

¹¹⁷ Green, p. 19.

¹¹⁸ George Seton, *History of the Family of Seton During Eight Centuries Volume 1* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed by T. and A. Constable, 1896), p. 457.

¹¹⁹ 'Colonel Hon. Horace Manners Monckton', in *The Peerage*
<https://www.thepeerage.com/p41770.htm#google_vignette> [accessed 1 November 2024]

¹²⁰ Green, p. 74.

image of the benevolent benefactor of the arts. *Emblems of Love Waltz* was dedicated to Lady Wodehouse, born Lady Florence Fitzgibbon (1825–95), who was the wife of Lord Wodehouse (1826–1902), lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1864 to 1866. Listed in the column entitled ‘New Music’ in the *Irish Times*, little attention is drawn to the musical substance of this piece while its paratexts are thoroughly mined, with the author suggesting that the sophisticated packaging of this piece was symbolic of its musical quality. The dedication, by permission, to Lady Wodehouse appeared in the opening line, immediately following the title and composer.

Emblems of Love Waltz by Harry Hardy dedicated by permission to her Excellency Lady Wodehouse, Dublin Pigott. The public are now fully acquainted with the merits of Mr Hardy’s compositions. His former pieces have had a most successful run, and the Constabulary Band, of which he is the leader, have won a good name in connexion with their performances of his compositions. The “Emblems of Love” has been most favourably received by the public; the music being spirited and full, when performed by his band. Mr Hardy has a part which he plays on the flugel horn with great skill and accuracy. The cover is most beautifully ornamented and is but a key to internal excellence.¹²¹

Hardy dedicated his *Lottie Valse* to the vicereine Charlotte Frances Countess Spencer (1835–1903), the wife of John Poyntz Spencer (1835–1910), 5th Earl Spencer, who was lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1868 to 1874 and again from 1882 to 1885.¹²² Initial advertising in the small advertisements on the *Irish Times* for the sale of piano sheet music for the *Lottie Valse* gave no other information regarding this product other than its title, composer and dedication.¹²³ The publishers must have deemed these limited details sufficient to entice customers, suggesting that Hardy’s reputation and the public perception of Countess Spencer alone were strong enough selling points for this composition.

Hardy’s most well-known composition the *Valse Shilly Shally* was dedicated to the ladies of Ireland. Having a strong appeal to his female audience at live performances, as

¹²¹ *Irish Times*, 30 January 1865, p. 2.

¹²² Patrick Maume and David Murphy, ‘John Poyntz Spencer’, in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* <<https://www.dib.ie/biography/spencer-john-poyntz-a8205>> [accessed 1 November 2024]

¹²³ *Irish Times*, 29 May 1869, p. 1.

mentioned in chapters two and eight of this dissertation, the dedication of this composition consolidated the relationship between Hardy and this cohort of consumers. Green observes that “dedications to ladies and amateurs, tended to be attached to music of limited instrumentation, as both groups were primarily involved in domestic music making”.¹²⁴ By purchasing the piano sheet music of *Valse Shilly Shally*, the Irish female consumer was being sold the illusion that Hardy had personally connected with them, shifting from the remove of an external venue to the more intimate setting of the home.

The *Velocipede* galop was dedicated by Hardy to the gentlemen of Ireland. The velocipede which was a forerunner to the bicycle was largely used by men up until the 1890s.¹²⁵

Hardy dedicated his 1855 composition *The Warwick Polka* to Lieutenant Colonel Boulton and the Officers of the 1st Warwick Militia, Hardy’s first employers in his occupation as a bandmaster. A dedication such as this to one’s employer had echoes of the older system of patronage, yet in the mid-nineteenth century context it also contributed to the standing and marketability of the composer. As a fledgling regimental bandmaster and composer, Hardy, or his publisher, chose to create a strong paratext to bolster Hardy’s profile and prospective sheet music sales. By latching on to his association with the recognisable militia regiment and using the image of the historic Warwick Castle as the front cover plate, the music of Hardy, an emerging composer, could appeal to the local consumer.

Hardy composed *The Return Polka* for the occasion of his farewell concert prior to leaving Warwick. Following the end of the Crimean War, the 1st Warwick Militia and its band was disembodied on the return of the regular army to England. He dedicated this composition to Major-General Charles Ash Windham (1810–70) who returned from the Crimean War as a hero after leading the 2nd Division at the last attack at the Redan.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Green, p. 29.

¹²⁵ Kerry Segrave, *Women and Bicycles in America, 1868–1900* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2020), p. 117.

¹²⁶ *Illustrated London Almanack for 1857*, March, p. 18.

The *Bugle-Call Polka*, composed by Mrs Garnet Falloon but arranged by Hardy, was dedicated to the Inspector General of the RIC, Sir Henry Brownrigg (1798–1873), and the officers of the Irish Constabulary. There is no evidence to suggest that Hardy himself dedicated any composition to the officers of the RIC.

7.8 Miscellaneous Repertoire: Irish and Sacred

Also included in the RIC band repertoire was a selection of Irish music including Moore's *Melodies* and other Irish tunes. It is unknown if these band arrangements were from a published source or if they were penned by Hardy. Herbert notes the practice in England of solo songs being transcribed as band arrangements,¹²⁷ a practice Hardy may have followed. Herbert also describes the practice of handwritten band books containing arrangements based on piano scores and re-arrangements of band journal pieces being kept by brass bands.¹²⁸ Beausang notes that Moore's *Melodies* had been absorbed by the national consciousness through various channels including their performance by regimental bands on state occasions.¹²⁹ The programme of music performed by the RIC band at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in 1863 included Moore's *The Young May Moon*, *The Groves of Blarney* (popularised by Moore as *The Last Rose of Summer*), *The Harp that Once Through Tara's Halls*, *The Minstrel Boy*, and *Nora Creina* (popularised by Moore as *Lesbia hath a Beaming Eye*).¹³⁰ One source provides evidence of the RIC band performing sacred music though no specific information regarding titles of works is provided. At the inauguration ceremony for the Albert Hall at the Royal College of Surgeons the band 'stationed in the entrance hall, played "God Save the Queen", and at

¹²⁷ Trevor Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ed. by Trevor Herbert, pp. 10–60 (p. 51).

¹²⁸ Trevor Hebert, 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band', *Popular Music*, 9: 1 (1990), 117–132 (pp. 119 and 120).

¹²⁹ Ita Beausang, 'From National Sentiment to Nationalist Movement, 1850–1900', in *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 36–51 (p. 38).

¹³⁰ *Times*, 13 February 1863, p. 3.

intervals during the ceremony performed selections of sacred music'.¹³¹ The choosing of sacred music for this occasion is unusual as the Royal College of Surgeons held no special religious affiliation¹³² and neither was it typical for the RIC band to perform this genre of music.

7.9.1 Valse Shilly Shally: Reception¹³³

Hardy's most popular composition was the *Valse Shilly Shally*, which appeared first as an arrangement for military band and later as an arrangement for piano. Based on a selection of Irish airs, including 'Sally Sally Shilly Shally' by Samuel Lover (1797–1868) and Balfe's 'Killarney', this was not an entirely original composition but rather a compilation and adaptation of recognisably Irish themes, conforming to the typical waltz format of its era. It became a requested piece of music at RIC band performances and grasped the attention of audiences from its first inclusion on its programmes. The *Valse Shilly Shally* is first mentioned in a newspaper article in the summer of 1863 at an RIC band performance at the Viceregal Lodge:

Amongst other pieces, all well played, we would particularly notice a very cleverly put together series of Irish airs, called the somewhat original title, "Shilly Shally". This is from the pen of the Bandmaster, Mr Harry Hardy, whose taste in such matters is well known. It promises to be a decided favourite.¹³⁴

The *Valse Shilly Shally* was featured by the RIC band at a variety of performances including both promenade events and concerts. This waltz seemed to have had a particular impact on the estimated three thousand strong audience at Mr Montague's benefit concert, being singled out

¹³¹ *Irish Times*, 22 May 1863, p. 4.

¹³² Laura Kelly, *Irish Medical Education and Student Culture, c. 1850–1950* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p. 8.

¹³³ Some of the research presented in this section has been published by the author of this dissertation under the name of Maria Byrne. See, Maria Byrne, 'Valse Shilly Shally: An Irish Expression of the Viennese Waltz', in *New Crops, Old Fields: Reimagining Irish Folklore*, ed. by Conor Caldwell and Eamon Byres (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2017), pp. 65–81.

¹³⁴ *Irish Times*, 29 June 1863, p. 3.

for mention in an *Irish Times*¹³⁵ review and receiving favourable comment in the *Freeman's Journal*¹³⁶ and the English newspaper the *Era*.¹³⁷ Noting that this piece of music would shortly be available as an arrangement for piano, the *Irish Times* review stated that:

Mr Harry Hardy's "Shilly Shally" waltz, which, however undecided it may be as to title, proved a very decided favourite last evening, for it was most enthusiastically *encored*, a compliment seldom paid to full band performances; but the popularity of the subject, the waltz being founded on Irish airs, and the vigour and animation with which it was given, were quite sufficient to make a precedent, even if it never had existed.¹³⁸

Following its publication as a piano arrangement in 1864 a wave of advertising, comment and special requests regarding this piece appeared in the press. Dedicated to the ladies of Ireland, this highly popular piece priced at two shillings and available 'at all music sellers'¹³⁹ made its way to a second edition by February, a fourth edition by April and a fifth edition by May 1864.¹⁴⁰ A second edition copy of the *Valse Shilly Shally* appeared at auction in Dublin in January 2017. It was offered as part of a collection of Victorian piano sheet music, comprising five bound volumes. This copy is signed by Hardy, a practice mentioned in an *Irish Times* article regarding an RIC performance at the Louth Agricultural Show in 1864: 'Mr Hardy presented several copies of his beautiful "Shilly Shally Valse" and "Cupid's Dart Mazurka" to several ladies, as a tribute to their musical talent, and his respect for their former acquaintance.'¹⁴¹ Careful examination of notes made by the original owner of this music collection give insight into the RIC band audience profile and Hardy's customer base for his

¹³⁵ *Irish Times*, 14 November 1863, p. 3.

¹³⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1863.

¹³⁷ *Era*, 22 November 1863.

¹³⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 November 1863, p. 3.

¹³⁹ *Irish Times*, 25 February 1864, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ *Irish Times*, 22 April 1864, p. 3. The reference to the fourth edition of the *Valse Shilly Shally* is contained in an account of the Royal Horticultural Society's Spring Show at which the RIC band and the military band of the 86th Regiment performed. The excellence of the RIC band is noted with particular attention awarded to Hardy's celebrated *Valse Shilly Shally*. An advertisement appeared in the *Irish Times* on 2 May 1864 for the fifth edition of this piece.

¹⁴¹ *Irish Times*, 30 June 1864, p. 3.

piano sheet music. This collection was owned by Elizabeth Hull, the wife of a Drogheda linen merchant. Raised in Geelong, southern Australia, Elizabeth travelled to Ireland to marry Henry Hull in Dublin in 1855. Elizabeth was a Protestant woman of the merchant middle class, the owner of an extensive and well-used collection of popular dance music for piano, and the possessor of an autographed copy of the fashionable music of her day. This strengthens the profile of Hardy's followership as female and middle class. The copy of the *Valse Shilly Shally* held at the Irish Traditional Music Archive is a tenth edition, priced at four shillings, indicating the huge demand for this appealing piece.¹⁴² It displays the stamp of Bernard Wiseheart of 42 Lower Sackville Street, Dublin. John Wiseheart and Son is listed in Thom's Directory as a stationers, engravers and music seller to Her Majesty the Queen and also having a business premises at 23 Suffolk Street.¹⁴³ A similar tenth edition copy, which was sold at Joseph Hart's pianoforte warehouse, 14 Castle Place, Belfast, is held by the Ward Irish Music Archives.¹⁴⁴

Shilly Shally was also published in Boston, USA, by Oliver Ditson (1811–88) and Company. Ditson was America's most prolific song publisher until the 1880s but also published a wide range of other material including sheet music.¹⁴⁵ This version is housed at the University of Michigan. While no edition number or date are visible on this score it is reasonable to surmise that it postdates 1867. The names of Ditson branch houses in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and New York appear on its front cover. The New York branch under the name of C. H. Ditson, which was the latest of these to be established, opened

¹⁴² Harry Hardy: *Valse Shilly Shally*, tenth edition (London: John Blockley, n.d.)

¹⁴³ 'Thom's Almanac and Official Directory for the Year 1862: Sackville Street Lower', in *Library Ireland* <<https://www.libraryireland.com/Dublin-Street-Directory-1862/1312.php>> [accessed 2 October 2022] and Catherine Ferris (also Brian Boydell and Barra Boydell), 'Wiseheart, J.', in *dublinmusictrade.ie* <<https://dublinmusictrade.ie/search/node/wiseheart%20type%3Arecord>> [accessed 2 October 2022]

¹⁴⁴ Harry Hardy, 'Valse Shilly Shally', in *Ward Irish Music Archives* <<http://wardarchives.pastperfectonline.com/library/5D1305A8-3A19-479E-BB05-602347235410>> [accessed 7 July 2022]

¹⁴⁵ Derek B. Scott, 'Music and Social Class', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music, Volume I*, ed. by Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 544–567 (p. 548). Also, David A. Jasen, *Tin Pan Alley: An Encyclopedia of the Golden Age of American Song* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 364.

in 1867.¹⁴⁶ While the music remains the same as the Dublin and London published versions, the title and front cover material are somewhat different. The composition is now entitled *Shilly Shally Valse* and is printed in black and white using a plain font. There is limited decoration surrounding the title and no dedication ‘to the ladies of Ireland’. Unlike the English editions it is not stated that the introduction and first valse tune are taken by kind permission of Samuel Lover from his song ‘Sally Sally Shilly Shally’ and that ‘Killarney’ is used by kind permission of M. W. Balfe. The lack of green and gold lettering and decoration rob this cover of its distinctly Irish identity. The publishers may have believed that these changes could widen the potential consumer base for this composition by not visually highlighting its Irish origins. Why this might be the case is purely speculative. If this edition was published around 1867, as this dissertation suggests, it is possible that sentiment towards Irish nationalism among middle-class Americans, at whom this composition was targeted, had been damaged following the invasion of Canada in 1866 by Fenians via the United States. Another possible reason for the more neutral presentation of the *Valse Shilly Shally* piano score in the USA is the greater acceptance of the Irish-American community into white middle-class life following the close of the American Civil War in 1865. By not drawing attention to its Irishness this piece could take an independent stance on the shelves of middle-class music sellers, not limiting its appeal to the Irish-American customer. By altering the syntax of its title, this composition loses some of its pretensions and is offered simply as a waltz. The reader must delve further into the score, to pages three and five respectively, to find very brief accreditations of the ‘Shilly Shally’ section to Lover and the ‘Killarney’ section to Balfe. Only by reading or playing the music in this score will its brand of Irishness become discernible. Ditson may have considered it necessary to make these changes to this edition in order to neutralise its identity and extend its

¹⁴⁶ W. Thomas Marrocco, Mark Jacobs and Donald W. Krummel, ‘Oliver Ditson’, in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07860>> [accessed 7 July 2022]

appeal to an American audience of mixed ethnic origins. Of course, Ditson may also have chosen a plainer appearance for the American edition to keep costs down and market this music at a more affordable price.

While the *Valse Shilly Shally* became particularly associated with the RIC band Hardy also conducted its performance by other ensembles, travelling to Newry, Co. Down, ‘for the purpose of conducting his own popular valse, the Shilly Shally’, at a grand farewell concert for Herr Rudolph Zabel.¹⁴⁷

The *Valse Shilly Shally* reached a very large audience due to the numerous concert and promenade style events at which it was played, both in Dublin and beyond. The exhibitions, shows, sporting events and outdoor performances at which it was played by the RIC band attracted large attendances, with the band placed in prominent locations and receiving ample press exposure both in advance of and following performances.¹⁴⁸ The following article which describes a performance at a sporting event at the Sandymount Cricket Grounds during the *Valse Shilly Shally*’s first summer of performance appeared in the *Irish Times*:

The splendid band of the constabulary was stationed in the centre of the grounds, under the direction of its talented master, Mr Harry Hardy, and played a beautiful selection both of operatic and dance music, amongst the latter a new Irish valse, Shilly Shally, the production of Mr Hardy, which was much admired.¹⁴⁹

7.9.2 *Valse Shilly Shally*: Analysis

The *Valse Shilly Shally* belongs to the complex musical genre of popular music where the text is deeply embedded in various layers of ideological and cultural meaning. Using the analytical method of Robert Walser which advocates a culturally-based approach to understanding

¹⁴⁷ *Irish Times*, 1 April 1864, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ An attendance of nine thousand people was reported to have been present at the Annual North-East Agricultural Association Show held in Belfast and reported on in the *Belfast News-Letter* of 8 July 1864. The RIC band performed the *Valse Shilly Shally* at this event.

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Times*, 7 July 1863, p. 3.

music's articulation of social meaning, it is possible to arrive at a deeper understanding of the *Valse Shilly Shally*'s popular appeal.¹⁵⁰ While Walser's methodology is intended for analysing current-day popular music, many of its aspects are also relevant to the analysis of nineteenth-century popular music, especially its investigation of the causes for the particular responses and pleasures that popular music elicits in its listeners.

Following the relevant steps from Walser's methodology I will survey the *Valse Shilly Shally* by considering the role of its musical themes and structure, its instrumentation, and the social context in which this piece was meaningful. An analysis of this work reveals the reasons for its popularity, demonstrating the factors that led to a popular piece of music resonating with its audience. This composition, that remained synonymous with Hardy throughout his association with the RIC band, was published in Ireland, England and the USA demonstrating a wide an appeal. It was also performed by other bands both during and after Hardy's lifetime. An article in *The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine*, referred to in footnote 254 of chapter six of this dissertation, describes the impact of *Valse Shilly Shally* stating that it took Ireland by storm and retained its popularity for many years. This analysis unpackages this piece both musically and socially in order to understand its impact and appeal.

7.9.3 *Valse Shilly Shally*: Musical Themes and Structure

Valse Shilly Shally is written as a waltz. This was a popular dance format in 3/4 time, probably derived from the German *Ländler*, which came to prominence in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁵¹ Associated with the ballrooms of Vienna, the greatest exponent of this

¹⁵⁰ Robert Walser, 'Popular Music Analysis: Ten Apothegms and Four Instances', in *Analyzing Popular Music*, ed. by Allan Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 16–38.

¹⁵¹ Andrew Lamb, 'Waltz', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.may.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000029881?rskey=3yuVF5>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

dance type was Johann Strauss II,¹⁵² a contemporary of Hardy. Hardy, in line with the contemporary trend, chose to use the French word *valse* in the title of this piece, giving it a greater sense of elegance or, indeed, pretension. *Valse Shilly Shally* may initially appear simple in construction, a mere *pot pourri* of Irish melodies, but this is only achieved through Hardy's skill and experience. Dance forms require a simple regularity to serve their practical function as dance accompaniments, but this waltz also had the ideological function of portraying a sense of national identity. Walser, while writing about more recent popular music, believes that 'the musical construction of simplicity plays an important part in many kinds of ideological representations, from the depiction of pastoral refuges from modernity to constructions of race and gender'.¹⁵³ The simplicity of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally* represented a unified and contented Irish people, dancing in time with an idyllic Ireland.

The *Valse Shilly Shally* follows the general structure of a Strauss waltz. Using Camille Crittenden's model for the construction of a typical Strauss waltz I will outline the overall structure of *Valse Shilly Shally*.¹⁵⁴ Similar to a Strauss waltz, *Valse Shilly Shally* begins with a short introduction in duple metre which establishes the key of the first waltz melody, F major (Ex. 7.9.3.1). Crittenden notes that 'any allusion to the dance's title is frequently found only in the introduction'.¹⁵⁵ Following this trend the title *Shilly Shally*, meaning to procrastinate or be inclined towards indecision, is only reflected in this eight-bar introduction marked *Andante con Espressione* which ends with a *Rallentando*.

¹⁵² Peter Kemp, 'Strauss Family', in *Grove Music Online* <<https://doi-org.may.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.52380>> [accessed 16 October 2022]

¹⁵³ Robert Walser, *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), p. 128.

¹⁵⁴ Camille Crittenden, *Johann Strauss and Vienna: Operetta and the Politics of Popular Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 111.

¹⁵⁵ Crittenden, p. 111.

Example 7.9.3.1 First Four Bars of Introduction

Andante
con
Espressione

This is followed by an eight-bar transition which establishes the 3/4 waltz time signature, ending typically on the dominant chord of the waltz which follows. The body of a Strauss waltz generally uses four or five waltz tunes, each with two sections. Conforming to this pattern, *Valse Shilly Shally* consists of four waltz tunes with two sections each. The first waltz tune is that of ‘Sally’, used by the permission of its composer Lover.¹⁵⁶ This waltz has a sixteen bar A section in F (Ex. 7.9.3.2), and a 24 bar B section which begins in D minor but returns to F major. The B section is then repeated.

Example 7.9.3.2 First Eight Bars of Waltz Tune ‘Sally Sally’

¹⁵⁶ Samuel Lover, ‘Sally’ (New Orleans: W. T. Mayo, n.d.). Dublin born Samuel Lover (1797–1868) was a writer, painter, and composer. Among his most popular songs are ‘The Low-backed Car’ and ‘The Girl I Left Behind Me’.

A second waltz, in B flat major, then begins adapted from the jig tune ‘Tá an Coileach ag Fógairt an Lae’ (Ex. 7.9.3.3). The particular version of this tune that is used resembles most closely a version collected from Séamus Ennis (1919–1982) in 1959.¹⁵⁷ It consists of an A and B section each sixteen bars long and repeated.

Example 7.9.3.3 First Sixteen Bars of Waltz Tune *Tá an Coileach ag Fógairt an Lae*
Illustrating Accented Rhythmic Effect By Use of Acciaccaturas and Accented Crotchets

The musical score is written for piano in B-flat major (two flats) and 3/4 time. It consists of four systems, each containing four bars of music. The first system (bars 1-4) begins with a key signature change to B-flat major. The melody in the right hand is characterized by acciaccaturas and accented crotchets. The bass line provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. The second system (bars 5-8) continues the melody with similar rhythmic features. The third system (bars 9-12) shows a more complex rhythmic pattern with accented crotchets. The fourth system (bars 13-16) concludes the sixteen-bar section with a repeat sign at the end.

¹⁵⁷ Breandán Breathnach, *Ceol Rince na hÉireann, Cuid 2* (Dublin: An Gúm, 1976), no.68, p. 38 and p. 197.

The third waltz tune is that of ‘Killarney’, used by permission of its composer Balfe.¹⁵⁸ This section is in the key of G major and consists of a sixteen-bar repeated A section and a thirty-two bar repeated B section (Ex. 7.9.3.4).

Example 7.9.3.4 First Eight Bars of Waltz Tune ‘Killarney’



The tonality of the final waltz tune is C major and differs in construction from the previous tunes. It is forty bars in length consisting of two main thematic ideas (Ex. 7.9.3.5). However, these ideas do not break distinctly into two sections; the second sixteen bar idea emerging from that of the first. A four-bar link in C major leads to a coda, typical of this waltz genre. However, this coda, in the home key of F major, only features the title waltz tune and not the more typical two waltz tunes found in the work of Strauss. The piece concludes with a sixteen-bar section consisting of a flamboyant flourish over a tremolo bass, marked *ff* and *accelerando*, followed

¹⁵⁸ M. W. Balfe, ‘Killarney’ (Louisville: D. P. Faulds, n.d.). The Irish composer Michael William Balfe (1808–70), was the most successful composer of English operas in the nineteenth century, gaining wide recognition with his work *The Bohemian Girl*.

by four stabbing chords, a sudden dramatic change to *ppp* and *lento* before a final triumphant *fortissimo* close.

Example 7.9.3.5 First Sixteen Bars of Fourth Waltz Tune

While undoubtedly based on catchy popular tunes the underlying rhythmic strength of *Valse Shilly Shally* is probably what enthralled its audience in live performance. Scott notes the importance of non-notated performance practices in this dance genre such as the anticipated second beat, the use of *accelerando* and strongly marked *ritardando*.¹⁵⁹ Hardy appears to have

¹⁵⁹ Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 123.

achieved the musical ‘feel’ required to bring this music to life as noted in a *Freeman’s Journal* article highlighting the particular dance quality which *Valse Shilly Shally* displayed:

This is a charming piece of dance music, and although only a very short time published, a second edition of it is required. It possesses all the qualities that make it popular in the ballroom [...] If Mr Hardy writes much more music like this, his name will be associated by the votaries of Terpsichore with most attractive foot-moving strains. Good modern dance music is very scarce, although cartloads of illuminated noisy nonsense, going under the name of polkas, quadrilles, galops, &c., are thrown on the world every month by all kinds of people, who often find portions of their favourite compositions generally used by the individuals with whom they deal for tobacco and chandlery. The Shilly Shally Valse is of the right sort, and for that reason has become a great favourite with the public.¹⁶⁰

Scott also notes that rhythmic strength was achieved in this style of writing by the use of unexpected rhythmic turns, accents which were often emphasised by an acciaccatura, and syncopation.¹⁶¹ Hardy first uses acciaccaturas to achieve this accented rhythmic effect in the second waltz tune ‘Tá an Coileach ag Fógairt an Lae’ along with a bar of three strongly accented crotchets which serve to broaden out this melody as its first section draws to a close as illustrated earlier in Example 7.9.3.3. The third waltz, ‘Killarney’, has a natural dance-like rhythm due its triplets, though these were originally envisaged in a 4/4 context by their composer, Balfe. By placing the emphasis on the second beat of the bar, rather than the expected first beat, towards the ends of phrases Hardy creates unexpected rhythmic interest and couples this with a further use of acciaccaturas leading to the high notes (Ex. 7.9.3.6). Scott notes that when longer melodic phrases are used in the waltz they are characterised by the use of various rhythmic techniques.¹⁶² The long forty-bar fourth waltz tune uses many such devices. Firstly, a strong 3/4 waltz feel is established with dotted minims featuring in the melody,

¹⁶⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 13 February 1863.

¹⁶¹ Scott, p. 124.

¹⁶² Scott, p. 124.

underpinned by an ‘um-pah-pah’ bass. Scott observes that the use of ‘um-pah-pah’ figures featured in Schubert’s later piano waltzes, gaining traction in dance waltzes which became faster with the work of Strauss and Joseph Lanner (1801–43).¹⁶³ Hardy contrasts this predictable figure by following this opening with a marked use of syncopation, repeated staccato notes, triplets, and further acciaccaturas (Ex. 7.9.3.7).

Example 7.9.3.6 First Sixteen Bars of 'Killarney' B Section
Illustrating Increased Rhythmic Interest with an Acciaccatura Preceding a High Note and
Emphasis Placed on the Second Beat of Bars Seven and Fifteen

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (bars 1-4) shows a simple melody in the treble and a steady bass line. The second system (bars 5-8) introduces more rhythmic complexity with acciaccaturas and syncopation. The third system (bars 9-12) continues this pattern with repeated staccato notes. The fourth system (bars 13-16) features a more elaborate melody with triplets and further acciaccaturas.

¹⁶³ Scott, p. 119.

Example 7.9.3.7 Last Sixteen Bars of Fourth Waltz Tune
Illustrating Use of Staccato, Triplets and Acciaccatura for Added Rhythmic Interest

The musical score is written for piano in 3/4 time, consisting of four systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score illustrates various rhythmic techniques:

- System 1 (Bars 1-4):** Features staccato eighth notes in the treble and block chords in the bass. Bars 2 and 4 contain triplets of eighth notes in the treble.
- System 2 (Bars 5-8):** Bar 5 begins with an acciaccatura (a short eighth note followed by a quarter rest) in the treble. Bar 7 features a long, sweeping slur over a half note and a quarter note in the treble.
- System 3 (Bars 9-12):** Continues the pattern with staccato eighth notes and block chords, including triplets in bars 10 and 12.
- System 4 (Bars 13-16):** The final system, ending with a double bar line. It includes staccato eighth notes, triplets, and block chords, with a final cadence in bar 16.

7.9.4 Valse Shilly Shally: Instrumentation

Valse Shilly Shally was originally written with the RIC band as its intended primary performer. By 1863, the date of its composition, the RIC band was a military band of fifty musicians. As mentioned in chapter two, the military band was one of the most popular transmitters of music in post-famine Ireland, with the RIC band performing for large and varied audiences. Hardy had at his disposal probably the most effective method of promoting his own work. By writing for the popular military band of the RIC his compositions gained automatic widespread exposure and if a composition was catchy, it had the potential of reaching an even greater audience if published as sheet music. To date the original manuscript of *Valse Shilly Shally* for

military band has not been located and it is unclear if this arrangement was published. A performance of the piece by the Waterford Artillery band in 1864 and the Band of the Prince Albert's (Somersetshire Light Infantry) in Dublin in 1882 suggests that the *Valse Shilly Shally* may have been available in published format for military band.¹⁶⁴

Publishing the *Valse Shilly Shally* as a piano arrangement may be seen as an astute commercial decision by Hardy. With the rising tide of Victorian capitalism there was an ever-increasing demand for sheet music and instruments, especially pianos. Peter J. Martin notes that this demand created work for composers, engravers, music teachers and music retailers, thus sowing the seeds of the modern music industry.¹⁶⁵ The piano was a significant class marker in the mid-nineteenth century proving a 'valuable form of 'cultural capital' in a climate where, increasingly, middle-class respectability could be achieved through a display of its visible trappings rather than by lineage'.¹⁶⁶ With music making in the home on the increase among the middle classes and coupled with its respectable image, the piano was further labelled as a suitable instrument for the Victorian lady to learn.¹⁶⁷ With this abundance of female pianists Hardy cleverly captured the imagination of this consumer base by dedicating his *Valse Shilly Shally* to 'the ladies of Ireland'.

7.9.5 *Valse Shilly Shally*: Lyric and Musical Identity

While the lyrics of Lover's 'Sally' and Balfe's 'Killarney' do not form part of the musical text of *Valse Shilly Shally*, nevertheless the unsung words of these popular songs and the particular brand of Irish nationalism with which these works were associated must have echoed in the

¹⁶⁴ *Munster Express*, 24 December 1864, p. 2 and *Irish Times*, 23 August 1882, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ Peter J. Martin, *Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ Jodi Lustig, 'The Piano's Progress: The Piano in Play in the Victorian Novel', in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 83–104 (p. 84).

¹⁶⁷ Jane A. Bernstein, 'Dame Ethel Smyth and the Changing Role of the British Woman Composer', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. by Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 304–324 (p. 306).

minds of its audience. Lover's writings sold an idealistic and romantic view of Ireland primarily to an English market, promoting an idyllic Irish identity.¹⁶⁸ The lyrics of 'Sally' depict a playful interaction between the coy Sally who procrastinates over cheeky Harry's advances, in a happy Irish setting.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, the lyrics by Edmund O'Rourke Falconer (1813–79) to Balfe's song 'Killarney' portray a peaceful, pastoral, and perfect view of Ireland.¹⁷⁰ Coupled with the Irish lyrical identity of both 'Sally' and 'Killarney', *Valse Shilly Shally's* auditory identity was also strongly Irish, an attribute that was brought to prominence by the performance practice of the Irishmen of the RIC band.¹⁷¹

7.9.6 Making an Identity: Paratext and Text of *Valse Shilly Shally*

The rich, vivid and vibrant cover of the piano sheet music for *Valse Shilly Shally* is a significant paratext that leads us to consider how this musical text most interestingly engages with its social and ideological environment. Its gilt-edged green lettering with filigree gold patterns resembling shamrocks ensures that the reader is in no doubt as to the Irishness of this piece. This anonymous piece of popular art was typical of the nationalistic work that appeared in various types of printed media at that time. Lawrence McBride posits that this type of popular art affected the political imagination of Irish nationalists, having a significant impact on their contemporary audiences which confirmed their identity as a people.¹⁷² With the growth of Irish cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century the development of a national self-image became important. Leerssen identifies an awareness in mid-nineteenth-century nationalism of Ireland

¹⁶⁸ Norman Vance, *Irish Literature Since 1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002), p. 81.

¹⁶⁹ Samuel Lover, 'Sally' (New Orleans: W. T. Mayo, n.d.)

¹⁷⁰ M. W. Balfe, 'Killarney' (Louisville: D. P. Faulds, n.d.)

¹⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 14 November 1863, p. 3.

¹⁷² Lawrence W. McBride, 'Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination, from the Manchester Martyrs through the Commemoration of the Heroes of the War of Independence', in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, ed. by Lawrence W. McBride (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 9–17 (p. 9).

as a distinct and culturally individual country with this cultural individuality specifically linked to the nation's Gaelic roots.¹⁷³

An obvious expression of nationality is the use of emblems, the shamrock being one of the most common. Sheehy dates the regular appearance of the shamrock as a symbol of Ireland in eighteenth century art.¹⁷⁴ Building on the association of particular symbols with Ireland, the mid-nineteenth century non-sectarian Young Ireland movement, held a vision for Ireland which focused on the common cultural ground enjoyed by the various sections of Irish society. As mentioned previously in chapter 4 of this dissertation, Young Ireland also endeavoured to alleviate poverty and stimulate intellectual interest through its involvement in charity work and the foundation of reading rooms. Young Irelander, Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903) believed that 'on the neutral ground of ancient history and native art, Unionists and Nationalists could meet without alarm'.¹⁷⁵ The symbolism evident on the cover of the *Valse Shilly Shally* fits precisely this agenda. It transcends the violent tendencies of past history and endeavours to engage with an authentic trans-partisan image of Ireland. However, much Gaelocentric nationalism was, according to Leerssen an interiorized form of exoticism as it was 'an Anglo-Irish projection or invention-or at best an Anglo-Irish transmogrification of Gaelic raw materials'.¹⁷⁶ In relation to music such as that found in Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, Barra Boydell posits that 'this perception of Irish music was founded not on the observation of contemporary musical practices so much as on a yearning for an imagined past nurtured by antiquarianism and Romantic nationalism'.¹⁷⁷ The perceived Irishness of *Valse Shilly Shally* as

¹⁷³ Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996), p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830–1930* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), p. 11.

¹⁷⁵ Charles Gavan Duffy, *Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History 1840–1845*, 2 vols (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), I, p. 126.

¹⁷⁶ Leerssen, p. 66.

¹⁷⁷ Barra Boydell, 'Constructs of Nationality: The Literary and Visual Politics of Irish Music in the Nineteenth Century', in *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 52–73 (p. 54).

a musical entity was apparent from its initial introduction to Irish audiences, prior to its manifestation as a published score. With its popularity attributed, as noted in the aforementioned newspaper quotations, to its foundation on Irish airs and with its identity confirmed as ‘a new Irish valse’, this piece of music was audibly definable as Irish. Therefore, both sonically and iconographically its Irishness was perceived and understood by its audience and commentators. Hardy, the Englishman in Ireland, through his musical and artistic choices makes Irish music and identity exotic by employing a manufactured image of Ireland which satisfied the nationalistic needs of his audience.

7.9.7 A Popular Hit: The Versatile and Commercially Viable *Valse Shilly Shally*

The popular appeal of *Valse Shilly Shally* is attributable to both its musical and extra-musical qualities. This piece possessed a dual character, being a functional piece for dancing and a stand-alone piece for purely aural consumption. This dance music, featuring popular and typically Irish tunes coupled with a strong expression at the rhythmic level, was essentially good music to dance to but also possessed the ability to entertain a seated or promenading audience in the concert hall or public park. The perceived Irishness of this waltz resonated with the growing nationalistic sentiment of the day but cleverly used trans-partisan musical texts and idioms to endear it to the multifaceted spectrum of Irish people. The Irish identity of this piece is further strengthened by the nationality of its composer. The fact that Hardy, an Englishman, could assimilate this perception of Irish nationhood so successfully and convincingly into his composition and performance, lent validity and acceptability to the recognition of Ireland as a distinct nation. While the waltz was an internationally popular dance type in the 1860s, brought to prominence by the Strauss family, the *Valse Shilly Shally* was endowed with an Irish personality and brought initially to the stage by the well-liked local and accomplished RIC band. In keeping with capitalist enterprise of the day, Hardy marketed this

piece by selling it as piano sheet music, successfully targeting the female consumers with whom he had been making an acquaintance since his days as a British army bandmaster. Understanding the publicity value of the topical and fashionable and possessing a charismatic stage persona, the *Valse Shilly Shally* strengthened Hardy's profile as a significant musical director in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century.

A similar compilation type composition featuring Irish tunes, "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* by Basquit, composed five years after *Valse Shilly Shally*, also featured in RIC band performance.

7.10 Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia*

"*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* is a composition by regimental bandmaster Basquit, composed in 1868 for the occasion of Hardy's Grand Annual Concert at Dublin's Rotundo.¹⁷⁸ Advertisements for this concert state that this piece of music was specially arranged for this concert, dedicated to Hardy, and first performed at this concert. However, a version of this work published by Boosey & Co. in *Boosey's Military Journal* in 1879, following Hardy's death, state that it was composed in honour of the royal visit of the Prince of Wales to Ireland. Basquit may have retrospectively changed the dedication of this work, considering a royal association more advantageous to music sales. As early as 1850 a selection by Basquit entitled *Irish National Airs* was being performed by the 43rd Light Infantry band in Ireland under the direction of Mr J. Haffer.¹⁷⁹ This may have been a precursor to his 1868 composition. "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* often appeared in RIC band programmes and was also performed by a variety of other bands.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 28 April 1868, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 July 1850, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ There are references to performances of Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* by the regimental bands of the 17th Lancers and the 35th Regiment. See *Irish Times*, 29 July 1870, p. 1 and *Irish Times* 5 August 1875, p. 3. Also, the civilian Irish Times band performed this piece in 1871, see *Irish Times* 24 May 1871, p. 3.

Basquit's dedication of "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* to Hardy is an example of a dedication by one musician to another. Basquit may have been a friend of Hardy wishing to support him by gifting him a new composition for his benefit concert. However, it is likely that both men were aware of the reciprocal benefits of such a dedication. Referring to the habit of dedications between musical personalities, Green suggests that 'both dedicators and dedicatees accumulated symbolic capital, as dedications were publicized as proof of reputation and compositional skill'.¹⁸¹ The dedication by Basquit of "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* to Hardy for performance at his 1868 benefit concert, secured a performance platform for Basquit's composition. By associating it with Hardy, and consequently the RIC band, he was guaranteeing its performance by a band that permanently resided in Dublin. If it proved popular after its début performance at Hardy's well-attended fashionable Dublin benefit concert, this could secure repeat performances by Hardy and the RIC band, even after Basquit would leave Ireland for posting to some other location within the British Empire. Basquit could also perform "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* with his own regimental band and any subsequent bands he may conduct, thus reaching a wide audience. Therefore, this dedication by Basquit was an astute marketing tool for his work. The choice of Hardy as dedicatee suggests that Hardy was perceived as a successful and well-connected musician who could add status to a composition, thus improving the composition's chances of success in the marketplace. Hardy also stood to gain by this dedication. His ability to coordinate the performance of this whirlwind potpourri of Irish music, performed by a massed military band and choir, raised his profile as a pre-eminent conductor. Also, the dedication by a fellow bandmaster to Hardy suggested an affability between friends, strengthening the image of the genial and amiable celebrity bandmaster.

¹⁸¹ Green, p. 35.

Basquit, born in Limburg, Germany in 1824,¹⁸² most likely arrived in England in the mid to late 1840s, already a trained musician.¹⁸³ Arrivals records for the port of Dover first show Basquit arriving in England in 1845 with two other German musicians, Johann Joseph Hecker and Joseph Schneider. Arrivals records from the following year show Basquit arriving back in England with a group of eleven German musicians.¹⁸⁴ He served as bandmaster to several British regimental bands, including the 85th, 39th, 54th, 23rd and 33rd Regiments. He died while on a visit to Nastätten, Germany in 1877.¹⁸⁵ Early compositions include polkas entitled *Trap Trap*¹⁸⁶ and *Vienna*¹⁸⁷ and pieces of various national character including *Scottische*¹⁸⁸, a selection of Irish Airs and a march entitled *German*¹⁸⁹. Popular compositions and arrangements by Basquit that were performed by a variety of bands include the fantasias *An Evening About Town*,¹⁹⁰ *English Songs* (with chorus)¹⁹¹ and *The Derby Day*,¹⁹² waltzes *Little Comrade (Der Kleine Camerad)*¹⁹³ and *Pastoral Songs*,¹⁹⁴ and marches *I Cannot Sing the Old Songs*,¹⁹⁵ *Irish Tunes*¹⁹⁶ and *Ernani* (arrangement of work by Verdi)¹⁹⁷. Seventeen scores of compositions and arrangements by Basquit are held at the British Library.

¹⁸² '1861 England Census', in ancestry.com <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/7441106:8767?tid=&pid=&queryId=25f5dc93-8239-496c-af6d-46b43eb3f6a2&_phsrc=jnn191&_phstart=successSource> [accessed 5 July 2024]

¹⁸³ 'England, Alien Arrivals, 1810–1811, 1826–1869', in ancestry.com <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/64596:1587?tid=&pid=&queryId=6394da0f-ae3b-4378-9d70-8c87ac42a411&_phsrc=jnn143&_phstart=successSource> [accessed 5 July 2024]

¹⁸⁴ 'England, Alien Arrivals, 1810–1811, 1826–1869', in ancestry.com <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/71269:1587?tid=&pid=&queryId=bca9a037-8975-4d12-b750-1bccea97c091&_phsrc=jnn188&_phstart=successSource> [accessed 5 July 2024]

¹⁸⁵ *Musical Times*, 1 November 1877, p. 554.

¹⁸⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 July 1850, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Preston Chronicle*, 21 September 1850, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ *Hull Packet*, 13 June 1851, p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ *Blackburn Standard*, 9 July 1862, p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 19 May 1868, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ *Irish Examiner*, 30 June 1875, p. 2.

¹⁹² *Freeman's Journal*, 22 May 1868, p. 1.

¹⁹³ *Irish Times*, 11 March 1870, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 18 July 1867, p. 3.

¹⁹⁵ *Irish Examiner*, 10 July 1875, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Irish Examiner*, 10 July 1875, p. 2.

¹⁹⁷ *Irish Examiner*, 15 July 1869, p. 2.

Since the mid eighteenth century a considerable number of German musicians were working in Britain. F. Anne M. R. Jarvis observes that a strong musical culture in Germany, underpinned by a solid musical education, produced well-trained musicians. Meanwhile, the growth of middle-class consumer and entertainment culture in Britain created employment opportunities and openings for these accomplished German musicians to flourish. The musical distinction of German military musicians made them attractive to British regimental bands who were seeking to improve their standards.¹⁹⁸ Raymond Monelle considers that during the nineteenth century the high calibre of German bandmasters was well recognised in Britain with many Germans employed as British regimental bandmasters.¹⁹⁹

Basquit invites his audience to enter the myth of Erin through the musical medium of the fantasia. This particular musical genre, popular in the nineteenth century, involved the stringing together of popular tunes in a pot pourri, appealing to a wide audience. Halina Goldberg differentiates between two types of fantasias popular in Europe during the nineteenth century.²⁰⁰ One comprised of the compilation of favourite tunes aimed at unsophisticated audiences. The other type of fantasia formed part of the public concert repertory and was a more complex virtuoso pieces based on popular tunes, opening with a free introduction, and closing with a brilliant finale. Regarding nineteenth-century brass band music Roy Newsome also notes the variance in works labelled as fantasias. He considers that some were simply selections while others combined previously written and original material, with the format at the discretion of the creator of the piece.²⁰¹ “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* falls somewhere between all these interpretations of the genre of fantasia. It strings together a wide range of well-known

¹⁹⁸ F. Anne M. R. Jarvis, ‘German Musicians in London, c.1750–c.1850’, in *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660–1914*, ed. by Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and John R. Davis (München: K. G. Saur, 2007), pp. 37–48 (p. 38–39).

¹⁹⁹ Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), p. 123.

²⁰⁰ Halina Goldberg, *Music in Chopin’s Warsaw* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 88.

²⁰¹ Roy Newsome, *Brass Roots: A Hundred Years of Brass Bands and their Music 1836–1936* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 1998), p. 16.

Irish tunes, framing them with a dramatic introduction and finale. It is to be performed in a bold and virtuosic style, employing a large choir for one section, solo sections for featured instruments, and a cadenza for clarinet. The inclusion of solo sections with bandsmen's names mentioned in advertisements for the debut performance, suggest the high standard of playing of individual RIC bandsmen and also something of celebrity status about some members of the band.²⁰²

“*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* was not unique either conceptually or creatively. Many similar compilation type pieces based on Irish themes predate this work or were in circulation at the time of its popularity. Other works including the word ‘Erin’ in their title also abounded.

Table 7.10.1 Examples of Compilation Type Pieces Based on Irish Themes

Title	Composer	Date
<i>The Recollections of Ireland: A Grand Fantasia for the Pianoforte with Orchestral Accompaniments, Op. 69</i>	Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870)	1827
<i>Reminiscences of Ireland: Brilliant Fantasia for the Pianoforte on Favourite Irish Airs</i>	Carl Czerny (1791–1857)	1842
<i>Reminiscences of Ireland: Fantasia for the Pianoforte</i>	Edouard de Paris (1827–86)	1863
<i>Ireland, Grand Fantasia on Irish Melodies (P.F.)</i>	Brinley Richards (1819–85)	1870

²⁰² *Irish Times*, 28 April 1868, p. 2. Bandsmen Zinkart, Lowe, Despard, Duggan, Fitzpatrick, and Burchell are mentioned. RIC bandsmen's names have been mentioned in chapter six of this dissertation. There is further discussion of their recognition as quality musicians in chapters seven and eight.

Table 7.10.2 Examples of Compositions with Erin in the Title

Title	Composer	Date
<i>Erin go Bragh Quadrilles</i>	Zabel	1857
<i>Erin go Bragh Quadrilles</i>	d'Albert	1860
<i>Erin, Oh! Erin melodie</i> <i>Irlandaise ... transcribe pour</i> <i>Harpe. Op. 183</i>	Charles Oberthür (1819–95)	1863
<i>Oh! Steer My Bark to Erin's Isle</i>	Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797–1839)	1830
<i>Oh Erin! My Heart Beats for</i> <i>Thee</i>	Harriet Waylett (1798–1851)	c. 1840

A further example of a fantasia type composition and an ‘Erin’ composition were *Grand Pianoforte Fantasia on Irish Melodies* by Glover and *Erin* which was a duet for harp and band by Emilie Glover. These pieces were performed at a grand concert held in Dublin’s Antient Concert Rooms to celebrate the birth night of Thomas Moore.²⁰³

The use of the name ‘Erin’ to depict Ireland was a popular practice among nineteenth-century Romantic Irish nationalists but had been used along with the names ‘Hibernia’ and ‘Ierne’ long before this.²⁰⁴ ‘Erin’ is an Anglicization of the word ‘Éire’ (dative case Éirinn), a derivative of the name ‘Éiriú’ who was a mythological goddess. ‘Éire’ is the official Irish language version of ‘Ireland’. The comic representations of Irishness common in the eighteenth century gave way in the early nineteenth century to an image of Irishness that I. J. Corfe describes as “the mythological, heroic, sublime, and bucolic”, largely connected with the work

²⁰³ For information about this concert see *Irish Times*, 30 May 1871, p. 1. John William Glover was a Dublin composer, organist, violinist, and professor of music, known for his commemorations of Thomas Moore, see Paul Collins, ‘Glover, John William’, *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, ed. by Harry White and Barra Boydell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), p. 435. Glover’s daughter, Emilie Glover, was a harpist and composer, see *Irish Times*, 9 April 1874, p. 2.

²⁰⁴ Una Hunt, *Sources and Style in Moore’s Irish Melodies* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2017), p. 23.

of Thomas Moore.²⁰⁵ Hunt identifies twenty-two songs by Moore which use the word ‘Erin’²⁰⁶ with each song depicting various attributes of a personified Ireland. Julia M. Wright identifies these depictions of Erin as the weeping Erin, the vivacious Erin, the betrayed Erin, the reborn Erin, and the female Irish beloved with the nation.²⁰⁷ These portrayals of ‘Erin’ bestowed a dignity on Ireland, dressing traditional Irish airs in a medium that was acceptable to middle and upper-class sensibilities. Basquit continues this process in his “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*, alerting his audience to the image of Ireland that it portrays through its title.

This composition intersects myth with popular nineteenth-century music, providing a popular commercial musical experience that was acceptable and entertaining for both the aristocracy and the upwardly mobile native Irish. Strong myths that address our sense of self and community are constantly reconstructed by the context of their retelling.

One such myth, that of Erin, was variously represented in nineteenth-century art, literature, and music, interacting with the cultural shift towards the construction of an Irish identity. “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*, a Victorian musical composition for military band, retells the myth of Erin by patching together a series of popular Irish tunes. Careful consideration of this composition yields a fuller understanding of its clichéd portrayal of the sentimental, fun-loving yet noble Irish and assesses the medium of nineteenth-century popular music as an effective form of myth transmission.

The recreation of a myth is an attempt to connect the present with the past. A myth suggests our origins and gives us a way to understand our current position in the world. Occupying a space between history and legend, myths can accommodate cross-generational interpretation and expression. While knowing that myths are historically creative, new cohorts

²⁰⁵ I. J. Corfe, “‘Erin go Bragh’ in London: Irishness in the Nineteenth-Century English-Printed Street Ballad”, *Studies in Romanticism* 58:4 (Winter 2019), 505–523 (506).

²⁰⁶ Hunt, p. 23.

²⁰⁷ Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 60.

willingly join in their story, filtering their essential meaning to match their own particular circumstances. Stemming from an oral tradition, the predictable and repetitive nature of myths create a familiarity and homeliness for the listener. The retelling of stories, naturally bending according to the storyteller, provides entertainment for the audience who respond spontaneously to the emotion, atmosphere and mood that the story generates. Due to the emotive and sensory appeal of myth-telling, these stories lend themselves well to transmission through a variety of media, particularly that of music. Popular music, that may rely on imitation and predictability can provide a comfortable place for a new generation to experience the vibrancy and excitement of an old emotive story.

This composition aimed to construct a sonic image of Ireland that would be immediately recognisable and pleasing to a nineteenth-century Dublin audience under the umbrella of the mythic goddess Éire. This was not a novel idea on the part of Basquit, he was merely feeding into the marketplace of popular music, providing a product to be consumed by the aristocratic concert patrons and the middle-class concert-going public. Popular music like “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* may find itself ignored or scorned as it falls between the cracks of the more respected traditional and classical music idioms. Yet, a positive engagement with a musical text of popular content, such as “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*, can provide insights into the cultural and social worlds of a particular slice of life at a given time in Ireland. While we may consider this composition to be merely a concoction of well-worn tunes, it held a different meaning for a nineteenth-century audience.

Basquit chooses Erin, as the sole protagonist in his musical narrative and builds a soundtrack around her evolving myth. In *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* by Geoffrey Keating (c.1569–c.1644) it is noted that Éire was among the various names attributed to the island of Ireland. According to Keating “it is the common opinion of antiquaries that why it is called Éire is from the name of the queen of the Tuatha Dé Danann who was in Ireland at the time of the coming

of the Clanna Míleadh”. MacCuill, MacCéacht and MacGréine took it in year-length turns to be sovereign of Ireland. Éire was wife of Ceathúr MacGréine who was king at the time of the Milesian invasion. Keating surmises that this is the reason why Éire is more commonly used than any of the other names ascribed to Ireland.²⁰⁸ He describes Éire as generous and her husband as noble.²⁰⁹ Ó Murchadha notes that this theory concurs with that found in *Leabhar Gabhála*.²¹⁰ Defeated at the Battle of Tailte, the mystical characters of the Tuatha Dé Danann retreated to subterranean Ireland from where they could still enter the human world. Éire, the heroine who never dies, is constantly renewed through the malleable nature of myth.

Billed in advertisements for its debut performance as a serio comic work on ancient and modern Irish airs, this composition patched together an array of Irish dance tunes, Moore’s *Melodies*, tunes by Turlough O’Carolan (1670–1738), and contemporary interpretations of Irish music. The description of the work as serio-comic suggests that this grand-scale work covers both serious and light aspects of Irish music and culture. Sam Beale, in writing about nineteenth-century serio-comic performers and their song material, notes the ability of performers to elicit both sorrow and laughter in their programmes or even within individual songs.²¹¹ In this vein, Basquit’s work was envisaged as accommodating a range of aspects of Irish identity which could evoke an array of emotional shifts. On a superficial level this composition was intended to appeal to a fashion conscious and exclusive audience who could count themselves among the élite of society when reading about the latest concert and most up-to-date music in the newspapers of subsequent days. This piece comprises an introduction, a chain of twenty-one popular Irish tunes, and a finale. An analysis of the score reveals the

²⁰⁸ Pádraig de Barra, *‘Foras Feasa ar Éirinn’ Athnua: Imleabhar 1* (Baile Átha Cliath: Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teoranta, 1982), p. 44.

²⁰⁹ Geoffrey Keating, ‘The History of Ireland’ (Cork: Corpus of Electronic Texts, 2002 and 2010), Section 12, p. 225 < <https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100054/text022.html> > [accessed 15 July 2022]

²¹⁰ Ó Murchadha, Diarmaid, ‘Keating: Traditionalist or Innovator’, in *Geoffrey Keating’s Foras Feasa ar Éirinn: Reassessments*, ed. by Pádraig Ó Riain (London: Irish Texts Society, 2008), pp. 90–102 (p. 98).

²¹¹ Sam Beale, *The Comedy and Legacy of Music Hall Women 1880–1920: Brazen Impudence and Boisterous Vulgarly* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 52. Palgrave Macmillan ebook.

composer's approach to embodying the myth of Erin through the use of a massed military band and a choir of eighty voices.

The piece opens with a twenty-one-bar introduction which fluctuates between 6/8 and 3/4 time, introducing brief tasters of three prominent contrasting melodies, the military march *Garryowen*, the Moore's Melody *The Last Rose of Summer*, and the popular song *Kathleen Mavourneen*, that will feature later on. The introduction gives a firm indication of techniques to be employed, with dramatic sudden changes in dynamics and tempo. Snippets of melody are rapidly transferred from instrument to instrument, while first clarinets play a succession of insistent repeated quavers in the 6/8 passages. The fragments of melodies remain incomplete as they overlap from one to the other, creating a sense of expectation for the audience. The unusual length of this introduction (twenty-one bars) is created by the overlapping of melodies and the bars of repeated 6/8 quavers that are used to establish the beat before both iterations of a taster of *Garryowen*.



Figure 7.1 Introduction to Basquit's "Erin" Grand Fantasia²¹²

²¹² Heinrich Basquit, "Erin" Grand Fantasia', in *Boose's Military Journal*, 45: 3 (London: Boosey and Co., 1879). "Erin" Grand Fantasia was dedicated originally to H. Hardy when composed in 1868. The 1879 publication states that it was composed in honour of H.R.H. Prince of Wales's visit to Ireland but doesn't specify which visit.

This is followed by a series of well-known Irish melodies. While lyrics accompanied only one melody in this composition many of the pieces included were familiar songs of the day. Pieces of purely instrumental origin fall into the categories of marches and dance tunes.

Modern popular songs include *Kathleen Mavourneen* and *Come Back to Erin Mavourneen*. Mavourneen, an Anglicisation of an Irish language term of endearment ‘mo mhúirnín’, ties these two tunes together in the mind of the listener. These examples of early popular Irish songs were written by English composers, Frederick Crouch (1808–96) and Alington Pye Barnard respectively. Crouch, the composer of *Kathleen Mavourneen*, who had moved to the United States in 1840, seeks in this song to imagine Kathleen as Erin, the Irish homeland.²¹³ The *Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance* also notes that Irish soprano Catherine Hayes (1818–61) became synonymous with this song and she in turn was perceived as the embodiment of Kathleen.²¹⁴ The song’s lyrics were undoubtedly known by Basquit’s Dublin audience. Surprised and perplexed by her persisting slumber, the author enquires as to the whereabouts of her former spell, alluding here to the mythic character of Erin. He must depart from this mystical place as Erin remains silent and sleeping. *Come Back to Erin Mavourneen* takes up a commanding central position in this work, performed by an eighty-piece male voice choir and military band of similar proportion. The lyrics here place Erin as the one having departed. The opening four lines, written in the singular, appeal directly to the author’s darling to return to Killarney where shamrocks and happiness await her. The second verse adopts a more universal tone, the author uniting with others in appealing to their multiple loved ones to return from England as they are lonely in wintry silent Erin. Williams notes that “it is an interesting example of how a skilled songwriter of the period could work into one piece

²¹³ Williams W. H. A., *‘Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p. 41

²¹⁴ Peter W. Marx, *The Oxford Companion to Theatre and Performance*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 168.

so many of the elements that had come to define or signify the Irish genre for the popular market”.²¹⁵ The melody is introduced clearly by clarinets followed by a loud four-part rendition of the refrain by the choir, accompanied by horns, althorns and bass. The verse reduces in volume with a warm timbre produced by the introduction of woodwind instruments. Following a loud two bar instrumental link there is a sudden reduction in volume leading to a plaintive rendition of the refrain. This entire thirty-eight bar section is then repeated.

These two songs fall into the categories of both modern and serious, published in 1838 and 1866 respectively, a period encompassing the Great Famine and mass emigration. They paint a picture of a forlorn, slumbering Erin who is distanced from her people. Williams observes that Barnard uses Killarney, already a popular tourist destination, and the shamrock as symbols of Ireland.²¹⁶ They summon her to awaken and return to her homeland where hope is on the horizon. This trope is reminiscent of the abandoned beautiful mystical maiden who embodies Erin in late seventeenth and eighteenth-century Irish poetry. This composition extends the perimeter of the flexible myth of Erin, bringing another audience into the expanding space of Ireland’s story. The story is now told through the media of the British military band and the male voice choir, both constructs of the nineteenth century drive towards enlightenment and rational amusement.

Sally Shilly Shally, a song by Lover follows. This melody was of course already associated with the RIC band, being at the core of Hardy’s *Valse Shilly Shally*. A number of drinking songs are dotted throughout the composition depicting the stereotypical genial Paddy.²¹⁷ A selection of Moore’s *Melodies* is featured, suggesting the alternative stereotype of Ireland’s lost glorious past. *Brien Borhoim’s March* is announced with a strong rhythmic floor provided by snare drum, triangle and bass drum. Perceived as ancient, it is reported as being in

²¹⁵ Williams, p. 41.

²¹⁶ Williams, p. 42.

²¹⁷ For discussion on this topic see Gerry Smyth, ‘Paddy Sad and Paddy Mad: Music and the Condition of Irishness’, in *Music in Irish Cultural History*, ed. by Gerry Smyth (Irish Academic Press, 2009), pp. 32–51.

the repertoire of the last of the great Irish harpers, Patrick Byrne (1784–1863).²¹⁸ A set of three jigs, including *The Irish Washerwoman*, suddenly enters rising through a crescendo to a fortissimo dynamic. *The Irish Washerwoman*, with eighteenth century or possibly earlier origins, was popular across both England and Ireland.

A quick succession of five tunes leads eventually to a very loud flurry and a florid cadenza on solo clarinet. The finale begins with a dramatic change to pianissimo and the anthem *Let Erin Remember*, played majestically by full band. Echoes of *The Irish Washerwoman* are heard once more through a rapid flow of triplets, expressed in the symphonic sound of the period. Choral strains of *Let Erin Remember* broaden out into a decisive eight-bar conclusion.

The composer's intention of eliciting an immediate and emotional audience response is realised by employing the myth and metaphor of Erin. With no need for explanation the composer taps into the audience's unconsciously held beliefs and attitudes. He uses a range of strategies to communicate these attitudes back to the listener. Aiming to portray the current Ireland as a conglomeration of the ancient, modern, serious and comic he uses a combination of tunes and techniques in his strategy for success. While each melody is simply stated without any development, these melodies act in combination rather than in isolation. Snippets of contrasting tunes act as a hook to draw the listener in to the story. The narrative unfolds through an oscillation of familiar Irish tunes that play with the listeners' emotions. As the melodies accumulate, the nostalgic, sentimental, heroic and humorous combine in the unmistakable soundscape of the powerful Victorian British military band and male voice choir. The only lyrics included in the composition refer to beautiful England while those of Moore's *Melodies*

²¹⁸ *Brien Borhoim's March* is the spelling used for this tune in Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia*. It is more commonly spelled as 'Brian Boru's March'. The information about this tune is from Andrew Kuntz, 'Brian Boru's March', in *The Fiddler's Companion Website* <http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/BRANCH_BRIDE.htm> [accessed 30 September 2022]

that depict the pulseless heart of Ireland and her overthrow by a foreign power remain unvoiced, heard subliminally in the minds of those who wish to hear them.

By engaging with this musical text, we can view the representation of the myth of Ireland to a distinct audience in mid-Victorian Dublin. Rather than create a new story, this composer comes aboard a currently accepted myth providing his audience with a ‘crowd-pleaser’ that complies with their prevailing desires and belief system. He neither persuades nor provokes but intentionally reinforces an already accepted view. His approach is non-threatening to the sensibilities of the aristocratic concert-patrons yet evokes pride of ancestry in the new middle-class audience who may have paid as little as one shilling for admittance to the concert. In order to achieve a composition of universal appeal and acceptability Basquit uses a variety of techniques aimed at coordinating the focus of this varied group.

Basquit chooses to name this piece ‘Erin’ rather than for example *Reminiscences of Ireland* or *A Selection of Irish Airs*. He uses a composite metaphor that reifies and personifies the myth that gives meaning to a particular cohort and expresses this through the associative power of music. The abstraction of Irish identity as well as the geographical land of Ireland is expressed in the tangible form of a woman. Representing the people of Ireland, she can gather together the exiled and the content who can happily march and sing to the beat of the empire.

“*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*, with its mix of popular ancient, sentimental, nationalistic, military and contemporary music, can make a valuable commentary on the culture and society of its day. Viewed collectively, “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* is a point of convergence for the predominant stereotypes of the noble Irish and the rakish jovial Paddy. While written for the commercially driven entertainment concert hall it succeeded in simultaneously reaching its aristocratic and middle-class audience. Accessing the myth of Erin at different entry points, “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia* forms a bridge from the early nineteenth-century mythic Ireland to the emerging myth of the Emerald Isle. An analysis of the score explains its wide appeal. Its

musical material, style, and genre were effective tools in presenting the mythic Erin through a whirlwind of perceived Irish music narrated by a popular Victorian music ensemble on a rollercoaster of emotion.

7.11 Conclusion

While no catalogue or library of RIC band repertoire exists, it is possible to compile a list of some of the music performed by this band by analysing newspaper programme listings and miscellaneous newspaper ephemera. This in no way gives a complete or definitive inventory of the band's repertoire. Newspapers also provide the names of many of Hardy's compositions. This knowledge serves as an entry point to consult library and archive catalogues and to discover scores for these compositions. All scores of Hardy's works that have been located are in the form of piano sheet music. No military band parts have been located to date.

The nineteenth century was a period of growth, development, and consolidation in military band music from the point of view of band size, instrumentation, and repertoire. Nineteenth-century military band repertoire largely includes arrangements, compilations, and reworkings of existing music and therefore receives criticism for not creating a new story or contributing to high culture. This thesis contends, however, that the value of this repertoire lies in its contribution to mass entertainment and its place in the growing consumer culture of its day. Furthermore, this repertoire demonstrates the permeable delimitation lines between high and popular culture where works from the classical canon were disseminated to the masses by means of arrangements and selections for military bands.

The widescale circulation of repertoire was made possible by the publication and circulation of military band journals. The RIC band had recourse to these journals and much of their advertised repertoire came from publications for military band by the companies of

Boosey and Chappell. Overtures, operatic selections, and dance music were strongly represented in these publications.

Hardy's compositions that have been identified or sourced include marches, dance music, and one serenade. *Valse Shilly Shally*, which was Hardy's most renowned composition, reached a wide audience with evidence of it being sold in Dublin, Belfast, and the United States, published in London, distributed in Co. Louth, and reaching at least a tenth edition. With the removal of identifying Irish imagery from *Valse Shilly Shally* when published in Boston, this suggests that the composition was marketable to a wider consumer base than simply the Irish and Anglo-Irish middle classes.

Compositions such as Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally* and Basquit's "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* have largely been ignored, being considered too clichéd, too middle class, and too lightweight. Katrina Lee Faulds supports the assertion that nineteenth-century social dance music has not been widely embraced in general musical historiography and has 'lurked on the fringes of musicological scholarship'.²¹⁹ Citing Eric McKee and Lawrence Zbikowski, she attributes the lack of appreciation of this musical genre to its perception as functional and bourgeois.²²⁰ Derek Carew holds the view that this was an entirely functional type of music and therefore has little value beyond that of a dance accompaniment.²²¹ Carl Dahlhaus, however, considers that biased negative sentiment towards popular nineteenth and twentieth-century music can obscure the fact that some of this music was indeed of quality.²²² *Valse Shilly Shally* and "*Erin*" *Grand Fantasia* intersected with and thrived among large audiences. While it is impossible to speak for these people, it is possible to identify and validate their choices of

²¹⁹ Katrina Lee Faulds, "'Invitation pour la Danse': Social Dance, Dance Music and Feminine Identity in the English Country House c. 1770–1860" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2015), p. 38.

²²⁰ Lee Faulds, p. 39.

²²¹ Derek Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760-1850* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 550–551.

²²² Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 36.

entertainment and their brand of Irishness by examining the music they listened too. This thesis contends that valuable insights into nineteenth-century Irish popular culture and Irish identity can be made by analysing compositions such as these. Aspects of consumer behaviour and consumer manipulation can be identified by analysing the reception and distribution methods of *Valse Shilly Shally*. The popular cult of the celebrity is evident in Hardy's distribution of autographed copies, and his reception when entering the stage. Dedications were clever ways of forging links with audiences and customers, many of whom were middle-class women.

Popular types of composition such as the waltz and fantasia proved successful in conveying a trans-partisan, non-militant sense of Irish nationalism. The lively fashionable waltz could carry Irish tunes to the dancefloor and stage, mixing a sentimental, playful, and joyful sense of Ireland with contemporary stylish entertainment. The fantasia could carry its audience on a rollercoaster of emotion through many iterations of Irishness, ending with a bravura flourish reinforcing dignity, strength, and confidence in its listeners. These works did not voice the subversive unease of militant nationalism, nor did they threaten British authority in Ireland. They voiced the contentment that many felt, being Irish within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the empire more generally.



Figure 7.2 Front Cover of Hardy's *The Star of Warwick Waltz*²²³

²²³ Harry Hardy, *The Star of Warwick* (London: Chappell and Jullien & Co. and Warwick: H. T. Cooke & Sons, 1855), p. 1.

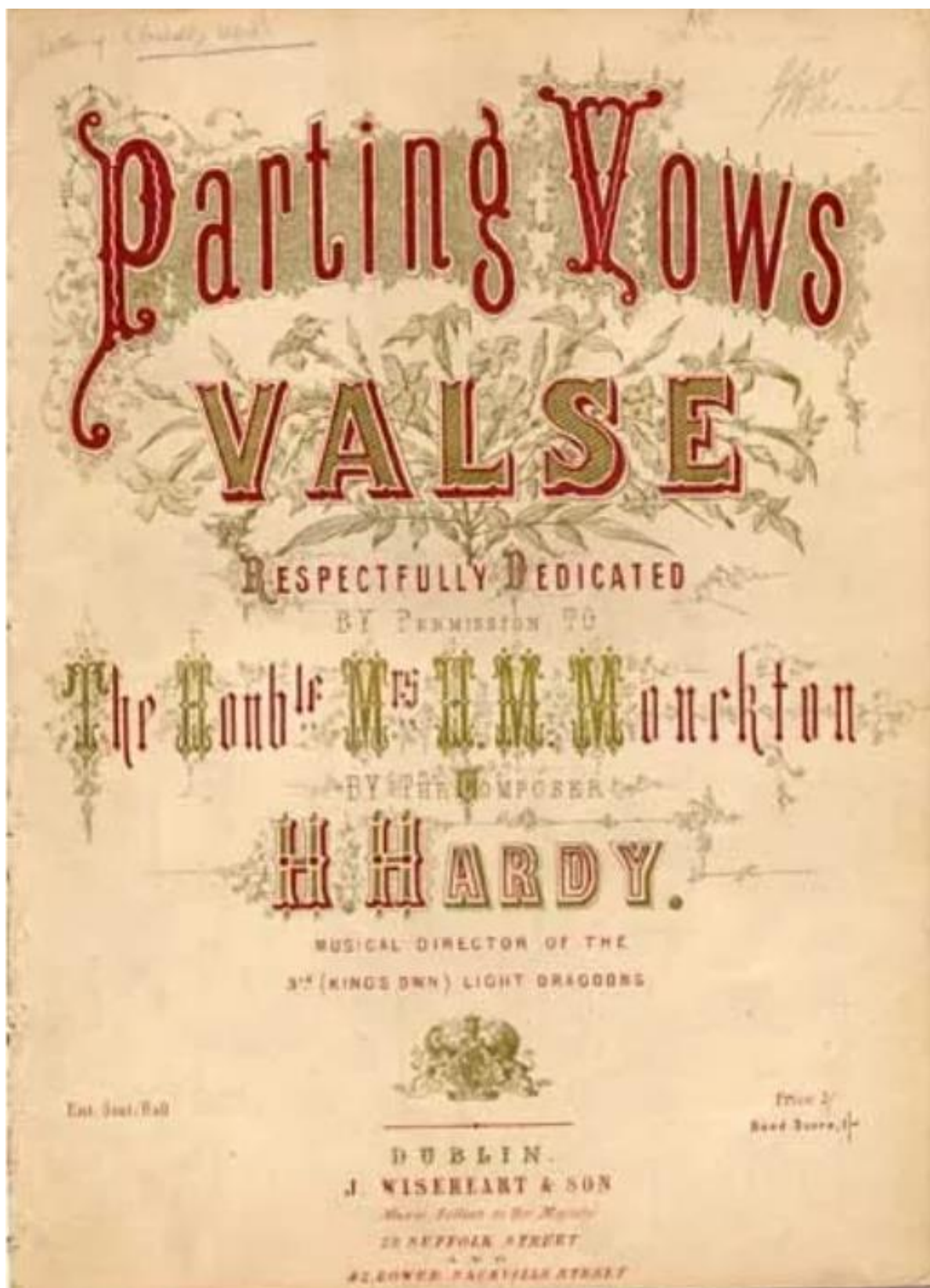


Figure 7.3 Front Cover of Hardy's *Parting Vows Valse*²²⁴

²²⁴ < <https://www.sheetmusicwarehouse.co.uk/19th-century-songs-p/parting-vows-valse-dedicated-to-the-honorable-mrs-h-m-monckton/> > [accessed 22 January 2025]

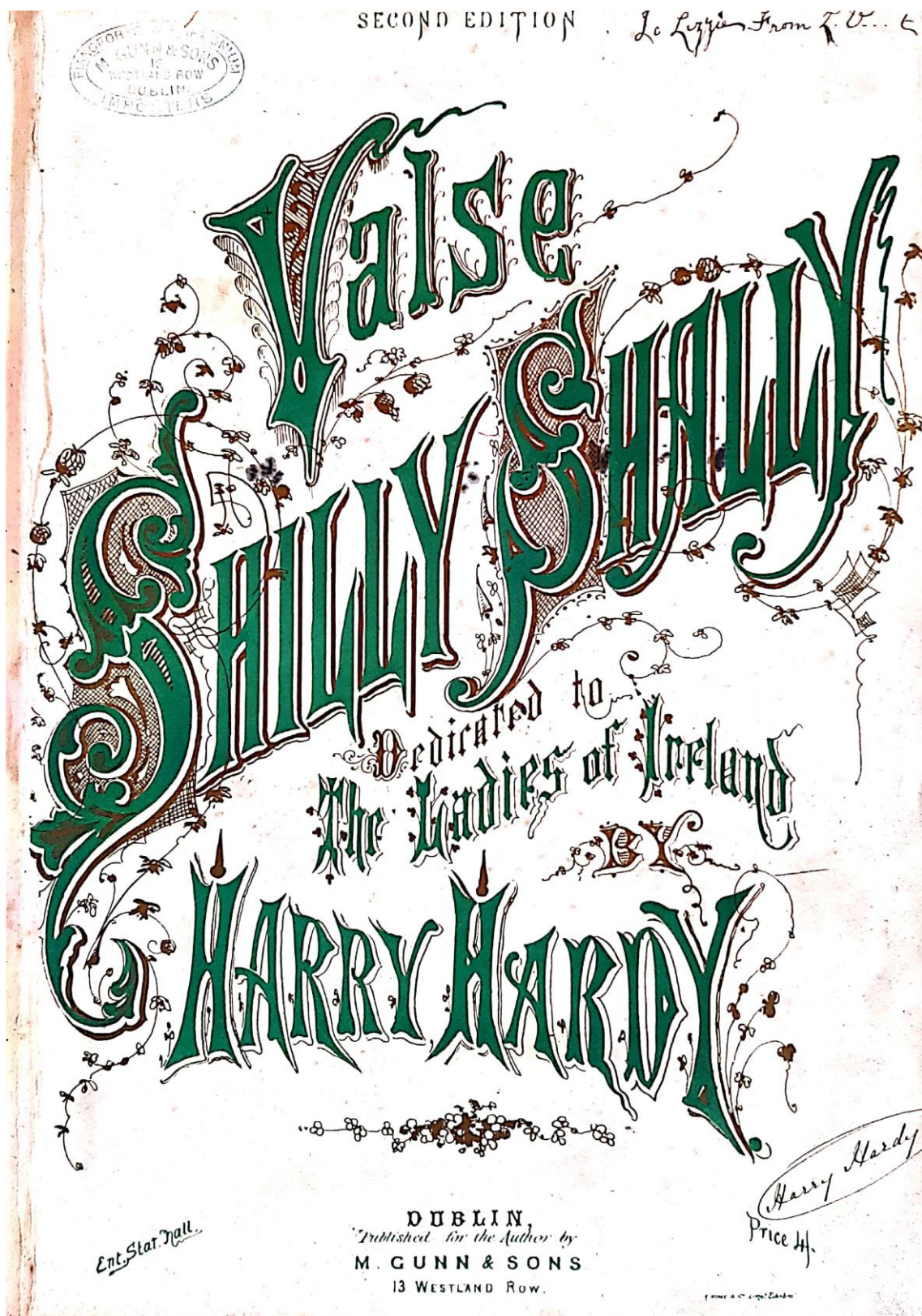


Figure 7.4 Front Cover of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, Second Edition, Signed by Hardy²²⁵

²²⁵ Harry Hardy, *Valse Shilly Shally*, second edition (Dublin: M. Gunn and Sons, c. 1864), p. 1.

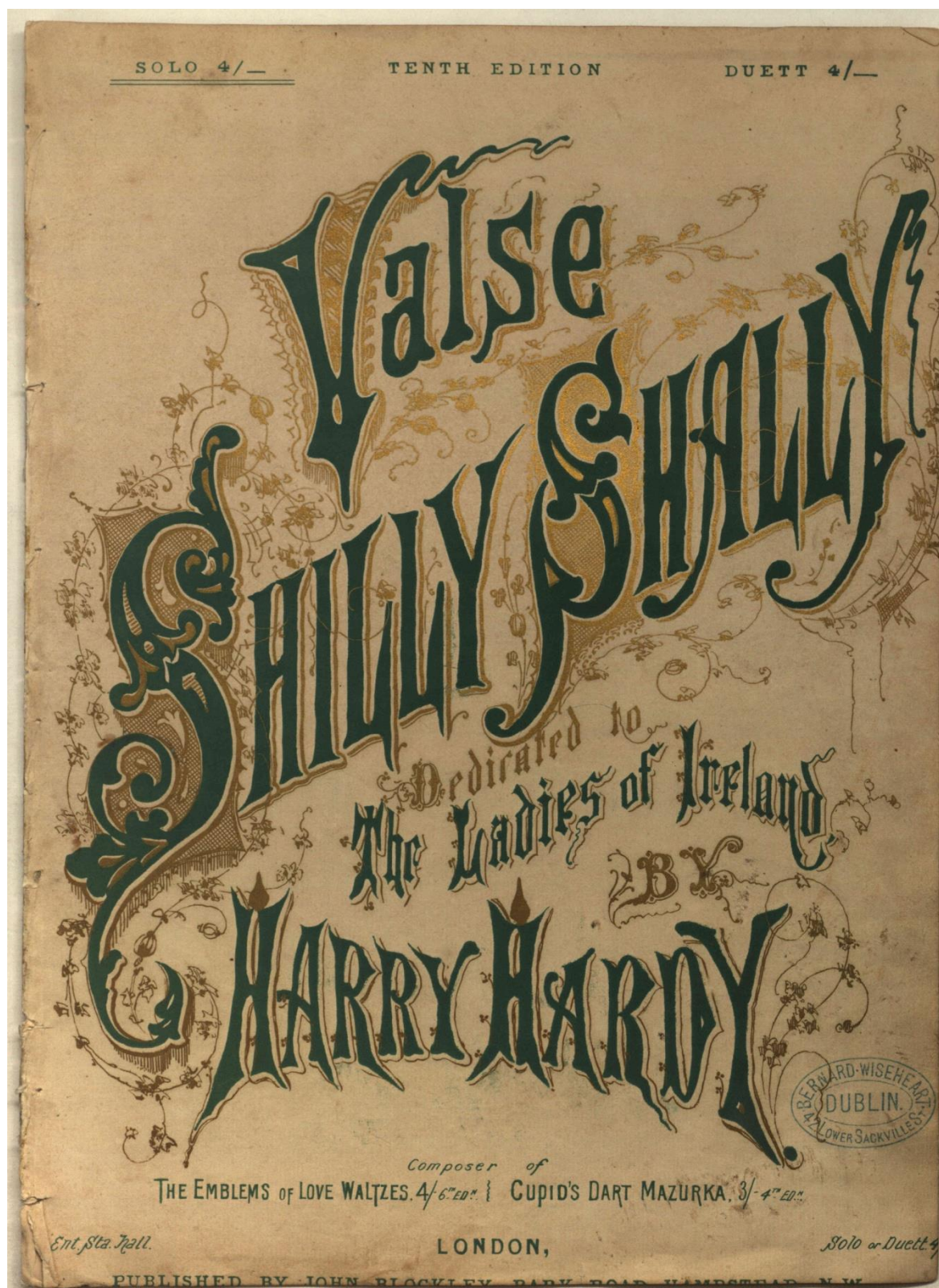


Figure 7.5 Front Cover of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, Tenth Edition²²⁶

²²⁶ Harry Hardy, *Valse Shilly Shally*, tenth edition (London: John Blockley, n.d.), p. 1. This score is held at the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Merrion Square, Dublin.

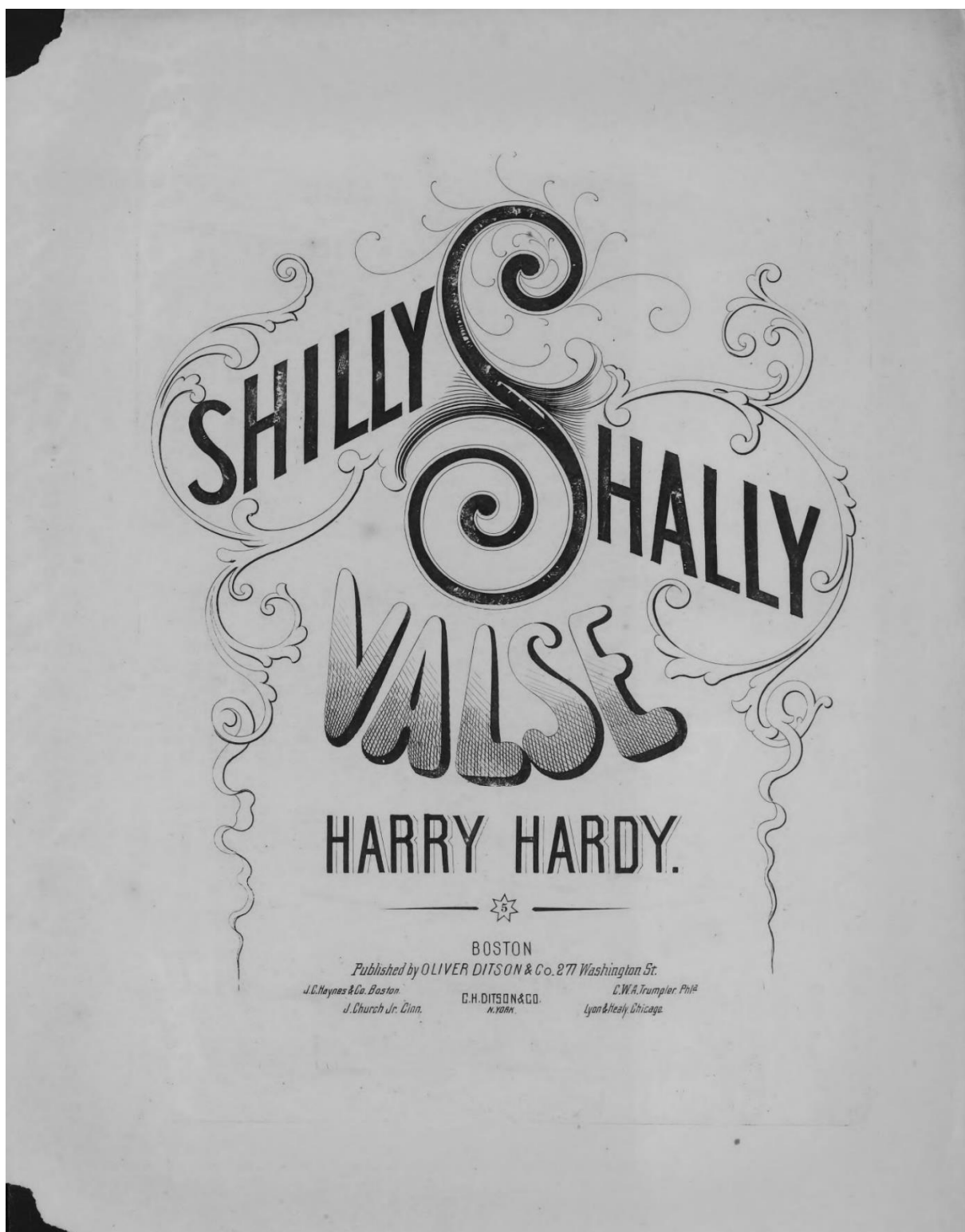


Figure 7.6 Front Cover of Hardy's *Valse Shilly Shally*, Published in Boston ²²⁷

²²⁷ Harry Hardy, *Valse Shilly Shally*, University of Michigan, Hathi Trust Digital Library, c. 1867
 <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015096573293&view=1up&seq=1>> [accessed 18 October 2022]

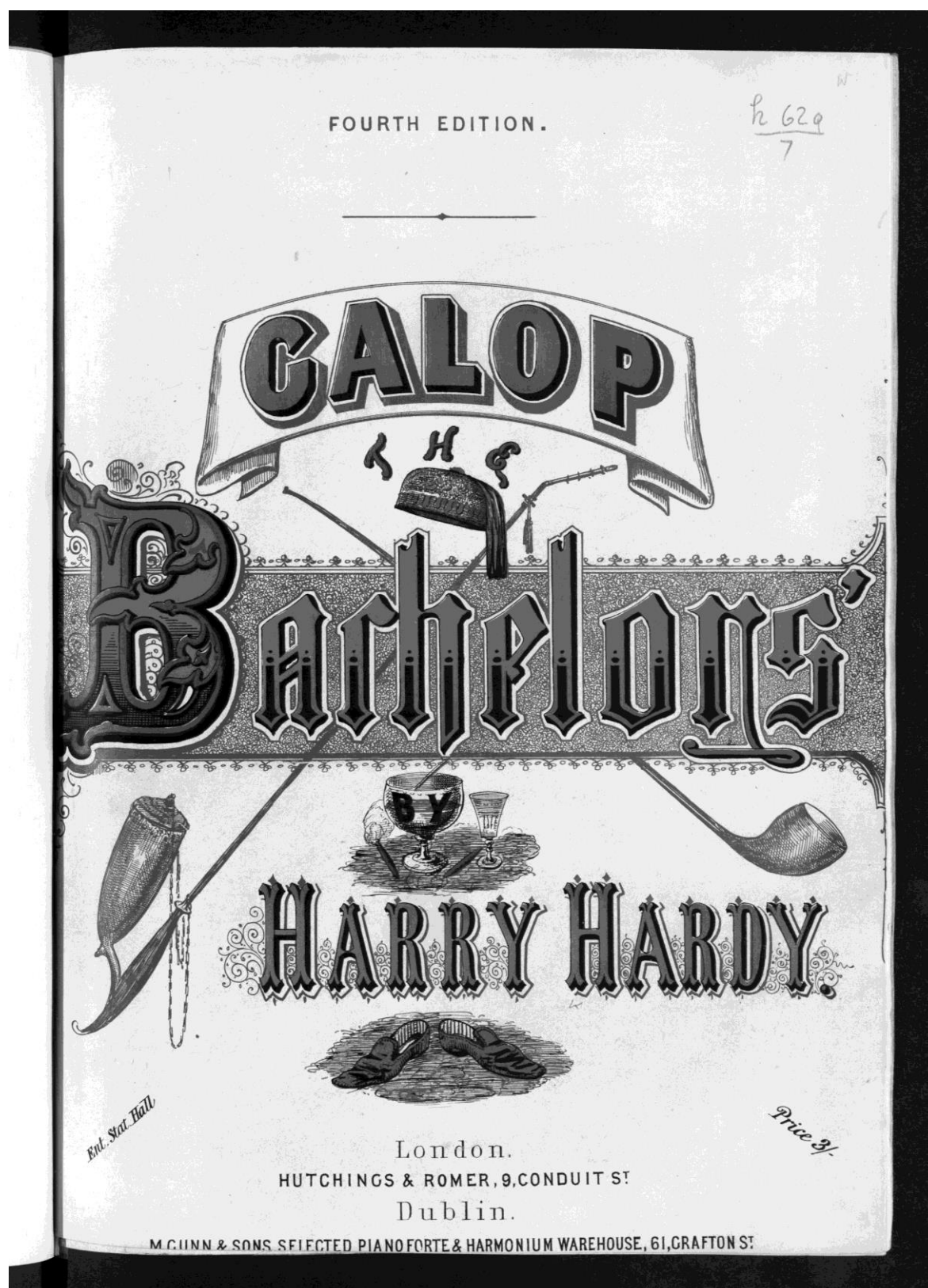


Figure 7.7 Front Cover of Hardy's Composition *Galop: The Bachelors*²²⁸

²²⁸ Harry Hardy, *Galop: The Bachelors'*, fourth edition (London: Hutchings and Romer; Dublin: Gunn and Sons, n.d. [c1870]), p. 1. This score is held at the British Library, London.

Chapter 8

The Rise and Fall of Hardy and the Royal Irish Constabulary Band

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the contributing factors to the success of Hardy and the RIC band during the eleven-year period of their musical association. It then considers the reasons for the demise of this musical union in the early 1870s. This chapter identifies the permanent stationing of the RIC band in one location and the backing of the officers of a powerful state institution as major factors in the success of this band. The RIC band reaped the advantages of this stability in allowing positive relationships to be formed and fostered between bandmaster, bandsmen, and audience as evidenced in chapter one of this dissertation. While individual bandsmen were known and admired for their musical ability, the band and bandmaster as a performance unit maintained its high standard and audience rapport despite changing personnel and sometimes difficult working conditions. A further consequence of the band's continuity of location and cohesion was the forging of an identity as a unique Irish ensemble of high quality, facilitated within the framework of the discipline of the British-backed police force. To understand the importance of Hardy to the RIC band, this chapter assesses Hardy's ability to relate to audiences, especially his female audiences, his vast musical and performance experience, and the interconnection of his independent musical ventures with RIC band performances. Following this survey of the factors for the RIC band's accomplishments, this chapter then examines reasons behind the difficulties this ensemble encountered prior to Hardy's departure as bandmaster, identifying issues that dogged the RIC in general, issues that were specific to the RIC band, and political issues that influenced public attitude during that period. This chapter then identifies the refusal by the British government to send the RIC band to the USA to perform at The World's Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston in 1872 as a significant turning point for Hardy and the band. The examination of this incident teases out the identity

quandary of the RIC band who may have been perceived as too Irish by the British authorities and too British by American audiences. The changing political scene in early 1870s Ireland is then considered as a contributing factor in attitudes towards Hardy as a leadership figure in prominent public view. Home Rule made a foothold in 1870s Irish political thought with a call from some parts of society for leadership positions to be filled by the Irish and not imported personnel from Britain. This changing political landscape questioned the future of British men, such as Hardy, in Ireland, with Irish society tilting towards Irish-led institutions.

8.2 Hardy and the Success of the RIC Band

Due to the convergence of a number of factors including the permanent positioning of the RIC band in Dublin and Hardy's musical talent and attractive personality, the RIC band rose rapidly, becoming a successful and popular transmitter of both public entertainment and official police force musical duties.

As the RIC band was permanently based at the RIC Depot in Dublin's Phoenix Park it held a major advantage over the military bands that were constantly being transferred throughout the British Empire. Their civilian bandmasters were often reluctant to engage in this constant upheaval and regularly transferred from band to band in order to remain in a particular location. Nick Mansfield notes the 'monotonous imperial postings' to remote garrisons to which bands were frequently sent during the second half of the nineteenth century, postings which were not attractive to civilian bandmasters.¹ This fragmented approach undoubtedly impacted on the quality of these bands. Hardy, however, avoided this difficulty in both his own military band training and in his period as conductor of the RIC band. The band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards, where Hardy had trained, resided only in the greater

¹ Nick Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 105.

London area, offering an attractive position to a bandmaster and bandsmen who wished to live in city which offered copious opportunities for musicians. Likewise, the permanent location in Dublin of the RIC band was a very attractive position to Hardy, giving him continuity of both location and personnel.

An advantage of Hardy's static location meant that he could build a relationship with the society in which he was based and an ongoing musical relationship with his bandsmen. Given the quantity and scope of engagements at which the band performed, Hardy and his bandsmen interfaced with a sizeable portion of Dublin's, and to a lesser extent the country's, population whether by design or default, as event attendees or as passers-by. Regular mentions in the newspapers of the day ensured that the RIC band was a familiar name among the readers of these publications in upper and middle-class households. With the band as a constant in Irish society it was an obvious musical and entertainment choice for those planning festivities and events. The event organiser would be guaranteed both the attendance of the band along with a proven standard of performance, unlike the regimental bands that may be summoned to regimental duty at short notice or may once again be under new musical directorship. Having trained as a bandsman in the stable musical environment of the band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards Hardy was well poised to understand his bandsmen, while also expecting from them the highest standard of achievement.²

Moore, as mentioned in chapter seven of this dissertation, lists a number of particularly talented bandsmen who played in the RIC band under Hardy's baton. Acting Sergeant Zinkhart, who was a pupil of Hardy, was a sought-after clarinettist, while other noteworthy bandsmen included Despard, Brickell, Duggan, and Lowe. Bandsman Robert Brickell was mentioned in advertising material for a concert at which the RIC band performed in Limerick, and at which

² As a bandsman with the 1st Regiment of Life Guards Hardy was exposed to the mundane task of stable duty as well as performing in the band attached to the premier regiment of the British monarchy.

he performed a solo, as the “celebrated clarionette player” of the band.³ An article in the *Dublin Evening Telegraph* of 1893 states that Lowe, aged eighteen, was the first man selected by Hardy at the establishment of the RIC band in 1861. He had learned the rudiments of music from his musician father and had studied music in Liverpool, Southport, Leeds, and Manchester before joining the RIC band. He was revered among his colleagues having composed a number of successful dance pieces.⁴

A further consequence of the RIC band’s permanent Dublin base was that now a military band particular to Ireland and of a sufficient standard was available for both formal and informal occasions. The value of bands for commercial and entertainment purposes is evidenced at this time with the Kingstown band committee considering the formation of their own permanent band for local entertainment in 1865 and a lively debate regarding the establishment of a dedicated band for Dublin discussed through newspaper correspondence in 1870.⁵ However, the short-lived Kingstown band was plagued with changing personnel and financial difficulties and the Dublin band did not come to fruition.⁶ The newspaper discussion regarding the establishment of a dedicated civilian band for Dublin began in May 1870 calling for a coordinated approach to the training of amateur civilian bands in the capital. It was considered that many of the established civilian amateur bands already had good players and bandmasters and with some support could be of sufficient standard to play for minor entertainments in the evenings and at holiday times.⁷ This discussion continued and developed in June 1870 with a call for the establishment of a “people’s band” in Dublin, outlining the advantages of such a scheme for the capital city. A band funded by the citizens would have a

³ *Limerick Chronicle*, 10 October 1867, p. 2.

⁴ *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 7 October 1893, p. 7.

⁵ The discussion of a dedicated band for Kingstown appeared in the *Irish Times* on 27 July 1865. Correspondence with the editor of the *Irish Times* on 2 June 1870 shows a bandmaster entering into discussion with other newspaper readers regarding the establishment of a dedicated band for the city of Dublin.

⁶ See Chapter 2 for discussion regarding the Kingstown band.

⁷ *Irish Times*, 25 May 1870, p. 2.

wider reach among the of people of Dublin as they would identify with it as their own. If high calibre wind players could be attracted to this band, they could also bolster the pool of good musicians available to play in the city's orchestras.⁸ Another letter-writer in early June identified a lack of band performances on the pier in Kingstown in the evenings which might suggest that not enough bands were available for such work.⁹

By early September 1870 an organisation calling itself the Dublin Band Alliance had been formed, holding its meetings in the Mechanics' Institute.¹⁰ A lengthy address to the citizens of Dublin outlining the rationale and philosophy underpinning this organisation appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* and *Nation* in November 1870.¹¹ It identified the untapped and underutilised resource of bands and bandsmen in the capital and the need for cohesion and coordination among the upwards of fifty bands and their one thousand band members. The civilian bands were mainly associated with and maintained by the many trades and friendly societies of the city. The Dublin Band Alliance hoped that funding could be secured through the patronage and financial support of the better-off citizens of Dublin, with one hundred merchants and professional gentlemen already signed up as patrons. This funding would provide musical equipment and raise the standards of these bands, who at that time relied on the limited resources of the societies to which they were affiliated. A number of volunteers had already come forward to support the venture, namely R. M. Levey (1811–99), conductor at Dublin's Theatre Royal, to act as president, Alderman Plunkett as treasurer, and J. L. Scallan as legal advisor. The advantages of this venture to both bandsmen and the people of Dublin were outlined; one thousand young men would be involved in wholesome leisure time activity while the city's citizens would be provided with continuous evening entertainment and kept away from "the haunts of vice". The organisation wished to acquire a suitable hall in a central

⁸ *Irish Times*, 2 June 1870, p. 2.

⁹ *Irish Times*, 8 June 1870, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Irish Times*, 13 September 1870, p. 4.

¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 8 November 1870, p. 4 and *Nation*, 12 November 1870, p. 14.

location for band performances. It was also made clear that the organisation held no political or sectarian tendencies. This may have been in response to strongly worded notices by R. Keegan, the honorary secretary of the Dublin Band Alliance, which appeared in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* in October 1870 following the banning by the police of a procession, and the consequent participating bands, to accompany the Irish Ambulance Corps to the docks as they embarked on medical support duty in the Franco-Prussian War. Keegan stated that the Dublin Band Alliance had never intended participating in any procession and that the Dublin bands were being lured into a conflict by the police. While recognising that many individual members of the police force were good Irishmen who remained unbiased in the face of the intolerance and tyranny of the "English Government in Ireland", Keegan's final sentence written under the banner of the Dublin Band Alliance read "Defeat the Castle and the Police from a petty victory".¹² These were surprisingly strong anti-establishment words to be printed in the pro-Unionist *Irish Times*. This assertion that the Dublin bands suffered from an "arbitrary and oppressive line of conduct towards them" by the authorities is reiterated in an article in the nationalist *Nation* newspaper which suggested that the Dublin Band Alliance could protect the bands from this behaviour.¹³ Accounts of meetings held during December 1870, January 1871 and February 1871 appear in both the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal*. They mention fifteen bands that had subscribed to the Dublin Band Alliance, the desire of R. M. Levey to organise and practice with the bands, the intention to stage a public concert, and the search for a suitable venue for rehearsals.¹⁴

¹² *Irish Times*, 8 October 1870, p. 4 and *Freeman's Journal*, 10 October 1870, p. 7.

¹³ *Nation*, 12 November 1870, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Irish Times*, 8 December 1870, p. 5, *Freeman's Journal*, 8 December 1870, p. 5, *Irish Times*, 23 January 1871, p. 5, *Irish Times*, 25 January 1871, p. 5, *Irish Times*, 3 February 1871, p.5, *Freeman's Journal*, 3 February 1871, p. 1. Information regarding Dublin's civilian bands and their bandmasters can be gleaned from the above newspaper articles. The following bands are mentioned : St Cecilia's Dundrum (under Mr Hall), Catholic Young Men's, St Simon Stock, St Stephen's, Power's-court Brass Band (under Mr Heffernan), Band of Celts (under Mr O'Neill), St James's Brass Band, Harp of Erin, St Patrick's, Harp and Shamrock (Blackrock), Brown Street Band (under Mr Byrne), Dolphin's Barn Band (under Mr Darcy), Lord Edward Fitzgerald's, St Agatha's, St Nicholas, Wolfe Tone Band (under Mr Carroll), and St Dominick's Band (under Mr Warwick). Honorary

There are no more reports regarding the Dublin Band Alliance in the press from 3 February 1871 onwards, therefore it is not possible to definitively say when or why this organisation appeared to fail. It may have been too difficult to coordinate such a large number of bands and bandsmen. It is possible that the venture was not universally embraced by the Dublin bands as only fifteen bands had signed up after three months in existence. Bands may have felt that it would be difficult to maintain their individual identity and to express their political views if governed by one single overarching constitution. It is possible that insufficient funds had been gathered to make the project viable. Also, newspaper entries suggest that the Dublin Band Alliance had difficulty in securing a suitable venue for rehearsals and performances.

While an attempt had been made to put local amateur civilian bands on a firmer footing on the Dublin entertainment circuit, this venture proved unable to fill the perceived lacuna in popular music provision in the evenings for the citizens of the city. It remained that the regimental bands and the RIC band were the main providers of band music, the RIC band being the only such band permanently located in Dublin. With government backed funding and clear terms of employment for musicians, these bands were best placed as a reliable high-standard entertainment provider for both public and private functions. As evidenced by previously mentioned newspaper footage, the police force as an institution was distrusted and despised by some members of Dublin's civilian banding community. This probably referred to the Dublin Metropolitan Police who policed Dublin city, though it may well have also included the RIC. However, no evidence has been found to date of this negative attitude being expressed towards the RIC band, its bandsmen or bandmaster. In the absence of such civic bands the RIC band fulfilled the need for a band with a local identity, particularly among the Dublin community

secretaries mentioned include P. Tighe, E. O'Sullivan who appear to have replace R. Keegan after October 1870. Chairmen at meetings include Mr O'Neill, Mr O'Hanlon, Mr Heffernan, and Mr O'Rorke.

but also on a more nationwide basis. Hardy moulded a quality band of primarily Irish musicians with which their Irish audience could identify.

Hardy appears to have been a particularly valuable asset to the RIC band being regularly described as efficient, talented, musical, enthusiastic, and popular by the press.¹⁵ The following article appearing in the *Freeman's Journal* describes Hardy's particular influence in drawing the best from his musicians, resulting in a satisfying performance for their audience:

On Tuesday, the fine band of the Constabulary, under the direction of Mr Harry Hardy, attended, and performed, from three to half-past five o'clock, a selection from some of the leading operatic composers. This band, which now deservedly ranks with some of the best of those in the military service, has acquired the proficiency which it now exhibits through the exertions of the master, Mr Hardy, who has devoted himself with great energy and enthusiasm to the charge committed to him.¹⁶

Hardy's success can be attributed to his ability to read and provide for the needs of his audience, his musical versatility, his affable personality, and his own personal background.

Having already acquainted himself with Irish audiences as a British regimental bandmaster, Hardy reinforced these relationships as he introduced the RIC band to the Irish entertainment circuit. While performing at the Louth Agricultural Show in Dundalk Hardy and the RIC band were warmly acclaimed and welcomed due to Hardy's previous popularity in that

¹⁵ In promotional material and musical reviews appearing in the *Irish Times* during Hardy's tenure as RIC bandmaster both his musical ability and work ethic receive consistent praise. The following are typical examples of such praise. In an article on 3 September 1867, he is thanked for the 'able and efficient manner in which he conducted his talented band' at a charity event. On 6 June 1867 he is described as a 'talented conductor' in a review of a band performance at the Royal Irish Yacht Club in Kingstown. In a review of his composition *Valse Shilly Shally* on 27 February 1864 he is described as a 'pains-taking author'. *Freeman's Journal* mentions of Hardy also refer to him as a talented leader (18 August 1863, p. 3) and an able conductor (15 May 1869, p. 4). The *Freeman's Journal* often praises the RIC band under the leadership of Hardy rather than directly praising Hardy himself. See the following *Freeman's Journal* entries: 27 August 1864, p. 3, 22 April 1868, p. 4, 15 May 1869, p. 4, 17 February 1870, p. 3, and 26 April 1871, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 June 1864, p. 3. This article describes a performance by the RIC band at the Industrial Exhibition of 1864 which took place at the Royal Dublin Society. For more information on the role of music at such concerts please see Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 177–210.

town while garrisoned there with the band of the 3rd Hussars regiment. Cleverly working the crowd, Hardy distributed copies of his compositions *Cupid's Dart Mazurka* and the *Valse Shilly Shally* to 'several ladies, as a tribute to their musical talent, and his respect for their former acquaintance'.¹⁷ The cultivation of this connection with his female audience was a commercial ploy by Hardy to increase the circulation of his music among a discrete sector of his customer base. This relationship with his female audience appears a feature of Hardy's career with his dedication of the *Valse Shilly Shally* to the ladies of Ireland and the suggestion that the women of Kingstown proclaimed Hardy's RIC band as the best in Ireland.¹⁸

Hardy's experience on the London music circuit no doubt assisted in his ability to produce quality performances on an Irish platform. Golby notes that dominance of foreign musicians was so deeply entrenched in London that many of the native professionals, especially brass players, sought opportunities outside the capital thus sharing their expertise with the provinces.¹⁹ Hardy, a native Londoner, was recognised as one of London's best French horn players before taking up postings as bandmaster with regimental bands and eventually settling permanently in Ireland.²⁰ This practical musical base as a performer on the London circuit coupled with first-hand experience of playing at grand state occasions with the band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards prepared Hardy for the position of musical director of a variety of entertainments and official functions.²¹

Including his own popular compositions as part of the RIC band's performance programme, in particular the *Valse Shilly Shally*, Hardy's name became synonymous with that

¹⁷ *Irish Times*, 30 June 1864, p. 3. A signed copy of *Valse Shilly Shally*, originally owned by Elizabeth Hull from Co. Louth, is in private ownership now in Dublin.

¹⁸ *Irish Times*, 27 July 1865, p. 4. The RIC band maintained this favoured position with the Kingstown audience being called 'the favourite band of the RIC' in an *Irish Times* article of 2 July 1870.

¹⁹ David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 13.

²⁰ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 11 February 1855.

²¹ As a bandsman with the 1st Regiment of Life Guards Hardy played at the first ever massed military band concert in London in 1851 and at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, also in 1851. See 'Military Music Festival at Chelsea', *The Times*, 18 June 1851, p. 8. Also 'Funeral of the Duke of Wellington', *The Times*, 18 November 1852, p. 5. The band of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards also played for the monarch at state dinners such as that mentioned in *Daily News*, 26 June 1851, p. 5.

of the band. This is illustrated in an *Irish Times* article which describes the success of the *Valse Shilly Shally*, highlighting the connection between Hardy, his compositions, and the RIC band:

We must congratulate Mr Harry Hardy on the success which his popular valse has attained. The author, it is almost needless to mention, is the conductor of the band of the Constabulary of Ireland, and the composition above named is now in association with that instrumental corps which first introduced it to the Dublin public.²²

This interconnectivity between Hardy, the RIC band and *Valse Shilly Shally* is also evidenced by the inclusion of excerpts of *Valse Shilly Shally* by Basquit in his composition “*Erin*” *Grand Fantasia*. As mentioned in chapter seven of this dissertation, Basquit dedicated this composition to Hardy and it was first performed by the RIC band at Hardy’s benefit concert in 1868.²³

The success of Hardy’s compositions drew positive attention to the RIC band which performed them while the widespread public performance of these pieces by the band generated a market for their sale in piano sheet music editions. This reinforced Hardy’s name, already familiar through newspaper exposure, in the homes of middle-class Victorian Ireland. As demonstrated by the musical content and the dedicatees of his compositions, Hardy understood how to manipulate his listenership and serve their needs.²⁴ Hardy’s versatility as an entertainer is evidenced by the range of performance venues and types at which he successfully conducted the RIC band, performing at indoor and outdoor events, for small and large audiences, for the casual passer-by and for royalty.

Hardy’s personal popularity was such that he held a benefit concert annually from 1867 to 1873 at which the RIC band or band members performed. The benefit concert was an eighteenth-century concept where a concert was promoted by an individual for the benefit of

²² *Irish Times*, 27 February 1864, p. 3.

²³ *Irish Times*, 29 April 1868, p. 1.

²⁴ This is evidenced in Hardy’s *Valse Shilly Shally* where Hardy used well known Irish airs and dance tunes to create a work in a popular dance format of the day. It is also evidenced in the *Lottie Waltz*, dedicated to the Lord Lieutenant’s wife, Countess Spencer.

leading instrumentalists or singers.²⁵ While the benefit concert in London was regarded more as a commercial venture than a mark of recognition by the mid-nineteenth century, Hardy's benefit concerts appear to have received the genuine good will of the concert-going public. Revenue from these concerts was raised by the sale of tickets from city-centre music shops as well as the procurement of patronage from the elite of society. The patronage of royalty such as HRH the Duke of Cambridge and HSH Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, along with a sizeable list of lesser nobility and gentry, considerably raised the prestige of the RIC band through their connection with Hardy.²⁶ An *Irish Times* review of Hardy's 1868 benefit concert demonstrates the interdependence of Hardy and the RIC band, with Hardy using his access to the band for personal promotion and the band benefiting from their exposure through Hardy to a fashionable and large audience:

Last evening Mr Harry Hardy, Musical Director of the Royal Irish Constabulary, gave his annual concert at the Rotundo under distinguished auspices. The Ladies Hamilton were present, and several members of the Viceregal Household. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress were also present. Remarkable as Dublin has been for successful concerts few exceeded that of last evening either in point of attendance or in merit. The band of the Constabulary, which has been brought to such a degree of perfection under the leadership of Mr Hardy, and the splendid band of the 12th Lancers played, for the first time, a *fantasia* on ancient and modern Irish melodies, specially composed for the concert by H. Basquit.²⁷

This review concludes that Hardy's reputation as a musical director has been greatly enhanced by the success of this concert.

²⁵ Simon McVeigh, 'The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: From 'Tax on the Nobility' to 'Monstrous Nuisance'', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies Volume 1*, ed. by Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 242–266 (p. 244).

²⁶ The advertisement in the *Irish Times* of 28 April 1868 for Hardy's Grand Annual Concert includes a list of distinguished patrons including the Duke of Cambridge, grandson of King George III and Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, great grandson of Duchess Anna Amalia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1739–1807).

²⁷ *Irish Times*, 5 May 1868, p. 3.

8.3 Trouble in the Ranks: Discontent and the Boston Affair

By the early 1870s it was evident that morale among the rank and file RIC members was low due to the poor rates of pay which they perceived to be inadequate.²⁸ Griffin states that the Inspector-General, Sir John Stewart Wood, considered the level of discontent to be of epidemic proportions throughout the force and that complaint was universal on a nationwide basis.²⁹ In an exchange between the British Member of Parliament Sir George Balfour (1809–94) and Colonel Sir John Stewart Wood (1813–80) at a Select Committee Meeting in 1876, Stewart Wood notes that when RIC pay was increased in 1865 it dealt with the haemorrhaging of men from the force which had been at a rate of six-hundred men per year. However, after a period of three or four years, discontent regarding pay resurfaced and resignations per annum rose again to between five and six-hundred men. It was also very difficult to entice new recruits to join the force. This situation was not resolved until a further pay increase in 1874.³⁰ Griffin calculates that in 1864 the force was reduced by 10.01 per cent, comprised of 5.79 per cent who resigned by choice and the remainder comprised of retirees, deserters, dismissals and deaths in service. The force reduced by 11.12 per cent in 1865, by 11.52 per cent in 1871, and 11.18 per cent in 1872.³¹ Griffin's calculations show that when pay increased the annual figures for those leaving the force reduced to single digits.³² Such was the level of discontent in 1870 that a letter written by James Moylan of the Canadian Emigration Office appeared in the *Irish Times* reporting innumerable letters pouring into his office from men of the RIC

²⁸ Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 133. The rate of pay for a sub constable, of which rank the RIC band was primarily comprised, was twelve shillings per week rising to a possible sixteen shillings and sixpence after twenty years' service.

²⁹ Brian John Griffin, 'The Irish Police, 1836 – 1914: A Social History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1991), p. 117.

³⁰ *Report from the Select Committee on Referees on Private Bills; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee and Minutes of Evidence*, Parliamentary Papers Vol. 14 (1876), p. 148 (3288–3299).

³¹ Griffin, p. 864.

³² In 1863 9.04% left the RIC, in 1866 8.88% left, in 1867 7.99% left, in 1868 8.02% left, in 1869 7.68 left and in 1870 9.91% left. See Griffin p. 864 for further statistic regarding numbers leaving the RIC between 1841 and 1919.

enquiring about the possibility of finding employment with the Canadian police force.³³ This general discontent was also reflected in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* on 16 May 1870 appealing for improved working conditions for the RIC bandmen.³⁴ A further letter claimed that due to night-time guard duty the bandmen were only getting two or three nights sleep in a six-month period.³⁵ By 1872 the RIC was about nine hundred and fifty men below its establishment strength with seven hundred and four men resigning in 1872 alone.³⁶

Dissatisfaction among the RIC bandmen appears to have peaked in May 1872 when the band was refused permission to travel to the USA to perform at the World's Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston. This was organised by Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore (1829–1892), a native of Co. Galway who had emigrated to the USA in 1849.³⁷ Johann Strauss II and his band of fifty-six performers, the British band of the Grenadier Guards, the French band of the Garde Republicaine, the Prussian band of the Kaiser Franz Grenadiers and the band of the United States Marines were featured performance ensembles at the festival.³⁸ A choir of twenty thousand voices and an orchestra of two-thousand instrumentalists was formed for the occasion and an organ billed as 'the most powerful ever built' was installed in a massive purpose-built coliseum.³⁹

Having received an invitation to perform at the festival along with the most prestigious of British, French and German military bands, the government refused permission for the RIC band to attend as it was considered that they would be taken away from their duties for too

³³ *Irish Times*, 29 April 1870, p. 6.

³⁴ *Irish Times*, 16 May 1870, p. 2.

³⁵ *Irish Times*, 2 June 1870, p. 2.

³⁶ Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman*, p. 133.

³⁷ For further information on Gilmore see Frank J. Cipolla, 'Patrick S. Gilmore: The Boston Years', *American Music*, 6:3 (1988), 281–292 and Axel Klein, 'Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore', in *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, ed. by James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, and Jason King (Santa Barbara: ABC CLIO, 2008), pp. 370–371 (p. 371).

³⁸ *Harpers Weekly*, Volume 16 (1 June 1872), p. 438 and Richard Kent Hansen, 'The American Wind Band: New Historical Perspectives, Volume 1' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota, 2004), p. 111.

³⁹ *Harpers Weekly*, Volume 16 (1 June 1872), p. 438.

long.⁴⁰ While the RIC bandmen and their bandmaster undoubtedly felt huge disappointment with the British government decision, if they had been permitted to attend, their identity on American soil may have been ambiguous. Writing in advance of the Festival, when it was still presumed that the RIC band would attend, one columnist enthused about the pride that would be felt by attendees when the national airs of the visiting bands would be played:

Take, for example, the day appointed for the national airs of France, when the city and the Coliseum will wear the tri-color, or the day assigned to Ireland, when the building shall wear the green! What a moment will that be when the band of the French Republic, or the Constabulary band shall enter, and amid the cheers of the vast concourse of people, march to the front of the grand orchestra.⁴¹

The view that the RIC band would be widely welcomed in Boston was not held by all. An article in the *Freeman's Journal* voiced the opinion that the RIC was not popular among the Irish in America and therefore their band would not be suitable to represent Ireland.⁴² While the British government may not have been prepared to send two bands to Boston, the prospect for them of the British-funded RIC band being hailed as Irish amongst a sea of green, may have caused them to recoil from the incongruity of this identity mismatch. However, other factors were also at play, as the sending of the British band of the Grenadier Guards to Boston was questioned in the House of Lords. The Duke of Richmond considered it very irregular to send a British regimental band to the USA while the Earl of Granville took the opposing view that no ill-will should be shown to a country with whom a treaty was under negotiation.⁴³ At a performance of the band of the Grenadier Guards at the festival Irish airs were included in the programme, indicating a recognition of Ireland as part of the United Kingdom.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 May 1872, p. 3.

⁴¹ *The Youth's Companion*, Volume 45 (20 June 1872), p. 198.

⁴² *Freeman's Journal*, 3 July 1872, p. 2.

⁴³ *Irish Times*, 4 June 1872, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Irish Times*, 8 July 1872, p. 2.

If the RIC band had travelled to Boston to represent Ireland, the birthplace of Gilmore, the RIC association with Fenian suppressions could not have sat well with local Boston sentiment. For some, the suppression of the Fenians by the RIC was viewed as a success; for others it was viewed differently. At the parade to open 'Irish Day' at the World's Peace Jubilee thousands of Irish Americans thronged the streets to witness a plethora of Irish associations and societies, including three-hundred members of the Fenian Brotherhood, march through Boston.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, a report in the New York press describing a disastrous rendition of 'God Save the Queen' at the festival, blamed a 'fiendish Fenian' organist for deliberately destroying this anthem by not synchronising with the choir, band of the Grenadier Guards, orchestra, military band, and cannons. It fell to Dan Godfrey (1831 – 1903), bandmaster of the Grenadier Guards to rescue the cacophony of sound.⁴⁶

Under the leadership of a Dublin music agent, Edmund Clements, a band was formed at short notice to act as an Irish representation at the Boston festival.⁴⁷ Calling itself the Irish National Band it attracted members of the RIC band to its ranks and travelled to Boston where it acquitted itself poorly.⁴⁸ One American publication considered that both the Irish and American bands 'were utterly beneath contempt'.⁴⁹ It is unclear how many RIC bandsmen joined the Irish National Band but the *Irish Times* article which reported Hardy's resignation in October 1872 states that many band members left and went to Boston.⁵⁰

Forty musicians from Ireland, England and Scotland are listed aboard the ship the *Abyssinia*, which landed in New York on 29 June 1872. Comparing the passenger list of the

⁴⁵ *Kerry Evening Post*, 20 July 1872, p. 4. This article is accredited with being taken from an unnamed American newspaper.

⁴⁶ *Daily News*, 1 July 1872, p. 3. This article is attributed to the *New York Herald*.

⁴⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 27 May 1872, p. 2. This newspaper advertisement shows Edmund Clements as an agent based in South Anne Street, Dublin. Clements is identified as an Englishman in the ship's record cited in footnote 39 below.

⁴⁸ George R. Leighton, 'The Indomitable "Pat" whose Masterpiece was Probably "When Johnny Comes Marching Home"', *The Étude Music Magazine*, April (1934) <<http://scriabin.com/etude/1934/04/bandmaster-gilmore.html>> [accessed 19 October 2022]

⁴⁹ *Lakeside Monthly*, Vol. 9 (January–June 1873), p. 473.

⁵⁰ *Irish Times*, 9 October 1872, p. 5.

ship the *Abyssinia*⁵¹ on which Edmund Clements, leader of the Irish National Band, travelled to the USA with a fragment of the RIC band membership of the 1861 to 1872 period⁵² only one name appears in common, that of Richard Griffin. Griffin's RIC service record shows him resigning on 6 June 1872 with the purpose of emigrating.⁵³ Correspondence received by Herlihy, an RIC historian, shows Griffin remaining in the USA and receiving a letter from an RIC bandsman who remained in Ireland. This bandsman wonders what happened to all the former RIC band members who travelled to Boston with Griffin.⁵⁴ A comic publication that appeared during the run of the World's Peace Jubilee made a humorous quip regarding the motives of the Irish National Band in visiting the USA, writing 'Bedad! The Irish Band is thinking about taking out naturalization papers'.⁵⁵

The questions of Irish identity and fitness to represent Ireland at the World's Peace Jubilee dogged the Irish National Band. A letter to the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* in June 1872 from John O'Donnell, of the orchestra in Dublin's Theatre Royal, demonstrates concern regarding the musical standard of this band, cobbled together with musicians from England, Scotland, and Ireland. He questioned the ability of this newly formed band to 'represent

⁵¹ A group of forty musicians including Edmund Clements appear on the passenger list for the *Abyssinia* which arrived in New York on 12 June 1872. Considering the debate in the *Irish Times* correspondence section as to the questionable Irish identity of this band it is interesting to note that of the forty musicians eighteen are listed as Irish, three as Scottish and nineteen as English. This record is available at the ancestry.com website <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/imageviewer/collections/7488/images/NYM237_360-0366?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=ea65f255178ba4314c59ae867c4e11cb&usePUB=true&_phsrc=rqO1732&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=13743517> [accessed 23 August 2022]

⁵² This list was compiled by Jim Herlihy based on RIC service records and contains thirty-nine names. This is only a small representation of those employed as RIC bandsmen during that period as band membership was sanctioned at fifty members and an *Irish Times* article of 9 October 1872 claims that the band had lost one hundred and fifty members due to various causes over its eleven-year lifespan.

⁵³ Surrey, Public Records Office, Royal Irish Constabulary Register-Extract, No. 30424. This service record shows that Richard Griffin, a Roman Catholic labourer from Co. Antrim, became an RIC bandsman on 10 February 1866.

⁵⁴ Jim Herlihy received communication from the USA from a great granddaughter of Richard Griffin, Bonnie Skalyo, in approximately 2001. She had in her possession a letter received by Richard Griffin from a former colleague in the RIC band enquiring about what had happened to the RIC band members who had travelled to Boston. Ms Skalyo was unable to interpret the contents of this letter. To date I have been unable to contact Ms Skalyo.

⁵⁵ William Dean Howells and Augustus Hoppin, *Jubilee Days: An Illustrated Daily Record of the Humorous Features of the World's Peace Jubilee* (Boston: James R. Good and Company, 1872), Issues 1–16 (3 July 1872), p. 62.

Ireland' when it had no proven track record and noted that respected Irish musicians refused to join its ranks.⁵⁶ Responses to this letter the following day refuted suggestions regarding the musical ability of recruited bandmen saying that members of the Philharmonic Society and Theatre Royal were included in the band. The question of Irish identity was addressed by statements that all the principal performers were recruited in Dublin and that any Englishmen involved were resident in Dublin at time of recruitment.⁵⁷ Controversy about the identity of the Irish National Band rumbled on and in early July the *Freeman's Journal* picked up on an article in the *Evening Telegraph* which feared that the organiser of the festival had been duped by 'an unscrupulous contractor, who has bought green coats for a company of strolling musicians gathered up in the streets of Liverpool'.⁵⁸ An examination of the ship's record which carried the Irish National Band to the USA identifies eighteen musicians as Irish, nineteen musicians as English, and three musicians as Scottish. This shows the reality of how the individual musicians themselves identified their nationality in contrast with the nationality attributed to the band as a collective performance ensemble.

The band was viewed in Boston through various lenses. The band's questionable musical ability was excused by some who recognised that it was recently formed and that the bandmen were fatigued by the searing heat⁵⁹ while others sneered at the band's badly executed 'Yankee Fenian' programme.⁶⁰ At a reception given by the Mayor and Aldermen to welcome the band to Boston it was evident how Irish Bostonians viewed the presence of the Irish National Band at the festival. This band stood for an Ireland that was viewed as a distinct

⁵⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 June 1872, p. 7.

⁵⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 June 1872, p. 6.

⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 July 1872, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Kerry Evening Post*, 20 July 1872, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *The Lakeside Monthly*, Vol. 9 (January–June 1873), p. 473 and *Standard*, 11 July 1872, p. 5.

independent nation who could legitimately claim her place among the nations of the world. The following was included in an address given by John E. Fitzgerald at this event⁶¹:

We hail your presence at this grand International Musical Festival with joy and satisfaction, as a tribute of respect to the Irish race in America, and as a tacit acknowledgement that the poor, unfortunate, glorious land you represent is one in the sisterhood of nations and independent and distinct in her nationality.⁶²

While the overwhelmingly Irish bandmen of the RIC would undoubtedly have outstripped the predominantly non-Irish bandmen of the Irish National Band with musical refinement, finesse, and expertise, nonetheless the evidence indicates that they may not have been accepted as legitimate representatives of Ireland by Irish Americans.⁶³ Therefore, it may have been the correct decision not to expose ‘the well-educated and delicate tympanums of the Constabulary band’ to the noisy brash affair that was the Boston World’s Peace Festival.⁶⁴

Hardy remained in Ireland during the summer of 1872 conducting the remnants of the RIC band at typical RIC band performances but resigned from his position as bandmaster at the end of that season.⁶⁵ To date, no evidence has been found as to why Hardy resigned from his position. While all RIC band performances for the summer of 1872 may not have been listed in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman’s Journal*, a comparison of their musical engagements publicised in these newspapers within the same period, 1 July to 30 September, for the previous year shows a significant decline in performances.⁶⁶

⁶¹ John E. Fitzgerald is noted as a Councillor at Law, originally from Dingle, Co. Kerry in *Kerry Evening Post*, 20 July 1872, p. 4.

⁶² *Kerry Evening Post*, 20 July 1872, p. 4.

⁶³ A list of RIC bandmen compiled by Jim Herlihy covering the period in question shows that of thirty-seven bandmen listed, thirty-five were Irish, one was English, and one was from Gibraltar.

⁶⁴ *Drogheda Conservative*, 11 May 1872, p. 3.

⁶⁵ An *Irish Times* article of 7 June 1872 shows Hardy conducting the RIC band at the Horticultural Show in the Rotundo Gardens, Dublin. This corresponds with the time when the Irish National Band was present at the World’s Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston, therefore Hardy did not travel to Boston for this event.

⁶⁶ For the period 1 July to 30 September 1871 twelve entries appear in the *Irish Times* for RIC band engagements, including the prestigious Royal Agricultural Society’s Show with Hardy entrusted with the entire direction of musical events. These events included all music in the show yard, music for the grand banquet attended by the Prince of Wales, and the promenade preceding the ball. In contrast, only six entries appear for RIC band engagements for the corresponding period in 1872.

While Hardy's resignation from the RIC band was announced in the *Irish Times* on 9 October 1872 his departure was mentioned in the *Freeman's Journal* as early as 13 September of that year. The *Irish Times* article's focus is that of unequivocal praise for Hardy's talent and skill in producing and maintaining such an excellent band despite the many obstacles he encountered:

It is with regret we hear that the above popular conductor of the Irish Constabulary band has resigned his appointment. Mr Hardy joined the band quite ten years ago, having resigned from the 3rd King's Own Hussars for that purpose, and with raw material and under great disadvantage, brought them in an inconceivable short period to a state of great perfection, which was mentioned in a general circular by Sir Henry Brownrigg, and which is evidenced by them being brought to all parts of this country.⁶⁷

Rather than expressing regret at Hardy's departure the article appearing in the *Freeman's Journal* was more concerned with the vacancy that has arisen due to Hardy's departure and how it is to be filled.⁶⁸

8.4 The Harp and the Crown: Changing Identity in a Changing Ireland

Following Hardy's resignation in 1872 a very telling article appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* urging those who were to appoint a new bandmaster to choose an Irishman, preferably from within the ranks of the existing RIC band.⁶⁹ This particular nationalistic attitude is mirrored in the political ideas of Sir Isaac Butt and the Home Rule movement whose ideas had been in evolutionary motion since the beginning of the nineteenth century, culminating in the first Home Rule conference being held in Dublin in November 1873. Comerford notes that 'most of the Catholic bishops, the priests, the enfranchised farmers, and unenfranchised popular opinion had pushed and pulled one another into a new alignment' along with some former

⁶⁷ *Irish Times*, 9 October 1872, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 September 1872, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 13 September 1872, p. 2.

Tories and ageing Young Irelanders, to support the Home Rule League while ‘candidates seeking popular and clerical support in by-elections from early 1872 onwards had flown the home rule flag’.⁷⁰ The recovery of Catholic Ireland following Catholic Emancipation in 1829 coupled with the concept of an Irish identity, founded on the ‘story of Ireland’, fuelled the Home Rule psyche.⁷¹ The Home Rule concept harnessed and represented a diverse cross-section of Irish interests including the newly strengthened middle class which was at the core of the RIC band’s audience base. Jackson notes that ‘the growth of an educated urban elite in the nineteenth century created a crisis of bourgeois expectations’.⁷² This upwardly mobile social unit found its opportunities restricted by ‘the residual Irish Protestant elite or (still worse) by Englishmen’.⁷³ Hardy, the Englishman, represented an old system that appeared to curtail the advancement of native ability and desires. Public debate in the early 1870s appears to have been greatly exercised by issues concerning the employment of Irishmen in positions closely connected with the authority of the British Empire in Ireland. An article in the *Freeman’s Journal* in 1871 lays out clearly the strength of opinion on this subject. The author is supportive of the re-election of a Mr Monsell in the Limerick constituency. He admires the fact that Monsell is the first Catholic Irishman to hold the position of Postmaster-General of the Empire in that city, regarding it as an advantage that Irishmen will be prepared for senior positions when Home Rule is eventually achieved saying ‘the more Irishmen that are trained to govern the better will the country be able to rule itself when ‘Home Rule’ will be achieved’.⁷⁴ However, some hard-line Home Rule advocates were not supportive of Mr Monsell as they viewed him as an agent of the British government. Hardy’s replacement as bandmaster of the RIC band, John Power Clarke, converged with middle-class nationalistic expectations. This

⁷⁰ R. V. Comerford, ‘Isaac Butt and the Home Rule Party, 1870–1877’, in *A New History of Ireland VI: Ireland Under the Union 1870–1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), ed. by E. E. Vaughan, pp. 1–25 (p. 11).

⁷¹ Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History 1800–2000* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003), p. 11.

⁷² Jackson, p. 21.

⁷³ Jackson, p. 21.

⁷⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 30 January 1871.

son of Irish parents was a composer and conductor familiar to Dublin audiences, yet he had gained his musical education and expertise through the British military band system.⁷⁵ Clarke remained as bandmaster with the RIC band for a period of two and a half years, from September 1872 to early 1875.⁷⁶ An article regarding the RIC band's history in the RIC Magazine lists Hardy's successors as J. P. Clarke from 20 September 1872 to 7 February 1875, J. C. Van Maanen from 8 February 1875 to 23 September 1899, and William Rafter appointed on 15 February 1900.⁷⁷ Rafter served until the disbandment of the RIC in 1922. An advertisement appeared in the *Irish Times* in early 1873 wishing to recruit 'musicians of good character' to the RIC due to a number of vacancies.⁷⁸ An article announcing an intended concert tour of Ireland by the RIC band appeared in the *Irish Times* in April 1873, the concerts being an opportunity for members of the RIC throughout the country to enjoy the music of their band.⁷⁹

The gradual erosion of the Irish gentry by land reform, electoral reform and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland fragmented further the memory base for Hardy, the Irish gentry having been another staple in the personal followership of Hardy and the RIC band. The overt social deference for the landed ascendancy that Jackson notes as being long under threat is reflected well in Hardy's Grand Annual Benefit Concert of 1868. In contrast with exclusive and expensive eighteenth-century London benefit concerts this mid-nineteenth-century Dublin concert, under the patronage of royalty, entertained members of the Viceregal household, the Ladies Hamilton, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress as well as those who paid

⁷⁵ Henry George Farmer, *Handel's Kettledrums: And Other Papers on Military Music* (London: Hinrichsen, 1965), p. 7.

⁷⁶ *Leinster Express*, 28 September 1872, p. 3. Van Maanen, Clarke's successor as RIC bandmaster first appeared in this position in newspaper accounts in April 1875, see *Freeman's Journal*, 10 April 1875, p. 1.

⁷⁷ T. Moore, *The Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine*. This article was accessed via <https://irishconstabulary.com/the-royal-irish-constabulary-band-1861-1922-t1460.html> [accessed 29 September 2022]. This article is not dated on the photograph of its pages posted online. The *Royal Irish Constabulary Magazine* is a monthly magazine that was issued between 1911 and 1916. It is available to view at the British Library, General Reference Collection P.P.4044.h.

⁷⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 February 1873, p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Irish Times*, 8 April 1873, p. 2.

a mere one shilling for a promenade ticket.⁸⁰ This societal shift left Hardy in uncharted waters, where the world of the Protestant gentry, backed by the British establishment, was giving way to new predominantly Catholic social structures. Therefore, the *Freeman's Journal* article announcing the desire for Hardy's replacement to be an Irishman can be interpreted less as a personal rebuke to Hardy and more as an expression of the political impetus of the day which saw the ascending Catholic population, including journalists, seeking opportunity on previously excluded platforms.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter firstly explored the contributing factors to the eleven-year success of the RIC band under the musical leadership of Hardy and then suggested possible reasons for the fault lines that led to Hardy's departure from his position as bandmaster in 1872. It has identified the permanent positioning of the band at the RIC depot in Dublin's Phoenix Park as a major contributor to the band's success. Having a major advantage over other bands in this regard, Hardy was enabled to form and build a successful band with whom he could forge a highly functioning musical relationship. The RIC band became a constant on the social and entertainment scene in Dublin and its environs, and to a lesser extent in other major urban areas, building a bond with a wide and diverse audience base. Furthermore, this led to the formation of the band's identity as Ireland's own band. This connection between the RIC band and the public was strengthened under the leadership of Hardy whose charisma drew the attention of audiences, especially the band's female followership. This chapter has also noted the interdependence of Hardy and the RIC band on each other. Hardy used the band as a platform for the promotion of his own compositions and as the anchor performers in his benefit concerts,

⁸⁰ A series of advertisements, promotional material and reviews appeared in the *Irish Times* for the concert which was held on 4 May 1868 at the Rotundo.

while the band benefitted from Hardy's charismatic authority when interfacing with an audience. This chapter then identified reasons for the discontent that led to Hardy's resignation from what had been an illustrious partnership with the RIC band. Issues of inadequate remuneration in the general ranks of the RIC fuelled unease in the early 1870s while more focused discontent in the RIC band was fuelled by its exclusion by the British government from The World's Peace Jubilee and Music Festival in Boston. The discussion around the matter of this Boston event raised further questions as to the RIC band's identity, highlighting the quandary surrounding its identification as both a British and Irish entity. This chapter finally considered the changing political impetus in Ireland in the early 1870s with the Home Rule movement gaining traction across Irish society. A consequence of the growing call for greater autonomy from Britain was the call for Irish people to occupy more prominent leadership positions. While Hardy had been a popular and valuable leader of the RIC band, the call for an RIC bandmaster of Irish origin as his replacement, was a telling sign of a changing Irish society.

Chapter 9

Epilogue and Conclusion

9.1 Hardy's Employment Following the RIC

Following his resignation from the RIC band, Hardy's name appears less frequently in the newspapers of the day. He became bandmaster to the provincial Trim band in Co. Meath for a period in the mid-1870s beginning in 1874 and finishing with his death in 1878. During this period there are newspaper accounts of a grand concert given by Hardy in Trim,¹ performances by the Trim band at the Trim races,² and the participation of the Trim band in the large-scale procession through Dublin to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Daniel O'Connell.³ The *Dublin Daily Express* considered the Trim Band under Hardy's tuition to be one of the best local bands in Ireland in 1876.⁴ An article written in 1914 regarding the Trim Brass and Reed Band considered that "under the leadership of the famous Mr Harry Hardy" the band was second to none in Leinster.⁵ Hardy was also associated with the formation of a brass band at Dublin's Guinness brewery.⁶ This band numbering upwards of forty musicians was established in 1875 under the musical direction of Hardy.⁷ There is an account of this band performing at a band contest in 1875⁸ and of a performance at the brewery during a visit by the lord lieutenant in 1877.⁹ The Guinness brewery archives do not hold any information regarding this band. During the period following his departure from the RIC band Hardy also acted as a tutor and bandmaster to the boys of the Artane Industrial School band. His role with this band was mentioned in an article in the *Munster News* in 1875 promoting a

¹ *Irish Times*, 2 October 1874, p. 2 and *Freeman's Journal*, 2 October 1874, p. 2.

² *Dublin Daily Express*, 22 September 1876, p. 3.

³ *Irish Times*, 7 August 1875, p. 6.

⁴ *Dublin Daily Express*, 19 September 1876, p. 3.

⁵ *Meath Chronicle*, 7 November 1914, p. 5.

⁶ *Clonmel Chronicle, Tipperary Express and Advertiser*, 30 January 1875, p. 3.

⁷ *Irish Times*, 14 September 1875, p. 2.

⁸ *Irish Times*, 14 September 1875, p. 2.

⁹ *Irish Times*, 31 May 1877, p. 3 and *Dublin Daily Express*, 31 May 1877, p. 3.

concert at which the band of the Artane Industrial School were to perform in Limerick's Theatre Royal.¹⁰ He handed the position of bandmaster at Artane over to Harry Lowe, a former RIC bandsman, in 1875.¹¹ Artane Industrial School opened in 1870 with the aim of caring for neglected, orphaned and abandoned Roman Catholic boys.¹² It established a boys' band in 1872 and began public performances in 1874.¹³

There is a mention in the *Era* in 1875 of a singer and instrumentalist named Harry Hardy performing in Dan Lowry's music hall, the Alhambra, in Belfast.¹⁴ However, he was not clearly identified as a French horn player, bandmaster or composer. Therefore, it cannot be confirmed that this performer was one and the same as the Harry Hardy of this dissertation.

9.2 Hardy's Private Life

By this period Hardy's complicated personal life may have compounded his marginalisation from respectable society. Conflicting with the strict moral code of Irish Catholic society Hardy, a Protestant married man, entered into a clandestine illicit affair with an Irish middle-class Catholic woman during his early years as RIC bandmaster, while still married to his English wife. Concurring with the time of his resignation, Hardy openly acknowledged his relationship with Mary Corrigan, registering their fifth child as Henry Victor Hardy.¹⁵ While all the children of this relationship were known by the Hardy surname, used it throughout their lives, and passed it on to their children, their birth certificates and baptismal records display conflicting information. There is no evidence of an official or church marriage between Hardy and Mary Corrigan. Neither is there evidence of a divorce from his English

¹⁰ *Munster News*, 11 September 1875, p. 3.

¹¹ *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 7 October 1893, p. 7.

¹² 'Artane', in <<https://industrialmemories.ucd.ie/ryan-report/report/1-7>> [accessed 2 January 2025]

¹³ *Irish Independent*, 3 September 1992, p. 10.

¹⁴ *Era*, 25 April 1875, p. 5 and *London and Provincial Entr'acte*, 24 April 1875, p. 6.

¹⁵ Dublin, General Register Research Office, Irish Register of Births from 1864-1958, vol. 12-2, p. 614. The first four children born to Hardy and Corrigan were named Joseph, Bernard, Albert and Edith.

wife, Mary Hannah Emberson Williams.¹⁶ However, Mary Corrigan identified herself as Mary Hardy. Coming from a wealthy middle-class family, with roots in Fermanagh but residing in Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Mary Corrigan did not follow the traditional cultural norms expected from a woman of her class at that time. Juliana Adelman and Ciaran O'Neill's article regarding an affair between two middle-class Victorian Dubliners, illustrates the difficulties encountered by the couple they describe in squaring their relationship with the societal expectations of their day. They point out the "maelstrom of social expectation, family ties, gender norms, economic demands, and individual desires" that couples such as these needed to navigate in a predominantly Catholic middle-class Dublin.¹⁷ Extra-marital affairs had consequences, with Adelman and O'Neill suggesting that "what is private is still political".¹⁸ Indeed, Hardy and Corrigan's relationship must have been regarded as outrageously immoral by respectable society at a time when the birth of children outside of marriage was regarded as scandalous for bourgeois or elite women.¹⁹ However, Adelman and O'Neill also suggest that "sexual intimacy outside of marriage may have been more common among the middle class than previously thought".²⁰ Stephen Garton questions the actual behaviour of the Victorians, noting the hypocrisy that often hid behind their austere, repressed prudery.²¹ Dymphna McLoughlin also questions the myths regarding sexual conduct outside of marriage in nineteenth-century Ireland, considering that a narrative that ignored reality was created.²² From the 1850s onwards strict social norms regarding marriage were becoming imbedded in Irish society and middle-

¹⁶ Mary Hannah Emberson Williams was a widow with three daughters, Julia, Mary and Emily Williams, when she married Hardy in 1852. She was a baker by trade and lived and ran her business at 35 Upper Albany Street, London. Regent's Park barracks, where Hardy's regiment was stationed on rotation, is also situated on Albany Street. Williams and Hardy had three children, Harry Emberson, Kate Dennison and Virgine Mary Talbot Hardy.

¹⁷ Juliana Adelman and Ciaran O'Neill, 'Love, Consent, and the Sexual Script of a Victorian Affair in Dublin', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 29:3 (2020), pp. 388–417 (p. 392).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 411–412.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

²¹ Stephen Garton, *Histories of Sexuality: Antiquity to Sexual Revolution* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 123.

²² Dymphna McLoughlin, 'Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, 15:2 and 3 (1994), pp. 266–275 (p. 274).

class women who became pregnant outside of marriage had little chance of social redemption.²³ Men, however, were allowed a certain measure of public leeway for their behaviour.²⁴ Hardy had appeared in London's Marlborough Street court as far back as 1853 in an affiliation case where a woman named Mary Ann Perry sought child maintenance in respect of her child that she claimed was fathered by Hardy. This, however, could not be proved and the summons was dismissed.²⁵ This very public reporting of intimate details regarding Hardy's private life did not appear to sully his reputation in England or later in Ireland. But by the 1880s the cult of respectability had triumphed²⁶ and Irish society's response to the affair of Charles Stewart Parnell and Katherine O'Shea in the 1880s demonstrated the voracity of the public in denouncing a public figure who transgressed from expected behaviour.²⁷ Referring to Parnell's adulterous affair with outrage and in pejorative terms, the Catholic Primate of all Ireland, Michael Logue, labelled Parnell "a person not to beget confidence".²⁸

As a musician, Hardy's precise rung on the social ladder was also ambiguous. Rohr discusses the struggles of nineteenth-century musicians to shake the perception of them as artisans.²⁹ While many musicians came from the lower middle-class ranks their working lives predominantly intersected with bourgeois and elite patrons. Hardy, an English Protestant from the lower social orders, undoubtedly faced suspicion from the Irish Catholic middle classes, especially regarding his intimate relationship with an Irish Catholic middle-class woman. The abandonment of his English wife and three children from that marriage, in favour of his Irish common-law wife and five children, must surely have been considered scandalous at that time.

²³ Ibid., p. 273.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 266.

²⁵ *Morning Post*, 9 February 1853, p. 7. Hardy was identified in the court proceedings as a former regimental bandsman and currently as a baker residing at Albany Street. 35 Upper Albany Street was the home and bakery address of Hardy's wife, Mary Hannah Emberson Williams.

²⁶ McLoughlin, p. 266.

²⁷ Diane Urquhart, *Irish Divorce: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020), pp. 90 – 91.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 90.

²⁹ Rohr, p. 22.

Both Hardy and Corrigan lost the support of their families and must surely have struggled in a society so ruled by prudish virtue and social standing. Hardy's domestic inclinations were not easily reconcilable with Victorian, respectable, Catholic middle-class values.

While Hardy's employment following his departure from the RIC band may have been affected by the choices in his personal life it is nonetheless interesting that both the Trim Band and Artane Industrial School were run by Catholic organisations. Applications for the position of bandmaster in Trim were to be sent to any of the Catholic clergymen at the parochial house³⁰ while the Artane Industrial School was run by the catholic organisation of the Congregation of Christian Brothers. A series of advertisements in late March 1874 for the position of bandmaster at the Artane Industrial School noted the importance of testimonials as to the character and ability of the applicants.³¹ This position may have proved difficult to fill as another series of advertisements for the same position followed in early July with no reference to personal or professional recommendations.³² Hardy's ability as a bandmaster may have outweighed his personal indiscretions while being appointed to these positions, with fledgeling bands wanting to be tutored by a highly accomplished musician.

Hardy died in April 1878, aged fifty, at a hotel in Marlborough Street, Dublin and was buried in an unmarked communal grave in Dublin's Mt Jerome Cemetery. An interesting sign follows the entry of his name in the cemetery records: a musical pause mark.

9.3 Hardy: A Forgotten Musician

To date Hardy has not been remembered in any significant way in police force or music literature despite his output of composition, his popularity with his audiences and his high-profile musical career. Hardy's rapid demise is indeed complex as its date coincides with

³⁰ *Irish Times*, 30 December 187, p. 7.

³¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March 1874, p. 6.

³² *Freeman's Journal*, 8 July 1874, p. 8.

fundamental changes afoot in Irish society. Associated primarily with the popular music of his day, Hardy was also forgotten by a music history that Marcia Citron considers as being influenced primarily by the entrenched concept of the ‘author-function’.³³ By organizing music history according to a particular set of composers and the elite world to which they belonged, popular composers and musicians such as Hardy have been excluded from historical musical memory. Therefore, Hardy’s disappearance from Irish musical history is not immediately contributable to any one factor, but rather to a convergence of societal, musicological, and personal factors. Hardy’s memory, it would appear, fell victim to the historical, political, and social factors at play in Ireland for more than a century after his death. A growth in Irish nationalistic awareness in the 1870s, the damaged reputation of the RIC following the struggle for Irish independence as well as Hardy’s personal faux pas in Irish Catholic society may account for his lack of recognition to date.

9.4 The RIC: Memory, Myth and Misplacement

While the RIC was officially disbanded in 1922 it would be simplistic to consider that a social history of this police force concluded on this same date. The influence of the RIC, for better or for worse, has continued to the present on descendants of former RIC members, subsequent Irish police forces, and on police force music in Ireland. Nationalist readings of the RIC do not necessarily derive from an accurate or comprehensive base but rather from a reduction of complex historical processes which serve the nationalist ideological need. In his study of memory and identity in modern Ireland Ian McBride notes that following 1922 the victors on both sides of the border rapidly institutionalised the historical ideology of the majority

³³ Marcia J. Citron, ‘Women and the Art Canon: Where Are We Now?’, *Notes*, 64:2 (2007), 209–215 (p. 211).

population.³⁴ In order to cement a particular national identity a selective collective memory has permeated Irish society, providing one interpretation of Ireland's past.

During the War of Independence Malcolm notes that hundreds of policemen were killed and thousands resigned or were driven from their homes.³⁵ While the preference of Michael Collins (1890–1922) was to retain an adapted constabulary force, this hope was not fulfilled due to the objection of the large number of former IRA fighters who joined the newly formed Irish police force and the death of Collins himself.³⁶ In the early 1920s hostility towards the RIC existed among southern nationalists who viewed the force as conveyors of British tyranny while northern Unionists considered it a Catholic Nationalist organization divorced from the concerns of Ulster Protestants.³⁷ The resultant fear and shame of those with RIC associations is now only being addressed with the RIC slowly returning to Irish public memory. The journalist Kevin Myers expressed forcefully his desire for a historiographical reinterpretation of the place of the RIC in Irish history that could lift the sense of unease and apology surrounding this displaced and misplaced group of Irishmen.³⁸ While Myers is well-known for his controversial views and for his ability to provoke, nonetheless he was one of the first voices to call for the recognition of the tens of thousands of forgotten Irish men killed during the First World War.³⁹

To arrive at a balanced understanding of the RIC and to interpret how it has been viewed since its disbandment in 1922, it is helpful to consider its standing in the community within two timeframes, firstly from the nineteenth century through to 1919 and secondly from its

³⁴ Ian McBride, 'Introduction: Memory and National Identity in Modern Ireland', in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. by Ian McBride (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1–42 (p. 38).

³⁵ Malcolm, p. 214.

³⁶ Malcolm, p. 215.

³⁷ Malcolm, p. 216.

³⁸ Kevin Myers, 'An Irishman's Diary', *Irish Times*, 9 December 1989, p. 11.

³⁹ *Irish Times*, 31 July 2017 <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/there-s-more-to-kevin-myers-than-his-errors-of-judgment-1.3172649> [accessed 2 October 2024]

greatly altered role and composition during the War of Independence from 1919 to 1921. While the RIC was styled as a colonial police force, and became the model for many other British colonial police forces throughout the nineteenth century, for much of its existence its primary work was in civil policing. Sinclair identifies the dual aspect of colonial policing noting its ‘semi-military’ role and its role in the execution of standard law-and-order duties.⁴⁰ Typically numbering about ten thousand officers and men, who were all Irish and predominantly Catholic, the RIC was an armed force dressed in military-style uniforms who also conducted a wide range of civil-service type duties.⁴¹ However, by 1919 the RIC had become what Lowe and Malcolm regard as a domesticated civil police force.⁴² They justify this position by establishing three identifying features: the personnel was representative of the general Irish population; its main duties were of a civic routine nature; and it lacked the ability to use serious armed force. The range of civic duties undertaken by the RIC throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century which involved non-combative engagement with local communities, tipped the balance away from its paramilitary image while establishing it as ‘the public face of government in Ireland’.⁴³ Lowe and Malcolm provide an extensive list of civil-service duties undertaken by the RIC including the collection of statistics, census-taking, and dog-license enforcement. Such tasks gave them cause to interact regularly and often with the public. This visibility within the community, along with the acceptance of individual policemen in their localities, contributed to the domestication of the RIC in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The role of the RIC band in creating a positive link with Irish society is not mentioned in literature pertaining to this topic; this dissertation has addressed this lack of

⁴⁰ Georgina Sinclair, ‘The ‘Irish’ Policeman and the Empire: Influencing the Policing of the British Empire-Commonwealth’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 36:142 (2008), 173–187 (p. 175).

⁴¹ D. M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920–1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 16.

⁴² W. J. Lowe and E. L. Malcolm, ‘The Domestication of the Royal Irish Constabulary, 1836-1922’, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 19 (1992), 27–48 (p. 27).

⁴³ Lowe and Malcolm, p. 29.

⁴⁴ Lowe and Malcolm, pp. 29–30.

scholarly attention. This dissertation makes the new contention that the RIC band played a significant role in the domestication of this police force from the 1860s onwards. While the RIC did not police the Dublin area,⁴⁵ nonetheless the RIC band provided entertainment to Dublin's citizens, showing only the positive and non-threatening side of this police force to Dubliners. The RIC band interfaced with communities in the larger urban areas throughout Ireland with appearances at high-profile events. Advertising and reports of these performances were published in newspapers which were read by people throughout the country, making this a well-known and revered band among those who had listened to it live and those who read about it in the press. The image portrayed by the musicians and bandmaster of the RIC band, as well as the message of culture, good humour, and geniality transmitted through their performances, was very much anathema to the militaristic image of a force of occupation.

The image of the domesticated, respectable Victorian and Edwardian RIC man was seriously challenged and tarnished during the years of the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), when the British government's solution to the decline in RIC personnel numbers was the introduction of the Black and Tans and the Auxiliary Division to Irish policing. The British government considered the RIC as the appropriate force to deal with the situation in Ireland, despite the RIC being primarily a civilian force and unsuited for counterinsurgency.⁴⁶ With a muster of approximately eight-thousand men to police Ireland in 1920, these numbers may have been substantial in terms of a police force but in no way adequate as an army of occupation.⁴⁷ A further factor in the unsuitability of the RIC for military-type operations was the age profile of its members, with the average age of the RIC constable above that permitted for front-line army duty and the average age of married constables above that permitted for

⁴⁵ Dublin was policed by a separate police force called the Dublin Metropolitan Police.

⁴⁶ D. M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920–1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 4.

⁴⁷ Leeson, p. 22.

second-line army duty.⁴⁸ Despite the objection of RIC Inspector General Sir Joseph Byrne (1874–1942) to the introduction of British ex-military to the RIC, the British government went ahead with the recruitment of unemployed ex-servicemen with the Black and Tans arriving first in Ireland in December 1919 and the Auxiliary Division arriving in the summer of 1920.⁴⁹ The appalling, deplorable, and often barbaric actions of both the Black and Tans who were mainly urban working-class ex-soldiers, and the Auxiliaries who came from the officer class, were very much at odds with the demeanour of the RIC men prior to 1919, who had never envisaged fighting a guerrilla war.⁵⁰ While this dissertation in no way condones the atrocities committed by the RIC during this period, an understanding of the fractious nature of the police force at that time casts light on the dilemma of the native Irish policeman, working alongside British unrestrained, vicious and hardened war veterans, fighting a war against their fellow countrymen.

Despite hopes for a revision of Irish history Seán Dunne, in his 2007 Master's thesis on current attitudes regarding the RIC, concluded that modern Ireland was not yet ready to embrace the memory of this organisation. This predominantly Catholic, nationalist police force was popular with the public for most of its history, engaging with a system of community policing yet unfound in the wider context of international policing. However, Dunne posits that 'the RIC has been badly served by collective memory in Ireland due to its association with the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising and to some extent the Royal Ulster Constabulary'.⁵¹ Hardy's association with the RIC has ultimately relegated him to what appears like a collective national amnesia regarding aspects of the positive influence of policing in Ireland pre-1916.

⁴⁸ Leeson, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Leeson, p. 24 and p. 30.

⁵⁰ Leeson, p. 30 and p. 38.

⁵¹ Seán Dunne, 'Is Modern Ireland Ready to Embrace the Memory of the Royal Irish Constabulary?' (unpublished master's thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2007), p. iii.

In his work on social forgetting Beiner is sceptical of the term ‘collective amnesia’ in relation to the forgetting of historical events as he believes that such events cannot be entirely eradicated easily from the group memory of society.⁵² While public silence can strengthen the process of forgetting, nonetheless, ripples of recollections can still exist under the surface, passing on from one generation to the next.⁵³ An examination of what society has deemed necessary to blot out can therefore lead to a more nuanced and inclusive interpretation of events or groups that interfere with the narrative that mainstream society wishes to promote. The gradual recognition of the skeletons in the cupboard allows for the cautious revelation of what Beiner refers to as sensitive memories which are preserved under the radar, often giving voice to the descendants of those who have fallen on the ‘wrong’ side of history. This admission of the existence of people or actions that society has striven to forget can in time open avenues of exploration previously blocked off. This dissertation contends that a recognition of the inconvenient truth about who the majority of RIC personnel actually were, can lead to a broadened understanding of Irish society pre-1916, recognising the different interpretations of what it meant to be Irish at a time when Irish identity was being probed and formed. By not just focusing on the final years of the RIC, but by examining all aspects of this organisation’s policing of Ireland throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, aspects of Irish social and cultural life during this period can be examined and evaluated. This of course includes the examination of the contribution of the RIC band to Irish society, with this dissertation focusing on the early years of this band in mid-Victorian Ireland.

⁵² Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 24.

⁵³ Beiner, p. 27 and p. 41.

9.5 Recovery and Recognition

‘New’ musicology and critical musicology now offer an alternative perception of aesthetic values and judgements leading to a more inclusive understanding of musical culture and society. Popular music studies are now recognised as part of the mainstream of musicology and an interdisciplinary approach which considers the social, political, and cultural processes which inform a reading of music history is commonly accepted. With the growth in popular music studies Stan Hawkins notes that ‘genres and styles linked to commerce, entertainment, and leisure’ are now being meaningfully critiqued.⁵⁴ In this light, the contribution of Hardy and the RIC band to music in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland takes on a particular meaning that previously remained unconsidered. Predominantly associated with light entertainment and leisure-time activity, a consequential study of Hardy and the RIC band’s interaction with popular entertainment yields valuable insights into commercial, social, and cultural development in nineteenth-century Ireland.

With newly found peace in Ireland since the latter years of the twentieth century, present generations of Irish people are in search of a path forward based on reconciliation and understanding of all sides involved in the long and bloody conflict in this country. Malcolm notes that a new wave of research on Irish policing has been pursued by historians, sociologists, police personnel, genealogists and journalists since the mid-1990s with the establishment of police archives and museums in Dublin and Belfast assisting with this endeavour.⁵⁵ Much of this research focuses on the work of the RIC at its peak in the second half of the nineteenth century and not simply on the early years of the formation of this force or the difficult controversial years following 1916. Contemporary works of popular fiction have also sought

⁵⁴ Stan Hawkins, ‘Great, Scott!’, in *Critical Musicological Reflections: Essays in Honour of Derek B. Scott*, ed. by Stan Hawkins (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 1–20 (p. 6).

⁵⁵ Malcolm, p. 34.

to interpret and soften attitudes towards the RIC with writers such as Sebastian Barry presenting a largely sympathetic view of the RIC, legitimising their stance as Irishmen.⁵⁶

This recovery of the place of the RIC in Irish society can be further assisted by documenting and interpreting the work of the RIC band, especially during its formative and highly productive years under the musical directorship of Hardy. By following the musical contribution of this band to Irish public life during the period from 1861 to 1872 it is possible to trace the progression of Irish middle-class thought at a time of intense political gestation. While the RIC band performed selections from opera, arrangements of music by popular classical composers and military band standards they also performed much non-partisan Irish music. These performances epitomised the intense search at this period for a trans-partisan national identity which could be shared by all Irish people across their various divides.

Initial steps have been made by James McCafferty in noting the contribution of the RIC band to the overall map of police force music in Ireland. In the context of the history of the current day band of An Garda Síochána, McCafferty recognises that just as the police force of the Irish Free State based its training, structures and law enforcement on RIC methods, the structure and ethos of the RIC band was to influence the establishment of the Band of An Garda Síochána.⁵⁷

9.6 Commemorations

This research has also used the approach of applied ethnomusicology, extending the academic aims of this research to contribute to current-day issues and debates. To this end, I have helped initiate and organise events over the past eleven years to commemorate, recognise, and mark

⁵⁶ Sebastian Barry's work often focuses on marginalised characters such as Eneas McNulty in the novel *The Whereabouts of Eneas McNulty* and Roseanne Clear's father in *The Secret Scripture*. Both characters are RIC men, ostracized and punished by society. Barry questions the legitimacy of their treatment by a very flawed nationalist new Ireland.

⁵⁷ James McCafferty, 'A History of the Band of An Garda Síochána' (unpublished master's thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2006), p. 1.

police force music in Ireland, the foundation of the RIC band, and the place of the RIC in Irish society from 1836 to 1922. In so doing, I have formed links with police historians, police historical societies, policing organisations, and descendants of RIC personnel. I have, alongside David Hardy, organised commemoration events and ceremonies to mark the work of Hardy and the RIC band. These events have received general support from national and international police historical societies as well as from the authorities of An Garda Síochána.

I have been instrumental in organising two events, along with David Hardy, which were held in May and November 2011 respectively, to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the RIC band. In May 2011 we staged a concert at Dublin's National Concert Hall with performances by the band of An Garda Síochána and the Blue Clavon Orchestra under the musical direction of David Hardy, the great great grandson of Harry Hardy. Opening addresses were given by Garda Commissioner Martin Callinan and Jim McDonald, Chairman of the RUC George Cross Foundation, commending the work of the band of An Garda Síochána and committing to continued peaceful relations between North and South.



Figure 9.1 Garda Commissioner Martin Callinan and Jim McDonald (Chairman of RUC George Cross Foundation) with Garda Band at NCH, 7 May 2011

Reflecting Malcolm's view that the similarities between the RIC and the Garda Síochána far outweigh their differences, this concert highlighted the continuity that exists between the RIC band and its successor in Ireland, the band of An Garda Síochána.⁵⁸ We erected new headstone at Dublin's Mount Jerome Cemetery over Hardy's previously unmarked grave in November 2011 where wreaths were laid by the International Police Association, the RUC George Cross Foundation, and members of the Hardy family. The band of An Garda Síochána lead the ceremony with a selection of music and honoured Hardy's memory with the playing of the Last Post and Reveille. The Irish Defence Forces School of Music also sent a lone piper to play a lament in honour of the occasion. Hardy had served as bandmaster with the band of the 3rd Hussars Regiment while garrisoned at Portobello Barracks, Rathmines, now Cathal Brugha Barracks, the home of the Irish Defence Forces School of Music.

An annual interdenominational service to remember members of the RIC and DMP has been held at Dublin's Mount Argus parish church from 2013 to 2019, organised by the Historical and Reconciliatory Police Society (HARP Society).⁵⁹ David Hardy has played both solo clarinet and as part of the clarinet section of the Dublin Concert Band at these services, with special remembrance being made to Harry Hardy and the RIC band. Following his attendance at the 2019 interdenominational service, the then Minister for Justice Charlie Flanagan, acknowledged that the eleven RIC men and four DMP men killed one hundred years previously, had died in the line of duty while trying to maintain the rule of law. While emphasising his belief in the peaceful coexistence of people from across the various Irish traditions, speaking of the RIC and DMP, Mr Flanagan also stated that 'we cannot any longer ignore them or be partisan'.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Malcolm, p. 216.

⁵⁹ Due to Covid-19 restriction this service was not held in 2020 or 2021.

⁶⁰ *Irish Times*, 16 September 2019, p. 5. Also < <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/minister-attends-service-for-killed-ric-and-dmp-men-1.4018814> > [accessed 27 October 2022]

Following this acknowledgement by an Irish government minister of the RIC and DMP, with no negative response from the public, it was hoped that a state ceremony to remember RIC and DMP men could be held as part of the programme for the ‘Decade of Centenaries’. However, such a ceremony, due to take place on 17 January 2020 as part of this state programme, failed to proceed due to huge public outcry, instigated by the Mayor of Clare, Councillor Cathal Crowe. Beiner notes that when sensitive issues are brought above the surface for commemoration they are ‘often met with a violent response of decommemorating, which drives them back into the private sphere, but in turn may trigger initiatives for re-commemorating’.⁶¹ Furthermore, Beiner observes that when territories have been partitioned, mutually exclusive memorial rituals may be formed in what was previously an undivided place, with recalcitrant memories being forced out of sight or into exile.⁶² This is indeed what happened with the ceremony of remembrance for RIC and DMP members that was unable to take place in Dublin in January 2020. The task of commemorating lives lost in service with the RIC was taken up by the Police Roll of Honour Trust, a British organisation which aims to provide a record of all police officers who have lost their lives in the line of duty throughout the United Kingdom and in Ireland up until 1922. This commemoration took place in London beginning with a reception at the US embassy on the evening of 28 April 2022, followed by a service on 29 April in the Royal Military Chapel and wreath laying ceremonies at Westminster Cathedral, St Paul’s Cathedral, and the National Police Memorial. David Hardy gave a performance on soprano saxophone at the reception in the US embassy, laid a wreath at the RIC memorial plaque in St Patrick’s Chapel, Westminster Cathedral, and followed the wreath laying ceremony with a rendition of Moore’s *Oft in the Stilly Night*. David Hardy and I read a poem by Seamus Heaney (1939–2013) ‘The Cure of Troy’ at the service in the Royal Military

⁶¹ Beiner, p. 41.

⁶² Beiner, p. 444.

Chapel, followed by a lament played by pipers from the PSNI Pipe Band. Written tributes from descendants of RIC personnel appeared in the brochure for this service, giving family members an opportunity to voice their regard for their forefathers who served with the RIC. David Hardy and I contributed a tribute to Harry Hardy which appeared in this brochure, noting the continuity of the musical tradition in the Hardy family to the present day and paying tribute to the many musicians who have contributed to police force music in Ireland for the past 161 years. These events were reported on in the *Irish Times* by Ronan McGreevy, mentioning Hardy and his contribution to police force music in Ireland.⁶³ A subsequent *Irish Times* article reported on the involvement of David Hardy and I at the US embassy event and service of remembrance, thus bringing the RIC band into mainstream discourse.⁶⁴

The annual Police Roll of Honour Trust memorial service was held at Belfast's Waterfront Hall on 25 September 2022. I, along with David Hardy, read the poem 'For Lost Friends' by John O'Donohue (1956–2008), commemorating all police who have lost their lives in the line of duty. As a direct result of musicological research for this dissertation I was invited to meet the then Prince Charles at a post-event reception. Unfortunately, due to the death of Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Charles was unable to attend this event. During the post-event reception, however, I was approached by Suella Braverman, the British Home Secretary, who was extremely interested to discuss the legacy of Hardy and the RIC band, recognising the ability of music to build bridges and broaden our sense of identity.

By my involvement in various commemoration events, I have brought a spotlight to the role of music in policing in nineteenth-century Ireland, with David Hardy linking the past to the present with his musical performances at events in both Ireland and the United Kingdom. Our involvement has highlighted the social side of nineteenth-century Irish policing, giving an

⁶³ *Irish Times*, 29 April 2022, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *Irish Times*, 30 April 2022, p. 6.

alternative view to what is often divisive discourse on the place of the RIC in Irish history and society. By engaging in public musicology, this research gives practical expression to academic investigation, forming positive links with initiatives in the island of Ireland and the wider United Kingdom.

While Hardy and the RIC band enjoyed great popularity and success during the period from 1861 to 1872, collective social and musicological memory had chosen until recently to ignore the contribution of these men to Irish musical life and society. A recovery of the facts surrounding the musical life of this band assists in raising questions about the background conditions to their establishment and existence, the relationships of cause and effect to which they were party and the relevance of their social context. By seeking to unearth reality over myth a more balanced and comprehensive interpretation of the RIC may be arrived at which includes an accurate reading of Hardy and the RIC band's contribution to the work and ethos of this police force.

9.7 The Contribution of this Research to Scholarship

This dissertation represents the first scholarly research into the history of the RIC band, demonstrating this band's importance to music in nineteenth-century Ireland, Irish policing, and Irish society. This research adds a new dimension to the existing literature regarding policing in nineteenth-century Ireland, pushing its boundaries to consider the 'soft power' influences of the RIC police force and the brand of Irish identity it portrayed. It joins the small pool of scholarship that explores the non-combative contribution of the RIC to Irish society, exploring the positive interaction of the RIC with the Irish public, mediated through its band. In demonstrating the RIC band's musical and cultural significance in mid-Victorian Irish society, this research intersects with the study of leisure pursuits, tourism, and consumerism during this period, adding an important layer to existing scholarship in these fields. This

dissertation breathes new life into existing studies of the urban expansion experienced in nineteenth-century Dublin, focusing on the entertainment experienced by those who visited and used the growing infrastructure of the capital city. While literature exists regarding the place of art and design as part of Exhibition culture in nineteenth-century Dublin, this dissertation opens an investigation of the significance of music to such ventures. This study contributes further to literature on philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland by teasing out the ability of music to act as a constant in fundraising efforts for charities and churches. From a musical perspective, this study addresses an aspect of the vernacular music of the nineteenth-century Irish middle classes, caught somewhere in musicology between the more widely discussed disciplines of art music and traditional Irish music. Therefore, it raises the profile of ‘music of the middle ground’, widening the scope of research into music in nineteenth-century Ireland.

9.8 Areas for Future Research

This dissertation acts as an entry point for many further areas of research in the field of musicology in Ireland, particularly music in nineteenth-century Ireland. The following are some possible areas of inquiry:

- The history of the RIC band up to 1922
- A comparative study of the place of British regimental bands in Ireland and the RIC band in nineteenth-century Ireland
- A study of the RIC band in the wider context of British, colonial, and international police force bands
- Hardy’s benefit concerts
- Music and the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Exhibition movement in Ireland
- Military band music and sport in Ireland

9.9 Hardy: An Evaluation

This research has unearthed and investigated the musical career of Hardy, assessing his significance to Irish musical life as bandmaster to the RIC, one of the world's earliest large-scale military band-style police force bands. Placing a close focus on Hardy, in many ways a typical Victorian military bandmaster, a picture has been formed of popular entertainers in mid-Victorian Ireland. Emerging from the highly structured framework of British regimental band music, Hardy brought with him to Ireland the musical skills he had acquired on the London musical circuit. Choosing to remain permanently in Ireland and to remain as bandmaster of the RIC band for a period of eleven years, these skills led directly to the success of this popular band. While Hardy composed many pieces of popular dance music it would be naïve to consider him as a composer of original or noteworthy music. Yet by reading the musical and para-musical text of his work, particularly *Valse Shilly Shally*, an important insight into a specific brand of Irish nationalism is provided. Drawing consistent positive attention from the press and with the ability to appeal to both the ascendancy and the newly emerging Irish middle classes, Hardy was a well-trained, talented, and versatile musician, negotiating the workings of Ireland's music infrastructure in the Victorian era.

9.10 The RIC Band: Its Significance

Throughout this study the focus has alternated between a specific examination of Hardy and an examination of the work of the organisation with which he was intrinsically linked, the RIC band. Through an examination of newspaper entries of the day, this dissertation builds on Fleischmann's assertion that military band music was indeed one of the most popular musical genres in Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ This dissertation

⁶⁵ Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music and Society, 1850–1921', in *A New History of Ireland: Ireland Under the Union II, 1870–1921*, 9 vols, ed. by W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), VI, pp. 500–522 (p. 505).

demonstrates that the RIC band was the foremost contributor to this popular type of music, being the only military style band permanently located in Dublin, comprised primarily of Irish musicians and led by a dynamic and charismatic conductor. Drawn from the rank and file of the RIC police force and with a function of providing parade music on their depot square, these men whose only musical qualification was to ‘possess a taste for, and some knowledge of music’,⁶⁶ quickly became admired and sought after as popular entertainers at civilian balls, banquets, bazaars, and state occasions as well as at promenade events, exhibitions, concerts and shows. In contrast with the ever-transient British regimental bands, this band gave the citizens of Ireland a permanently based Irish band with whom their audience identified. Expressed through its repertoire, this band catered for the popular taste in music at that time along with providing a sonic embodiment of a trans-partisan Irish national identity.

9.11 Uncovering Hardy and the RIC Band: A Reading of Musical and Irish Identity

Addressing issues of former musicological and political bias, this study has shown that it is only now, in an era where the broader cultural significance of popular music is accepted by new musicology and a more pluralist political atmosphere prevails, that an objective study of Hardy and the RIC band can be undertaken. As a direct result of this study Hardy and the bandsmen of the RIC band have been afforded official recognition by the current Irish police force, An Garda Síochána, with Garda Commissioner Martin Callinan acknowledging the unbroken musical tradition from the RIC band to the current-day band of An Garda Síochána in a commemorative concert held in May 2011. This is all the more significant when a year later in August 2012 a request by a number of retired Gardaí and members of the RUC George Cross Foundation to formally and officially commemorate the deaths of the four hundred and ninety three RIC men, mostly Irish Catholics, killed in the War of Independence and the

⁶⁶ *Irish Times*, 20 November 1861, p. 4.

ninetieth anniversary of the disbandment of the RIC was declined.⁶⁷ Again, as recently as 2020 the Irish state was still unready to remember these RIC personnel. This study has also led to the recognition of the RIC band in the United Kingdom and internationally, by the Police Roll of Honour Trust and the International Police Association, acknowledging the contribution of the RIC band to policing and society in nineteenth-century Ireland.

While high profile public events such as the visit of Queen Elizabeth II to the Irish Republic in May 2011 and the state visit of President Michael D. Higgins to the United Kingdom in April 2014, serve to warm relationships between Great Britain and Ireland, much work is still needed at grass roots level to accept the various expressions of Irishness of both past generations and present.⁶⁸ This dissertation challenges current Irish thinking which prides itself in valuing both diversity and inclusion, to recognise those who were side-lined by a nationalist narrative and be brought back into the Irish fold. By uncovering the forgotten figure of Hardy and the RIC band with which he became synonymous a further step is taken in composing a broader, well-informed, and more inclusive Irish identity. This research serves as a step in bridging the polarised stances regarding the controversial subject of the RIC, through its exploration of the RIC band and the medium of music. This has been achieved through the writing of this dissertation and the application of practical musicology in the form of commemorative events in three cities closely associated with Hardy's life and career, Dublin, London, and Belfast.

⁶⁷ Jim Cusack, 'Unofficial Ceremony for RIC Dead at Glasnevin Cemetery', *Sunday Independent*, 19 August 2012, p. 36. The RUC George Cross Foundation is a historical society that is currently compiling records on the history of the RIC and RUC.

⁶⁸ This visit of Queen Elizabeth II was the first state visit of a British monarch to the Irish state and the reciprocal visit of President Michael D. Higgins was the first state visit by an Irish President to the United Kingdom.



Figure 9.2 D. Hardy, Inspector P. Kenny (Garda Band Conductor) and Supt A. Reid at Grave of Harry Hardy, Mt Jerome Cemetery, Dublin, 22 November 2011



Figure 9.3 Band of An Garda Síochána Bugle Party Play the Last Post and Reveille at Grave of Harry Hardy, 22 November 2011



Figure 9.4 David Hardy Plays at St Patrick's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral, London After Laying a Wreath, 29 April 2022



Figure 9.5 Maria Byrne Reads ‘The Cure of Troy’ at the Service in the Royal Military Chapel, London, 29 April 2022⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The author of this dissertation, Mary Patricia Byrne, is also known as Maria Byrne.

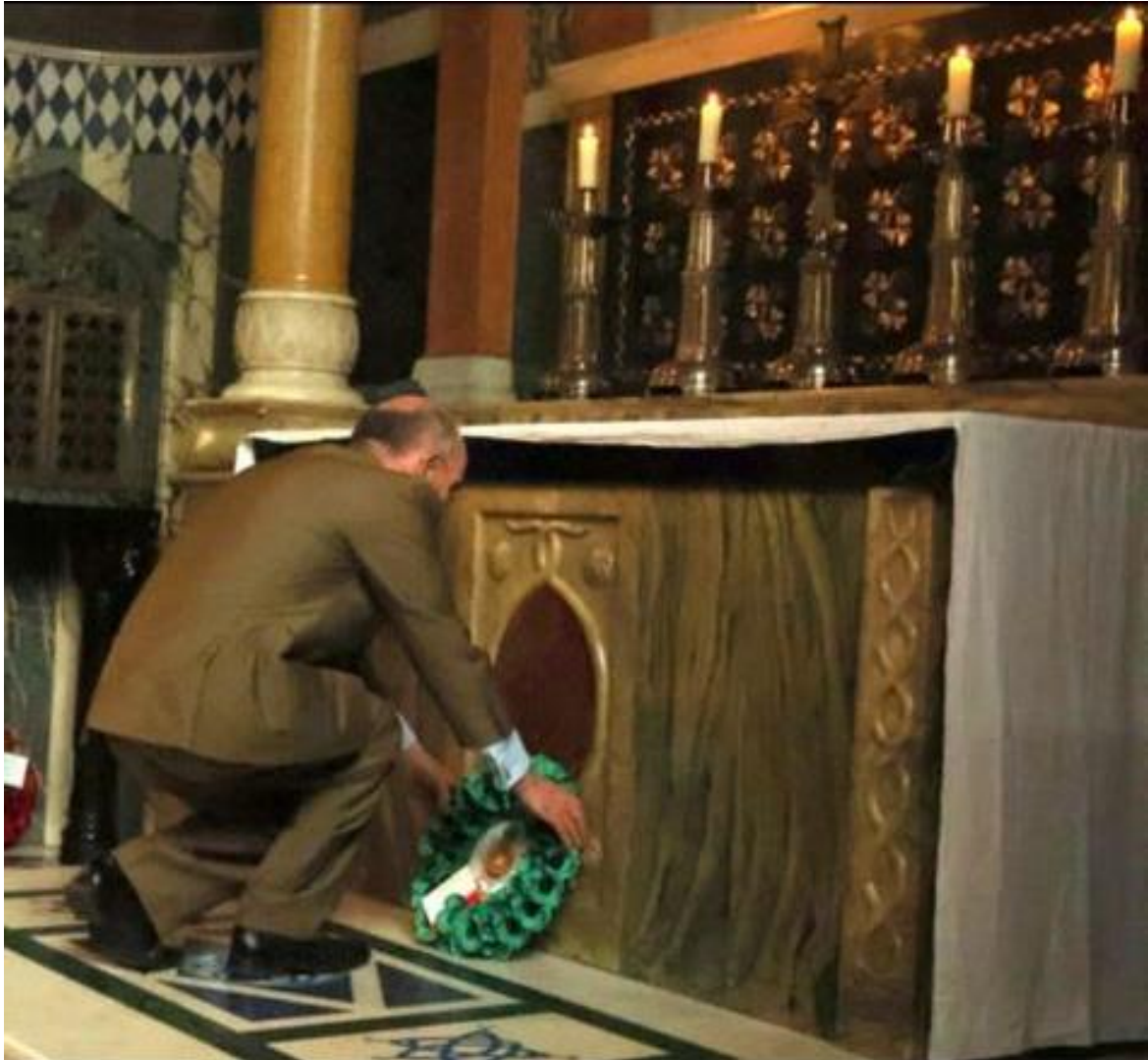


Figure 9.6 David Hardy Lays Wreath in St Patrick's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral, London, to Honour the Royal Irish Constabulary, 29 April 2022

Appendix 1

Harry Hardy's Compositions: An Overview of his Works

This is a list of Hardy's compositions that have been identified to date. It has been compiled using online newspaper archives and library catalogues in Ireland, England, Scotland and the USA. With the expansion of online newspaper archives and the further cataloguing of scores by libraries, more compositions may come to light in the future.

Date	Work	Genre	Instrumentation	Printed Score Location	Publication	Source
1852	<i>The Howard Waltzes</i>	Waltz	Military Band/Orchestra Piano		Hyatt, Wellington Street	<i>Reynolds Newspaper</i> , 6 June 1862, p. 3. <i>Atlas</i> , 19 June 1852, p. 13.
1853	<i>La Tendresse Valse</i>	Waltz	Piano			<i>Morning Post</i> , 17 October 1853, p. 6.
1855	<i>Warwick Polka</i> (Dedicated to Lt Col Boulton and the Officers of the 1st Warwick Militia)	Polka	Piano	British Library h976 c (10)		
1855	<i>Mary of Argyle</i> (Dedicated to Lady Francis Gordon)	Grand Quick March	Piano (Also available for Military Band)	British Library h724 d (14)	London: Harry May	
1855	<i>The Star of Warwick</i>	Waltz	Piano and Cornet (Also available for Military Band) Piano	Cambridge University Library A1924.221 Copy held by Maria Byrne (Dublin)	London: Chappell and Jullien & Co. Warwick: H. T. Cooke & Sons	

1856	<i>The Return</i> (Dedicated to Major-General Windham, hero of the Redan) “The most lively and sparkling polka of the season” – <i>Illustrated London News</i> , 31 January 1857, p. 16.	Polka	Military Band Piano		London: Jullien & Co. and Chappell	<i>Leamington Spa Courier</i> , 5 July 1856, p. 4. <i>Illustrated London News</i> , 31 January 1857, p. 16.
1859	<i>Star of Dublin</i>	Galop	Military Band			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 2 July 1859.
1859	<i>Molly Bawn</i>	March	Military Band			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 27 August 1859.
1860	<i>Beloved Star</i>	March	Military Band			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 16 May 1860, p. 3.
1860	<i>Parting Vows</i> (Dedicated to the Hon. Mrs H. M. Monckton)	Galop	Military Band Piano		Dublin: J. Wiseheart and Son	<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 16 May 1860, p. 3. Also, <i>Nation</i> , 9 February 1861, p. 1.
1860	<i>Victorine</i> (new opera by Alfred Mellon)	Selection	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 26 May 1860, p. 3.

1863 for Military Band	<i>Valse Shilly Shally</i> (Dedicated to the Ladies of Ireland)	Waltz	Piano (Also available for piano duet)	Irish Traditional Music Archive 3212-SM (i)-(viii) Copy held by Maria Byrne (Dublin) Ward Irish Music Archives (Milwaukee, USA) William and Mary University (Virginia, USA) Special Collections Research Center, Mss. 1.07, Series 3, Box 41, Folder 9, id229404 University of Michigan (USA)	10th Edition London: John Blockley, n.d. 2nd Edition Dublin: M. Gunn & Sons 10th Edition London: John Blockley, n.d. Not identified Boston: Oliver Ditson & Company, not before 1867	Source for first band performance: <i>Irish Times</i> , 15 July 1863, p. 4. Source for 2nd Edition Piano Score, <i>Irish Times</i> , 25 February 1864, p. 1. See footnote ¹ See footnote ²
1863	<i>Heart's Delight</i>	Waltz	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 15 August 1863, p. 4.
1863	<i>Love's Dream</i>	March	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 19 September 1863, p. 2.
1864	<i>Bugle Call Polka</i> (Dedicated to Sir Henry Brownrigg and the Officers of the Irish Constabulary)	Polka (Composed by Mrs Garnet Falloon and Arranged by Harry Hardy)	Piano	National Library of Ireland MU-vc-19(27)	Dublin Lithographer-W. M. Morison	<i>Liverpool Mail</i> , 2 January 1864, p. 6.

¹ Sourced at *William and Mary Libraries, Special Collections Research Center, Manuscripts and Archives* <https://srcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/archival_objects/426680> [accessed 18 October 2022]

² Sourced at University of Michigan, *Hathi Trust Digital Library* <<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015096573293&view=1up&seq=1>> [accessed 18 October 2022]

1864 for Military Band	Emblems of Love (Composed for and dedicated to Her Excellency Lady Wodehouse)	Waltz	Military Band			Source for first band performance, <i>Irish Times</i> , 25 November 1864, p. 3.
1865 for Piano			Piano			Source for piano edition, <i>Irish Times</i> , 2 January 1865, p. 3.
1864	Cupid's Dart	Mazurka	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 2.
1864	Annie	March	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3.
1866	Norah (The Pride of Kildare)	Waltz	Piano		Dublin: Gunn & Sons	<i>Irish Times</i> , 24 February 1866, p. 2.
1866	Emerald Wreath Quadrilles	Quadrille	Piano		Dublin: Gunn & Sons	<i>Irish Times</i> , 29 March 1866, p. 1.
1866	Maid of Athens	Waltz	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 23 June 1866, p. 3.
1866	Madcap Galop	Galop	Piano (Also available for Duet, Cornet Obligato, Septet or Orchestra)	British Library h1460 p (29)	London: Cramer & Co.	.
1867	Oh, Vision Fair	Serenade	Vocal with Piano Accompaniment			<i>Irish Times</i> , 4 March 1867, p. 2.
1867	Buckle-To	Galop	Piano		London: Cramer & Co.	<i>Irish Times</i> , 5 March 1867, p. 3.
1868	The Old Old Story	Waltz	Piano			<i>Irish Times</i> , 22 May 1868, p. 4.
1868	You and I	Galop	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 22 May 1868, p. 4.
1869	Lottie (Composed Expressly for Her Excellency Countess Spencer)	Waltz	Piano		Dublin: Gunn & Sons	<i>Irish Times</i> , 27 January 1870, p. 3.
1869	Velocipede (Dedicated to the Gentlemen of Ireland)	Galop	Military Band			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 31 March 1869, p. 1.

1869	<i>Derry Lasses</i>	Galop	Military Band			<i>Saunders's Newsletter</i> , 13 April 1869, p. 1.
1869	<i>Prince Arthur</i> (Composed for the occasion of Prince Arthur's visit to Ireland)	Galop	Military Band			<i>Saunders's Newsletter</i> , 13 April 1869, p. 1.
1870	<i>Farmer's Galop</i>	Galop	Military Band			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 8 February 1870, p. 5
1870	<i>Love Chase</i>	Galop	Military Band (Also available for Piano)		Dublin: Gunn & Sons	<i>Irish Times</i> , 2 December 1870, p. 1. <i>Irish Times</i> , 4 December 1871, p. 3.
1870	<i>Nil Desperandum</i>	Waltz	Piano with Cornet Solo			<i>Irish Times</i> , 2 December 1870, p. 1.
c1870	<i>Bachelors' Galop</i>	Galop	Piano	British Library h62 q (7)	London: Hutchings and Romer; Dublin: Gunn and Sons	
1873	<i>Gazelle</i>	Galop	Military Band			<i>Irish Times</i> , 22 March 1873, p. 1.
1874	<i>At Thy Lattice</i>	Serenade	Vocal with Piano Accompaniment			<i>Freeman's Journal</i> , 30 June 1874, p. 1.
1875	<i>What Would I Be</i>	Song	Vocal with Piano Accompaniment			<i>Irish Times</i> , 13 March 1875, p. 2.

Appendix 2
Survey of RIC Band Repertoire for Six-Month Period:
February to July 1864

Composer	Work	Genre	Number of Performances	Sources
1. Hardy	<i>Cupid's Dart</i>	Dance Music (Mazurka)	15	<i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. (First time performed) <i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
2. Gounod	<i>Faust</i>	Grand Selection	10	<i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
3. Hardy	<i>Valse Shilly Shally</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	10	<i>FJ</i> , 9 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. (a.m. performance) <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. (p.m. performance) <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4.
4. Anderson	<i>Floral Fete</i>	Dance Music (Dance of the Fairies)	9	<i>FJ</i> , 9 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. (a.m. performance) <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. (p.m. performance) <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4.

				<i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4.
5. Rossini	<i>Semiramide</i>	Overture	8	<i>FJ</i> , 9 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
6. Auber	<i>La Bayadère</i>	Overture	7	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4.
7. Coote	<i>Fairy Visions</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	7	<i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
8. Hérold	<i>Zampa</i>	Overture	7	<i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5.
9. Verdi	<i>Rigoletto</i>	Grand Selection	7	<i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1.
10. Balfe	<i>The Puritan's Daughter</i>	Selection	6	<i>FJ</i> , 9 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2.
11. Gounod	<i>Faust</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	6	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4.

12. Miss M'Clevaty	<i>The Long-Wished-For</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	6	<i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5.
13. Donizetti	<i>Lucrezia Borgia</i>	Grand Selection	5	<i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
14. Godfrey	<i>Bellini's Favourite Operas</i>	Grand Selection	5	<i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3.
15. Mimart	<i>Carlotta</i>	Dance Music (Bolero)	5	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 30 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5.
16. Rivière	<i>Royal Danish</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	5	<i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3.
17. Verdi	<i>Il trovatore</i>	Grand Selection	5	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
18. Zabel	<i>The Ghost</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	5	<i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
19. d'Albert	<i>Court of St James</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	4	<i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
20. Verdi	<i>La traviata</i>	Selection	4	<i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 28 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2.
21. Verdi	<i>Nino</i>	Overture	4	<i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
22. Balfe	<i>Bohemian Girl</i>	March	3	<i>IT</i> , 24 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1. <i>FJ</i> , 2 July 1864, p. 5.

23. Farmer	<i>Georgiana</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	3	<i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2.
24. Faust	<i>Sophien</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	3	<i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
25. Marriott	<i>Gorilla</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	3	<i>FJ</i> , 9 Feb 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 18 June 1864, p. 1.
26. Hardy	<i>Heart's Delight</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	3	<i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2.
27. Kuhner	<i>No Title Given</i>	Grand Selection/Pot-Pourri (with variations for various instruments)	3	<i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3. <i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3.
28. Arditi	<i>Il Bacio</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	2	<i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2.
29. Auber	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Grand Selection	2	<i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2.
30. Blancheteau	<i>La Gloire</i>	March	2	<i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2.
31. Coote	<i>Somebody's Luggage</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	2	<i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3.
32. Donizetti	<i>Elisir D'Amore</i>	Selection	2	<i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.
33. Flotow	<i>Marta</i>	Selection	2	<i>FJ</i> , 30 April 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2.
34. Godfrey	<i>Comique (Popular Tunes)</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	2	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 19 May 1864, p. 3.
35. Hardy	<i>Annie</i>	March	2	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3.
36. Hardy	<i>Star of Dublin</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	2	<i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3.
37. Hodges	<i>St. Helen's</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	2	<i>IT</i> , 7 March 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 4 June 1864, p. 4.
38. Marie	<i>El Madona</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	2	<i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3. <i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2.
39. Rivière	<i>British Lion</i>	March	2	<i>IT</i> , 27 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 30 June 1864, p. 3.
40. Rivière	<i>Viva Verdi</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	2	<i>IT</i> , 22 June 1864, p. 2. <i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
41. Tollot	<i>Bellone</i>	March	2	<i>IT</i> , 16 April 1864, p. 4. <i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2.
42. Zampa	<i>German</i>	March	2	<i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2. <i>FJ</i> , 23 June 1864, p. 4.
43. Auber	<i>Massaniello</i>	Overture	1	<i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2.
44. Barker	<i>After Supper</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	1	<i>IT</i> , 17 June 1864, p. 2.

45. Baurot	<i>La Joyeuse</i>	Dance Music (Mazurka)	1	<i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3.
46. Coote	<i>Kate Kearney</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	1	<i>IT</i> , 7 May 1864, p. 3.
47. Coote	<i>Royal Boudoir</i>	Dance Music (Quadrille)	1	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
48. Delthe	<i>Fest</i>	March	1	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
49. Farmer	<i>Blanche</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	1	<i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2.
50. Faust	<i>Veronika</i>	Dance Music (Mazurka)	1	<i>IT</i> , 3 June 1864, p. 2.
51. Gung'l	<i>Love's Dance</i>	Dance Music (Valse)	1	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
52. Hardy	<i>Robin Hood</i>	March	1	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
53. Kuhner	<i>Kunstler</i>	Grand Pot-Pourri	1	<i>IT</i> , 14 May 1864, p. 3.
54. Kuhner	<i>Operatic Airs</i>	Grand Selection	1	<i>IT</i> , 8 June 1864, p. 2.
55. Meyerbeer	<i>Les Huguenots</i>	Grand Selection	1	<i>IT</i> , 25 July 1864, p. 2.
56. Rivière	<i>Danish National</i>	March	1	<i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3.
57. Rivière	<i>Victor Emmanuel</i>	Dance Music (Galop)	1	<i>FJ</i> , 1 June 1864, p. 3.
58. Rossini	<i>William Tell</i>	Selection	1	<i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2.
59. Tylliard	<i>La Hongroise</i>	March	1	<i>IT</i> , 13 June 1864, p. 2.
60. Verdi	<i>Il trovatore</i>	Miserere Scene	1	<i>FJ</i> , 21 April 1864, p. 3.
61. Verdi	<i>La traviata</i>	Aria	1	<i>IT</i> , 14 June 1864, p. 3.
62. Verdi	<i>Macbeth</i>	Overture	1	<i>IT</i> , 6 June 1864, p. 2.
63. Waddell	<i>Victoria</i>	March	1	<i>IT</i> , 28 July 1864, p. 3.

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