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The Army School of Music
1922 - 1940

Its formation and evolution with a
critical assessment of the compositions of
its first director, Wilhelm Fritz Brase

2 Volumes

Captain Joseph J. Ryan
BA, B.Mus., Mus.Dip., ARIAM

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National University of Ireland
St Patrick's College, Maynooth
Department of Music
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Head of Department and Research Supervisor:
Professor Gerard Gillen

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VOLUME I

The Army School of Music
1922 - 1940

The Formation and Evolution

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ABSTRACT and ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Army School of Music is an established, albeit small, component of Irish musical life. It is currently recognized through its four constituent military bands which make their contribution to the Defence Forces and the state much in the manner of bands in other European countries. Notwithstanding this, the institution, which encompasses the majority of musical agencies in the army, retains the original title although the school referred to is now a remote element. But the retention of the title reveals something of the ambitious concept which prompted its creation.

This dissertation seeks to trace the formation and evolution of the Army School of Music, and to account for its early initiative and the reasons underlying the abatement of its influence. A brief review of music in Ireland at the turn of the century is provided to set in context the school's creation. Likewise, attention is devoted to the growth of the band movement, and the Irish position is contrasted with that of other European countries, most notably Germany whence hailed the first director of the school, Wilhelm Fritz Brase. There is a detailed exposition of the enterprising objectives set for the institution at its inception. The significant contribution made by the school and its individual members to broader musical activity and Irish music is also recorded. Volume I concludes with an appraisal of the school's influence both in real terms and in relation to its original design.

Brase became one of the leading musical figures in Ireland, earning popular approbation as a composer and conductor. But fashions have changed to the extent that he is principally remembered for his forceful personality. That a review of his work reaching beyond received wisdom should be undertaken is therefore appropriate, if not overdue. Accordingly consideration is given in Volume II to the compositions and arrangements of Brase with a critical assessment of his creative significance.

This work would not have been completed without the assistance of many individuals and institutions. Relatives of the principal characters in this history were generous in their encouragement and in providing me with relevant papers. I have pleasure in recording my indebtedness to the following: Mr Bernhard Sauerzweig, Professor Risteárd Mulcahy, Mrs Sheila Larchet-Cuthbert, Mr Mairtín McCullough, Mr Domhnall McCullough, and Mr J.P.Flahive. I am especially thankful to Miss Mona Brase for her encouragement which played a major part in the decision to undertake the project. I acknowledge also the contributions of Miss Rhoda Coghill, Mr Robert McCullagh, Professor Aloys Fleischmann, Mr Michael McCarthy, Mr Tom Maher, Rev. Canon Murray, and Master Terry de Valera.

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Joseph J. Ryan
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Dublin.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The punctuation and spelling employed follow the British usage, but quotations are unaltered except in the case of obvious faults of typography in the original. Italics indicated in quotations are all original. Numerals are employed in the text except for numbers between one and ten, at the beginning of sentences, and in sequences where their use would be inconsistent. A restrained approach has been adopted in the matter of hyphenation; hyphens are employed only when necessary or where collocations are in an attributive position before a noun. The Helmholtz system is used where reference is made to specific pitch.

The following abbreviations will be encountered in the footnotes:

ASMA	Army School of Music Archives
DDAD	Department of Defence Archives
RTEAD	Radio Telefis Éireann Archives
SPOD	State Paper Office, Dublin

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Political and Cultural Background

The most surprising aspect of the creation of the Army School of Music is that it happened at all; for it was conceived and created in the most difficult period of Ireland's recorded history. The idea for the establishment of an Irish school of music, under the auspices of the army, was first discussed in the summer of 1922, when the Treaty was the foremost issue dividing the new state to the point of civil war.¹ It is remarkable that in this period of political concentration there existed men with the vision to embark upon such a novel cultural project.

The Army School of Music was entrusted with a major responsibility for the musical revival of the nation which far surpassed the role of military bands in other European states. To understand why this was so it is first necessary to consider the reasons underlying the lowly position of music, and to examine the separate traditions which militated against broader musical development in Ireland.

The political situation in 1922 was not conducive to cultural innovation. While the general nineteenth-century process of national emancipation had led Ireland, like so many other European countries, to physical struggle, it led also, due to the complex composition of Irish society, to a period of cultural stagnation. The newly independent state, born of idealism and through insurrection, professed not an open and radical social order, but one which was protective and insular and inimical to aesthetic development. The artistic life of the Free State made a poor contrast with that of Ireland two centuries earlier. The eighteenth century had been a golden age of music in Ireland. This was particularly true of Dublin which was the second city of the Empire and one of the most musically active capitals in Europe. It was regarded of an importance sufficient to attract many distinguished European musicians to visit, and some even settled in the city.² They were attracted by, and contributed to, the high level of musical activity although there was

nothing distinctly Irish in the music performed. Mrs W.Starkie describes the standard of music and suggests a reason for its eventual decline:

To the end of the eighteenth century music remained on a high level. In 1800 there were ten music shops and eight harpsichord makers in Dublin. But music was in those days an entirely aristocratic art, enjoyed and practised by the fashionable ladies of society and the members of the Irish House of Lords and Commons: after the Act of Union, with the gradual decline of the aristocracy, time had to elapse until the humble people learned to be themselves the patrons and organisers of music.

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The passing of the Act of Union in 1800 led to a lessening of Dublin's importance as a social centre. The political circumstances dictated a decrease in the numbers willing to patronize the arts and there was consequently an appreciable reduction in musical activity.

There was however a second, and separate, cultural tradition which was less affected by the Act of Union and the subsequent decline in patronage. This was the indigenous Gaelic tradition of which one expression was the essentially oral idiom of Irish folk music which was centred primarily in rural areas. In many of its elements - structures, modes, gapped scales, decorations, rhythms, language, and instruments - it was distinct from the European art music enjoyed in Dublin and other provincial cities.

The separation of the Gaelic and European traditions was a factor in Ireland's failure to make a more telling creative contribution in the nineteenth century. But this is not to suggest that the Irish were culturally incognizant. There was a search for a distinct Irish identity which had opened a window on a rich cultural heritage. The Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 marks the beginning of this appreciation of native musical wealth. This work was continued, with varying degrees of success, by the great collectors of the following century. A chief member of this group, Petrie,⁴ combined collecting with his work as an antiquarian. And it was the antiquarians who, through their rediscovery of ancient ruins and treasures, supported the notion of a venerable and distinct

civilization. This cultural awakening, which continued through the nineteenth century, paralleled the political movement which sought to establish Ireland as a separate political entity. The two movements formed a symbiotic relationship and both were led, in the main, by men who came from that gifted and educated social class which became known as the Anglo-Irish.⁵

The greatest such leader was Parnell who, through the Home Rule movement, forged a rare and powerful political consensus. The failure of the movement, with the subsequent fall and death of its leader in 1891, led many to despair of the constitutional approach to achieving political goals. The unity of purpose, evident under Parnell, did not survive his passing and was replaced by disparate movements. The political activity did, however, generate an intellectual debate which not only survived the political reversal but led to the highest achievement of the cultural movement, the Literary Revival, which as the literary historian, Ernest Boyd, pointed out did

more than anything else to draw the attention
of the outside world to the separate national
existence of Ireland.⁶

W.B.Yeats, the foremost figure of the literary renaissance, advocated a fusion of cultures, believing that both traditions, his own Anglo-Irish and the Irish Ireland view as typified by D.P.Moran in his influential book of 1905, The Philosophy of Irish Ireland,⁷ deserved to be cherished.

No nation since the beginning of history, has
ever drawn all its life out of itself ...⁸

Douglas Hyde took an opposite view, counselling against the contradiction of imitating England while professing to hate it:

We will become what, I fear, we are largely
at present, a nation of imitators, the
Japanese of Western Europe lost to the power
of native initiative and alive only to
second-hand assimilation.⁹

Hyde and his colleague, Eoin MacNeill,¹⁰ saw in a distinct national culture a means of further promoting political, cultural, and economic independence.

It would be simplistic, even incorrect, to suggest that the debate at the turn of the century was limited to two viewpoints. Other views did exist to complicate the picture, such as those represented by Edward Dowden, professor of English at Trinity College, Dublin. He had a cosmopolitan view of art and cautioned against an art that was limited by its own provincial spirit. In later years his views were shared by James Joyce, who, in his masterpiece, Ulysses, created a universal novel from a single Dublin day. Tellingly the novel was published in Paris in 1922.

Music in Ireland at the turn of the Century

It could be said that language offers the Irish their primary means of artistic expression and that this is the reason underlying the concentration on the Literary Revival to the exclusion of other arts which seemingly succumbed to relative inertia. Certainly it was literature and particularly drama which responded best to the stimulus provided by those exciting years between the death of Parnell and the insurrection of 1916. Other disciplines responded in varying degrees save music, which remained virtually unmoved. Reviewing this situation Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair stated:

It is to be regretted that the modern Gaelic revival has been, mainly, in literary hands; that, at its inception and during its life, it had within it no Ruskin, no da Vinci, no Diaghilev or Nijinsky, no Grieg, each to deal with his own particular cultural sphere to give it direction and critical standards. All the arts, except that of literature, have been accounted of secondary importance and very little understanding of the peculiar problems of these arts has been shown by the pioneers of revival or their followers. ... The Gaelic revival has justified itself in many ways, made living things of many seeming-impossible dreams, but it has done nothing to prevent the degradation of a marvellous music that should be our pride.

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Aloys Fleischmann, writing in the same periodical, Ireland To-Day, addressed the same theme:

The chief political awakenings of history have coincided, on the whole, with outbursts of art and literature, with expression in every field but that of music ... 12

It is possible to contend that both sentiments are too simplistic. But they do indicate the frustration of musicians at the failure of a musical revival to emerge.

Music had drawn little encouragement from the political and social circumstances of the nineteenth century. The separation of musical traditions remained and the gulf between the two worked to the detriment of both, as the music historian, Ita M. Hogan, noted:

This clash of traditions was another obstacle to the development of art music in Ireland. Owing to the chasm, political, social, and religious, which existed between the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish, Irish folk music, which is acknowledged to be the finest and most varied produced by any nation, was not incorporated into the broader medium of art music. In the country districts the natural expression of the people was to be found in the spontaneous song in the vernacular. Music-making in the towns had few points of contact with that of the countryside. It was based on the English pattern and was confined to the church and theatre. 13

This eventuated in Ireland's failure to share in the developments experienced in other European states. The German musicologist, Friedrich Blume, calls attention to the greater concentration on national characteristics and styles which became apparent through the Romantic age:

In earlier epochs of music ... the Renaissance for example ... the different nations all begin at the same level; then in the course of events one or another takes the upper hand and develops some sort of prototype that the others recognize (though they move away from it along their own lines) and in which they are all at one when it comes to composition in the main international genres. However, in the era of Romanticism the individual European nations are rooted in deeper historical foundations, from which they draw strength enabling them to follow up their lines of development alongside the central manifestation. These lines often touch, absorbing influences from each other, but in the main they remain nationally determined and apply this nationally determined style to all genres and forms, even those that are standard for all Europe (as in this case, say, symphony or opera). Herein lies a fundamental difference between the Classic-Romantic period and all earlier periods of music history. ¹⁴

Some attempts had been made in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century by Anglo-Irish composers such as Stevenson¹⁵ and Cooke¹⁶ to foster native Irish music. But such attempts were isolated, and Irish folk music was not assimilated into the broader tradition of art music as was the practice in other European countries. Thus Ireland was doubly hampered, musically, in the century following the Act of Union. The unstable political situation and poor educational opportunities militated against the creation of a home-based school of composition, and the division of tradition deprived art music of that wealth of native experience so richly harvested in other countries.

The mid-century famine and subsequent emigration had accelerated the decline of the indigenous idiom. A further factor in this regard was the gradual loss of the language. The Gaelic League was founded in 1893 to counter this trend, and it quickly became central to the increase in political and cultural awareness.¹⁷ In an article published in The Irish Review, Edward Martyn, in querulous mood, records the Gaelic League's involvement in preserving the heritage of traditional music:

The Gaelic League is not a musical society. It was instituted to restore the Irish language as the speaking language of Ireland, and to foster the study of the poetry and sagas in old and modern Irish. As subsidiary work, it strives to keep alive whatever other Irish characteristics are good and likely to distinguish in an interesting manner our country from the rest of the world. Among such characteristics subsidiary to the language, by far the most important is our store of ancient and beautiful folk music. Therefore the Gaelic League has rightly decided to encourage and preserve it as well as possible in its native purity and accurate tradition of rendering. ...

A society in the Gaelic League has been lately formed, called Cumann Ceoil, whose object is immediately to do the best that is possible for the preservation of our folk music. Mr. Carl Hardebeck is the president; and we have succeeded in arresting the attention of other musicians who were hitherto hostile to what they considered barbarous and 'low down,' to use an expression of the imitation English for everything indigenous in Ireland. However, now that two such distinguished professionals as Mr. Carl Hardebeck and Mr. Vincent O'Brien have taken a serious interest in our folk music, the others need not fear to tarnish the blameless respectability of their calling by having anything to do with what a certain wiseacre called 'that traditional vulgarity.' But we must not be too sanguine: for of all professionals in the world, the most inane and tasteless probably are our average Irish musicians. Many of them think it beneath their dignity to train choir boys, an art which is practised by the most celebrated musicians in other countries. Nearly all are without feeling for great works. In this respect, to be sure, they are the fitting representatives of our half-educated and over-dressed public, whose musical taste is on a par of savagery with the fashion of wearing rings in the nose, and who would destroy great music in the Church, as by their vulgar and commonplace predilections they have made it impossible in our theatres.

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Irish music failed, initially, to make her contribution to the national Romanticism prevalent in Europe due to the clash of traditions and uneasy political climate. However by the early years of this century more interest was being shown in the heritage of Irish folk music following the work of the early collectors. In a paper read before the National Literary Society of Ireland in 1900, Brendan Rogers proposed the creation of an Irish school of music and argued for the assimilation of the native heritage into the broader field of art music.

We have /ā National School of Music7 - in a sense - just as we have a school of f local folk-lore, but the one cannot be taken as the final goal beyond which there could be no advance any more than the other. 19

Rogers' paper indicates the growing awareness of the rich heritage of folksong and also anticipates the later debate, which took place following the creation of the Free State in 1922, on the place of this heritage in the development of music in Ireland.

Increasing academic analysis of the modes and structures indicated the burgeoning critical interest in traditional music. In a detailed paper delivered before St Mary's Literary Society, Maynooth College, in 1900, the German-born professor of music at the college, Rev.W.H.Bewerunge, examined the special charm of Irish melodies performed in the traditional manner and considered the case for preserving this heritage. His explication concerns the characteristic structure of Irish modes, and it is governed by reason rather than emotion. His conclusion is equally pragmatic; he favours preservation on the condition that Irish music is not advanced as an alternative idiom to art music:

By all means, then, let us make an effort to study and understand the peculiarity of the real Irish music; and if we find that it possesses advantages which modern music cannot come up to, we will preserve it, and, perhaps, fructify modern music by it. 20

A more romantic view was taken by those involved in the performance of traditional music. Seamus Clandillon, an active traditional singer, who was to have a connection with the Army School of Music as director of the national broadcasting service at its inception in 1926, gives example of this viewpoint:

Prejudice should not blind us, nor should ignorance be permitted to bar the way. Remember no man ever sneered at the traditional Irish singer except the man who was ignorant of Irish and therefore unable to appreciate his art. We have in our midst to-day an art centuries old, an art which is with our language the sole living link with our historic past, an art handed down from the cradle of our race. Is this generation of Irishmen prepared to stand idly by and let it sink into oblivion? 21

There was a corresponding increase in concern for the preservation of the traditional manner of performance. A debate was waging over the integrity of Thomas Moore's use of Irish airs. The distinguished baritone, Plunket Greene, in an address to the Irish Literary Society in 1917, spoke favourably of Moore's contribution. Greene stated that his own interest in Irish song was aroused when he heard Sir Charles Stanford play an arrangement of My Love's an Arbutus. He praised Graves's²² beautiful poem, and added that appropriate words go a long way to preserve the old airs. But he counselled against arrangements which were too brilliant:

So when you do discover a beautiful old folk air, for God's sake let it alone. 23

And as to the question of interpretation:

It is said that hell is full of lawyers. That is not so. It is full of English sopranos trying to sing Irish folk songs. 24

The formation of the Irish Folk Song Society in 1903 had given further impetus to the collection and preservation of the native musical heritage. The bulk of this work fell in the early years to

Mrs Milligan Fox and later to Donal O'Sullivan. Throughout its early years the Irish Folk Song Society, and others interested in native Irish music, worked free of any association with nationalistic propaganda. W.B.Yeats noted this and, in characteristically elegant prose, contrasted the position with that of the National Theatre, which he felt was being expropriated for a political purpose.

This movement [the National Theatre] should be important even to those who are not especially interested in the Theatre, for it may be a morning cockcrow to that impartial meditation about character and destiny we call the artistic life in a country where everybody, if we leave out the peasant who has folk-songs and his music, has thought the arts useless unless they have helped some kind of political action, and has, therefore, lacked the pure joy that only comes out of things that have never been indentured to any cause.

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This innocence was not preserved. The years following the creation of the Free State saw the growth of an inward-looking movement determined to forge a separate Gaelic culture to support the independent state.

The urbanized tradition of art music had not recovered from the loss of patronage. In its review of the events of the year 1881, the journal Hibernia gives evidence of the sorry state of music in Dublin.

The present time of year will suggest to every lover of music inevitable thoughts concerning the musical season in Dublin, some of them pleasant and cheerful, but others, if the truth must be told, of a highly serious, not to say melancholy, nature. He would indeed be a bold man who could so far shut his eyes to facts as to deny that the history of recent musical events in this city has been a very lame and impotent chronicle. Not that last season was without its episodes of brightness, the memory of which we would not willingly let die, but it is plain to every candid mind that its shortcomings were infinitely more

suggestive and instructive. For of what did and does our musical year generally consist? Taking last season as a fair average specimen we shall find something like the following - Two pianoforte recitals by Anton Rubinstein; three or four oratorios; twelve nights of opera in English (of which four were devoted to the Bohemian Girl and Maritana!); two or three ballad concerts, by so-called Italian artistes, and with programmes almost cursed with the immortality of the Struldbrugs; three very inadequately attended Chamber concerts; a few performances, vocal and instrumental, by the pupils of the Royal Irish Academy of Music; a sprinkling of that saddest of all sad things, amateur opera; small concerts, whose name was legion, by some half-dozen very well-known amateurs; one or two benefit concerts; and the opening of a couple of new pianoforte warehouses - these are about the most notable events in the history of last season. So much for one side of the picture, but what about the other? When we become more explicit, and add, that there was not a single first-class orchestral performance in our city; that not one of Mozart's symphonies or of Beethoven's immortal nine was given (nor, indeed, has been for years!); that many works of the first rank, such as Mendelssohn's Elijah, lie practically on the shelf, that not a single public organ recital by any well-known performer was heard, that glees, madrigals, and part songs are as dead in Dublin as the traditional door nail, and that our local societies, with the exception of that newest favourite, whose field of action is in St. Patrick's Cathedral, are not supported at all as they should be by the public - when these things are so, it will hardly be conceded that all is right, or that Dublin does not lie under the grave reproach cast upon it not long since by a leading musician of the day, when, addressing an audience representative of the thought, culture, and talent of the three kingdoms, he seriously instanced it as a city the most musically backward of those with which he had any acquaintance. The truth would seem to be that few towns are at once so musical and so unmusical

as our metropolis. While on the one hand, it is quite true that the greatest quickness and capacity for receiving musical ideas and impressions is common among the Dublin public, it is equally true that there are few places of importance where musical education is so disastrously backward. By musical education we do not in the least mean technical education. Of this latter we have plenty, and our fair share of distinguished and capable professors; but of that musical education which implies a thorough acquaintance with the best works of the best masters, Dublin folk, as a rule, know little or nothing.²⁶

Music in Dublin owed much to a few dedicated individuals who had a strenuous task to secure sufficient support to sustain even a minimum of musical activity. One such figure was Joseph Robinson who worked tirelessly in the middle and later years of the century. But even his enthusiasm, which was shared by others of his family, was incapable of preventing the decline caused by the lack of public support. The Dublin Musical Society, founded by Robinson, failed in 1899 while the Dublin Orchestral Union ended that season with a large deficit.²⁷ The failure of two societies resulted in a further reduction in the opportunities afforded Dubliners to hear large choral and orchestral works.

Visiting artistes did occasionally attract large audiences.²⁸ The Hallé Orchestra played to a large crowd on its visit to Dublin in 1899. The performance was well received but earned the remark from one commentator:

... 'tis excellent, but still not yet
Irish music nor musicianship.²⁹

The same reviewer proceeds, despite the crowds, to question Dublin's appetite for orchestral concerts:

As to the number of performances, I strongly hold that four or five in the year is as many as musical Dublin can be expected to patronize. 30

The artistic environment offered little encouragement to creative enterprise. The few Irish composers that did flourish towards the end of the century tended to live abroad. Stanford, for example, was conscious of his Irish heritage but he did not contribute to the development of a distinct Irish style of composition. Sir Arnold Bax, for one, subscribed to this view:

The Irish for their part can point to C.V.Stanford, Charles Wood, and Hamilton Harty. Unhappily, these three undoubtedly proficient musicians were assiduous and dutiful disciples of the nineteenth century German tradition, even whilst clothing their native melodies in all too conventional dress. They never penetrated to within a thousand miles of the Hidden Ireland.

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However some musical initiative prospered. The Royal Dublin Society had commenced its contribution to music in the city in 1886. The aim of the series of 'popular recitals' was to 'aid in the development of an enlightened musical taste in Dublin'.³² The society was to make the leading contribution to music in the city for many years. The programmes offered by the society reflected the tastes of the members. According to Walter Starkie

This affectionate co-operation between the artists and the select public was a charming feature of the old Society, though it did not encourage revolutionary ideas or novelties in music. That public was an intensely conservative one, with fixed notions about the function of music in the community. I remember the look of horror that came into the faces of some of those steadfast Mozart and Mendelssohn lovers when Miss Annie Lord devoted most of her piano recitals to the works of Debussy and Ravel. Such music ruffled the calm surface of the minds of those charming people, who would have wished the world to continue changeless in the little theatre.

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The most frequent contributor to the recitals was that remarkable musician, Michele Esposito.³⁴ In connection with his

friend and partner in C&E music publishers,³⁵ Sir Stanley Cochrane, Esposito promoted some exciting, if rare, concerts by leading visiting orchestras at Woodbrook, Cochrane's Bray home. Thus the London Symphony Orchestra gave a series of concerts in August 1913 during which Hamilton Harty was engaged as one of the conductors. Indeed in later years, Harty, who greatly respected Esposito, his former mentor, was to bring the Hallé Orchestra to play in Woodbrook and in the RDS.³⁶ It can be stated that these concerts were isolated and almost private affairs and they had little direct impact on the development of music in Ireland.

A man of boundless energy, Esposito found time to be performer, teacher, composer, conductor, editor, and administrator. As a teacher he founded an excellent school of piano-playing in the Royal Irish Academy of Music. The Academy had, moreover, a fine school of string-playing which also owed its reputation to foreign teachers such as Papini, Wilhemj, and Simonetti. The musical world was not significant enough for such appointments to cause controversy. On the contrary, these men were warmly welcomed as their presence not only helped establish schools of playing, but ensured that students were acquainted with the European traditions of performance. By the middle years of this century many of the organists' positions in cathedral towns were filled by musicians from foreign schools of church music such as those at Regensburg, Aachen, and the Lemmens Institute at Malines, and these organists did much to cultivate music in their local areas. Foreign guidance was also welcomed in Belfast where a former German bandmaster, Dr Francis Koeller, succeeded Herr Beyschlag as conductor of the Belfast Philharmonic Society in 1887. Under the guidance of Koeller the Belfast Philharmonic Society became the country's most adventurous body in presenting works of large scale, such as Elgar's The Dream of Gerontius and Berlioz' Faust.

The major musical initiative in Cork was again dictated by a foreign musician, Signor Ferruccio Grossi. Originally from Milan, he settled in Cork in 1902 and contributed much to the promotion of string-playing in the city. He revived the Cork Orchestral Union in 1903 and gave a series of popular concerts in conjunction with the

Cork Choral Union, which had been founded the previous year by yet another foreign musician, Herr Heinrich Tils. The significant contribution made by members of the Fleischmann family³⁷ in Cork added to the popular perception that a degree of foreign involvement was the norm in musical activity.

The inauguration of Feis Ceoil in 1897 gave further evidence of the gradual reawakening of musical interest. It was established as a response to a letter written to a Dublin newspaper, The Evening Telegraph, some years earlier which had protested at the lack of musical activity in Ireland.³⁸ The competitions offered young performers a platform and an objective, and the Feis was quickly established as an important annual event in the musical calendar.

There was, however, one preponderant factor which militated against a more extensive increase in musical awareness. The poor position of music education in the country was recognized and attacked from the start of this century. Among the leading advocates of a revised state policy towards the musical education of the nation's children was John F. Larchet, professor of music in University College, Dublin. He persisted in accentuating the significance of this issue and a decade later was supported by Aloys Fleischmann, his younger counterpart in University College, Cork. In an article published shortly after the establishment of the Irish Free State, Professor Larchet paints a very dismal picture of the state of music in Ireland and has no hesitation in blaming the system of musical education:

The real cause of the failure to appreciate good music in Dublin is that people have never been taught to do so: that is the reason for their apathy and their impoverished taste. Our system of musical education is not merely wrong, it is fundamentally unsound. From the primary and secondary schools all the way up through the circuitous paths and by-ways of individual teaching and private endeavour, the whole mental attitude is at variance with common sense. It is not possible to develop a real love for music in our children, and an ever-developing taste, from a musical education that never aims at producing either. The position allotted to music in most of our secondary schools is, with a few honourable exceptions, lamentable. Music is generally pushed into the darkest corner of the curriculum. As a rule the children are lucky if the time given to it is not filched from their recreation; their musical talent is stultified, and, in the case of the boys, successfully crushed.

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Professor Larchet's view is supported by Donnchadh Ua Braoin who also speaks as an educationalist:

From 1916 to 1922 progress was almost at a standstill as a result of the political confusion. From 1922 on, the concentration on Irish created further dislocation, and music almost disappeared from the curriculum - in practice, at least. When I became Organising Inspector of Music in 1932 the position could scarcely have been worse. It was quite common to find in most of the schools in country districts from 20 per cent. up to 90 per cent. of the children classed as 'non-singers'. Even in cities like Dublin or Cork sight-reading was unknown, and part-singing hardly existed. Practically no arrangements of Irish songs were available. Between 1900 and 1916 there had not been time to establish a solid routine method of teaching such as had existed for other subjects for nearly a century, and from 1916 to 1932 music simply deteriorated.

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The position of music in the colleges was little better. Only one music student graduated from University College, Cork, between

1906 and 1928.⁴¹ The University of Dublin had a chair of music since 1764 but its influence was limited by the fact that it was an examining body rather than a teaching school. So too the influence exerted by St Patrick's College, Maynooth, was limited by the concentration of its teaching on sacred music. Thus the major responsibility fell to University College, Dublin, which enjoyed a part-time chair of music from 1913. This post was not converted into a full-time chair until 1944.

A further hindrance was that musical life in Ireland at the opening of this century lacked any central initiative. Numerous isolated movements did credit to their founders by providing some musical activity but this was limited to the conservative programmes which alone would attract an audience, and such audiences were limited by their own poor grounding in music. Few concerts of music by living composers could be appreciated, or even accepted by Irish audiences. The questions raised on the continent by Schönberg's Three Piano Pieces and Five Orchestral Pieces of 1909 were not likely to trouble Irish audiences for some years yet. It is no wonder that no native school of composition, to breathe life into the musical soul, existed in the country. Indeed the absence of a musical debate, corresponding to the literary debate, is indicative of the cosy conservatism which, apart from the work of an energetic few, pervaded Irish musical life.

Musical opportunities were further restricted by 1922. The political break with Britain left even more isolated the minority who were interested in art music. Some nationalists saw in art music an unwelcome foreign influence and could not support it. Others wished to see all cultural activity in the state managed by Irish nationals and were consequently antagonistic to foreigners. In short the divisions of tradition and political circumstances appeared to offer little encouragement for the prospect of a musical revival.

There was, however, one musical movement which had emerged from the years of political turmoil with increased stature: the popular and accessible band movement. Its very appeal suggested that it could help draw together the separate musical traditions. Thus it was in this unlikely category that the hopes for a musical revival were located.

N O T E S a n d R E F E R E N C E S

1. The Treaty, which was signed by British and Irish representatives in December 1921, conceded dominion status to the 26 counties which now form the Republic of Ireland. It was the result of protracted negotiations between the two sides following the truce of July 1921 which had closed the Anglo-Irish War. The Treaty, which was narrowly approved by the Dáil in January 1922, divided the 26 counties and resulted in a bitter civil war between those who supported acceptance and those who opposed the Treaty. The Civil War lasted until May 1923 and, apart from the loss of life, engaged much of the country's energy and resources, and the scars of division remained unhealed for many years.

2. Among the musicians who settled in Ireland during the eighteenth century were Geminiani, Dubourg, Michael Arne, and Tommaso Giordani.

3. Mrs W.Starkie, 'The Royal Irish Academy of Music', Music in Ireland; A Symposium, ed. Fleischmann (Cork, 1952), 108.

4. George Petrie (b.Dublin 1789; d.there 1866). A man of varied talents as painter, antiquary, archaeologist, and collector of Irish music. In his early years he had sent some airs to Thomas Moore including the beautiful Silent, O Moyle. His work for the Ordnance Survey facilitated travelling and he collected airs from native musicians in various parts of the country. His major work, Ancient Music of Ireland, of 1855, was published by the Society for the Preservation and Publication of the Melodies of Ireland which Petrie had been largely responsible for founding in 1851.

5. According to the historian, J.C.Beckett in The Anglo-Irish Tradition (London, 1976), 11, the term 'Anglo-Irish' denotes 'the Protestant community that dominated Ireland in the eighteenth century and those who inherited and maintained its

tradition in the changed and changing circumstances of a later age'. A fellow historian, F.S.L.Lyons in Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890-1939 (Oxford, 1979), 31-2, suggests that the term was first used in a cultural context by Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Dublin University Magazine for June 1847, while reviewing the work of the architect, James Gandon.

6. Ernest Boyd, A Literary History of Ireland (Dublin, 1968), 7.
7. D.P.Moran, The Philosophy of Irish Ireland (Dublin, 1905). Moran was editor of The Leader newspaper and was the most vociferous proponent of the Gaelic Ireland view.
8. W.B.Yeats, Explorations (New York, 1973), 155.
9. Douglas Hyde, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', The Revival of Irish Literature, Sir Charles Gavin Duffy, George Sigerson, and Douglas Hyde (London, 1894), 117. Douglas Hyde, the son of a Church of Ireland rector, was born in Sligo in 1863. He grew up at Frenchpark in Co. Roscommon where he first learnt the Irish language. This awakened an interest in native culture which he developed while studying at Trinity College, Dublin. He joined with Yeats to found the Irish Literary Society in London in 1891 and the following year they founded the National Literary Society in Dublin. It was the lecture, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', which Hyde delivered to the National Literary Society in November 1892, that first won him a wide audience. In his final years Dr Douglas Hyde received the honour of becoming the first President of Ireland under the constitution of 1937.
10. Eoin MacNeill was born in 1867 at Glenarm, Co. Antrim. Along with Father Eugene O'Growney, professor of Irish at Maynooth, and Douglas Hyde, he founded the Gaelic League in July 1893. This was a popular language movement which was successful in generating renewed interest in indigenous culture and the vernacular. MacNeill was identified with the Irish revival and his scholarship was rewarded by his appointment to the chair of early Irish history at University College, Dublin where Douglas

Hyde was his counterpart as professor of modern Irish. In 1913 MacNeill took the lead in the formation of the Irish Volunteers, a private army which had as its object the defence of the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland. MacNeill held the position of Chief of Staff of the Irish Volunteers during the insurrection of 1916, but a moderate at heart, his grave reservations over the policy of military aggression brought him into conflict with Patrick Pearse and others who favoured war. Following imprisonment in England, MacNeill served as a minister in the first and second Dáil. He served as Minister for Finance in the first Free State administration. He resigned his post in 1925 following the leaking of the results of the Boundary Commission on which he was the Free State representative.

11. Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair, 'Music-Fundamentals', Ireland To-Day, I (Dublin, 1936), 63-9.
12. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Ars Nova: Irish Music in the Shaping', Ireland To-Day, I (Dublin, 1936), 41-8.
13. Ita M. Hogan, Anglo-Irish Music (Cork, 1966), author's introduction, xiv-xv.
14. Friedrich Blume, Classic and Romantic Music (London, 1972), 175.
15. Stevenson, Sir John Andrew (b. Dublin 1762; d. Galway 1833). Was one of the leading musicians of his day in Dublin. When young he was a chorister in both Dublin cathedrals, St Patrick's and Christ Church. As composer he was best known for his operas and choral works and his many glees. He edited and arranged the music for Moore's Irish Melodies (1807-34).
16. Cooke, Thomas Simpson (b. Dublin 1782; d. London 1848). Leader of the Crow Street Theatre Orchestra before moving to London where he became a successful tenor with the Drury Lane Theatre. Also established a successful music business in Dublin. As a composer he is best remembered as a glee-writer.

17. See 8 above.
18. Edward Martyn, 'The Gaelic League and Irish Music', The Irish Review, I (Dublin, 1911), 449-51.
19. Brendan Rogers, 'An Irish School of Music', The New Ireland Review, 3 (May, 1900), xiii, 149-59. Rogers was organist of St Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin 1890-1902.
20. W.H.Bewerunge, 'The Special Charm of Irish Melodies Sung "Traditionally"', Irish Ecclesiastical Record, 4th Ser., 8 (July-Dec. 1900), 140-54. Rev.Bewerunge was the first holder of the chair of music in Maynooth College, which was established in 1888. He held the post until 1923. He was also the first professor of music in University College, Dublin, holding the post from 1914 until he was succeeded by Charles Kitson in 1916.
21. Seamus Clandillon, 'Our Music', The Catholic Bulletin, I (Jan.-Dec. 1911), 246-50.
22. Graves, Alfred Percival (b.Dublin 1846; d.Harlech 1931). A poet who collaborated with Stanford and Charles Wood in the publication of Irish folk airs.
23. 'Memories of Charlotte Milligan Fox', The Irish Book Lover (Dublin, 1917), VIII, 109-10.
24. Ibid., 110.
25. W.B.Yeats, Explorations (London, 1962), 103. First published in the occasional magazine Samhain, 1903.
26. 'Music in Dublin', Hibernia, I (2 Jan. 1882), 6-8. No author is credited with this article.
27. See 'M' (? Edward Martyn), 'The Musical Season in Ireland 1899-1900', The New Ireland Review, 6 (Aug. 1900), XIII, 362.

28. Anton Rubinstein, for instance, gave two recitals during his visit to Dublin in 1881. The large concert hall of the Exhibition Palace was crowded for the second performance but the first recital was given before a piteously small audience. See 'Music in Dublin', op.cit., 7.
29. Review by 'M', 'The Musical Season in Ireland 1899-1900', 362.
30. Ibid., 362.
31. Arnold Bax, Foreword to Music in Ireland, iii.
32. Quoted in Anthony Hughes, 'The Society and Music', The Royal Dublin Society 1731-1981, ed. J.Meenan and D.Clarke (Dublin, 1981), 265.
33. Walter Starkie, 'What the Royal Dublin Society has Done for Music', Royal Dublin Society - Bi-Centenary Souvenir 1731-1931 (Dublin, 1931), 62.
34. Esposito, Michele (b.Naples 1855; d.Florence 1929). Following his training in the conservatory in Naples he travelled first to Paris and then to Dublin where he settled in 1882. Apart from his work as the senior pianoforte professor in the Royal Irish Academy of Music, he involved himself in various musical enterprises. He left Ireland in 1928 to spend his remaining life in the country of his birth.
35. C&E were the combined initials of Sir Stanley Cochrane, a Dublin businessman, and Michele Esposito. Together they founded the music firm which published some of Esposito's music and some works by Hamilton Harty.
36. Leonard Hirsch, 'Memories of Sir Hamilton', Hamilton Harty, ed. David Greer (Belfast, 1978), 70-1.
37. Herr Aloys G.Fleischmann of Munich settled in Cork in 1906. He took an active part in the musical life of the city as well as

being organist in St Mary's Cathedral. His Cork-born wife, Tilly, had studied piano in Munich under Stavenhagen who was Liszt's final pupil. On her return to Cork she was active as a recitalist and teacher. Their son, Aloys, was appointed to the chair of music in University College, Cork, in 1934. He was to remain in the position for over forty years and was a dominant influence on all aspects of music in Cork.

38. The letter by Mr O'Neill Russell was published in the Dublin Evening Telegraph on 8 December 1894. It stimulated a protracted correspondence which resulted in the establishment of a committee consisting of members of the National Literary Society and the Gaelic League for the purpose of founding an Irish music festival.
39. John F. Larchet, 'A Plea for Music', The Voice of Ireland, ed. William Fitz-gerald (Dublin, n.d., c.1923), 509.
40. Donnchadh Ua Braoin, 'Music in the Primary Schools', Music in Ireland, ed. Fleischmann, 37.
41. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in Cork', Music in Ireland, 273.

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C H A P T E R I

The Band Movement

The term 'band movement' is generally used to cover various types of wind ensembles of which the military band is but one. The genesis of the modern movement is to be found in the royal wind bands founded during the reign of Louis XIV in France and, in imitation, by Charles II in England.¹ The advent of standing armies gave further impetus to band development. Officers of individual regiments contributed from their own resources to raise regimental bands which could provide music for training, ceremonial, and entertainment purposes. The musical ambition of such groups was generally subordinated to their utilitarian function. Furthermore such uncoordinated enterprise precluded the evolution of a uniform instrumentation, which in turn resulted in the failure of a standard repertoire to emerge.²

Such developments were manifest throughout Europe during the eighteenth century with the German states taking the lead. The fact that the Duke of York, when seeking a band for his Regiment of Guards of which he was Colonel-in-Chief, employed a complete band of 24 instrumentalists from Hannover in 1783, gives evidence of the superiority of German military bands.³ It was an ascendancy which was to continue for a further century. The German bands were influenced by the Turkish Janitscharenmusik, in what was one example of the eighteenth-century fascination with the orient. This colourful style of military band music with its reliance on percussive effects is still recalled by the crescent carried to this day by German military bands and by its close relative, the bell lyra, still employed by bands in these islands.

The nineteenth century proved a most eventful and rewarding period for the movement. The French Revolution and the resultant growth of political autonomy led to a corresponding artistic democracy which bands were ideally placed to exploit. The demand for popular and accessible music was met by bands which could perform

before capacious audiences in the open air. Bands became free of their constrained military role and adopted a more demanding cultural one. For the first time musical considerations took precedence.

It was at this time that the appellation 'military band' came to signify a specific instrumental combination - woodwind, brass, and percussion - irrespective of whether or not the instrumentalists were members of armed forces.⁴

The medium responded to the growing demands made of it with energy and initiative. Band size was increased making the combination capable of performing a more challenging quality of music. So too many of the advances in instrumental construction came about as a result of the development of the movement. Improvements to the mechanisms of flute, oboe, and clarinet can be cited in this respect as can the evolution of the piston and rotary valves for brass instruments. Instruments such as the tuba were created for the military band while others, such as the trombone, were rescued from apparent obscurity.⁵ Such initiatives had a significant influence on the configuration of the nineteenth-century orchestra and were much appreciated by leading composers, most notably Berlioz and Wagner.⁶ Indeed by the middle of the century the medium had progressed from its position as poor relation to the centre of the cultural stage, becoming a vibrant and seminal member of the musical establishment.

Along with the increase in band size came a move to standardize the instrumentation. This was a prerequisite for the establishment of a standard literature. However, in keeping with the spirit of the age, national differences remained in evidence. There were, for instance, distinct British, French, and German traditions of instrumentation. And there were even regional variations between the different German states which were to remain into the first quarter of this century.

The band repertoire at the beginning of the nineteenth century had consisted almost exclusively of transcriptions. Such works performed by military band offered many listeners their sole

opportunity to become acquainted with the works of the masters albeit in altered guise. Perhaps for others such encounters encouraged them to experience the works in their original setting. Transcriptions were an accepted part of musical life; the early nineteenth century did not share our level of concern for authenticity of performance. However by the first quarter of the century standardization had progressed sufficiently to encourage leading composers to write original works for the medium.⁷ From that point forward increasing attention was given to original works, although transcriptions still form part of the repertoire.

Ireland made an interesting, if somewhat oblique, contribution during these years of initiative. In 1788 an Irishman, Charles Clagget, had patented his 'Chromatic Trumpet and French Horn'. This consisted of linking together two trumpets or French horns pitched a semitone apart. The mouthpieces of the two were brought together in a box and by means of a lever either could be directed to the single mouthpiece. The invention sounds unwieldy but it was manufactured and played.⁸ The instrument deserves credit for the early date of its invention which made it the first recorded idea for the manufacture of a chromatic brass instrument apart from those that operate the slide principle.

A further contribution was made to the development of brass instruments by another Irishman, Joseph Halliday, bandmaster of the Cavan Militia.⁹ In 1810 he patented his 'Royal Kent Bugle', called after the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria and sometime General Officer Commanding in Ireland. Far less complex in conception than Clagget's invention it was appreciably more successful. It consisted of a copper bugle bored with five holes each covered by a key which gave it a range of two chromatic octaves. The instrument gained wide currency even after the adoption of valved instruments and appeared in opera scores by celebrated composers.¹⁰ The keyed bugle was first made by the Dublin maker, Matthew Pace, to whom Halliday had sold the patent.¹¹

The name of Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore offers one final example of Irish involvement in the broader history of the band movement.

Born near Dublin in 1829, Gilmore emigrated to become one of the most colourful and dynamic American bandmasters of his day. He gained notoriety for organizing monster festivals in Boston with upwards of 10,000 performers. He toured Europe, including Dublin, with his band, the 22nd Regiment of New York, in 1878. He was widely regarded as the finest American bandmaster in the generation preceding Sousa.

The Band Movement : Ireland

The development of the band movement in Ireland was directly influenced by the British band tradition. British Army regiments stationed in Ireland brought their bands with them and they provided a model for civilian groups. The members of these British bands were frequently invited to augment local amateur orchestras.¹² In this way, and through civic engagements, these bands made their contribution to Irish musical life. The two regimental bands stationed in Belfast prior to the First World War furnished players for orchestras conducted by E. Godfrey Brown,¹³ while members of 'The Queen's Band' contributed to concerts given by the School of Music choral class and orchestra in Cork.¹⁴ However the most eminent and capable army bands were not stationed in Ireland.¹⁵

An unlikely source of encouragement for civilian bands was provided by the temperance crusades pioneered by Father Theobald Mathew from 1838. Temperance bands were to become a characteristic feature of the crusades and by the middle of the century many towns had their own bands. This was music with a moral purpose and is just one example of the Irish predilection for associating bands and causes. The temperance bands employed whatever instruments were available which meant that no standard instrumentation or repertoire developed.¹⁶

Despite the haphazard nature of its development the civilian band movement had gained considerable momentum by the turn of this century. Dublin was the main stronghold but other centres also contributed good bands. The Boherbuoy Band from Limerick and St Joseph's, Newry, deserve mention. In the capital the oldest and, arguably, the finest group was St James's Band with a tradition

reaching back before 1800. Formed around the Liberties, it had started as a brass band and had added woodwind instruments in the late 1880s. The band gained success in many of the band competitions held in the city including awards at the Feis Ceoil.¹⁷ This Festival made a major contribution to the development of the band movement by bringing experienced band personalities, such as James Ord Hume,¹⁸ from Britain to adjudicate the competitions.

'Ireland's Own' was another leading Dublin band. It was a fusion of two city bands, the York Street Workmen's Club Band and the Dublin Workmen's Club Band of Wellington Quay, which amalgamated for the purpose of travelling to play in the St Louis Exhibition in 1904. Following the engagement in the United States the majority of the group elected to remain together and retain the colourful title. The band quickly established itself by winning the Feis Ceoil band competition for three years in succession from 1908-1910. Under their conductor, Robert O'Dwyer, later Dublin Corporation professor of Irish music at UCD, they achieved the distinction of winning the Crystal Palace competition for civilian brass and reed bands in 1910. O'Dwyer was succeeded as conductor by W.S.Nabarro.¹⁹

It is necessary to mention one younger band. The Brass and Reed Band of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was organized in 1919, and was to play a major role in the formation of the Army School of Music.

The great continental military band tradition had little influence in Ireland. The conductors of civilian bands tended to copy the instrumentation and style of the British regimental bands. They performed a similar repertoire consisting of popular overtures, operatic selections, marches, assorted dances, and the occasional novelty piece, although the rise of the national movement was reflected in an increasing number of arrangements of Irish airs performed. They also adopted the pitch employed by the British bands which was higher than the new standard pitch then being internationally accepted. Arising from this the Irish authorities were to give careful consideration to the subject of pitch when establishing the Army School of Music.²⁰

The same authorities were to place great confidence in their estimation of the extent of the contribution that military bands could make to a national musical revival. Such a confidence was not at all unrealistic given the prevailing circumstances. The band movement benefited from avoiding too close an association with either of the two dominant musical traditions. The very accessibility of bands allowed them to bridge the cultural divide between the indigenous and the learned traditions. This suggested that a policy designed to establish bands of quality would meet with broad support.

That bands were peopled by local instrumentalists also contributed to their popularity in an age when national awareness was to the fore. This familiarity was another aspect of bands' accessibility. Wind players were recognized as instrumentalists, but as musicians they were regarded at some remove from their piano-playing and string-playing colleagues. That this was the case is suggested by the following review of the work of the Royal Irish Academy of Music:

In the same year /1890/ the Corporation of Dublin arranged with the Academy that men students of the artisan class should be taught wind instruments by the professors of the Academy, in Corporation premises.

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Such a perception did no harm at all to bands or their members. On the contrary, the lack of academic distinction helped to make the bands more accessible to the members of the community from which the band had grown. This point was not lost on those who took the initiative to establish the Army School of Music. By basing the new national school on the popular band movement and not on existing institutions they hoped to avoid inheriting the limited appeal of the established academies, and to create instead a school which would command wide support.

The musical establishment, based in the cities, had little relevance to the majority of the population. To experience the works of the great European masters it was necessary to reside in, or have

access to, the main centres of population such as Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. When one considers that Ireland was predominantly a rural society with 61 per cent of the population living outside towns or villages ²² and that many of the town dwellers had not enjoyed an education designed to develop a critical faculty in the arts it becomes clear that this music was performed, appreciated, and supported by a small minority of the population. It is a measure of the importance attached to the Army School of Music project, that it was considered an institution capable of helping to bring about the coalition of the urban and rural musical traditions.

The remarkable rise in relevance and popularity which had been experienced by the movement on the continent during the nineteenth century was evident in Ireland at the turn of this century. One particular reason for this was the increasing association of civilian bands with political demonstrations. Sean O'Casey, the Irish playwright, adverts to this through his character Peter Flynn in The Plough and the Stars:

I felt a burnin' lump in me throat when I
heard th' band playin' 'The Soldiers' Song',
rememberin' last hearin' it marchin' in
military formation with th' people starin'
on both sides at us, carryin' with us th'
pride an' resolution o' Dublin to th'
grave of Wolfe Tone.

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As in the age of O'Connell,²⁴ civilian bands had, in the early years of the century, become an integral part of the national movement. The presence of a band to herald and hold a gathering was made much use of in the years preceding the 1916 insurrection and the emotive appeal of a band rendering the popular marching tunes, such as The Soldier's Song, was evident to those who proposed the creation of an Army School of Music. Along with this, bands involvement with the move for independence strengthened their popular appeal. St James's Band in particular gained in popularity through association with the Irish Volunteers and other nationalist organizations in the years surrounding the Easter rebellion of 1916.²⁵

In the immediate aftermath of the Treaty and at the crest of

national awareness, this association with the dominant political movement worked to the advantage of brass and reed bands. This led to a perception of bands as an ideal medium to which the nation could entrust its native musical heritage. It was an idea based more on political association than on musical suitability. So too, the confidence placed in the ability of bands to meet the musical demands that were to be made of them was based on sentiment and promise rather than on any previous achievement. The outcome was that the proposed Army School of Music was given, in addition to its task of bringing together urban and rural traditions, the further duty of collecting and integrating the body of Irish traditional music into the wider European tradition and the task of making this music more widely known through performance.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. The French Douze Grands Hautbois du Roi became the standard form for the military band for over a century. At its inception, shortly before 1660, this band came under the direction of Lully. After the Restoration, Charles II, much impressed by the manners of the French court, introduced twelve hautbois into his Regiment of Foot Guards. See H.E.Adkins, Treatise on the Military Band (London, 1931), 5.
2. The process of standardization was to continue throughout the nineteenth century. For instance it was not until 1857 that the British War Office assumed responsibility for coordinating military bands. Prior to that such matters as payment, repertoire, and instrumentation were the responsibility of sponsoring regiments. The establishment of the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall in 1857 was the major step in the implementation of the new guidelines.
3. See H.E.Adkins, *op.cit.*, 5.
4. The distinction remains to the present. The majority of current Irish military bands are civilian groups and they have no association with the Irish Defence Forces.
5. The history of the trombone is particularly interesting in this respect. From its sackbut origins, the trombone has a long and distinguished history. During the early Baroque age it was widely employed for both sacred and secular music. But with the development of independent instrumental styles the trombone fell from favour being regarded as old-fashioned. In the eighteenth century it found a refuge in the military band where it was valued for its brilliance and weighty tone. According to Philip Bate in The Trumpet and Trombone (London, 1966), 148:

... we must thank the military activities of the early 1800s for a lasting revival of the trombone....

The trombone was gradually re-established in the orchestra through such works as Mozart's Die Zauberflöte, Die Schöpfung by Haydn, and Beethoven's Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Symphonies.

6. In his Memoirs, Berlioz makes frequent reference to the advances made in the construction of instruments and to the contribution of military bands in this respect. See The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, trans. David Cairns (London, 1970). Not only did Wagner devote attention to bands and their instruments in his voluminous writings, he also added further instruments which he required for richer brass tone, the Wagner Tubas being the prime example.
7. For a detailed account of the evolution of a distinct band repertoire see Richard Franko Foldman, The Band's Music (London, 1939).
8. Clifford Bevan, The Tuba Family (London, 1978), 72.
9. For further accounts of Halliday and his 'Royal Kent Bugle' see Anthony Baines, Musical Instruments Through the Ages (Harmondsworth, 1961), 305-6; Clifford Bevan, op.cit., 57-8; F.W.Saunders, 'O'Donnell Abu and the Royal Kent Bugle', The Irish Sword, 5 (Winter 1961), 122. Saunders credits Halliday with the composition of O'Donnell Abu (O'Domhnaill Abú) in 1803 with words added by M.J.McCann. He also contends that Halliday taught the composer Balfe for a period between 1812-1816.
10. It was used by Meyerbeer and Rossini (in Semiramide).
11. Anthony Baines, op.cit., 306.
12. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', Four Centuries of Music in Ireland, ed. Boydell (London, 1979), 41.
13. E.Godfrey Brown, 'Music in Belfast', Music in Ireland, ed. Fleischmann (Cork, 1952), 264.

14. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in Cork', Music in Ireland, 269.
15. John F.Larchet, 'The Army School of Music', Freeman's Journal, Free State Supplement, Section II (13 Aug. 1923). Professor Larchet states:

It must be remembered that the standard of military band performances in this country has been for a considerable time very low indeed. For obvious reasons, we had nothing but British military bands; and while there are undoubtedly some very good bands in the British Army, these have never been stationed in Ireland. The military bands heard here were possibly the poorest in the British Army. Their personnel was second-rate, their performance was mediocre, and the music they offered was neither of Irish nor educational interest.
16. For further information on Irish temperance bands see Aiveen Kearney, 'Irish Temperance Bands in the Nineteenth Century' (MA dissertation, University College, Cork, 1980-1).
17. For a fuller history of St James's Band see the series of articles by Tomás Ó Ruairc, Irish Independent, 22, 23, 24, and 25 July 1968.
18. James Ord Hume (b.Edinburgh 1864; d.London 1932). Began his career as a cornet player in a military band and later gained prominence as a conductor and composer for the medium. He wrote over 200 marches.
19. W.S.Nabarro conducted 'Ireland's Own' during the early years of the Army School of Music when the civilian band competed with the military bands for public acclaim. Under Nabarro 'Ireland's Own' was composed of players from the theatre orchestras, and Nabarro himself conducted the orchestra in the Gaiety Theatre in the 1920s.
20. For a detailed discussion on the question of pitch see chap.II.

21. Mrs W.Starkie, 'The Royal Irish Academy of Music', Music in Ireland, 108.
22. The figure is taken from the 1926 Census, quoted in Terence Brown, Ireland : A Social and Cultural History 1922-85 (London, 1985),18.
23. Sean O'Casey, The Plough and the Stars, Act II (London, 1926; repr. 1973), 163. O'Casey employs the popular, but incorrect, use of the apostrophe in what was to become the national anthem. This indicates the general confusion evident at the time over the title which in fact refers to the ballad of a single soldier. See below chap.V.
24. O'Connell, Daniel (b.Kerry 1775; d.Genoa 1847). The leading Irish political figure of his age. He was active in the struggle for Catholic emancipation which was achieved in 1829. His second objective, the repeal of the Act of Union, was not successful. In support of this cause, he organized monster meetings. A contemporary account by Charles Gavin Duffy, Young Ireland (Dublin, 1880), 344-7, describes the journey to one such rally , and indicates the role played by bands on such occasions.

The route lay through a succession of hamlets, villages and towns, and in every hamlet, village or town the entire population was afoot in their holiday dress, and the houses were decorated with banners or evergreens. The local muster headed by its local band immediately took its place in the procession, on horseback or in vehicles.... Around the base of the hill the bands and banners were mustered. The bands amounted to forty, an equipment sufficient for an army; the banners were past counting.

25. St James's Band entertained the crowds prior to the historic meeting of 25 November 1913 at the Rotunda Rink at which the Irish Volunteers were formed. The band also played at the

funeral of the Fenian, O'Donovan-Rossa, in August 1915. Two years later the band led, through Dublin, the funeral of Thomas Ashe who died following a hunger-strike. Furthermore it was the then conductor of St James's Band, Percy B.Carver, who first arranged Patrick Heeney's The Soldier's Song for band, and it was this version that engendered the popular acceptance of this revolutionary song as the national anthem.

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C H A P T E R I I

Genesis of the Army School of Music

The signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 6 December 1921 and its subsequent ratification by the Irish Parliament, the Dáil, mark the dawn of the modern era of Irish history. But it was a dawn whose promise was quickly clouded by the ensuing Civil War fought between those who accepted the Treaty and those who rejected its provisions.¹ The pro-Treaty Government was compelled to devote considerable resources to the management of the war which lasted from spring 1922 until early summer 1923. The national army undertook an extensive recruitment drive to facilitate the pursuance of the campaign. The urgency of the situation and the fact that the central administration was not yet sufficiently well established meant that this policy was organized at a regional level with individual commanders recruiting in accordance with their perception of local exigencies.

Many bandsmen were among those who enlisted at the height of the recruitment drive in summer 1922. Some joined as individuals; others enlisted in groups. Many were Irishmen who had returned following the First World War during which they had served in British military bands. Some of these volunteers were organized into bands playing on whatever combination of instruments was available. In cases where instruments were not obtainable the unfortunate bandsmen were assigned to alternative duties.² Such a fate was circumvented by some civilian bands which enlisted en bloc bringing their instruments with them. By autumn 1922 both military and pipe bands were well represented in the army, and these bands located in different centres throughout the country, by chance rather than design, could claim to be the first bands in the national army.³

While such a haphazard approach was initially convenient, the need for central control was always apparent. Band policy, standards, and centralization were the subjects of consideration for a small informal committee which met in summer 1922. The committee consisted of General Richard Mulcahy, the Minister for Defence, Denis

McCullough, an eminent republican with a music business in Dublin, and Canon Crowe, a cleric who was later to become parish priest of St Peter's, Athlone.⁴ Their deliberations soon turned from the limited objective of organizing existing bands to the consideration of a broader and more ambitious musical design, which was eventually to find fruition in the establishment of the Army School of Music.

General Mulcahy was the prime mover in this group. He instigated the idea and his continued support was largely responsible for the early success of the project. He was a unique leader with an idiosyncratic view of the future shaping of Irish society. His advanced views and noble nature were unsuited to the cut and thrust of political life in the young state and he never fulfilled the high political promise of his early years. To court publicity was alien to his character, consequently he remains a largely forgotten figure.

Richard Mulcahy was born in Waterford in 1886 and attended Christian Brothers' Schools both there and in Thurles. After leaving school at the age of 16, he obtained a position with the Post Office and, following a competitive examination, joined the engineering department. He worked first in Wexford before moving to Dublin in 1908. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and quickly established himself as a leader.⁵ Appointed to the rank of lieutenant, he acted as second in command to Thomas Ashe in North Dublin during the 1916 Rising.⁶ It is the opinion of the distinguished historian, F.S.L. Lyons, that this unit recorded for the Volunteers their only military victory of the Rising.⁷ Mulcahy, with typical understatement, tells us that his own task was 'to interrupt certain telegraph circuits outside Dublin'.⁸ He was arrested and spent some months in British jails before returning, on release, to Ireland at Christmas 1916. In the following year Mulcahy worked for the Gaelic League and gave notice of his intellectual curiosity by beginning a study of medicine. By November 1917 he had been elected Chief of Staff of the IRA. In subsequent years he held the posts of Commander-in-Chief of the army and Minister for Defence, and for a period he held both posts concurrently. In spring 1923 he resigned from the army to concentrate on his ministry which he retained until the following spring when the army mutiny caused him to resign.⁹

It was not only the opportunities of this violent age that saw Mulcahy at the centre of Irish political life; for his self-effacing persona concealed a capacity for hard work and an exceptional view of the future course of the Irish people. And this was an age in which it was difficult to sustain ideals. The Government, which had lost two of its leading figures, Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, in August 1922, faced many problems in its attempt to establish the new state. The Civil War resulted in grave economic problems, and diverted the energies of those wishing to mould the future of the country. The fratricide meant that the opportunities offered by political independence could not be availed of because the administration, led by W.T.Cosgrave,¹⁰ was too concerned with survival to contemplate wide social or cultural reform. There is the tendency, as F.S.L.Lyons pointed out, for revolutions to preserve as much as they destroy, and for the revolutionary to become a conservative as soon as his goal is achieved.¹¹ Given the difficulties facing the new state it is understandable that caution bred conservatism, yet the Government did retain its ideals and expressed them in the constitution of 1922. One of the prescient measures allowed the President of the Executive Council to nominate half the members of the first Senate in a manner calculated to represent minority interests. This measure, aimed at giving the Anglo-Irish minority a voice in the upper house, resulted in a high level of debate in a chamber containing some notable figures, including W.B.Yeats, O.St John Gogarty, Sir Horace Plunkett, Andrew Jameson, and H.S.Guinness.¹²

A further measure proposed in the constitution was the inclusion of 'extern ministers' in the Executive Council. Such ministers were to be drawn from any walk of life and did not necessarily have to be members of the Dáil. This allowed for the inclusion of individuals with particular expertise. That the proposition was never adopted does not lessen the original ideal and, together with the Senate measure, illustrates the then current vocationalist ideas. Such ideals were in keeping with Mulcahy's philosophy and there can be little doubt that he was a sponsor of such standards, as he exerted a major influence in government during the Civil War. He was, following the death of Collins, the political and military commander

of the army, and while accurate figures are hard to come by it is estimated that the army strength was between 60,000 and 100,000 men.¹³ This military concentration gave Mulcahy great personal authority, and it has been suggested that the burden of government during the Civil War fell mainly upon the President of the Executive Council, W.T.Cosgrave, Mulcahy, and Kevin O'Higgins, the Minister for Home Affairs.¹⁴ As a statesman, Mulcahy earned wide respect during this period. Eamonn de Valera, the leader of the Republican side which opposed acceptance of the Treaty, in a letter to the American-based republican, Joseph McGarrity, in September 1922, paid a passing compliment to the military leader of the opposing side:

The personnel of the Provisional Government is very weak. Cosgrave is a ninny. He will, however, be egged on by the Church. Were it not for Mick's /Michael Collins/ lead, there is no doubt in my mind that Mulcahy's policy would have been 'unity against the enemy' as the primary consideration. He is far more tactful than the others, and he and MacNeill are the only men they have who would keep the people with them for any length of time.

15

Maurice Manning, in an article written for The Irish Times on the occasion of the centenary of General Mulcahy's birth, calls attention to his singular qualities as a politician:

Unusually, too, for a politician of the time, he had an intellectual curiosity and an interest in new political and economic ideas, being especially concerned with the development of natural resources and national reconstruction. Unfortunately for him his curiosity and openness was not shared by too many colleagues on any side of the House.

16

General Mulcahy's view of the army's position in society was equally novel. Essentially he saw the army as the servant of the state ready to perform many necessary roles. He stated that he had

an idea of an Army, which, for portion of its time shall be used as a works of public service.

17

One example of this was Mulcahy's proposal that the army be employed to help in the reafforestation of Ireland. A further example was the encouragement he gave to the creation of a cavalry school within the army designed to take a lead in promoting equestrian development. What characterizes these schemes is that while they were to be undertaken by the army, using its manpower and skills, they were essentially national projects with benefits extending beyond the army. Such ideas indicate not only Mulcahy's vocationalist conception but also the catholic range of his interests. He was meticulous in the assembly of his personal papers which he bequeathed to the archives of University College, Dublin. This large collection now provides a valuable source for historians and gives evidence of the wide variety of subjects which attracted Mulcahy's attention. It is in his papers that he records his belief that the army could make a further contribution to the development of Irish society beyond its role as 'a works of public service' outlined above. He saw the army as a

pollinising power in relation to general cultural and educational developments throughout the country both as regards influence and educational and technical guidance.

18

To this end Mulcahy proposed the formation of an Irish-speaking battalion. Ever since his early career in the Post Office, when he worked in West Cork, he had a love of the native language. This was nurtured through his association with Professor Eoin MacNeill and through his work, in 1917, for the Gaelic League. By suggesting the inclusion of an Irish-speaking battalion in the army establishment, Mulcahy offered official recognition to the language and a stimulus to its development. Such a battalion is now in existence, in Renmore Barracks, Galway. One further and final example of a project proposed by General Mulcahy, designed to promote the cultural and educational development of the country, and the one with which we are here concerned, was the creation within the army of a school of music.

Mulcahy's contribution to the formation of the Army School of Music is not widely recognized or appreciated. His view of the

function and future of the school was quickly overtaken by the opinions of others more intimately connected with the project, and for this very reason it would be fallacious to appraise Mulcahy's concept on the evidence of the present-day institution. This concept was as fresh as all the other schemes proposed by this man of vision, and it went beyond the mere provision of bands for the army. His visualization of the benefits to be derived from the project are recorded in some unstructured diary notes:

The original intention of the school ... as a hot bed for further higher musical organisation and development in top musical institutions, ... the introduction of a first class musical instruction at the level of those to which higher education was normally /not/ available but where great and widespread talent existed.

19

While the title, Army School of Music, was not Mulcahy's, it does express, admirably, his concept of the project. He was aware of the contribution made by civilian brass and reed bands to political demonstrations and parades, and of the popularity of the band movement. Moreover he was conscious of the contribution that a military music institution could make by training wind-players, and by developing a school of brass-playing and reed-playing that could eventually serve the needs of the nation. Yet what General Mulcahy identified as the main purpose for the establishment of such an institution was its catalytic potential as a fountain-head for greater national musical development. That the implementation of the scheme would provide a school of wind-playing and furnish the army with bands was a concomitant, but secondary, benefit. One of the primary responsibilities of the new establishment, as proposed by Mulcahy, was the collection, preservation, and performance of the native store of folk music, and he had every confidence that, given the trained staff, the school could accomplish this.²⁰ He also foresaw that it could help unite the musical traditions of the country through its wide appeal. A further dimension to the proposal, and one crucial to its success, was that a constant turnover of personnel would ensure a continual supply of trained musicians returning to towns and villages, capable of fostering increased musical activity in these local areas. This idea was

central not only to the music project, but to all Mulcahy's schemes for the army. He saw the army as an establishment providing a vocational experience; an institution dispensing skills to its soldiers; and that such soldiers would return, following their short army service, to civilian society enhanced by their military training and equipped with skills of benefit to themselves, and skills required by the nation. The notion of lifelong service in the force was alien to Mulcahy's idea. Hence, in formulating his design for the Army School of Music, he was careful to give full attention to a career structure which would allow for early retirement with favourable conditions. There was a practical aspect to Mulcahy's commitment to short service careers within the army which grew from the very magnitude of the force in 1922. It was evident that the large size of the army could not be supported beyond the Civil War, and Mulcahy foresaw that the conclusion of hostilities would occasion a large reduction in the military establishment. To provide these men with valuable skills would ensure that such a contraction could be discharged equably.

Of the others who assisted General Mulcahy in formulating his plans for the Army School of Music, Denis McCullough deserves special mention. A brother-in-law to Mulcahy, McCullough was born in Belfast in 1883. As a young man he joined, and became prominent in, both the Gaelic League and the Irish Republican Brotherhood.²¹ In company with Bulmer Hobson he founded, in 1905, the separatist organization, the Dungannon Clubs. He became the leader of the Northern branch of the Irish Volunteers on its foundation in 1913. At the outset of the 1916 Rising he was the President of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Meanwhile he developed his music business in Belfast which he transferred to Dublin in 1922. McCullough was involved with commercial interests in Dublin outside his music business including his chairmanship of the New Ireland Assurance Company and directorship of the Clondalkin and Killeen Paper Mills. His active participation in politics ceased after the ratification of the Treaty which he could not support. He had a wide interest in the arts and was involved with Hilton Edwards and Michael MacLiammóir in founding the Gate Theatre in 1928. McCullough offered to the Mulcahy proposition not only friendship and assistance but also a business

expertise and an intimate knowledge of the position of music within the state.

The Authority to Proceed

The Executive Council decided to proceed with the formation of a specialist music establishment within the army without a complete knowledge of the extent of the proposal or of its long-term implications. That this was so was no doubt due to the troubled political circumstances. But some of the responsibility rests with Mulcahy. It was a feature of his ministerial style that he tended to pursue his objectives without consulting political colleagues. This tendency to act independently was a cause for concern, and was to prove a factor in his resignation following the army mutiny in 1924. Maryann Valiulis examines this question in her study of the mutiny, Almost a Rebellion.²² She refers to the report of the Army Inquiry Committee, chaired by Judge J. Creed Meredith. The committee had been established to inquire into the reasons for the unrest, and its report was issued in June 1924.

Meredith's report did provide an important insight into Mulcahy's style, his manner of handling situations 'in his own way'. Faced with intense criticism of the army in the Cabinet, Mulcahy became defensive and hence less flexible, less open to suggestions for change. When he could not dissuade his Cabinet colleagues from 'interfering' in army affairs, his recourse was to continue to do things in his own way, at times circumventing or thwarting the wishes of Cabinet. Convinced of the eventual efficacy of the army's reorganisation plan, Mulcahy concentrated on achieving results, believing they would vindicate and justify his methods. His approach, unfortunately, not only increased tension in the Cabinet, but also contributed to the Cabinet's frustration with the army.

23

The Department of Defence was, for all practical purposes, synonymous with the army during Mulcahy's term as Minister. The Irish Republican Army, which superseded the Irish Volunteers in 1919, gave allegiance to the Dáil but retained its own executive and

operational independence. Thus Mulcahy was leading an army accustomed to its own autonomy. While the army was loyal to the Provisional Government, some ministers were anxious that the relationship be more formally constituted, for they were uneasy with the prospect of a potent body continuing to exercise such a degree of independence. Mulcahy concurred in the desire to have the army as a loyal servant of the state, but wished to be allowed proceed at his own pace towards that objective. Despite his dual role he remained protective of the army and resented any attacks upon it or interference in its affairs, even from Government colleagues.

The history of the steps taken to bring the army under political control can, and should, be quickly recounted, for it is relevant to the subsequent creation of the Army School of Music.

A Cabinet meeting on 25 November 1921 discussed the army and its relationship with the elected members of the Dáil. The minutes record that the following decisions were taken:

- (a) The Army to be referred to as the 'Re-Commissioned Army' instead of the 'New Army' henceforth.
- (b) The supreme body directing the Army is the Cabinet.
- (c) The immediate executive representative of the Government is the Minister for Defence who is therefore Administrative Head of the Army. The Minister for Defence is a civilian.

24

The minutes also record the extensive powers conferred on the Minister for Defence:

- (d) All appointments in the Army must be sanctioned by the Minister for Defence.
- (e) The Minister for Defence has the right to nominate, or veto the nomination of any member of the Army, but he must produce a working Army.

25

The decisions taken at the meeting were a reasonable response to the situation faced by the Cabinet in the closing days of the Treaty negotiations. The truce agreed between the IRA and the British Forces in July 1921 had effectively opened the way for the transformation of a guerilla organization into an open national army. It became necessary, therefore, to ensure that this army was answerable to the elected representatives.

The Treaty divided the Cabinet that had agreed these matters. On 10 January 1922 the Provisional Government came into being with a duty to administer Southern Ireland until the inauguration of the Irish Free State on 6 December 1922. Also on 10 January Mulcahy was nominated by the Dáil to be Minister for Defence and he immediately relinquished his position as Chief of Staff.²⁶ In doing so he was abiding by the Cabinet's decision, minute (c) above, that the Minister for Defence would be a civilian.

As the outgoing Chief of Staff, Mulcahy commenced his term as Minister with a unique insight into all aspects of the army. He administered the department according to his own characteristic style which occasionally created unease within the Provisional Government. Mulcahy did not attend the almost daily Provisional Government meetings, so other ministers had little knowledge of the state of the army. On 17 February 1922, Michael Collins, the Minister for Finance and the most powerful personality in the Government, called for a more formal and frequent contact with the Minister for Defence:

Mr. Collins referred to the necessity of having closer touch with the Defence Department, and it was suggested that the Minister for Defence should be invited to be present at meetings of the Provisional Government.

27

Mulcahy did attend many of the subsequent meetings until the attack on the Four Courts on 28 June 1922 which marked the serious intensification of the Civil War.²⁸ On 1 July he transferred to Portobello Barracks to resume the position of Chief of Staff with full operational control of the army. Michael Collins took over the duties of Minister for Defence. On 12 July a further escalation of

hostilities compelled Collins to assume the duties of Commander-in-Chief with Mulcahy continuing as Chief of Staff and returning as Minister for Defence.²⁹ This decision was to lead to Collins' death the following month.

Collins and Mulcahy had much in common. Both had come to influential positions through the army, and consequently were the two political leaders most clearly identified with the military. On 23 August Mulcahy was appointed Commander-in-Chief, to succeed Collins who had been killed the previous day.³⁰ The departure of Collins meant that the army became even more closely identified with Mulcahy, who now combined the duties of political and operational leader of the forces. The exigencies of the Civil War had circumvented much that had been established at the Cabinet meeting on 25 November 1921, for now there was a military Minister for Defence who was not so much a representative of Cabinet as a supreme commander in his own right, with all the extensive powers of appointment and veto that had been conferred by the Cabinet. In short, the army although loyal, was as independent as before. This was the very time that Mulcahy proceeded with his plans for the formation of a specialist music unit.

By September 1922 Mulcahy was in a strong position; he was solely in charge of his own department, and the army had gained the ascendancy in the Civil War. The autonomous control exercised by Mulcahy over defence matters ensured that all planning in relation to the music project had proceeded without any formal application for Government approval or comment. Indeed the first official record of the scheme is a letter from Mulcahy to Government which is concerned with detail rather than policy:

OGLAIGH NA H-ÉIREANN.

General Headquarters,
Dublin.
20th September, 1922.

To: Government.

Military Bands.

I desire a decision that up to a certain limit which shall be placed by the Military Authorities on the number of Bands to be organised in the Army, the Government will be entirely responsible for the provision of instruments and training of those Bands.

It is hoped to make Military bands an important factor in musical development in the country.

Immediate authority is required for the equipping of a Brass and Reed Band for the Curragh at approximately a cost of £300.
(THREE HUNDRED POUNDS STG.)

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

31

There is more to Mulcahy's brusque letter than a mere application to expend money. Although it concludes with the request for immediate financial authority to equip one band, the letter is equally a formal, if terse, petition seeking Government support for a scheme which was still in its infancy; the structures and aims of Mulcahy's design had yet to be determined. Moreover, it is characteristic of his independent style to request support for the provision of bands, but to reserve for the military authorities the decision on the number of bands to be established.

Mulcahy can be criticized for not expounding his plans comprehensively enough to his Government colleagues at this juncture. While the second paragraph of the letter succinctly encapsulates Mulcahy's confidence in the national relevance of the scheme, it is

hardly of a detail to arrest the attention of a disinterested minister. Based on the evidence of this letter alone, ministers, no doubt, believed that they were faced with a relatively innocuous decision regarding the provision of bands for the army; there was nothing to suggest the broader design being devised by Mulcahy. In his defence it can again be stated that these were difficult times, and perhaps he did not have the opportunity to explain his intentions in detail. Even more to the point, however, was the fact that Mulcahy had not yet determined the finer details of the project, which accounts for the imprecise nature of his request.

The matter came before the Provisional Government on the following day, 21 September. The state of the Civil War necessitated Mulcahy's absence from the meeting which was chaired by President Cosgrave. The expenditure of three hundred pounds was approved and the minutes record that:

It was decided that the Government should be responsible for the provision of instruments and for the training of such bands. 32

Despite Mulcahy's tendency to keep his own counsel in matters relating to his department, it is reasonable to assume that he informally discussed the matter with Michael Collins shortly before the latter's death. During his term as Commander-in-Chief from 12 July, Collins would have been consulted on any proposed military innovations. This view is corroborated by an article in The Irish Times that reviewed the creation of the Army School of Music:

It was General Richard Mulcahy, T.D., then Commander-in-Chief of the National Army, who was instrumental in bringing Colonel Fritz Brase to Ireland. He had consulted Michael Collins on the project shortly before the Irish leader's death, and had received his support and that of the members of the Cabinet. 33

The Government's decision of 21 September furnished Mulcahy with the financial permission to equip one band. More importantly, it

provided him with the authority to progress to the next stage of his preparation. He could now procure the best available musical advice in order to ensure that the project was beneficial to the country as a whole. Little did the Provisional Government realize that in acceding to Mulcahy's request, it had committed itself to the support of a scheme which was to grow quite dramatically in the coming months.

Objectives Outlined

Having secured Cabinet approval, Mulcahy turned his attention to the formulation of a design for his project. It was characteristic of his vocationalist philosophy that he sought the best technical counsel available to adminiculate and implement his schemes. To this end he requested the adscititious advice of John F.Larchet, professor of music at University College, Dublin. Larchet responded in a most generous manner and, along with Mulcahy, became the leading proponent of the creation of the Army School of Music.

Professor Larchet was just two years older than General Mulcahy. His antecedents were French and he retained an especial interest in French music and ideas, an interest indeed which was to influence his recommendations for the Army School of Music. He was conferred with his doctorate in music from Trinity College, Dublin in 1917, and was appointed to the chair of music at University College, Dublin in 1921. This made him the leading academic in his discipline within the state as his counterpart in Trinity College, and indeed predecessor in University College, Professor Kitson, was not resident in Ireland.

Larchet had a realistic view of music in the state at the time of his appointment to the chair of music at UCD, which he set out in an article entitled 'A Plea for Music'.

There is a tradition among the Irish people that they are a music loving nation, and Dublin, in particular, is accustomed to claim a position unique in the world of artistic discrimination and musical criticism. That the Irish were once musical cannot be denied; they possess a heritage of folk-music which can stand beside that of any other nation, but in music, no more than in any other sphere, is it possible to live a healthy life on the tradition of the past.

34

At the core of Larchet's article is a petition for 'the state to come forward with assistance'³⁵ especially in regard to music education. Throughout his life he laboured to improve the quality of Irish musical education which he identified as a primary cause of the impoverished state of music in the country. This concern was specifically mentioned by a correspondent in The Irish Times when writing a profile of Dr Larchet:

In the teaching of music Dr.Larchet takes a tremendously keen interest, an interest which could only come from one to whom music has a great significance. Where music is concerned, he is filled with ideas, which, if not actually revolutionary, are, at all events, those of an ardent and thorough reformer. He believes that the whole basis of the teaching should be ear training; and he lays special stress upon the value of the development of the rhythmic sense and the teaching of theory through the medium of time and tune.

36

Larchet was entirely consistent in stressing the educational aspects of the proposed scheme when responding expeditiously to Mulcahy's request. He presented a detailed submission to which was attached the following letter:

8, St.Mary's Road,
Ballsbridge,
Dublin.

31/10/'22

Dear Commander-in-Chief,

It will be obvious to you that the ultimate success of the enclosed suggested scheme is centered in the Bandmaster. He must be a cultured musician and a skilled instructor.

Such are the Bandmasters that have helped to make the famous French Republican Guard and the great Prussian Military Bands. Likewise the graduates of Kneller Hall in England, the conductors of the Coldstream and Grenadier Guards Bands.

It is to be regretted that such a Bandmaster is not to be found in Ireland at the present time. In fact the wind-playing throughout this country is now, and always has been notoriously bad. No really good teacher or player has ever resided here for any considerable time, therefore we possess no tradition of wind-playing and in consequence no established method or style.

It would be necessary and indeed a great national act to introduce a first-rate player and instructor into this land even for five years.

I would warmly recommend an instructor from France or Germany. A Frenchman for preference on account of the coincidence of musical temperament.

The original Bandmaster must come from without and the future Bandmasters can be developed from within.

Believe me,
dear General Mulcahy
Yours v.sincerely
J.F.Larchet.

37

In this letter Larchet had, by identifying the engagement of a foreign bandmaster as the essential requirement for the success of the scheme, imprinted his own viewpoint on the plan. Larchet's perception of the project is also discernible in the attached submission.³⁸ This comprehensive document opens with a quotation from the medieval English philosopher, historian, and scholar, Bede:

Among all the sciences this /music/ is the more commendable, pleasing, courtly, mirthful and lovely. It makes men liberal, cheerful, courteous, glad, and amiable - it rouses them to battle - it exhorts them to bear fatigue, and comforts them under labour; it refreshes the mind that is disturbed, chases away headache and sorrow, dispels the depraved humours, and cheers the desponding spirits.

39

Larchet begins by outlining the type of musical training that future bandsmen would require which leads him to the conclusion:

Therefore, in order that Bandsmen may be trained to be capable musicians it is recommended that an Army School of Music be formed and directed under the supervision of a Bandmaster.

40

This is a momentous statement and marks a significant addition to the original plan proposed by Mulcahy. For this is the first reference to a school of music and the concept was to form the basis of Larchet's considerable contribution to the project. The denomination, Army School of Music, has remained to the present day.

Professor Larchet proceeds to delineate the work of the school under the direction of a 'competent all-round musician'.⁴¹ The school would 'divide itself into two distinct branches of study':

- (a) Instrumental study
- (b) The study of rudiments and aural culture.

42

There follows a detailed plan of the course to be undertaken which includes a table of individual and band practice necessary each week. Larchet stresses the value of aural training and staff sight-singing and even recommends the provision of a gramophone in order that students develop 'a sense of true criticism and intelligent listening'.⁴³ An intimate study of national music is recommended as part of the training, which is in keeping with Mulcahy's emphasis on the institution as a source for the regeneration of interest in native music. Larchet even advocates the establishment of a school library and suggests some suitable textbooks for the students.⁴⁴ The course of study would last for three years which would include four lectures each week on rudiments and aural culture, each lecture to last thirty minutes, and a single lecture of one hour's duration every week on musical appreciation. A written and practical examination would be held at the end of each year with 'money prizes awarded to candidates attaining 85 per cent marks'.⁴⁵ A student obtaining 85 per cent or higher in the final examination would become a First Class Bandsman, and would receive a certificate which

should be such as to entitle the holder to obtain a position in a professional orchestra, if he desires to follow music as a career, on his return to civil life. 46

A further course of study, leading to a Bandmaster's Diploma, would be open to those students with the First Class Certificate. Larchet proposed that this advanced course would cover

counterpoint, harmony, history, scoring for military band, a general knowledge of instrumentation, and an elementary knowledge of composition. 47

This particular section of the submission is noteworthy. Its very detail reveals not only Professor Larchet's thoroughness in this matter, but also his interest in the scheme. The specific curriculum he advocates leans, as one might expect of such an authority, towards the academic aspect with relatively little discussion of the practical side. No doubt Larchet felt that the foreign bandmaster,

when appointed, would be competent to organize the practical side of the course. What is clear is that such a bandmaster, in order to fulfil the course set out by Dr Larchet, would need to be an accomplished musician with an academic standing, and be endowed with considerable energy. It is in his recommendation that certificates be awarded following the successful completion of the initial three-year course and that a diploma be available following the subsequent bandmaster's course, that Larchet comes closest to Mulcahy's original idea. It was intended that the possession of a recognized certificate would encourage young men to leave the army and find employment in professional orchestras and perhaps even contribute to the creation of a permanent native symphony orchestra. This echoes precisely Mulcahy's designation of the quintessential value of the school. Furthermore both Mulcahy and Larchet were agreed that a prime object of the plan was the provision of Irish bandmasters capable of conducting army bands, and competent to take a lead in the preservation of the native musical heritage. Indeed, as suggested in Dr Larchet's letter, the appointment of a foreign musician was regarded as a temporary expediency, for both proponents of the scheme were conscious of the hostility such an appointment could evoke in a newly independent state anxious to proclaim its distinctive cultural identity.

Professor Larchet comments, in the submission, on the curriculum he is recommending:

Heretofore the system of teaching music in our land has been dull and uninteresting, English in the extreme, and in every way unsuited to the temperament of our people. The Irish attitude towards music is somewhat akin to that of the French people. The theoretical system of study here advocated is largely based on the French method.

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This approbation of the French system, allied to his earlier advocacy of the engagement of a French bandmaster, is a further feature linking Larchet with Mulcahy. For Mulcahy favoured the French military system as a model for the young army of the Free State. It was at his insistence that the first military mission under the Chief of Staff, Major General P. MacMahon, travelled abroad, in July

1923, to study the workings of the French Army.⁴⁹

Professor Larchet then turns to a discussion of band strength and instrumentation. The band he states, should consist of at least thirty performers

in order to provide sufficient doubling of
certain parts, and thus to secure a proper
balance. 50

He then proceeds to tabulate the instruments required for a 'Foundation' band (see Appendix A).

Larchet concludes his submission by setting out a detailed course in rudiments of music, aural culture, and staff sight-singing in six separate stages. It is fitting that he should end his initial contribution to the enterprise with this course as the importance he attaches to the study of rudiments and aural training is clearly evident throughout the submission.

The Question of Pitch

Larchet stipulates that in procuring instruments the band should adopt 'New Philharmonic Pitch'. He had referred to pitch earlier in the submission when he suggested that all classes were to have a pianoforte or tuning-fork at 'French diapason normal pitch - New Philharmonic'. In fact the question of the pitch to be adopted by the Army School of Music was carefully considered by General Mulcahy and Professor Larchet.⁵¹ Such consideration was necessary because no uniformly accepted standard pitch existed, and the last century had seen major and frequent changes in pitch.

During the two centuries from 1600 to 1800 pitch had remained fairly stable. The evidence for the level of pitch at the start of this period is provided by Michael Praetorius in his Syntagma musicum (3 volumes, 1615-1619). Praetorius records that Catholic centres such as Prague employed different pitch levels for sacred and secular music. A pitch with a' below 400 vibrations per second was used for

long church services where, no doubt, it was less fatiguing on the voices. A pitch one whole tone higher was used for secular music, and this attracted the name chamber pitch.⁵² The position pertaining in England at this period was quite different with secular music at roughly the pitch we employ today and church music almost a minor third higher. A similar division between sacred and secular music existed in France during the Baroque age, where organ music and sacred vocal music had a pitch $a' = 390$, while Lully's opera pitch was $a' = 409$.⁵³ Despite these variations in pitch between sacred and secular music, and between different geographical locations, a stability existed in relation to pitch which was not broken until the early nineteenth century.

The fluctuations in pitch during the nineteenth century were chiefly due to the advances made in the manufacture of instruments. The improvements made in gut strings afforded the players the opportunity to explore higher ranges without the marked disruption of tone which had hitherto applied. Higher pitch became associated with a brighter and clearer sound which was part of a general change in attitude towards pitch.

In descriptions of high pitch levels, disparaging terms like 'strident' gave way to appreciative ones such as 'brilliant'. 54

The history of pitch in the nineteenth century is essentially a record of the constant tendency of pitch to rise and the attempts to check that tendency. The tuning-fork in the Foundling Hospital, London, which was used for the performance of Messiah (1750), and may well have been the personal property of Handel, has a pitch of $a' = 422.5$.⁵⁵ This appears to have been the standard pitch of the late eighteenth century, a fact supported by the pitch $a' = 423$ which was used by the French opera in 1810, and $a' = 423.7$ which was adopted by the Philharmonic Society in London upon its foundation in 1813.⁵⁶ By 1822 the Paris Opera pitch had risen to $a' = 431.7$ and in 1855 it was $a' = 449$. The Philharmonic Society surpassed this, when, under the direction of Sir Michael Costa (1848-1854), it standardized its pitch at $a' = 452.4$, and this remained the accepted British pitch for the second half of the century.⁵⁷ In later years this became

known as Old Philharmonic Pitch. Paragraph 992 of the King's Regulations and Orders for the Army fixed the pitch at $a' = 452.4$.⁵⁸ This was tantamount to giving official recognition to the pitch set by the Philharmonic Society.

In France concern with the constantly rising pitch resulted in the establishment of a commission in 1858 to examine the question.⁵⁹ The result was that on 16 February 1859 a standard pitch of $a' = 435$, known as Diapason Normal, was adopted and given the force of law.⁶⁰ The Covent Garden Opera in London having used a pitch of $a' = 450$ in 1850 adopted Diapason Normal for its 1880 season. Fifteen years later Dr George C. Cathcart, an eminent laryngologist, offered his financial support to Robert Newman, who was raising capital to launch the first series of Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, on the condition that a pitch lower than Old Philharmonic Pitch be employed.⁶¹ Cathcart was convinced that the high pitch was leading to vocal strain. Thus it was that in 1895 a lower pitch, $a' = 439$, was adopted for the first Promenade Concerts. This pitch gained wide acceptance in Britain and was named New Philharmonic Pitch. However, British military bands continued to use Old Philharmonic Pitch until 1927. This was primarily due to the cost involved in replacing instruments. The English authority on military bands, George Miller, estimated that the outlay required to change to low pitch at 1913 prices would have been £36,000.⁶²

German military bands had much the same experience. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a state of confusion in regard to pitch, with some states of the Empire, such as Baden and Bavaria, adopting the French Diapason Normal and others, including Prussia, using the old high pitch known as High Viennese Pitch. The second Heeresmusikinspizient (inspector of music for the army), Gustav Rossberg, upon taking office in 1895, set about standardizing the pitch for all military bands in the German Empire. Rossberg directed that Diapason Normal be adopted in all states and this reform was complete by the turn of the century.⁶³

Civilian brass and reed bands in Ireland, like the British military bands stationed here, played at Old Philharmonic Pitch.

This pitch was retained by the first bands to join the army of the Irish Free State in 1922. General Mulcahy and Professor Larchet were conscious of the international move to reduce pitch and of the costs facing the British Forces to effect such a change. Determined to avoid such expense, Mulcahy and Larchet wisely decided to adopt low pitch for the Army School of Music from the outset. In the papers relating to the subject of pitch, Professor Larchet uses the terms French Diapason Normal and New Philharmonic Pitch as if they were synonymous.⁶⁴ The Army School of Music adopted Diapason Normal when it purchased the first sets of instruments from Germany in April 1923, because these instruments were, perforce, pitched at a' = 435 owing to Rossberg's directive. A further consideration which influenced the choice of low pitch for the proposed school was that pupils would be able to contribute to the wider musical life of the country. In this respect the decision marked the first official recognition of a standard pitch in the history of the independent state.

Despite this decision many of the civilian brass and reed bands persisted with the high pitch instruments principally due to the prohibitive cost of changing. As late as 1961, Joseph Grocock reported of civilian bands:

There is as yet no standardisation of pitch. Some bands play at high pitch, others at low pitch. It has been cynically remarked that some bands try to combine both high and low pitch! The lack of an agreed standard of pitch in Ireland makes it impossible to contemplate any large-scale festivals of massed bands. I know two bands, in towns 15 miles apart, where because of difference of pitch it is impossible for players of one band to help the other in times of shortage, much as they might like to be able to do so.

65

One final example will illustrate the legacy of the days of high pitch in Ireland. St Brigid's Cathedral, Kildare, has had, for the last century, close links with the nearby military camp on the Curragh. Prior to the creation of the Free State, services were held combining the organ and the brass from military bands stationed in the camp, as both shared Old Philharmonic Pitch. But today such

cooperation between organist and the local military band, The Band of the Curragh Command, is not possible, for while the band has adopted standard concert pitch, the organ retains the Old Philharmonic Pitch.

Precedents and Models

In his guidelines, Dr Larchet had detailed the musical requirements necessary for the realization of Mulcahy's dream of the creation of a source of influence to benefit the musical life of the country. The statesman's idealism was now complemented by the musician's comprehensive practical approach. What Larchet had added to the dream was the idea that a school of music was a prerequisite for its fulfilment. Accordingly the title suggested that its primary function was didactic, a proposal not incompatible with Mulcahy's idea and Larchet's calling. Larchet was equally in accord with Mulcahy in his assessment of the benefits to be derived from the establishment of the Army School of Music:

Our newly acquired freedom has brought with it a great desire throughout the schools to improve the system of teaching music to our children.... By producing first class military bands the Army can give tremendous assistance in raising the Irish Nation to an exalted position amongst the great Musical Nations....

66

Mulcahy added great authority to the project by seeking and securing the active support of Professor Larchet, for leading figures in both the Government and musical establishment were working towards its implementation. What is clear from the quotation above, and indeed from the length and detail of the submission, is that Larchet shared Mulcahy's view of the importance of the enterprise just as he concurred with his assessment of its national significance.

Professor Larchet did have models to refer to when composing his submission. The nearest and most familiar tradition was that of the British, as exemplified by the Royal Military School of Music at Kneller Hall which had been established in 1857. But Kneller Hall was too large an establishment and represented too settled a

tradition to act as a model for the Irish school. Britain did, however, offer an archetype through its youngest service, the Royal Air Force, founded in 1918. Anxious to provide their new service with bands, the Royal Air Force engaged Dr Henry Walford Davies as organizing director of music and commissioned him with the rank of major. Like Larchet, Walford Davies was a leading academic, being professor of counterpoint at the Royal College of Music and professor of music at University College, Aberystwyth. He was also a noted organist and was conductor of the Bach Choir in London. He was later knighted and, on the death of Elgar in 1934, succeeded to the post of Master of the King's Musick. Walford Davies anticipated Larchet's belief that the establishment of a school was necessary for the creation of good military bands. Where the two models differ is that in the British situation, with its strong tradition of wind-playing, there was no question of the school having any function other than the provision of trained bandsmen for the bands of the service. In size and structure the RAF music school was close to the system outlined by Professor Larchet and indeed during Walford Davies' term as organizing director, from 1918 until 1920, it was known as the Royal Air Force School of Music.⁶⁷

There can be little doubt that Larchet was aware of the RAF School of Music and the influence exerted by Walford Davies as its first organizing director. Moreover, despite his assertion that previous teaching of music was 'dull and uninteresting' and 'English in the extreme', it was from an English study of the military band that Larchet acquired some of the ideas contained in his submission. George Miller, director of music for the Royal Marines, had published his book, The Military Band, in 1912 and it is from this work that Larchet took his ideas on band strength, instrumentation, and the 'Foundation' band.⁶⁸ Indeed Miller's book is prefaced with the Bede quotation employed by Larchet to open the submission.

It is not surprising that Larchet searched for models when faced with the assignment given him by Mulcahy. He is, indeed, to be given credit for the thoroughness with which he undertook the labour. There is, however, one inconsistency arising from Dr Larchet's use of Miller's suggested instrumentation. Given the distinct national

preferences regarding military band instrumentation evident in Europe at this time, it was scarcely congruous to recommend the appointment of a French or German director and then suggest he employ British standard instrumentation. A continental bandmaster, coloured by his own national experience, would have clear ideas of the instrumentation he favoured. This proved to be the case, and the instrumentation proposed by Larchet never went beyond the pages of the submission.⁶⁹

It was barely over a year since the truce of 11 July 1921 brought the Anglo-Irish War to a close. So it was little wonder that the engagement of an experienced British bandmaster was not even considered. For the pro-Treaty Government to have appointed such a man to a senior army post during the Civil War would have been the height of political naïvety. It was more difficult to publicly explain this decision in a diplomatic manner. The matter was the cause of some debate between Larchet and Mulcahy before a judicious solution was arrived at for inclusion in a review of the Army School of Music which Dr Larchet had been asked to write for the Freeman's Journal in August 1923.⁷⁰

As the autumn of 1922 turned to winter and the Civil War entered its cruelest months, the work of Mulcahy, Larchet, Crowe, and McCullough promised much. Yet the project contained flaws which, while not then evident, were to impede its future progress. The major flaw relates to the personality of Mulcahy himself, for he was a man more gifted in the formation than in the transmission of ideas. In later years his inability to communicate his point of view to cabinet colleagues was to be a factor in the army mutiny, and it was to contribute to his own subsequent resignation. Mulcahy had won cabinet approval, but with the departure of Collins there was no other minister with a particular interest in the establishment of the school. Likewise in his role as Commander-in-Chief, Mulcahy had the final say in the shaping and direction of the army, but his senior generals, occupied with a war, had not been asked to share in the planning of the future role of the school. No doubt the generals were happy to have bands provided for military purposes, but a school of music with national responsibility was an idea they had neither

asked for nor understood. Furthermore, the army was composed of men accustomed to a life of armed struggle; many had fought in the 1916 Rising. This was poor ground upon which to build a 'works of public service'.⁷¹ The scheme was not subject to public debate or comment at this early stage, as it was Mulcahy's way to eschew publicity. This meant that it was dependent on the support of a small, albeit influential group of people. There lay the danger that should any or all of this group be removed from a position of influence the project would fail through a lack of support. There was a benefit to be derived from this absence of publicity: that the project could proceed with greater haste, which was a considerable advantage given the precarious political situation.

It is doubtful if worries respecting flaws inherent in the plan occurred to General Mulcahy as he studied Dr Larchet's submission in those early days of November 1922. For the present these were but latent flaws. The state of the internecine war was Mulcahy's chief concern. The Dáil adjourned on 1 November for a fortnight in order to allow the Government to concentrate on the restoration of order. There followed a cruel and bloody month with four executions including that of Erskine Childers.⁷² This single act provoked wide criticism of both Government and army, which was at this period invested with emergency powers. The issue occupied much of Mulcahy's time during the month. Yet he persisted with his cherished project, and set about the 'great national act'⁷³ of finding a suitable director for the Army School of Music.

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. See note 1, chap.I, 19.
2. Interview with Mr J.P.Flahive, 1 May 1986, Dublin. His father, Company Sergeant J.Flahive, was one of the first senior non-commissioned officers in the Army School of Music. Prior to the creation of the school he served in Keogh Barracks, Dublin as a bandmaster. But he was transferred to nearby Wellington Barracks and put to work as an engineer because there were no instruments available for his band.
3. The Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA. The papers note that The Dublin Guards' Pipe Band claimed to be the first band in the national army. It had been formed on 1 February 1922.
4. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin. Bowles, one of the first cadets in the Army School of Music, provides evidence of Canon Crowe's involvement in the project. He was friendly with Crowe and many years after the establishment of the school they discussed the project and those involved in its creation. There is reference to Crowe in Mulcahy's papers, but not in connection with the Army School of Music.
5. The Irish Volunteers were established in November 1913, largely as a response to the article 'The North Began' by Eoin MacNeill which was published in the Gaelic League paper, An Claidheamh Soluis on 1 November 1913. MacNeill pointed to the success of the Ulster Volunteers' campaign which prevented the passage of the Home Rule Bill, and proposed that the same methods could be gainfully employed by Nationalists in pursuit of their political goals.
6. Mulcahy papers, P7/C/59, UCDA.
7. F.S.L.Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine (London, 1971), 366.

8. Mulcahy papers, P7/C/59, UCDA.
9. The army mutiny is discussed in detail in chap.V.
10. Cosgrave, William T. (b.Dublin 1880; d.there 1965). Joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and took an active part in the 1916 Rising. He supported the Treaty and succeeded Griffith and Collins as leader of the Government. He helped establish a secure and stable democracy and remained in power until he was defeated by Eamon de Valera's Fianna Fáil party in the 1932 election.
11. F.S.L.Lyons, op.cit., 471.
12. W.B.Yeats was one of the greatest poets of the English language, a fact recognized by the award of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923. Oliver St John Gogarty was a poet, novelist, and surgeon. He was closely acquainted with many leading political and literary figures of his day including Griffith, Collins, Yeats, and Joyce. Sir Horace Plunkett was champion of the Irish cooperative movement and was keenly devoted to rural renewal. He revived The Irish Statesman in 1923 under the editorship of George Russell, in order to provide a journal of high quality. Jameson and Guinness were both wealthy businessmen with major interests in the Irish brewing industry.
13. The scarcity of accurate records regarding army strength during the Civil War has led historians to differ on the subject. The figures quoted are taken from F.S.L.Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine, 463. Maryann Valiulis, Almost a Rebellion (Cork, 1985), 31, gives a figure of 52,000 soldiers and 3,000 officers; while Joseph Curran, The Birth of the Irish Free State (Alabama, 1980), 238, gives a strength of 50,000 troops; Eoin Neeson, The Civil War in Ireland (Cork, 1966), 295, suggests that the strength was 60,000. In fact all of these figures are probably conservative. What is clear is that the army strength was a large financial burden on the new state, see Dáil Debates,

- I, (Nov. 30, 1922), 2529-35.
14. Cf., F.S.L.Lyons, *op.cit.*, 466.
 15. Quoted in Sean Cronin, The McGarrity Papers (Tralee, 1972), 125.
 16. Maurice Manning, 'Mulcahy was central figure in foundation of State', The Irish Times (10 May 1986), 19.
 17. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/322, UCDA.
 18. Mulcahy papers, P7/D/108, UCDA.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. General Mulcahy's view of the importance of this aspect of the Army School of Music's work is outlined in his papers P7/D/108, UCDA.
 21. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, or the Fenian movement, was founded in 1858. It was a secret military organization with the single aim of achieving independence for Ireland, by force if necessary.
 22. Maryann Valiulis, Almost a Rebellion (Cork, 1985).
 23. *Ibid.*, 93.
 24. Ministry and Cabinet minutes, DE 1/3, 169, SPOD.
 25. *Ibid.*, 170.
 26. Joseph Curran, *op.cit.*, 158. The political situation in Ireland during 1922 was somewhat complex. There were two governments: the Provisional Government and a government elected by Dáil Eireann. The former had the responsibility of administering the 26 counties until the Free State was established. The latter was the descendant of the first Dáil. Confusion was

averted by the fact that the two bodies had many members in common. Mulcahy was elected Minister for Defence by the Dáil, but was not a member of the small group constituting the Provisional Government.

27. Provisional Government minutes (17 Feb. 1922), G1/1, SPOD.
28. On the night of 13 April 1922, the executive of the forces opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty occupied the Four Courts in Dublin, the seat of the country's highest judicial tribunals. Under mounting pressure from London, the Provisional Government attacked the Four Courts on Wednesday, 28 June and recaptured them on Friday, 30 June. While the engagement did not signify the start of the Civil War - it had begun in the spring - it did signal the commencement of the most bitter physical stage of the struggle.
29. Provisional Government minutes (12 July 1922), G1/2, SPOD. It can be noted that Mulcahy now held both senior civilian and military positions.
30. Collins, Michael (b.Clonakilty, Co.Cork 1890; d.Co.Cork 1922). Collins was shot dead at Béal na mBláth on 22 August, when his convoy was ambushed during an inspection tour he was making in the South of Ireland, where the Civil War was most intense. His passing was an acute loss to the Provisional Government, and for many it exemplified the futility of the Civil War.
31. Army Bands' File, S8 858, SPOD. Óglaigh na hÉireann was the official name given the new constitutional army. It is a translation of The Irish Volunteers. It is noticeable that Mulcahy elects to sign himself Commander-in-Chief rather than Minister.
32. Provisional Government minutes (21 Sept. 1922), G1/3, SPOD.
33. 'Colonel Fritz Brase Dead', The Irish Times (2 Dec. 1940), 4. No author is credited with this report.

34. John F.Larchet, 'A Plea for Music', The Voice of Ireland, ed. William Fitz-gerald (Dublin, n.d., c. 1923), 508.
35. Ibid., 509.
36. 'Bruyere', 'Dr John F.Larchet', The Irish Times (19 May 1923), 4.
37. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/55, UCDA.
38. Ibid. The full submission is contained in this file.
39. Ibid. The Venerable Bede (673-735) was an English historian and scholar.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Among the texts recommended by Larchet are Learning to Listen and The Book of the Great Musicians both by Percy Scholes.
45. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/55, UCDA.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Details of Mulcahy's admiration for the French military system can be found in the Mulcahy papers, P7/B/201, UCDA; see also Capt. Barry O'Brien, 'The Origins and Development of The Cadet School', An Cosantóir (Sept. 1979), 260-6.

50. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/55, UCDA.
51. Mulcahy papers, P7/D/108. Although not a musician, Mulcahy had an interest in the question of pitch prior to receiving Larchet's advice on the matter. According to these papers this interest was stimulated by 'the casual contact with O'Byrne of the Board of Works'. This author has found no further reference to O'Byrne.
52. J.J.K.Rhodes, W.R.Thomas, 'Pitch', The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980: henceforth Grove), xiv, 781.
53. Ibid., 782.
54. Ibid., 785.
55. Reginald Nettel, The Orchestra in England (London, 1946), 244; M.Lindley, K.Wachsmann, 'Pitch', Grove, xiv, 780.
56. For the Philharmonic Society of London see Nettel, op.cit., 105 et seq., 255 et seq.
57. Costa, Michael Andrew (b.Naples 1806; d.Brighton 1884). Settled in England and established a reputation as a leading conductor. His oratorios Naaman and Eli won popular acclaim. He was knighted in 1869.
58. George Miller, The Military Band (London, 1913), 68.
59. C.Bevan, The Tuba Family (London, 1978), 110.
60. J.J.K.Rhodes, W.R.Thomas, 'Pitch', Grove, xiv, 785.
61. R.Nettel, op.cit., 244.
62. G.Miller, op.cit., 68-9.

63. P.Panoff, Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Berlin, 1938), 157.
64. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/55, UCDA; John F.Larchet, The Army School of Music (Dublin, n.d., c.1923), 3. Larchet states: 'Continental and American bands use "flat pitch", generally known as "French normal diapason"; and in England, "new Philharmonic"'.
65. Joseph Grocock, A General Survey of Music in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin, 1961), 60.
66. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/55, UCDA.
67. Although the Royal Air Force dropped the title, it retained a school of music which is today located at Uxbridge in London. Prior to leaving the service, Walford Davies wrote a march, The Royal Air Force March Past which remains one of the finest examples of the genre.
68. G.Miller, op.cit. Larchet's table of instrumentation, Appendix A of this volume, can be compared with that of Miller which is given as Appendix B.
69. Interestingly, Miller, despite the name, was a Berliner. His ideas on instrumentation were thus more liberal than those of other British bandmasters of his generation. He was, for instance, warm in his praise of the flügel horn, a soprano brass instrument milder in tone than either cornet or trumpet. In this case Miller was an exception and the flügel horn, popular on the continent, never found a place in British brass and reed bands.
70. John F.Larchet, 'The Army School of Music', Freeman's Journal, Free State Supplement, Section II (13 Aug. 1923). This article was later reprinted as a pamphlet (see note 64 above). The article is given as Appendix C to this volume.

71. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/322, UCDA.
72. Childers, Erskine (b.London 1870; d.Dublin 1922). An intelligent and articulate public figure. He opposed the Treaty and became publicity director for the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War. He was arrested and court-martialled on controversial evidence and executed in Dublin in November 1922. The episode was one of the cruelest of a bitter war and is a recurrent topic in the Mulcahy papers.
73. The term is Larchet's. It is contained in his covering letter to the submission, 31 Oct. 1922.

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C H A P T E R I I I

The Quest for a Director

General Mulcahy, having received the advice proffered by Dr Larchet, proceeded to make enquiries regarding the availability of a continental musician to assume the directorship of the proposed school. As outlined above, both of the leading proponents of the project favoured the engagement of a French bandmaster. Accordingly, an approach was made to the Garde Républicaine. This military band held the place of honour among all French bands and was regarded as one of the finest in Europe. However, the French could not accede to the request so the Irish looked to Germany to find a director.¹

The approach to the relevant German authority was made on behalf of the Irish Government by Denis McCullough. He frequently travelled to the continent in connection with his music business in Dublin.² There he purchased second-hand pianos and imported them to Ireland where he reconditioned and sold them. It was on one such expedition that McCullough enlisted the assistance of the Irish Government representative in Germany, John Charteres, in making an official approach.³ Charteres is a largely forgotten figure, but he played an important role in Irish politics in the early years of the Free State. An Englishman with Sinn Féin sympathies, he became a close personal friend of Arthur Griffith. His training as a barrister was a major reason for his selection as one of the chief secretaries, along with Erskine Childers, to the Irish delegation at the Treaty talks in London in 1921. Prior to that he had worked as a British civil servant, and had later found employment with The Times reorganizing and indexing that paper's reference library.⁴

It was through Charteres that McCullough approached Professor Theodor Grawert in Berlin. Professor Grawert held the highest position in German military music, that of Heeresmusikinspizient (inspector of music for the army). He was responsible for the organization of all musical activity in the German Army. He had taken up his position in 1908 and had guided German military music

through the First World War. In the wake of the war Grawert had charge of overseeing a severe contraction of German bands as part of the general military reduction required by the Treaty of Versailles. Despite the dedicated work of Grawert, the result of the war and its aftermath saw the nadir of German military music just some fifty years after it had reached its zenith.

The Situation of Military Music in Germany

The Treaty of Versailles, signed in 1919, forced excessively harsh terms on the German people. The reparations issue undermined the currency and led to an economic crisis within the country. The army was severely restricted with a ceiling of 100,000 men being imposed by its former adversaries. In consequence the number of bands was reduced drastically, from 516 in 1914 to just 160 by the end of 1918.⁵ The number of military musicians was reduced in the same period from 15,700 to 3,600.⁶

Indeed, for the Germans the year 1919 was the antithesis of 1871. For on 18 January 1871, exactly 170 years after the creation of the Kingdom of Prussia, the new German Empire was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. It was fitting that the proclamation of the united Germany should fall on the Prussian anniversary, for Prussia was the architect of the German victory over France. The new Germany was a confederation of 26 separate states, with Prussia, the dominant partner, accounting for two-thirds of the total population. King Wilhelm the First of Prussia became Kaiser of all Germany and his Minister-President, Bismarck, became the Imperial Chancellor. Prussian government was practically synonymous with German government, and the shrewd political judgment of Bismarck ensured that the country enjoyed a period of prosperity the like of which it had not hitherto known. Germany was the foremost power in Europe and its economy thrived. The material benefits of victory were widely appreciated and this propagated an increased respect for the military. This was particularly true of Prussia as the historian, Norman Stone records:

The power and the bad behaviour of the Prussian army were such that Germany was widely accused of army-worship, militarism. Civilians stepped off the pavements to let officers pass; officers had a monopoly of the first-class carriages to Potsdam. It was a militarist, authoritarian state.

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Taken in the light of subsequent events, this negative assessment is understandable. Yet such a view was foreign to most-Germans. It was certainly alien to those in the army, and especially to the members of military bands, for a public appreciation of the army provided an ideal environment for the military band.

As with the political experience so it is that the history of German military music is essentially the record of Prussian military music. German military music in general, and Prussian in particular, was in the ascendant during the nineteenth century. That this was so is affirmed by the fact that despite the distinct national styles evident through the century, the British Army recruited many of its bandmasters from Germany. This dominance was largely due to the influence of one musician, Wilhelm Wieprecht, who lived just long enough to see a federal Germany; he died on 4 August 1872.⁸ All military bands, irrespective of nationality, bear the influence of Wieprecht's energy and initiatives. He liberated the band from its purely military function and gave to it a broader, more challenging role. In this respect he projected the military band on to the centre of the cultural stage, a position it held during the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, his pioneering work on the development of instruments, notably his work on the valve, influenced the course of all orchestral and band music. He was largely responsible for the invention of the tuba, which leading composers were quick to value. In his Memoirs, Berlioz gives us a clear picture of Wieprecht and his bands:

To turn to the military bands: here one would have to be exceedingly cross-grained to avoid hearing any, for they parade about the streets at all hours of the day, on foot or on horseback. Not that these small independent troupes give one any idea of the majesty of

the great armies which the trainer-director of the Berlin and Potsdam Military Bands, Wieprecht, can mobilize whenever he wishes. Think of it: he has a corps of more than six hundred players under his command (not so much regimental musicians as musical regiments), all good readers, masters of their instruments, playing in tune, and blessed by nature with lips of leather and indefatigable lungs; hence the ease with which the trumpets, horns and cornets produce high notes that our players cannot reach at all. The Crown Prince, anticipating my desire to hear his forces in action and to study them at close quarters, graciously invited me to a matinée arranged in my honour at his palace, and gave Wieprecht orders accordingly.

The audience was tiny: ten or fifteen at the most. I was wondering where the orchestra had got to - for no sound betrayed its presence - when a measured phrase in F minor that you and I know well made me turn my head in the direction of the main hall of the palace, which an immense curtain concealed from view. His Royal Highness had had the courtesy to begin the concert with the Francs juges overture. I had never heard it arranged for wind instruments. There were three hundred and twenty of them. Under Wieprecht's direction they performed this difficult piece with superb precision and with that same furious gusto which you Conservatoire players display in it on days of special enthusiasm.

The brass passage in the introduction was tremendous, intoned by fifteen bass trombones, eighteen or twenty tenors and altos, twelve bass tubas and a swarm of trumpets. The bass tuba, which I have mentioned several times in previous letters, has completely dislodged the ophicleide in Prussia, if indeed the latter was ever prevalent there, which I doubt. The bass tuba is a large brass instrument derived from the bombardon and fitted with a mechanism of five rotary valves which gives it an enormous range in the lower register.

The lowest notes of all are a little blurred, it is true; but when doubled an octave higher by another bass tuba, they take on amazing richness and resonance: and in the middle and upper registers the tone is impressively noble, not at all flat like the ophicleide's but full and vibrant and well matched with the timbre of trombones and trumpets, to which it serves as a true bass, blending perfectly with them.

Wieprecht is the man who popularized the instrument in Prussia. Adolphe Sax now makes admirable tubas in Paris.

The clarinets, I thought, were as good as the brass. They were particularly imposing in a battle symphony for double wind band written by the English Ambassador, The Earl of Westmoreland.

After that came a splendidly showy piece for brass instruments alone, composed by Meyerbeer for use at court festivities under the title of Torchlight Dance, in the course of which eighteen trumpets sustained a trill on D for sixteen bars, executing it with the rapidity of clarinets.

The concert concluded with an impressive and admirably written funeral march by Wieprecht. And for all this they had had only one rehearsal!

9

Berlioz admired the German whom he called the 'excellent Wieprecht', and was one of the first of the leading composers to take advantage of the instrumental advances made by Wieprecht; and Wieprecht in turn made the band accessible to the leading composers of the age by advocating the standardization of military band instrumentation.

Wieprecht's greatest moment of success came in 1867 at the World Exhibition in Paris. He was victorious in the competition for military bands. The contest attracted leading bands from the continental mainland and Wieprecht's victory over the finest French bands in Paris confirmed that he had led Prussian military music to the dominant position on the continent. He conducted a massed band for the competition composed of the Musikkorps des Zwite Garderegiments zu Fuss and the Kaiser Franz Garde Grenadierregiments in a programme which included a transcription of the overture to Oberon by Weber and a fantasy by Wieprecht on a theme from Meyerbeer's opera Le Prophète.¹⁰

This competition was also important in that it provided a unique opportunity to compare the separate traditions in instrumentation. Appendix D shows the bands present in Paris, and indicates the diversity of instrumentation prevalent at the time. The Prussian band instrumentation represents the combined forces of the two large

bands conducted by Wieprecht and therefore does not exemplify the band instrumentation advocated by him. The many German states were slow to surrender their own traditional instrumentation and replace it with Wieprecht's standardized band. This can be seen in the variation between the Prussian, Bavarian, and Baden bands. The extensive standardization that occurred in European band instrumentation between the Parisian contest and the First World War, came about largely because of the dominating position held by Prussian bands. Yet some individual traditions survived; the Germans, for instance, remained quite indifferent to the advances made by the saxophone family of instruments in other European states. The instrumentation favoured by Wieprecht is given as Appendix E, but it was some 40 years before his ideas, which he proposed in 1860, were adopted throughout Germany.

While the passing of Wieprecht in 1872 had been a loss, through his work he had left a solid foundation upon which to build. In the same year a Royal decree was issued offering courses for especially talented military musicians at the recently formed Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin.¹¹ This was both an official recognition of the increasing importance of music in the military, and an awareness that bandmasters required a formal academic training in order to meet the growing musical demands on the military band. That this decree offered to bandmasters the same academic training as their counterparts in other musical areas further helped to integrate the military band into the musical mainstream. The scheme was not an unqualified success. There were many more bandmasters than places at the Musikhochschule, and a circular issued by the General War Department revealed that some 17 years after the introduction of the policy the great majority of bands still did not have a qualified bandmaster. Moreover, the educational background of some practising bandmasters was not of a standard to gain them entry to the Musikhochschule. Despite such problems the scheme was beneficial, and talented German military musicians could enjoy a training unrivalled in any of the other European states.

Wieprecht had, during his later years, taken on the mantle of director of music for the entire German forces, although no such post officially existed. Following his death the want of such a dominating figure was keenly felt. In 1887, after some years of debate, the Reichstag approved the creation of the post of Heeresmusikinspizient.¹² His duties and powers were extensive. He had responsibility for all matters concerning military music in the Empire. To this end he was appointed a staff member of the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin where he took part in the training of military musicians who had gained entrance under the decree of 1872.

The first Heeresmusikinspizient, F.W.Voight, held office for just three years. His successor, Gustav Rossberg, had more time to become acquainted with the position and to pursue definite policies. Rossberg's first task was to standardize the pitch for the bands of the various states. This he did soon after taking office in 1890. He directed that bands adopt the French Diapason Normal pitch and this reform was completed by the turn of the century. Rossberg also strove to enforce the standardized instrumentation suggested by Wieprecht in 1860, and in this he was more successful than Wieprecht. Furthermore, he favoured the addition of stringed instruments to the band. Instrumentalists were encouraged to become proficient in both a string and wind instrument, and regimental orchestras became quite common. He also encouraged the formation of string quartets and quintets within each band. It was this policy which opened the way for Hindemith to play in a string quartet while a serving soldier during the First World War. Such policies indicate the growing cultural role being adopted by the military band in Germany at this time.

The rank and pay of the bandmaster was another subject that occupied Rossberg's attention. Bandmasters held a special rank equivalent to that of a senior non-commissioned officer. The privation of the opportunity to attain commissioned rank was the cause of acrimony. Yet bandmasters enjoyed a high social status in both military and civilian circles. Their basic pay was relatively low, but they were able to supplement their incomes by undertaking private engagements with their bands. The extent of this additional

income depended on the adroitness of the individual conductor; it was often a substantial amount, the more successful were capable of doubling and even tripling their basic salaries. The military authorities were unable to prevent the practice. The alternative was to pay the bandmaster a higher basic salary which the state could not afford. Even a decree on the subject issued in 1908 failed to prevent conductors from turning increasingly to outside musical activities. It was an unsatisfactory system, but it offered encouragement and generous rewards to those conductors who were diligent and commercially judicious.¹³

Rossberg was granted an understudy in 1906 with the creation of the post of Second Heeresmusikinspizient. Theodor Grawert was appointed to the new position and he succeeded Rossberg as First Heeresmusikinspizient two years later. Grawert had earned an excellent reputation as a conductor and arranger with the Infanterie Regiment 13 in Münster, Westphalia.¹⁴ He was to remain as Heeresmusikinspizient until his death in January 1927, and was to guide German military music through its most difficult years. Some of these difficulties were apparent even as he took office. There was general unrest in German society following the resignation of Bismarck in 1890. The stability he had nurtured so carefully with clever alliances was undermined by some unwise manoeuvring undertaken by the Government of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had succeeded to the throne in 1888. The result was that Germany was in a more fragile position, politically and economically, in the first decade of this century than it had been under the rule of Bismarck. Economic constraints and the growing prospect of war forced Grawert to oversee some reductions in military bands during his early years as Heeresmusikinspizient. The budget of 1911 introduced restrictions on the number of instrumentalists allowed in each band. It left the average military band with a strength of 38 members, which represented a loss of ten musicians in the majority of bands. The budget of 1913 proposed further measures which entailed even more drastic reductions. However the First World War occurred before these reductions were enforced, and in an ironic way its intervention preserved military bands. It proved a short reprieve. The war and its aftermath represented the worst experience that military music in

Germany had yet faced. Almost three in every four bands were disbanded. The regular infantry band size was reduced yet again, to just 24 musicians, with some exceptions allowed for bands of 36 instrumentalists.¹⁵ The typical instrumentation for a German band in 1920 is given in Appendix F.

For those conductors fortunate to survive the post-war reductions it was still a depressing state to work with such decreased numbers. There can have been but little professional satisfaction in directing depleted bands. The band literature took for granted a whole family of clarinets, the full complement of horns, and a third trombone. The prospect of muddling through must have been anathema to those with a musical conscience.

The reparations issue and the collapse of the German currency meant that the years 1921-24 were particularly cruel. In these years prior to the implementation of the Dawes Plan,¹⁶ designed to stabilize the German currency, it was estimated that the standard of living in Germany was lower than that in any other European country.¹⁷ This was the formidable position that Grawert had to contend with. Galloping inflation and economic catastrophe on a scale never hitherto experienced, allied to the shattered morale of a vanquished and reduced army, made his task very difficult. Many experienced bandmasters, some with the distinction of an education at the Musikhochschule in Berlin, were without posts. And for this reason some were willing to look abroad.

Wilhelm Fritz Brase

The Irish were confident that an approach to Germany would prove successful; they realized that in this instance Germany's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. Denis McCullough was clear that he required an accomplished German bandmaster, and Grawert was able to oblige. He proposed an experienced musician, and one with whom he was intimately acquainted, Wilhelm Fritz Brase.¹⁸

Wilhelm Fritz Anton Brase was born on 4 May 1875 at the mill in

Egestorf in the Deister, near Hannover.¹⁹ He received his early education from his parents and his secondary education took place in the school of the nearby town of Barsinghausen. From an early age he displayed a talent for music which his family encouraged. He commenced his formal musical training at the age of four with the study of pianoforte which was to remain his principal instrument. He attended the school of music at Hannover for three years before signalling his determination to pursue a musical career by moving to Leipzig for a further three-year course of study. The Leipzig Hochschule had inherited a fine teaching reputation from its first director, Mendelssohn, and was regarded as one of the most influential and outstanding music schools in Europe. Here Brase had the opportunity to study with some of the most eminent professors of the day, and he took advantage of the chance to broaden his range of study. Brase's professor for pianoforte was Carl Reinecke. Apart from his talent as a pianist and teacher, Reinecke was also a composer, administrator, and conductor. Born in 1824, he had been befriended, while a student, by Mendelssohn and the Schumanns. For some years he taught piano to Liszt's daughter, Cosima, and she regarded him highly both as a teacher and performer. Reinecke had gained an international reputation as a pianist when he was appointed professor of piano and composition at the Leipzig Hochschule in 1860. He became its director in 1892. From 1860 until 1895 he was also the conductor of the famous Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra.²⁰

Hans Sitt was Brase's professor for violin at the conservatory. Sitt was an acclaimed violinist and viola player and was a member of the Brodsky Quartet.²¹ Brase's third teacher at Leipzig was the composer and theorist, Salomon Jadassohn. Born in 1831, Dr Jadassohn had studied in the Leipzig Hochschule and later with Liszt at Weimar. He was appointed to the staff of the conservatory in 1871.²²

In later life Brase was to recall with affection his three years of study in Leipzig. It was during this period that he made the acquaintance of some of the finest young musicians in Germany. Included in this number was the pianist Wilhelm Bachaus who was also studying in the conservatory at this time.²³

In October 1893, at the age of 18, Brase enlisted in the small garrison town of Bückeberg some 30 kilometres from his home in Egestorf. Bückeberg is the capital of the principality of Schaumberg-Lippe lying south-west of Hannover. During the Baroque age it was an important musical centre, its reputation deriving from the quality of the music and musicians attached to the court.²⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century Bückeberg was a rich protestant centre and it retained its influential and artistically active court. Brase was attached to the Seventh Westphalian Jägerbataillon with the rank of Gefreiter-Waldhornist, indicating the lowest-ranking member of the band. This was the mandatory first step in a progressive military structure for it was his intention from this time forward to follow a career as a bandmaster. For a young man with such a distinguished musical training the selection of a career within the military was not at all unusual. In the Kaiser's Germany, with its high respect for the military and its love of ceremony, a successful bandmaster could enjoy a comfortable lifestyle while also holding a high social position. For an ambitious young musician such practical considerations were supported by the professional opportunities offered by the service. Many military bands were allied to either military or court orchestras. This offered to the young musician the prospect of working with an orchestra as well as with a band. Moreover, such opportunities were increasing due to the active support of the Heeresmusikinspizient, Gustav Rossberg. Brase was quick to take advantage of this enlightened policy, for his years of study had generated the realization that his chief interests lay in the areas of composition, arranging, and conducting; and neither now, nor at any later stage of his career, did Brase feel that the exercise of these skills should be limited to the military band alone. He was accepted into the Fürstliche Hofkapelle, the Royal Court Chapel Orchestra. This was a singular honour. It was unusual for one of Brase's lowly rank to gain entry to such a select body. It suggests that he possessed an exceptional musical aptitude. He played first violin in the orchestra which was conducted by the Hofkapellmeister, Professor Richard Sahla. The association proved propitious; Sahla took a keen interest in his young recruit and Brase was soon accompanying him on concert tours as a pianist.²⁵

Meanwhile Brase was playing flügel horn in the military band. This instrument was the cause of some debate in Germany at the time. Wieprecht had not approved of the instrument and favoured the more strident cornet. He had not included the warm-toned flügel horn in his suggested instrumentation of 1860. But Austrian and Bavarian musicians were not willing to adopt the cornet or extra trumpets at the expense of their native flügel horn. They argued long after the passing of Wieprecht for the retention of the flügel horn on the grounds that its mellow tone offered an attractive contrast to the sharp sound of the trumpet.²⁶ Rossberg was not as antagonistic towards the flügel horn as Wieprecht had been; while anxious to introduce a standardized band, he allowed bandmasters to be guided by local tradition and personal preference concerning the soprano brass instruments they employed. Thus it was that Brase played flügel horn in the Seventh Westphalian Jägerbataillon, and he was to retain a partiality for the instrument.

Yet it was the connection with the Fürstliche Hofkapelle and Sahla that proved the most profound influence on Brase while in Blükeburg. Sahla continued his interest in his young charge and encouraged Brase's creative work. It was probably during his first year in Blükeburg that Brase composed his first piece, a waltz in F major for pianoforte. There is no date inscribed on this unpublished work. However op.2, a Mazurka brillante in G sharp minor for piano, which also survives in manuscript, bears the date 9 November 1894. The style of the two dances is so close as to suggest that the waltz was written in the first year of his stay in Blükeburg. There can be no doubt that Sahla was aware of these works, and the invention and harmonic resource they reveal must have confirmed him in the encouragement he was giving to Brase's creative efforts. With this support Brase wrote his first large works, the Militär-Festouvertüre and the suites Aus meiner Heimat (Out of my Homeland) and Heimatlos (Without Home). It is indicative of the opportunities offered, and Brase's own preferences, that these works were written or scored for orchestra. They were performed in the court concerts at Blükeburg where they attracted the attention of the renowned violinist, Josef Joachim. Joachim, in his capacity as director of the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin, invited Brase to pursue

further study without having to undergo the entrance examination.²⁷ As the Royal decree of 1872 made a provision for such study and as this policy was encouraged by the Heeresmusikinspizient, Brase was released from Blückeburg to commence the regular three-year course at the Musikhochschule. He remained there a further year when he was honoured as the first military musician to join the master class for composition. He spent this period studying under the director of composition, Dr Max Bruch. This distinction indicated that Brase was among the most promising young musicians of his day, and it suggested that he had before him a fine career. His comprehensive education distinguished him from his military contemporaries and contributed to his eclectic musical consciousness. Moreover, although he was not given to recording his experiences, the four years in the thriving and expanding capital of the Empire must have been an education in itself.

Brase had commenced his studies in Berlin in 1902, and during his four years there had lived in the Charlottenburg area of the city. Throughout these years he had continued to compose. His work includes compositions for both orchestra and military band. The first of the large works was the Dramatische Ouvertüre which was completed on 4 November 1902. It is scored for a conventional orchestra. By far the largest composition of this period is the Symphony in D major. Completed on 28 October 1905, it was to be Brase's only exercise in the form. The previous week Brase had conducted the Andante sostenuto (second movement) from the symphony, along with a separate Tarantella at a concert in the Fürstliche Hofkapelle in Blückeburg. That Brase was given this opportunity is yet further evidence of the esteem in which he was held by Sahla, and of the encouragement given him by the older musician. The full programme for the evening is interesting not only for the first performance of Brase's works, but the very volume of the fare offered indicates the resilience of an early twentieth-century audience. The concert also offered what was claimed as the first performance of Mozart's Notturmo (K.286) for four small orchestras.

Fürstliche Hofkapelle

Bückeburg, Freitag, den 20. Oktober 1905,
abends 8 Uhr im Saale des Deutschen Hauses.

I. SYMPHONIE - CONCERT

unter der Leitung des Hofkapellmeisters
Herrn Professor Richard Sahla
und unter gefälliger Mitwirkung der
Pianistin Frau Else Gipser aus Dresden.

PROGRAMM

Symphonie Nr.4, B-dur	L.van Beethoven
Concert für Pianoforte mit Orchester	R.Schumann
Notturmo (Serenade Nr.8) für 4 Orchester	W.A.Mozart

(Zum ersten Male)

Solostücke für Pianoforte

a) Sonetto del Petrarca)	
b) Au bord d'une source)	Fr.Liszt
c) Rhapsodie Nr.12)	
Andante sostenuto (aus der Symphonie in D-dur))	Fr.Bräse
Tarantella)	

(Zum ersten Male; unter Leitung des Componisten)

It was inevitable that the development of Brase's career would necessitate a break from Bückeberg and the patronage of Sahla. He was eligible for a posting as bandmaster on the completion of his studies in Berlin. In April 1906 he was appointed conductor of the Infanterie Regiment 13, Herwarth von Bittenfeld in Münster with the appropriate rank of Musikmeister. This was an auspicious assignment which confirmed that Brase was highly regarded by the military authorities, for he had been appointed to succeed Theodor Grawert who had been called to Berlin as understudy to Rossberg. Grawert had in his many years with the Infanterie Regiment established a band of high quality.²⁸ Brase was now entrusted with the maintenance of this tradition.

Brase was fortunate in attracting men of influence and goodwill to interest themselves in his career; for, if in his move to Münster he had perforce to bid farewell to his mentor, Sahla, he gained the friendship and support of the well-placed Grawert. This connection was to have a profound bearing, both professional and personal, on Brase's future. Grawert introduced Brase to his niece, Elizabeth Henriette Antoine Conrads, whom Brase subsequently married.²⁹

While in Münster, Brase had opportunity to conduct and perform his own work. On 10 January 1908 the Symphony was given its first full performance under his direction in a concert organized by the music director of the University, Dr Wilhelm Niessen. In the same concert, Niessen was the soloist in Beethoven's Piano Concerto in C major which was also conducted by Brase.

Musikverein zu Münster i. W.

Rathausaal.

Freitag, den 10. Januar 1908.



V. Vereins-Konzert.

Leitung: Herr Universitäts-Musikdirektor Dr. Wilhelm Meßen

und

Herr Kapellmeister Friz Brase.

Solist: Herr Dr. Wilhelm Meßen.

Vortragsfolge.

- 1) C. Humperdinck: Vorspiel zu „Hänsel und Gretel“.
- 2) J. Haydn: Chor aus den Jahreszeiten „Komm holder Febr!“.
- 3) L. v. Beethoven: I. Klavier-Konzert in C-dur (op. 15) mit Begleitung des Orchesters. —
Klavier von J. Moscheles.
Allegro con brio. — Largo. — Rondo (Allegro).
Herr Dr. Wilhelm Meßen.
Orchester-Leitung: Herr Kapellmeister Friz Brase.
- 4) F. Händel: Chor aus dem Messias „Hallelujah“.
- 5) F. Brase: D-dur-Symphonie. Unter Leitung des Komponisten.
Allegro, ma non troppo. — Andante sostenuto. — Scherzo, allegro molto. — Allegro.
(Zum ersten Male in den Vereins-Konzerten.)

Koncert-Bügel: Gebr. Knake.

Anfang: 7 Uhr. — Ende: 9 Uhr.

Während der Ausführung eines Musikstückes bleiben die Saalthüren geschlossen.

VI. Vereins-Konzert: Freitag, den 31. Januar 1908.

Beethoven: Coriolan-Überbäre. — Heinrich XXIV. Fürst Reuß: 90. Psalm und V. (F-moll)
Symphonie. Unter Leitung des Komponisten.

Solist: Herr Anton Siffermanns (Bariton) aus Berlin.

Brase was to spend only three years in Münster. An indication of his success there, and of his growing prestige, came with the award of the title Königlichen Musikdirektor (Royal Music Director) on 21 March 1909. This prestigious honorary civilian title, in the gift of the Royal Prussian Academy of Arts, was awarded to distinguished musicians who were deemed to have made an outstanding contribution to their art. In gaining the award at the age of 34, Brase earned the distinction of being the youngest recipient of the title to date.³⁰

In the same year Brase was transferred to the East to become the director of the Danziger Fussartillerie Regiment 2. He was to remain for just two years; yet this period was to rival the years in Blükeburg as one of the most stimulating in his career. For in this new posting as in Blükeburg, Brase had charge of both a military band and an orchestra. While in Danzig, Brase organized a series of 42 orchestral concerts which attracted many of the leading conductors, soloists, and composers of the age. Included in this number was Richard Strauss whom Brase so much admired.³¹ It is perhaps interesting to record here Strauss's attention to military music during these years. In 1906 he wrote two military marches for orchestra, Militärmarsch in E flat and Kriegsmarsch in C minor (op.57). In 1909 he composed Königsmarsch, an orchestral march 'Dedicated to H.M. the Emperor and King Wilhelm II in deepest homage'. Also dedicated to the Kaiser were the Zwei Parademärsche for military band. A further presentation march, Der Brandenburgsche Mars for orchestra, was composed in the same year, as was Feierlicher Einzug des Ritter des Johanniterordens which was scored for three solo trumpets, twelve ripieno trumpets, four horns, four trombones, two tubas, and timpani.³² It is surely symptomatic of the age that a leading composer should exhibit such an interest.

Brase continued to compose and have his works published while in Danzig. In 1910 he wrote the march Heil Danzig for military band which he inscribed with the motto of his regiment, Nec Temere, Nec Timide! As was his practice he also arranged the march for piano solo, and for full orchestra. Brase's personal life developed during the two years in Danzig, for it was at this time that he became

engaged to Else Conrads.

In 1911 Brase received a further honour when he was appointed conductor of the Kaiser Alexander Garde Grenadier Regiment 1 in Berlin. The regiment was entrusted with the protection of the Kaiser, and was responsible for the ceremonial reception of visiting potentates. The regimental band played on all such occasions and was regarded as the Kaiser's own band. Consequently the conductor's appointment was one of the most eagerly sought-after positions in German military music.³³ The promotion seemed to secure his future. Through industry and application he had made much of his talent, and his reward was a return to the centre of German power and influence. Berlin offered him greater musical opportunities, and the appointment accorded him greater professional prestige. However, his fortune was closely linked to that of the Kaiser and the Imperial Army.

On 4 May 1911, which was Brase's 36th birthday, he married Else Conrads in St Ludwig's Church, Wilmersdorf, Berlin.³⁴ The couple settled in the Charlottenburg area of the city where Brase had lived during his years of study at the Musikhochschule, and where Richard Strauss also had a residence. On 7 February the following year, the couple had a son whom they named Theo after Grawert.

Personal fulfilment was complemented by even more professional success. In November 1910 the Berlin publishing firm of Albert Stahl announced the launching of a competition to encourage the composition of new marches. The competition was open to all musicians, civilian and military, and attracted entries from Germany, all neighbouring states, and from as far away as England and the United States of America. A jury of eminent musicians was established to adjudicate, which included the two Heeresmusikinspizients, Grawert and his assistant, Hackenberger, and the organizers undertook to publish the winning marches as well as offering financial awards to the composers. Around 1,000 manuscripts were received in response, and Brase's march Exzellenz von Bernhardi was adjudged the finest entry in the military band class. The work gained popularity through a piano arrangement published by Stahl the following year.³⁵

The competition aroused so much interest that the army decided to arrange its own contest in conjunction with the publishing house of August Scherl, also of Berlin, in 1911. It was widely publicized and large financial awards were offered to the successful composers in the various categories. As with the earlier event, winning marches were to be published by the sponsoring firm. What distinguished this competition from its predecessor was that it was commissioned in order to find new marches for the army; there was the enticement that the winning marches would enjoy a place in the standard repertoire of military bands throughout the Empire. The contest attracted 3,791 entries, and once again Brase was successful. His presentation march, Grosse Zeit, neue Zeit, was performed along with the other three winning entries at the Hochschule für Musik, before the Kaiser on 12 January 1912.³⁶ Brase received 2,000 DM as his prize, an amount far in excess of his annual salary. This fine march is still played by German military bands.

Brase's career to this point is a record of uninterrupted success. He was an established figure, happy in his family life and professionally secure. His compositions, be they for orchestra, military band, pianoforte, or voice, were being regularly published by various firms including Heins, Stahl, Scherl, and Parrhysius in Berlin, and by Oertel in Hannover. One can but speculate on what Brase might have achieved had not the First World War intervened. He continued to serve in Berlin for the duration. His orchestra gave symphony concerts in rest camps for troops and in the Royal Palace, Charlottenburg, where the Crown Prince is reputed to have played violin in the orchestra.³⁷ In December 1917 Brase conducted his last massed bands concert before a distinguished audience which included the Kaiser, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, General Ludendorff, and other members of the Imperial General Staff. For his services throughout the war, Brase was awarded the Iron Cross Second Class.³⁸ In an interview for The Daily Express in 1928, Brase recalled his association with the Kaiser and Crown Prince:

Colonel Brase has some interesting memories of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, with whom he was closely associated. 'The Crown Prince played first violin in many of the symphony

concerts I gave', he said, 'and sometimes I would accompany him in violin and piano recitals. The Kaiser had excellent taste in music, and a genuine talent for it. He liked the romantics - Weber, Schumann, Chopin - and his favourite Wagner opera was Die Meistersinger. Time after time he would ask me to play the overture of the introduction to Act 3. He had a quick ear. Sometimes he organised competitions in the rescoring of old tunes, and he would suddenly cry out to one candidate: "No, no, you should have three trumpets there!" or make some similar criticism which was nearly always just. English music? Yes, we used to play some of Sir Edward Elgar's, of which the Kaiser was very fond.'

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Brase's days of contact with the Royal family were numbered as the war entered its final year. In 1918 he was transferred to Riga to take charge of the German theatre there. The city offered quite a contrast to Berlin. He had the consolation of succeeding to a post once held by his greatest idol, Richard Wagner. Wagner had conducted in the German theatre in Riga for two years from 1837 to 1839, during which time he commenced work on his first opera Rienzi. While Wagner was as dissatisfied with the position in Riga as he was with his other experiences in provincial theatres, he did at least begin by praising the city:

I was thus all the more agreeably surprised, upon reaching Riga, to be enveloped at last by a thoroughly familiar German element, which pervaded in particular everything connected with the theatre.

After my unhappy experiences with the conditions at the smaller German theatres, the nature of the new theatrical venture there made an initially reassuring impression. A group of wealthy theatre fans and rich merchants had founded an association to raise sufficient money by voluntary subscription to provide a solid foundation for the kind of good theatre management they wanted.

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In normal circumstances such an appointment would have constituted a further advance in Brase's remarkable career, but these were far from normal circumstances. Under the terms of the Treaty of

Brest-Litovsk, signed on 3 March 1918, Riga came under German control. It was following this treaty that Brase had been charged with reopening and conducting at the theatre. However, defeat on the Western Front for the Imperial Army brought to an end German influence in both East and West. The end of the war forced the abdication of the Kaiser and the fall of the House of Hohenzollern. A result of the German military capitulation was the loss of the considerable territorial gains in the East. Accordingly Brase was forced to return to Berlin when the Russians regained control in Riga. When he arrived in early 1919, he had no appointment as his regiment had been disbanded. He was forced, in consequence, to resign from the army in April 1919.⁴¹

The war was followed by a workers' revolution in Germany that was influenced by the Russian experience of 1917. It further altered the political and economic fabric. The military spirit which had pervaded German life since 1870 was now crushed, to a point which offered no prospect of a revival. Brase's career had been connected to this spirit and while it flourished he enjoyed remarkable success; for him its passing was ruinous. There was little demand for men of his calling and experience in the Germany of 1919. Moreover, it was the thrifty middle class that suffered most in the economic collapse following the war.⁴² The Brase family was typical of many which had lost both a secure position and its savings. Their personal misery was compounded in January 1919 when their son, Theo, just seven years old, died of pneumonia.

The difficulties of the age are reflected in the piecemeal nature of Brase's employment record between 1919 and 1922. It is indicative of his courage and reputation that he succeeded in being appointed musical director of the Berlin Police where he was responsible for the organization of bands for the reconstructed force. He also established a band of ex-army musicians called Berlin Centre, and successfully revived the fashionable concerts in Berlin Zoo.⁴³ He augmented his income with compositions of salon music. His compositional output shows a considerable increase during this period, with much of it arranged for salon orchestra or solo piano. All of this music is published by Birnbach in Berlin.⁴⁴ Ever

industrious, Brase was also director of the Philharmonischen Blasorchester Berlin. This was the most eminent band in the city. It had been founded by Franz von Blon, a popular conductor and composer of marches and other works for military band.⁴⁵ Brase intended to lead the band on an international tour.⁴⁶ There is no record of how far he proceeded with the project. He was still engaged in its planning when Grawert proposed him as an ideal candidate for the position offered by the Irish Government representatives.

Acceptance of the Irish Appointment

It was decided that Brase would travel to Dublin shortly before Christmas 1922 to discuss the terms of the appointment with General Mulcahy. He had also received offers from Mexico and Argentina of similar positions but a number of factors led him to favour the Irish appointment.⁴⁷ The geographical closeness of Ireland to Germany was the major determinant along with the generous annual allowance of six weeks leave 'for the purpose of enabling him to keep in touch with musical developments'.⁴⁸ Brase was, no doubt, also attracted by the senior officer status which was proposed for him. He was to be given a station equivalent to that of colonel. He must have been impressed with Mulcahy's willingness to offer a grade of such eminence. In the German army the failure of bandmasters to achieve officer rank had been the cause of considerable rancour since the time of Wieprecht. Thus Brase, like all musicians who served under such a system, was conscious of the military status of the bandmaster and Mulcahy's proposition was of great consequence to him. Apart from the personal honour this further indicated to him Mulcahy's commitment to the project. It is also clear from his actions that Brase was impressed by Mulcahy's national view of the proposed school. The financial provisions of the appointment were a further inducement; the negotiated yearly salary of £600 was generous, and it offered him the prospect of security.⁴⁹

When the nature and objectives of the Army School of Music were explained, Brase made it a condition of his acceptance that he be

allowed an assistant. This demand being agreed as reasonable, he was empowered to nominate an assistant who, if approved by the Minister for Defence, was to be appointed and paid an annual salary of £300, and given the allowances and status of a commissioned officer of the rank of captain.⁵⁰ It was not yet decided to commission Brase and his assistant. The army was not yet formally constituted and the commissioning of foreign nationals was to be the subject of debate. Therefore Brase and his assistant were to occupy a unique position in the young army, being in the manner of associates rather than members.

The terms were agreed and Brase returned to Berlin for Christmas. No contract was yet signed by either party; a gentleman's agreement between Mulcahy and Brase sufficed. Brase was appointed as and from 1 January 1923. He was given three months grace to attend to his affairs in Germany, to find a suitable assistant, and to finalize the purchase of three sets of band instruments and a piano which McCullough had ordered for the army the previous November. Brase was due to return to Ireland on 1 March 1923 to take charge of an idea, for little but the idea existed.

In seeking an assistant, Brase was conscious of the need to discover a musician with talents to complement his own. He required, essentially, a subordinate with didactic gifts, for he was not of a disposition to act as an instrumental instructor.⁵¹ It is probable that Brase sought the advice of Grawert in securing a musician with military band experience, and one who had the facility to instruct in the broad range of band instruments. As a staff member of the Musikhochschule in Berlin, Grawert was ideally placed to comment on the merits of recent military graduates. The nature and extent of the collaboration between Grawert and Brase in this matter is not recorded. However the search did not take long. A Department of Defence translation of a letter from Brase to Mulcahy dated 20 January 1923 records:

I yesterday engaged an assistant who has command of the instruments in the most perfect manner, and will render to me the greatest help.

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The assistant, who remained unnamed, was a former military bandmaster, Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig.

Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig

Sauerzweig was a quiet, unassuming man.⁵³ History has not been kind to his memory. He is commonly remembered, if at all, as an adjunct to Brase. Indeed, during his first two years in Ireland his name was frequently omitted from official documents, being replaced by impersonal designation, such as 'Brase's assistant'.⁵⁴ His unassuming manner contributed, unwittingly, to popular neglect of his appreciable musical proficiency. He was an accomplished performer, capable of a high standard of execution on a variety of instruments from all families of the band and orchestra. Along with this natural facility, he had also the advantage of absolute pitch.⁵⁵ Furthermore, his kindly nature and patience contributed to an aptitude for instruction, and it was for his competency in this area that he became so valued in Ireland.

Sauerzweig was born on 1 April 1881 in the small town of Kleinmühlhingen, some 20 kilometres north of Bernburg, in what is now the German Democratic Republic. The son of a carpenter, he received his early education in his home region. He then studied for five years at the local academy of music in Gommern, where he performed on violin, oboe, and clarinet under the tutelage of the school director, Dr Kupfahl.⁵⁶

Having evinced this early musical promise, Sauerzweig elected to follow the career of military musician. On 19 April 1900 he enlisted as a bandsman with the Infanterie Regiment 66 in Magdeburg, just north of his home town. Sauerzweig remained with this band for ten years and, despite his quiet nature, he impressed his superiors sufficiently to have earned promotion to the rank of Sergeant-Hoboisten by the end of this term. The term Hoboist signifies an instrumentalist and originates from the late seventeenth century when the oboe was the mainstay of the military band. Sauerzweig, notwithstanding his proficiency on the oboe, actually

played E flat clarinet in the military band, and violin in the affiliated orchestra. His obvious musicality won for him one of the coveted scholarships to the Staatliche Akademische Hochschule für Musik in Berlin.

Sauerzweig commenced his studies in April 1910. At the age of 29 he was a mature student and was already an assistant bandmaster with his band in Magdeburg.⁵⁷ He was, indeed, sufficiently mature to enjoy his period of study and to elicit the utmost from it. During his three-year term in the Musikhochschule, Sauerzweig devoted attention to his own particular area of interest: the study of the nature and performance of instruments with special concentration on the oboe and clarinet. It was this specialization that qualified him so fittingly for the Irish appointment.

Sauerzweig conducted his study of instruments under the tutorship of the eminent musicologist, Dr Oskar Fleischer. Fleischer was a fascinating character. He commenced his academic career as a student of ancient and modern languages and philosophy, and gained his doctorate for a thesis in this discipline. In 1886 he turned to the study of musicology with the Bach-biographer, Philipp Spitta,⁵⁸ in Berlin. Two years later he was appointed custodian of the unique collection of instruments at the Berliner Königlische Instrumenten-Sammlung, and in 1892 he published the first guide to the collection. In the same year he was nominated lecturer in Berlin University, and three years later was appointed to the chair of music. He founded the International Musical Society in 1899, and is best remembered for this, and for his work as a Byzantine chant scholar.⁵⁹ A man with specialities of study unlikely to influence a future bandmaster one might suggest: yet, through his interest in instruments, Fleischer did motivate Sauerzweig to concentrate on this aspect of musical study. Two other distinguished musicians were influential in furthering Sauerzweig's career. Dr August Kretzchmar, the principal of the Musikhochschule in succession to Joachim, was induced to champion Sauerzweig by the high standard of his performance on oboe and clarinet. Kretzchmar brought Sauerzweig to the attention of the composer and chorus master, Siegfried Ochs. Like Fleischer, Ochs had transferred from another discipline to

musical study. He had started his career as a chemistry student in Heidelberg. He moved to Berlin, where he studied at the Musikhochschule, and numbered Joachim among his teachers. Ochs was to return to the Hochschule in later life as director of the oratorio department.⁶⁰ His involvement with Sauerzweig emanated from his work with the Berlin Philharmonic Choir which he had founded in 1882. This choir, which had originated with a small group of singers, quickly became a leading cultural influence in the city, along with its sister organization, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.⁶¹ The orchestra, which had been established in the same year, but separately, had engaged some august conductors in its early years, including the ubiquitous Joachim in 1884, and Hans von Bülow in 1887. Bülow generously supported Ochs and the Philharmonic Choir, and frequently conducted the choir himself. During his three years in Berlin, Sauerzweig was regularly engaged by Ochs to play oboe d'amore and oboe da caccia for these performances. His own abiding affection for the choral works of Bach was kindled during this period.⁶² Some ten years later Sauerzweig offered for publication the translation of a letter which he had received, by way of reference, from Ochs on the termination of his association with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra:

Dear Mr. Sauerzweig,

It is a singular pleasure to me to testify that you have been engaged as a soloist with the /Berlin/ Philharmonic Orchestra in a considerable number of performances which I have conducted, and that you have always carried out your part in an excellent manner.

I regret only that we have to forego your services.

With best regards,

Yours most respectfully, etc.

Professor Siegfried Ochs.

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Sauerzweig completed his studies in March 1913 and was accorded, on graduation, the rare distinction of the commendation 'excellent'.⁶⁴ This successful conclusion of his course ensured that Sauerzweig would receive charge of his own military band with promotion to the rank of Musikmeister. While awaiting this posting

he returned to his former band in Magdeburg. He was, in time, transferred to the Baltic coast to direct the band of the Fussartillerie Regiments von Hindersin (Pommersches) 2, stationed at Swinemünde. The precise date of this move is not known, however it was between summer 1913 and spring 1914.⁶⁵ In May 1914 he returned to Magdeburg to marry his fiancée, Elli Anna Teuchler. The marriage ceremony was performed on 5 May at the Kirche St Katharinen. The couple settled in Swinemünde and their first child, Ursula, was born in September 1917.

There could not have been a more inopportune time for Sauerzweig to embark upon his work as a bandmaster. The circumstances of the period precluded creative musical enterprise; indeed, they dictated that Sauerzweig and his band spent the majority of their days paying final tribute to comrades who had fallen in the First World War. Terry de Valera, in a personal reminiscence of his former friend and teacher, records the harrowing impact of these events on Sauerzweig:

He served throughout the War, his principal duties being to conduct his Band at the burial of the German war dead. Little wonder that he did not share my enthusiasm for Chopin's 'Dead March' or Handel's 'Dead March in Saul', or that touching and beautiful German tune Once I had a comrade, although he did play them for me with a harrowing remembrance of his comrades who had fallen. Even though he was based well behind the lines his Band suffered casualties from a British air raid when two of his bandsmen were killed and others wounded.

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The situation ensured that Sauerzweig, unlike Brase, never had the opportunity to impress his personality on a band. His stay with the band in Swinemünde lasted just six years. On the last day of 1920, Sauerzweig was released from military service, a casualty of the constrained reduction in German Army strength. He suffered unemployment for four months before accepting the position of town musician in Swinemünde in April 1921. He held this appointment for only five months before he moved along the Baltic coast to secure a position in Greifswald.⁶⁷ Sauerzweig assumed his duties in

Greifswald on 1 October 1921, and there he remained until he was approached with the offer to accompany Fritz Brase to Ireland.

Sauerzweig's motivation in accepting the Irish appointment was very different from that of Brase. He was a pragmatic man who could well value the prospect of a secure and challenging position in a relatively settled economic climate.⁶⁸ He did not at this stage share Brase's sense of mission in the venture. Sauerzweig was content to leave questions of policy and direction to his compatriot and the Irish authorities. This contrast in motivation was but the first of many differences between the two men. However they were not to foresee this in January 1923, nor could they predict how dependent they were to become on one another in the years ahead.

Satisfied with the conditions of service, Sauerzweig resigned his position in Greifswald and was appointed Brase's assistant with effect from 1 February 1923.⁶⁹

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. John Brennock, 'Army School of Music', An Cosantóir (Oct. 1973), 335.
2. Interview with Mr Mairtín McCullough, 18 Nov. 1986, Dublin.
3. Mulcahy papers, P7/D/108, UCDA; 47/Bands/3, DDAD. The latter contains the minutes of a meeting between Mulcahy and the Army Finance Officer, Thomas Gorman. The minutes state:

The Government has already laid down that it is responsible for the provision of instruments and for the training of such bands. The Minister accentuated the importance of bands, not only for the Army itself, but as an aid to the general musical education of the young people of Ireland. The Minister's proposals for the development of bands in the Army are these:

An expert in Dublin, Mr McCullough, Dawson Street, has been entrusted with the work of securing a musical Director for the Army and band instruments for the further bands contemplated to be established for the Army. With this view, Mr McCullough, on going to Germany on business, was asked to look into the matter of securing a Director of Music from Germany, and also of securing band instruments. Mr McCullough was afforded every facility through our representative in Germany for consulting with the Army Heads in that country, and in particular with the Officer who directs the musical education of the German Army. A specialist in that duty will come over from Germany to survey the position here in regard to musical education of the Army. Meanwhile Mr McCullough is proceeding with the purchasing of musical instruments. Some of these will be obtained in Germany, others will be obtained from those people in Ireland who are specialists in the making of various musical instruments that will be required for the bands.

4. For further information on John Charteres see F.Pakenham, Peace by Ordeal (Cork, 1935), 141-2; J.M.Curran, The Birth of the Irish Free State 1921-1923 (Alabama, 1980), 75.
5. Ludwig Degele, Die Militärmusik (Wolfbüttel, 1937), 158.
6. Ibid., 158.
7. Norman Stone, Europe Transformed 1878-1919 (London, 1983), 159-60.
8. Wieprecht, Wilhelm (b.Aschersleben 1802; d.Berlin 1872). Born to a musical family, Wieprecht learned to play violin, clarinet, and trombone. He spent some years playing with opera companies in Leipzig, Dresden, and finally, Berlin where he settled. His intelligence, musicality, and strong personality won him influential friends in Prussian military circles. Invited to reorganize the Garde du Corps regiment in Potsdam in 1829, he was promoted Direktor der gesamten Musik des Gardekörps by King Friedrich Wilhelm III in 1838. This gave Wieprecht charge of all military music in Berlin and Potsdam, a post he achieved while remaining a civilian. It is for his considerable contribution to the instrumental developments of the nineteenth century that he best deserves to be remembered. In 1835 in conjunction with the instrument maker J.G.Moritz, he developed the Beliner-Pumpe, an advanced form of piston valve with a diameter large enough to allow for improved tone and ease of articulation. In the same year, and again in association with Moritz, he took out a patent for their new bass tuba. The tuba quickly found favour and supplanted the ophicleide as the bass of the brass family. See A.Kalkbrenner, Wilhelm Wieprecht (Berlin, 1882).
9. H.Berlioz, The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz, trans. David Cairns (London, 1970), 408-10. The quotation is from the ninth letter to the French cellist, Desmarest, 1841-2.
10. Peter Panoff, Militärmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart

(Berlin, 1938), 155.

11. Ludwig Degele, op.cit., 157. The Akademie der Künste in Berlin established a music department in 1804. From this developed a fine school of composition which, over the years had many eminent teachers on the staff including Meyerbeer, Strauss, Bruch, and Schönberg. In 1869 the Academy furthered its commitment to music with the foundation of the Hochschule für Musik. The famous violinist, Josef Joachim, was appointed director, a post he held until his death in 1907. He was succeeded by August Kretzschmar.
12. Ibid., 157-8.
13. For a comprehensive account of this question see Josef Eckhardt, Zivil-und Militärmusiker in Wilhelminischen Reich (Regensburg, 1978), 54-8.
14. Georg Randler, 'Prof.Theodor Grawert zum Gedächtnis', Deutsche Militär-Musiker-Zeitung, 8 (Berlin, 20 Feb. 1937), 1-2. Grawert, Theodor (b.Zellin, Neumark 1858; d.Berlin 1927). He joined the Infanterie Regiment 13 in 1883.
15. Ludwig Degele, op.cit., 158-9.
16. A committee under Charles Dawes, an American general turned banker, was established by the Reparations Commission on 3 November 1923 to balance the German budget, stabilize the currency, and repatriate capital. Its report was submitted on 9 April, and accepted 17 April 1924.
17. Jethro Bithell, Germany (London, 1932), 143-4.
18. Brase's name is the subject of some confusion. His birth certificate gives the name Fritz Wilhelm Anton Brase. In his more formal moments he was known as Wilhelm Fritz Brase. However for the remainder of the time he was popularly known as

Fritz Brase, which is the name he himself used.

19. For information on Brase's early life I am chiefly indebted to Miss Mona Brase for making available to me his private papers and family records. These form the primary source of this section along with personal files in the Department of Defence and in Army Archives, Dublin. There are further references in German newspapers and in concert programmes and also in introductions to published compositions. For other published references see Wolfgang Suppan, Lexicon des Blasmusikwesens (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976), 131-2, Table vi; Joachim Toeche-Mittler, Armeemärsche (Neckargemünd, 1966-1975), i, 141; ii, 54, 76; iii, 174; Frank-Altman, Tönkünstler-Lexicon (Berlin, 1936), 74-5; Bundeszeitung, 10 (1933), 152; John F. Larchet, The Army School of Music (Dublin, c.1923), 5-6.
20. Reinhold Sietz, 'Carl Reinecke', Grove, xv, 718-9.
21. H.Colles, 'Hans Sitt', Grove, xvii, 355.
22. George Grove, 'Salomon Jadassohn', Grove, ix, 459.
23. Bachaus, Wilhelm (b.Leipzig 1884; d.Villach, Austria 1969). Pianist of international stature. Toured extensively and was acclaimed for his interpretation of Beethoven, Chopin, and Brahms. From 1905-1912 he was professor of piano at the Royal Manchester College of Music. It is unlikely that Brase and Bachaus were close friends in Leipzig as the latter was nine years junior to Brase.
24. Among the musicians attached to the court in Bückeberg were Heinrich Schültz who was Kapellmeister von Haus 1615-1617, and Michael Praetorius who was a performer and consultant in organ building. Writing of Bückeberg, Eugene Helm (Grove, iii, 410) states:

In later times important composition in Bückeberg virtually ceased, but concert life continued to flourish, particularly

under the leadership of Richard Sahla, who was appointed Kapellmeister in 1888.

After the First World War, Blückeberg became home to the Militärmusikvorschule which is the German equivalent to the Irish Army School of Music.

25. Dermot Bradley, 'Coda to a Concert', An Cosantóir (Dec. 1973), 444.
26. Karl Raab, Entwicklung der Militär-Musik vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart (Munich, n.d.), 42.
27. Details of Joachim's interest in Brase are proudly related in a note in the programme for a concert in Münster, 10 January 1908, at which Brase's Symphony was performed, in its entirety, for the first time.
28. See note 14 above.
29. Elizabeth Conrads was born in Recklinghausen on 18 November 1887. A member of a large family, she had been reared by her uncle and his wife who were childless. As a consequence, Brase was to regard Grawert as his father-in-law.
30. John F.Larchet, op.cit., 6.
31. Ibid., 6.
32. Ernest Krause, Richard Strauss (Leipzig, 1955), 501.
33. John F.Larchet, op.cit., 6. Larchet states:

In 1911 he /Brase/ went to Berlin to the Band of the First Grenadier Guards, the 'blue ribbon' of German military music.
34. Fritz Brase personal file, DDAD.

35. Preis Marsch Album (Stahl, Berlin, 1911).
36. Joachim Toeche-Mittler, op.cit., i, 141.
37. R.S.W., 'Musical Destiny Swayed by a Bandmaster', The Daily Express (8 Dec. 1928), 5.
38. Dermot Bradley, 'Coda to a Concert', An Cosantóir (Dec. 1973), 444.
39. R.S.W., op.cit., 5.
40. Richard Wagner, Mein Leben, trans A.Gray (Cambridge, 1983), 143-4.
41. Fritz Brase, personal file, DDAD. In reply to the question as to why he left the German Army, Brase simply writes 'revolution'.
42. Jethro Bithell, op.cit., 143.
43. Major Werner Probst, written submission for this thesis, 12 Feb. 1987.
44. Frank-Altman, Tonkünstler-Lexikon (Berlin, 1936), 54.
45. von Blon, Franz (b.Berlin 1861; d.Brandenburg 1945). Studied at the Musikhochschule, Berlin. Held conducting posts in Hamburg and Berlin. His compositions were quite popular during his lifetime but have since fallen from favour. See Suppan, op.cit., 126.
46. Major Werner Probst, submission, 12 Feb. 1987. See also C.Sharp, 'Colonel Fritz Brase', The Leader (28 Dec. 1940), 141.
47. Interview with Miss Mona Brase, 28 Jan. 1986, Dublin. Brase was accompanied on his initial visit to Ireland by his wife (40/ACS/386, DDAD).

48. Fritz Brase personal file, 'Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Defence, with Herr Fritz Brase Musical Director: Agreement', Item 4, DDAD.
49. Army Officers were relatively well paid in the early 1920s. But Brase's remuneration was considerable. His £600 salary, agreed from January 1923, compared with that of a regular colonel's basis salary of £456. Defence Force Regulation, Order No.7, Sept. 1924 introduced revised rates allowing a married colonel a salary of £629-702. Brase's salary was adjusted to £914, after an acrimonious debate which included an offer of resignation. All of these rates were personal to Brase and did not transfer to his successors in the Army School of Music.
50. Fritz Brase personal file, 'Agreement', Item 5, DDAD. It is interesting that the agreement between Mulcahy and Brase decided on the conditions of service for Brase's assistant before such a person had been nominated. The agreement specifies the term of the engagement, the date of appointment, salary, and status of the assistant. Clearly the proposed assistant would have none of the rights of negotiation which Brase had enjoyed.
51. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin. Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig was the instructional officer in the school. Brase preferred to compose, arrange, and conduct. When he did teach, mainly piano and conducting, he did so almost entirely by example. Officers of the school who experienced Brase as a teacher, such as Michael Bowles, Col. John Brennock, and Lt. Col. J. Doherty, all agree that he was not a natural pedagogue. In The Army School of Music (Appendix C), Larchet states:

As instructor (in which capacity he /Brase/ is of most concern to us), his qualifications are, perhaps, unique; and his success in this respect was one of the deciding factors in bringing about his appointment.

In this case, Larchet was clearly being over-generous.

52. 40/ACS/386, DDAD. It is likely that Brase engaged Sauerzweig through a third party, probably Grawert. Sauerzweig later told his pupil and friend, Terry de Valera, that he first met Brase when they arrived in Ireland (see chap.III).
53. For information on Sauerzweig's early life I am indebted to his son, Mr Bernhard Sauerzweig, for making available to me private papers and family records. The personal files in the Department of Defence Archives and Army Archives, Dublin provided a further primary source as did Colonel Sauerzweig's own manuscript history of the Army School of Music, held in the school's archives. For published sources see Joachim Toeche-Mittler, Armeemärsche (Neckargemünd, 1966-1975), iii, 174; John Brennock, 'Army School of Music', An Cosantóir (Oct. 1973), 335-41; Terry de Valera, 'Colonel F.C.Sauerzweig', An Cosantóir (Sept. 1982), 293-5.
54. The most striking example of official failure to come to terms with Sauerzweig's name occurs in a Department of Defence memo (A/9541) dated 7 Jan. 1924:

Married Quarters in Beggars' Bush are also
required for Hertzag

This appears to be a corruption of Herr Sauerzweig.

55. Terry de Valera, op.cit., 294.
56. A review entitled 'The Sauerzweig Concert', Sunday Independent, 21 Jan. 1926 records:

After five years of study he left this
institution (the School of Music at
Gommern), not before he had gained in his
examination the note 'Distinguished in
playing the violin, oboe, and clarionet'.

57. Joachim Toeche-Mittler, op.cit., iii, 174.

58. Spitta, Philipp (b.Hannover 1841; d.Berlin 1894). Renowned historian and editor. Best remembered for his Life of Bach (2 vols. 1873-1880).
59. David Hiley, 'Oskar Fleischer', Grove, vi, 634.
60. Martin Elste, 'Siegfried Ochs', Grove, xiii, 488.
61. Heinz Becker, Richard D.Green, 'Berlin', Grove, ii, 566.

In 1882 Siegfried Ochs founded a small choir to sing lesser-known choral works of Schubert, Brahms and Schumann.

62. Martin Elste, op.cit., 488. Ochs took a special interest in performing the large choral works of J.S.Bach.
63. This letter was published in a publicity booklet which was issued to promote concert tours undertaken by Sauerzweig after his arrival in Ireland. Fred Christie (Dublin, n.d., c.1928), 8.
64. Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig personal file, DDAD; John Brennock, op.cit., 335.
65. Sauerzweig's certificate of marriage shows him resident as bandmaster in Swinemünde in May 1914.
66. Terry de Valera, op.cit., 293.
67. According to Terry de Valera (op.cit., 294):

In 1921, the Council of Greifswald University voted him out of 160 candidates the Director of the town orchestra.

The University of Greifswald has no record of such a competition.

68. Interview with Mr Bernhard Sauerzweig, 28 Feb. 1986, Dublin.

69. Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig personal file, DDAD.

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C H A P T E R I V

Development

The two men who were to become the chief protagonists in the development of the Army School of Music, Brase and Sauerzweig, arrived in Ireland on 1 March 1923.¹ Brase had been accompanied on the journey by his wife, but Sauerzweig travelled alone presumably because he had less time to settle his affairs.² On the following Sunday the two men were invited to Portobello Barracks, Rathmines, to meet General Mulcahy. They were also to receive their introduction to Irish military music with a recital by the Special Infantry Corps Band which was the foremost of the existing army bands. The recital was due to commence at 11 o'clock, but the band did not arrive until midday. For the Germans it was a first encounter with the native laxity which constantly perplexed them. The performance served to compound the poor impression. Sauerzweig recalled the occasion with relish:

They performed a 'counter-march' and formed up for a 'programme', which consisted of some marches. The Bandmaster stood on a chair, and 'worked' his baton left-handed. The tune of the band was very faulty, and the style extremely bad, although there were some 40 or 50 performers. We were not very pleased....

3

The Special Infantry Corps Band

During the following week Brase and Sauerzweig travelled to the Curragh, 50 kilometres south of Dublin, to commence their work. This was the signal for Mulcahy to restrict the uncoordinated enlistment of bandsmen and creation of bands. On 14 March a routine order was issued which demonstrated his resolve to ensure that music within the army would be centrally organized:

Adjutant General's Department.

Paragraph 122 - Band

1. Arrangements are being made for proper organisation and training of Military Bands.
2. Meanwhile, no steps will be taken in this matter by any G.O.C. /General Officer Commanding/ pending receipt of instructions from G.H.Q.
3. In the cases where proposals have been under consideration, nothing further will be done in the matter, and a report as to proposals which have been under consideration shall be made to the Adjutant General.

4

The management of the numerous pipe and military bands already in the army presented a more difficult problem. Among these were the Dublin Guards' Pipe Band which had enlisted on 1 February 1922 and accordingly claimed to be the first band in the national army.⁵ It had been followed by the Athlone Pipe Band on 14 April. Other pipe bands were formed in the Limerick, Cork, and Kerry Commands. There were two major fife and drum bands in Dublin: the Corps of Engineers' Band and the Fife and Drums of the Dublin Command. The Dublin Command also had a brass and reed band as did the Cork Command. But the most influential band was that of the Special Infantry Corps. Because of this, and prompted perhaps by the criticism of the Germans, Mulcahy first set about reforming this band. The members had enlisted only a short time before, in January 1923. Indeed the acceptance of the group appears inconsistent so soon before the arrival of Brase. But according to his own evidence, given in correspondence with the Minister for Finance on 19 May, Mulcahy was constrained to this action.

I have gone ahead with these proposals /the establishment of the Army School of Music/ but, in the meantime, we have had, for political reasons, to take on a High pitched band which offered, and which is now the Special Infantry Band, and in addition two or three High pitched bands have accumulated themselves, and brought in instruments of their own in different parts of the country. The immediate advantage of having these bands was too great to discourage their development....

6

Mulcahy did not elaborate on the 'political reasons'. However it is probable that he bowed to pressure from the Labour Party and the trade union movement, for the band members had enlisted en bloc from the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union Band, and their conductor, Thomas Devlin, had been a close associate of the executed socialist leader, James Connolly.⁷ The members were treated quite favourably. On 29 January the Chief of General Staff had authorized an extra two shillings per day for each member of the band.

The band's attachment to the Special Infantry Corps was entirely fortuitous. It happened to enlist in the very month that the corps was established. The creation of the corps emanated from the growing pressure on the Government to expedite a resolution to the Civil War. In consequence the corps was a rather surreptitious organization which survived only one year. Its objectives and the means employed by its members are a source of disagreement. According to one congenial account

they protected and assisted Bailiffs, Sheriffs and rate collectors in the service of writs and the execution of decrees (including evictions and the seizure of livestock). They assisted the Civic Guards in recovering stolen property and in poteen raids. They must have been very unpopular, but as far as one can judge from the files of their official reports they seem to have tried hard to act with forebearance and moderation.

8

In a report on army organization compiled in April 1923, General Mulcahy records of the corps:

It performs special work all over the country and it is used for special garrisons in posts or areas not under any Command control

9

The Special Infantry Corps had its headquarters in Portobello Barracks, and its commanding officer, Colonel P. Dalton, answered directly to senior military authorities. The strength of the formation is disputed. However, Mulcahy records that in summer of 1923, when it was at its strongest, it had some 2,500 men.¹⁰

In seeking to reform the Special Infantry Corps Band, Mulcahy again procured the assistance of Professor Larchet. No reference was made to Brase who was allowed to proceed uninterrupted with his labours in the Curragh. Furthermore Mulcahy always considered Larchet as the arbiter of matters musical in the army. In a typically spontaneous gesture, he had appointed him musical adviser to the army at the inception of the Army School of Music project.¹¹ But the extent of Larchet's involvement had not been defined, nor had regard been given to the nature of his working relationship with Brase. Mulcahy's failure to consider these matters was at very least undiplomatic, and it laid the foundation of a professional rivalry between the two musicians. Moreover the appointment had been made without reference to other ministers and this eventually occasioned some embarrassment over remuneration for Larchet's services. In May 1923 Mulcahy was compelled to make a strong case for payment to the Minister for Finance, Ernest Blyth.

Office of Commander-In-Chief,
Portobello Barracks,
Dublin.

19th May 1923.

To:
The Minister for Finance.

I desire authority for the making of a Grant of £200 to Doctor Larchet, in respect of unexpected work which I have had to require of him in connection with the initiation of our scheme for Military Bands.... Larchet is now laid up for the past fortnight, and I understand that there has been other sickness in his house and that he is rather badly off financially. He has been of very great assistance to me and this particular expenditure will be, to a large extent, covered by fees for Band engagements during the summer, which I am now arranging with Dun Laoghaire, Bray, Urban Councils. In addition his work has been such as to help to reflect very great credit on us.

Richard Mulcahy, General,
Commander-In-Chief.

12

On 11 July a rather curt response, demonstrating perhaps the animosity that existed between Mulcahy and Blyth, was given by the Secretary of the Department of Finance, Seósamh Ua Braonán. The tenor reflects the severe expenditure reductions being implemented at the end of the Civil War, and it implies a criticism of Mulcahy for precipitating unauthorized expenditure. A sum 'not exceeding £100' was allowed with the proviso that

Dr Larchet should not be asked to give any further services in this connection at the cost of public funds.... Considerable expense is already entailed on public funds in connection with Army bands and, in particular, through the employment of Col. Brase and his assistant.

13

Professor Larchet did, in fact, continue to advise the army for some years. In doing so he was motivated by his commitment, and perhaps by the prospect of educating a succession of prospective bandmasters for the proposed Bandmaster's Diploma in either the Army School of Music or University College, Dublin,¹⁴ but there is no further record of his receiving payment from public funds in connection with the project.

In the weeks prior to the requisition for payment, he had again demonstrated his zeal with a generous response to Mulcahy's request for guidance. On 27 April he supplied comprehensive proposals for the organization and daily working of the Special Infantry Corps Band.¹⁵ The following extract indicates the detail engaged in by Larchet. Mulcahy's emendations to the draft, designed to accurately reflect the non-commissioned rank of the senior band member, are given in parentheses.

GENERAL REGULATIONS

Music Study Every member of the Band must study two instruments. Every member of the Band must practise his principal instrument for at least one hour per day, and his second instrument for at least three hours per week.

All junior members must receive lessons in the playing of their instruments.

Care of Instruments Every member of the Band must give adequate attention to the care of all instruments entrusted to them (sic).

All instruments must be thoroughly cleaned (and oiled when necessary) once every week.

The O.C. (I.C.) will hold a weekly inspection of instruments.

Discipline No member may absent himself under any circumstances whatever from any performance, public or private, rehearsal, practice, parade or duty of any kind, without the express permission of the O.C. (I.C.).

In the absence of the O.C. (I.C.) the Conductor will be in command (charge).

Any breaches of the above regulations will be dealt with as acts of disobedience.

16

Larchet's recommendations for a morning work programme demonstrate his acquaintance with the names and instruments of the senior band members.

GENERAL ROUTINE ORDERS FOR BAND

The men shall rise at reveille.

Proceed to clean up billets, make up beds, clean and shave themselves for breakfast at 8 o'clock. When all men must present themselves properly dressed and cleaned.

Men on all-night passes must report to O.C.'s office on ground floor at 8 a.m. sharp. Any man who shall absent himself after that hour shall forfeit his pass completely.

9 .00a.m. All woodwind instruments shall practise
10.00a.m. whatever programme of music is out on stands. No smoking shall be allowed during practice. Sergeant P.Doyle shall take charge of room and see orders carried out.

The above order applies to all brass instrumentalists and drums.

Sergeant W.O'Connor shall take charge of all brass.

10.00a.m. All junior clarionet players shall attend
11.00a.m. practice as directed under their respective instructors - Corporals E.Kelly, J.Sherriff, or J.O'Rourke for programme work. Sergeant Doyle will be in charge of room.

The same shall apply to junior brass and drums - Sergeant W.O'Connor in charge of room.

Sergt.Major Devlin shall pay an occasional visit to both rooms during practice.

11.30a.m. Full band practice shall take place at
12.30p.m. which all men must be present, unless excused by O.C., in which case they shall report absence before leave to conductor.

12.45p.m. Dinner hour.
1.45p.m.

The plan of organization was instantly rewarded. A matter of days later, General Mulcahy initiated the first series of free public recitals given by a military band of the national army.

30th April 1923.

The Secretary,
Office of Public Works.

Band - Performance in Stephen's Green

I am directed by the Minister for Defence to inform you that he desires that a Military band should perform in the Band Stand (sic) in St. Stephen's Green between the hours of 3.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. on each Saturday in May, namely, the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th proximo. The Military arrangements would not include the printing and distribution of programmes, which would be considered unnecessary but would include the provision of music stands for the bandsmen.

I am to request that your Commissioners will be so good as to make any arrangements that will be necessary in order to facilitate the performance and to let me know as soon as possible that the performances may be given.

RUNAIDHE. 18

Although an official programme was not printed, Mulcahy did request the conductor, Thomas Devlin, to submit in advance a list of the pieces proposed for the first recital on 5 May. So interested was he in the occasion that he altered the order of the items which consisted of light pieces regularly performed by British Army and civilian bands.

Special Infantry Corps Band

St. Stephen's Green Bandstand

5 May 1923 3.30 - 5p.m.

Conductor : Sergeant Major Devlin

March	Unter Dem Freiheitsbanner	Nowowciski
Overture	Poet and Peasant	Suppé
Selection	Cavalleria Rusticana	Mascagni arr. Len Barker
Sketch	The Water-Melon Fete	T.W.Thurbon

Interval

Triumphal March	Entry of the Gladiators	Fucik
Serenade	When Malindy Sings	T.W.Thurbon
March Song	Land We Love	T.Madden
Valse	Die Zauberin	C.E.Rawstone
Selection	Shamrock	W.H.Myddleton
Finale	Soldier's Song	19

No doubt Mulcahy's haste in arranging these concerts was founded on a desire to boost the morale of a war-weary population, and to signal the return of normal life. If so, he succeeded admirably. The Dublin newspapers were warm in their praise of both the conception and the realization. The Freeman's Journal described the first performance:

The innovation, which has proved so acceptable, brings home more forcibly the change that has come about within the past two years. The band, which is attached to the Special Infantry Corps stationed at Portobello Barracks, was started just a few months ago, but in that short space the conductor, Sergt. Major Devlin, has collected and trained a combination of musicians whose work, as demonstrated on Saturday afternoon, showed a very high standard of efficiency.... In quality of tone, evenness of blend, perfection of rhythm, and skilful interpretation the work reflected the highest credit on the bandsmen and their conductor. The performance well merited the hearty applause which was given by the large audience.

20

So successful was the first concert that Mulcahy arranged to repeat the Saturday performances on the remaining Sundays of the month. The venue for the Sunday concerts was the bandstand in the Hollow, Phoenix Park.²¹

One further programme exists from this series, but from which weekend performance is not recorded.

March	The Mad Major	Alford
Overture	Light Cavalry	Suppé
Valse	Tortajada	Moreno
Selection	H.M.S. Pinafore	Sullivan
Patrol	The Passing Regiment	Coverly

Interval

March	Under the Double Eagle	Wagner
Selection	America	Winterbottom
Piccolo Solo	Woodland Songster (Soloist - Sgt. P.Doyle)	Hume
Cake Walk	The Gaiety	Hume
Finale	Soldier's Song	

22

Throughout the summer of 1923 the Special Infantry Corps Band continued to perform publicly and to attract enthusiastic praise. During July it performed at Army Athletic Association meetings in Croke Park, Dublin. An t-Óglách, the organ of the army, previewed one such occasion when Sergeant Major Devlin conducted massed bands:

Massed Bands

The Special Infantry Corps, Dublin Command and Railway Protection Corps Massed Bands will be in attendance. Anyone having the pleasure of being present at the Wounded Soldiers' Tournament will recognise the treat in store from a musical viewpoint on Wednesday.

23

Croke Park was also the scene of the band's proud victory over the Civic Guard Band and the Dublin Metropolitan Police Band, in a special summer band competition.²⁴ This triumph and the good publicity that the Special Infantry Corps Band received, created a demand for the band to attend concerts and local festivals. The very first such request had been made on 29 April by Lord Powerscourt. He

wished to have an army band in attendance at 'a treat' he was organizing for the school children on his estate in Enniskerry, and wondered whether a scale of charges had been formulated.²⁵ Once again Mulcahy sought advice from Professor Larchet:

Office of Commander-in-Chief,
General Headquarters,
Dublin.

1st May 1923.

To:
Dr.J.F.Larchet,
8, St.Mary's Road,
Ballsbridge.

Dear Dr.Larchet,

I am sending you a copy of a letter I have had from Lord Powerscourt to-day.

While I feel that he ought to get his entertainment free, as being the first applicant for such a thing, he is probably too well able to pay for it to succumb to the temptation.

It means that we have to fix up our scale of charges right away, and perhaps you would consider what, from your point of view, would be reasonable for a performance?

Beir Beannacht,
Richard Mulcahy, General,
Commander-in-Chief.

26

A figure of £10 was agreed as the hiring charge for a single concert. By 11 October 1923 private performances by military bands, chiefly the Special Infantry Corps Band, had earned a sum of £99-16-0.²⁷ But the acceptance of civilian engagements by military bands was not uniformly welcomed. As early as 4 May the Dublin Federation of Brass and Reed Bands wrote to the Minister for Defence from its headquarters at St James's Hall, Bridgefoot Street, to register its anxiety:

We are informed that the Military Bands are likely to accept engagements from any Civil Body likely to engage them. That we consider will mean the abolition of all the Amateur Bands in Dublin. Because as you are already aware the Military Bands will have the support of an omnipotent Government, whereas the Civilian band is solely depending on the engagements and the subscriptions of its several members. We can assure you Sir it is not any mercenary mood that dictates our action, but on the contrary it is the spirit of Amateur music, and the desire to keep going in the interest of the Citizens.

28

The Curragh

While the Special Infantry Corps Band enjoyed an active season and the attendant publicity, Brase and Sauerzweig quietly persisted in their endeavour to build the Army School of Music. Their placement in the Curragh appears strange as it possessed neither established bands nor suitable facilities, whereas Dublin could offer both. Yet it is clear from Mulcahy's request in September 1922, for authority to proceed with the venture, that he envisaged the Curragh as the primary location. This choice appears to have been based on economic considerations. The town of Newbridge had grown around its military barracks which had been built in the early nineteenth century. It received a boost in 1854 when at the outbreak of the Crimean War a further, and eventually much larger military encampment was established on the nearby Curragh plains.²⁹ The people of the town feared for their economic future when it became evident in early 1922 that the British troops would shortly be leaving. On 7 February 1922 a delegation from the town, led by the parish priest, Fr Brophy, met with Collins, O'Higgins, and Mulcahy, the respective Ministers for Finance, Home Affairs, and Defence.³⁰ The ministers undertook to give sympathetic consideration to the stationing of Irish troops in the posts vacated by the British. It was as a result of this undertaking that Brase and Sauerzweig began their work in the Curragh.

Equally remarkable is the fact that they survived the early months; men of lesser character would surely have conceded defeat and returned home. Their first problem was to find a building suitable for their work. As Sauerzweig records, the two were left to their own devices in this instance as in so many others:

Col. Brase went soon to Headquarters to find out in which building the school was to be, and how many men would be available for musical training. He was informed that no building had been assigned for that purpose yet, and that there were no men for musical training so far.

But he was promised assistance in establishing the school, and after another inquiry or two a Staff officer showed us a huge horse stable in Ponsonby Barracks as the intended building for the School of Music.

Col. Brase seemed to be disgusted, for this place was impossible for any musical purpose.

31

Having rejected the stable, they set about finding alternative accommodation. On an evening stroll they happened upon the old headquarters on the Green Road, just outside the camp. The building, which was an assemblage of tin-roofed huts, had character, but was in a state of disrepair as it had been unoccupied for some time.

The Director applied for, and was given, permission to utilise these huts for his purpose, but was at the same time informed that the buildings had been condemned some years ago.

The place was much neglected and rather filthy all round, and we had no men to clean and improve it.

But one afternoon when we had another look round, we found an old broom in a stable, and a shovel in a coal-shed. With these we set to work and gave the place a much-needed general brush-up.

Then the Board of Works were asked to repair doors, windows and roofs; after

having waited a few weeks and reminded the Board of Works a couple of times these repairs were carried out.

We had then a school of some sorts,
but no pupils.

32

Brase had a circular issued to all army units inviting applications for audition. Of the more than eighty candidates who presented for audition only nine were suitable, and five of this group were returned to their parent units after a fortnight. A further circular was issued, and auditions were held with similar depressing results. The two pioneers refused to concede, and fortune rewarded their tenacity. It came to Brase's attention that there was, in Keogh Barracks, Dublin, a group of men which had enlisted as a band, but was without instruments. The majority of the members had previously played together in the British Legion Band, a civilian formation composed of former British servicemen. The leader of the group was a talented clarinettist and experienced musician named Flahive. Born in Tralee, he had been a bandsman in the British Army and had qualified for and undertaken the bandmasters' course in Kneller Hall. A man of relaxed disposition, he had not completed the course. His experience, however, was to prove most valuable. He returned to Ireland following the Great War and served as an engineer in Wellington Barracks prior to his move to Keogh Barracks.³³

Brase applied to Mulcahy to have the men transferred to the Curragh and this was done in early summer. In addition Brase successfully sought some other instrumentalists. On 30 June the Army School of Music had posted to it its first adjutant, Captain Rooney.³⁴ The project was beginning to take some shape.

There was available in the Curragh the first of the three sets of instruments which McCullough had ordered from Germany. Brase had assisted in the selection and purchase of these instruments from the stock which had belonged to the now demobilized Prussian Imperial Guard. He had personally dispatched the first set of 40 instruments from Berlin on 27 January.³⁵ To musicians accustomed to the British instrumental tradition the change must have been startling. The German instruments were, of course, of low pitch and included members

of the flügel horn family. The brass instruments employed the rotary valves rather than the piston action with which the bandsmen were acquainted. So too the bores of the new instruments were larger than those of the British instruments, producing a mild, round tone. Thus not only was the pitch lower, but the quality of sound was something which had never been heard previously from a band in this country. These distinctions contributed to give the band a mellow timbre quite removed from the accepted sound of the medium.

Replete with both bandsmen and instrumentalists, Brase was in a position to form the first of what was intended to be a number of bands.

The nucleus of No.1 Army Band came into existence on the Curragh, 1st August 1923, the personnel thereof being recruited from men who had specially attested with the intention of forming an Army Band. From this material I was enabled to form a band of some 37 members, about 25% of whom were experienced musicians, 35% a fairly good idea, and the remaining 40% raw material, having practically no previous training or experience.

36

Brase's suggestion that the band was established on 1 August was a mere convenience. It had been operational during the previous month. Furthermore the band was known by the informal title, The Band of the Army School of Music, at this period; the name, Army No.1 Band, was not employed until October.³⁷

The strength of the band, 37 members, was not arrived at accidentally. It matched the instrumentation Brase had been used to prior to the army reductions in Germany. By purchasing instruments with which he was acquainted, and then finding, or training bandsmen to play them, he had progressed a long way towards ensuring the balance of sound which he required.

To achieve a quality of sound and to teach the band a basic repertoire provided further challenges. The size of these challenges can be gauged from the fact that, according to Brase's figures, 40 per cent of the members were 'raw material'. This evaluation is

corroborated by Sauerzweig:

Some of these men were good, some played in an extremely bad style, and a number of them were just beginners. 38

The working day was divided between individual and sectional practice. This plan was chosen not only because it was the most beneficial; they were constrained to its adoption by the lack of a room large enough to house a full band rehearsal. Sauerzweig and Flahive, now a company sergeant major, supervised the individual practice and Brase oversaw the sectional rehearsals. With his distinctive humour, Sauerzweig recalls details of the daily programme:

From 9 a.m. until 12 noon, and from 2 to 4.30 p.m. was practice. The men did not appear to be used to so many hours, for one morning they asked for an interval. 'What do you want an interval for,' asked the Director. 'Just for a little smoke,' said one of the men, 'we used to have a break for this purpose every morning when we were with the batallion' (sic). 'There now,' was the Director's retort, 'don't you ruin your health with smoking; but as soon as you are a first class band, maybe I give you an interval now and again, but not for smoking, mind you.'

This settled the interval question, and the men soon got used to long practice hours. They began to take a keen interest in their work, and soon did they turn up in the evenings after tea for individual practice. 39

The incident reveals Brase as a disciplinarian. He was regarded as a martinet even by fellow officers, as to a lesser extent was Sauerzweig. But Brase's personality, dedication, and ability won him respect. His true proficiency was best displayed when taking full band rehearsal. This, by necessity, could only take place out of doors. Rehearsals were long but never tedious and he gave painstaking attention to every nuance in the score.⁴⁰ These he always committed to memory and it was also characteristic of his style to eschew the use of a baton. Writing at a later date, C.Sharp, the music critic of The Listener, recorded his impression of

Brase's rehearsal technique:

A brief insight into Col. Brase's methods may not be out of place here. My arrival on one occasion at Beggar's Bush Barracks coincided with that of a packet of new music which I helped to open and make ready for distribution to the Band. With a smile he handed me a spare clarinet copy that I might share, as far as might be, in his lecture to his players. After a short reference to the work of the composer we were taken bar by bar, phrase by phrase, movement by movement and section by section right to the end, noting everything, missing nothing that made for a complete understanding of the working of the composer's mind. Little wonder was it to me ever after that these players could show such perfection in music interpretation, as if to the manner born, a perfection that I had not previously heard in any bandroom.

41

The repertoire of the band was at first limited to hymns and marches. Brase was a firm believer in the benefits to be derived from repeated hymn-playing, and for this reason he arranged many chorales for the band. On the day of a full band rehearsal the first hour was devoted to the playing of these chorales. Brase utilized them to develop the players' breathing, phrasing, and especially their awareness of intonation. He remained faithful to this practice; even when the band had won public acclaim he persisted with the regular playing of chorales.⁴²

For both Brase and Sauerzweig this period free from publicity was welcome. Neither spoke English, so they used these initial months to gain a working acquaintance with the language and their musical success indicates how quickly they mastered it. After his years of adversity and loss, Brase especially savoured the peace and possibilities offered by the new environment. It offered him the chance to adjust gently to the pace of Irish life. And he was fortunate in being on the Curragh during spring and summer when he could best enjoy its unique natural beauty.

The change stimulated a most productive period of composition. Brase's first work written in Ireland was a manuscript piece for solo

piano in B minor entitled Herbst. The title reflects, perhaps, the composer's realization that he was entering the most telling period of his life's work, for it was completed in an altogether different season on 30 April. Some two months later, on 23 June, Brase completed a work for military band, the General Mulcahy march, fittingly dedicated to the originator of the project.

On occasional evenings Brase attended the officers' mess in Beresford Barracks to become acquainted with his Irish colleagues and to exercise his English.⁴³ Here he first heard Irishmen rendering their native songs. He was later to use some of these melodies in his six national band fantasias which were among his most important creative contributions. The source, however, was flawed. No doubt what Brase heard in the mess was a mixture of folksongs and patriotic songs along with a liberal representation of Moore's melodies. Thus his early fantasias are based on a mixture of folksongs and popular songs. In later years when he was better acquainted with the nature and history of Irish music, he became more discriminating in his choice of source material. In Larchet's proposals, the school and its bandmasters were given a responsibility for the development of Irish music (see Appendix C). It was an assignment that appears unsuited to the military band, but it was taken very seriously by Brase. To this end there was a purpose behind the majority of his early works in Ireland. His aim was, through the medium of popular and accessible military band compositions, to develop a greater awareness of the richness of the national musical heritage and in so doing to preserve and promulgate the finest native airs. It was with this spirit, and armed with only a few months experience of the country and a handful of Irish songs heard in the Curragh, that Brase commenced work on his Irish Fantasia No.1 in the early summer of 1923. Conscious too of the absence of a distinctive Irish band tradition, he also set about the task of providing the school with a set of national marches.

Coming Out

The availability of the Special Infantry Corps Band had helped shield the infant school from attention and demand. But the quiet term of preparation inevitably drew to a close. Sauerzweig recalls that some four weeks after the formation of the band a group of senior officers led by the Minister, General Mulcahy, paid a visit to the camp.⁴⁴ Under Brase's direction, the band gave a short recital of hymns and marches 'and all were delighted'.⁴⁵ Sauerzweig does not record the date, but this performance was most likely given in the early weeks of August.

Mulcahy devoted considerable attention to the school at this period. Chiefly he was desirous to have the school transferred to Dublin. Arguments concerning local economics were now clearly outweighed by the necessity for closer contact between the school and its musical adviser. The location in the Curragh had effectively precluded Larchet from having any practical input. Mulcahy was determined to rectify this particularly as the approaching academic year would further restrict Larchet's availability. On 5 July he had written to the Chief of Staff requesting him to keep the Army School of Music 'specially' in mind when reorganizing the capital's barrack accommodation.⁴⁶ Mulcahy suggested Keogh Barracks as a suitable situation. Nothing came of this request. His diary indicates that he had a meeting with Larchet on Tuesday morning, 7 August.⁴⁷ On the following Saturday he again wrote to the Chief of Staff urging that Brase and his men be moved.

11th August 1923.

To:
Chief of Staff.

Larchet represents that he shall be beginning his ordinary University and other general musical work for the winter by the 1st September next, and he urges very strongly that everything possible be done to have Brase established in Dublin by the 1st September. If this could be done he feels that everything would run splendidly from that day, and he would be able to do a good lot of work as

compared from his being able to give very little assistance under the present conditions (sic).

Will you initiate steps for seeing that the school is brought to Dublin by the 1st September. Could it be fixed up in Beggars' Bush, even as a temporary matter?

Richard Mulcahy, 48
Aire Chosanta.

It is obvious from both communications that the actual location within the city was of secondary importance. The question of providing a suitable rehearsal hall was not even raised. On 15 August the Chief of Staff formally notified the Minister that the Special Infantry Corps had taken possession of Beggar's Bush and that 'a special portion of the barracks would be set apart for use as a school of music'.⁴⁹ The Special Infantry Corps Band was transferred from Portobello on 20 August and the following day a music press which had been made for the band was also moved. Furthermore, Mulcahy directed that provision be made in the barracks for the housing of Colonel Brase, Captain Sauerzweig, and their families. In taking these steps Mulcahy was not only intent on shifting the project to the capital, but also on integrating the various bands under the sole control of Brase.

Already perceptible was the tension between two of the objectives of the project. The concentration in the first months had been on the creation of a band, to the exclusion of any consideration of the school aspect. Yet the core of the idea entailed the development of a school of music to serve the nation. Mulcahy never lost sight of this goal and realized that Larchet's contribution could best be made towards this end. This explains his urgency to complete the transfer to Dublin. Despite all his efforts, sufficient accommodation was not available in Beggar's Bush for the school. It was a further four months before the transfer was accomplished.

Throughout the early summer Mulcahy and Larchet had prepared draft proposals for the constitution of the school. By early July they had formulated a comprehensive design governing its size -

'approximately 70 pupils', the training to be provided, and recommendations for pay and allowances.⁵⁰ On 5 July Mulcahy wrote to each member of the Army Council and to the Army Finance Officer seeking their views on the proposals. He requested a prompt reply as he was anxious to publicize the scheme and advertise for prospective pupils.⁵¹ Questions related to pay and allowances caused a delay of one month and it was not until mid-August that Mulcahy could publicly announce the formation of the school, and even then reference to pay scales was excluded.

The announcement was made through the national press. On Monday 13 August the Freeman's Journal published an extensive article by Dr Larchet, covering the history and aims of the project, the engagement of Brase, and details of entry requirements and periods of service. In respect of the latter, Larchet was careful to preface the section with a note stating that his scheme was a 'rough outline'. This was because such details had not yet been agreed between the Departments of Finance and Defence. Indeed it is a measure of Mulcahy's urgency to proceed with the project that he pressed for publication before details of service and pay were finalized. He succeeded through publication in compelling a decision, for the Army Finance Committee discussed the outstanding matters the following day. However it was still some months before these matters were finally resolved and the school formally established.

The Freeman's Journal article (see Appendix C) was the result of careful cooperation between Larchet and Mulcahy. It had been altered a number of times before both men were sufficiently satisfied to allow publication.⁵² The objectives identified by Larchet were entirely consistent with the original design which the two men had discussed almost one year previously. They were clearly delineated:

- (1) The production of first-class military bands.
- (2) The training of first-class bandsmen.
- (3) The training of Irish bandmasters.
- (4) The development of Irish music.

53

Other national newspapers also gave prominence to the story. The music critic of The Irish Independent, Harold White, had been

supplied with the article by Dr Larchet and he provided a detailed analysis of the scheme. White was the most prominent critic of the day. He had the respect of leading musicians and was active as a composer, publishing under the nom de plume, Dermot McMurrough. Furthermore his position as a teacher in the Leinster School of Music lent authority to his pronouncements. White's observations are particularly of interest because his career as a commentator encompassed the period from the inauguration of the school to Brase's death. His first comments on the school echo the general mood of optimism and confidence:

The Government is too busy to give any attention to music; and it ever will be. There always exists so many things of more vital importance than music to be considered. As long as music is considered a luxury and an accomplishment instead of an essential refining and elevating influence to the nation, it is bound to be relegated to a remote position in the minds of the rulers of the State.

The Army authorities, however, know the importance of music.... The military bands are the missionaries of music to the people, and it is in the highest degree satisfying to note that General Mulcahy, the Commander-in-Chief, himself a man of much culture and refinement, has vigorously grappled with the problem of military music.

54

That both Mulcahy and Larchet saw an important role for the Army School of Music in the developing musical life of the nation is evident. They focused much hope for the future of the scheme, and for the future of music within the country, on the figure of the bandmaster. He had to be a musician capable of placing his work with a band in a national perspective. This was particularly important as the military bands were to be the only permanent professional large-scale musical bodies in the country; no standing symphony orchestra existed or was yet envisaged. In order to prepare him for this responsibility, the bandmaster was to receive extensive training in the Army School of Music and at the National University.⁵⁵ Such an education, and such responsibilities, went beyond anything proposed for bandmasters in other European countries. In this respect the proposal was challenging and exciting. It was another

manifestation of the courage and hopes of a young nation determined to assert its separate identity. But, as with so many such cases of youthful zest, there was an element of naivety. This was especially evident in the attitude to Brase's position. In the Freeman's Journal article he was introduced as a figure of outstanding ability and extensive experience. This was partly to stifle the anticipated hostility to the appointment of a foreign national. Yet despite his experience and the central role he was to play, Brase was not consulted on the details of the article, nor had he a voice in formulating the policy of the school. Presented as the man responsible for the realization of a unique project, one with which he had been intimately involved for six months, he had yet no influence on its design. And Sauerzweig was not even mentioned. This exclusion of Brase from policy development left the Army School of Music reliant on the continuing presence of Mulcahy and Larchet, and therein lay the danger of a lack of continuity should they be removed from positions of influence. Furthermore, by failing to involve Brase in preparing the public delineation of the school, Mulcahy forfeited a singular opportunity to mobilize his experience and, more importantly, his commitment and goodwill behind the complete range of objectives outlined. In later years this deprived Brase of the moral authority attaching to one who pursues a goal of his own creating.

Such critical analysis has all the benefit of hindsight. On 13 August 1923 Mulcahy and Larchet could feel well pleased that in under one year so much had been achieved. The project was in the public eye affirming a confidence in the future prospect of Irish cultural development. By publicly proclaiming the Army School of Music, Mulcahy was ensuring public protection for a national scheme which otherwise could well have fallen prey to the more limited perspectives of a particular government or army department. Mulcahy was equally anxious to keep the school free of any possible differences between the Government and the Army Council.⁵⁶ It is to his credit that he was successful in this. Also to his credit is the early interest he aroused in the work of the school. This popular interest and support was an important factor in the early success of Brase and his Army No.1 Band.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. Fritz Brase personal file, DDAD; Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig personal file, DDAD. Terry de Valera states that this was the first meeting between the two, 'Col.F.Sauerzweig', An Cosantóir (Sept. 1982), 294.
2. 40/ACS/386, DDAD; Sauerzweig personal file, DDAD. Sauerzweig's wife and daughter joined him on 17 October 1923.
3. Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig, Manuscript History of the Army School of Music (henceforth : Sauerzweig), ASMA.
4. General Routine Order, 26 (14 Mar. 1923), DDAD; Mulcahy papers, P7/B/168, UCDA.
5. The Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
6. Dr Larchet file, A/9149, DDAD.
7. Ibid.; Interview with Mr J.P.Flahive, 1 May 1986, Dublin. Connolly, James (b.Edinburgh 1868; d.Dublin 1916). Socialist leader and active in the Irish Citizen Army. He was wounded in the General Post Office, Dublin, during the 1916 Rising, and was subsequently executed in Kilmainham Jail.
8. 'The Non Survivors', Defence Force Handbook (Dublin, 1982), 91.
9. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/141, UCDA.
10. Ibid.
11. Mulcahy papers, P7/D/108. Larchet's appointment as musical adviser to the army dated from the beginning of his involvement in the ASM project in October 1922.
12. Dr Larchet file, A/9149, DDAD.

13. Ibid.
14. That student bandmasters would attend the National University is the one noticeable addition to Larchet's original submission of October 1923. See John F.Larchet, Army School of Music (Appendix C):

For bandmasters, of course, further training will be given, both at the Army School and at the National University.

15. Special Infantry Corps Band file, A/10022, DDAD.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Engagements file, A/8968, DDAD.
19. Ibid. Mulcahy altered the programme in order to end the first half with Cavalleria Rusticana. The Soldier's Song is discussed in chap.V.
20. 'Music in Open', Freeman's Journal (7 May 1923), 7.
21. Engagements file, A/8968, DDAD.
22. Ibid.
23. An t-Óglách (28 July 1923), 15.
24. Photograph and caption, Freeman's Journal, Free State Supplement, Section II (13 Aug. 1923).
25. Private Performances Band file, A/8979, DDAD.
26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. The money was lodged to a special account until it was decided what to do with it.
28. Ibid.
29. Handbook of the Curragh Camp (Central Welfare Board, Curragh, 1930), 20. No author is credited with this short but valuable history of the camp. See also Mr and Mrs S.C.Hall, Ireland (London, n.d.), ii, 258-9.
30. Accommodation file, S4 200, SPOD.
31. Sauerzweig, ASMA.
32. Ibid.
33. Interview with Mr J.P.Flahive, 1 May 1986, Dublin.
34. General Routine Order, 41 (30 June 1923), DDAD.
35. 40/ACS/386, DDAD. The remaining instruments arrived throughout 1923. The severe fluctuation in exchange rates, resulting from the unstable German economy, caused McCullough considerable difficulty in reconciling the account, and the transaction contributed to the problems his business experienced later that year.
36. Correspondence: Col.Fritz Brase with Dr O'Connell, 2RN broadcasting station, Dublin (12 Apr. 1928), ASMA.
37. Sauerzweig's history corroborates official returns which show a full band in the Curragh during July 1923. The Army No.1 Band is discussed in chap.V.
38. Sauerzweig, ASMA.
39. Ibid.

40. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin.
41. C.Sharp, 'Colonel Fritz Brase', The Leader (28 Dec. 1940), 142. Confusion can be noted in reports and official documents over the placing of the apostrophe in Beggar's Bush Barracks (Dublin).
42. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin.
43. Sauerzweig, ASMA. Beresford Barracks was renamed Ceannt Barracks in 1928.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
47. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/322, UCDA.
48. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
49. Ibid.
50. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid. This file contains the drafts for Larchet's article. The numerous drafts, with Mulcahy's pencilled emendations, demonstrate how carefully both men considered the issue prior to publication.
53. J.F.Larchet, 'The Army School of Music', Freeman's Journal, Free State Supplement, Section II (13 Aug. 1923).
54. Harold White, 'Problem of Military Music', The Irish Independent

(13 Aug. 1923), 5.

55. See note 14 above.

56. The growing tension between some members of the Government and senior army officers is discussed in chap.V.

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C H A P T E R V

The First Concerts

The basic dichotomy inherent in the original design for the Army School of Music, between the didactic function and the separate objective of establishing bands of quality, became increasingly evident in autumn 1923. The promotion of bands of standing required continuity and experience and this conflicted with the aim of training and releasing men to the community after minimum periods of service. The success of the first concerts shifted the focus of attention on to Brase and his first band, and the broader national aspirations never regained their predominant significance. Coming so soon after the public announcement of the school's creation, the concerts served to give substance to the venture. The appreciable popular interest was maintained and even increased. A demoralized population, weary of internal strife and economic hardship, was prepared to support any endeavour which engendered national pride. Thus the prodigious early success of the project was band-related, emanating from the quality of Brase's and Sauerzweig's labour combined with the opportune timing of the school's emergence.

On Sunday 9 September a select audience including General and Mrs Mulcahy, the Chief of Staff, General McMahon, Dr and Mrs Larchet, Professor M. Hayes, Ceann Comhairle of the Dail, and Mr Denis McCullough, attended the inaugural concert given by the band in Gough Barracks on the Curragh.¹ Although it was a private performance, Mulcahy invited a large press contingent as he was ever conscious of the value of publicity.

The programme of music prepared by Brase was different from the usual repertoire to which the audience was accustomed. His selections were dictated by a desire to present music of quality and they eschewed the specious or items recommended solely by novelty or popularity.

March - General Mulcahy	Brase	
Overture - Rienzi	Wagner	
Peer Gynt	Grieg	
Morning Meed		
Anita's Dance		
In the Hall of the Mountain King		
Overture - William Tell	Rossini	
Introduction and Chorus - Carmen	Bizet	
Hungarian Rhapsodie No.2	Liszt	
Valse - The Blue Danube	Strauss	
Overture - Mignon	Thomas	
Irish March No.1	Brase	2

The items presented demanded considerable musical and technical ability and their selection suggests that the band had already achieved a competent standard. This was certainly the appraisal of the critics who reported enthusiastically on the occasion:

Yesterday's programme was an exacting test for a young band, but the performance justified the conductor's assertion that even already he would not be ashamed to bring his band to Berlin. The most difficult piece played was Liszt's No.2 'Rhapsodie'. Listening to the technique shown in this performance and feeling the effect, it was hard to persuade oneself that it had been produced by a band only a few months old. The company present - many of them expert musicians - were enthusiastic. The overture to Wagner's 'Rienzi' was another fine performance, and the 'Peer Gynt Suite' showed the power of the band in a different phase. It was delightful to listen to the Carmen selection and the 'William Tell' overture. Colonel Brase's arrangement of Irish airs was altogether out of the common, as was also the 'General Mulcahy March', the conductor's own composition. Seldom has the Blue Danube Waltz sounded so pleasing, and the daintiness of the Mignon overture was very well brought out.

Considerable attention was devoted to the personality and style of the conductor. While praising Brase, the Freeman's Journal also focused on the significance of the performance:

The conductor has a positive genius for his art, and his movements seemed to inspire his men to produce all the most beautiful effects of light and shade which mean so much.

There was quite a demonstration of applause at the close, and General Mulcahy on the part of those present and on his own behalf, conveyed to Col. Brase and the members of the band, their unqualified appreciation of the performance to which they had listened. They were exceedingly fortunate in having the advantage of such a master of his work as their conductor, whose enthusiasm in his art and unsurpassed skill as a musician, had already produced wonderfully gratifying results. The playing to which they had listened with so much pleasure was the result of close and unceasing devotion of the men to their work, and above all to the inspiration which they derived from their conductor. That spirit of emulation, to prove worthy of their occupation and a credit to their Army and their country, would develop and spread, and he felt it a duty to give expression to the admiration with which they had followed the day's programme.

4

The same paper concluded its report by informing its readers of a proposed first public concert which was already being arranged to take place in the Theatre Royal, Dublin.

It is pretty certain that within a very few weeks this splendid military band of the School of Music will be heard publicly in Dublin. The occasion will certainly be looked forward to with the keenest interest, and the citizens may with confidence anticipate a display which will give them reason to be proud of the work being accomplished by the Military School of Music and its great conductor.

5

Brase's presence was not uniformly welcomed. The negative reaction to the appointment of a foreign musician which Larchet had anticipated was not very large, but it did come from an influential quarter. The chief and most vociferous critic was Larchet's own colleague in the music department of University College, Dublin, Professor Robert O'Dwyer. O'Dwyer was Dublin Corporation professor of music where he had responsibility for the teaching of Irish music, a position which gave him considerable authority to comment on new developments designed to influence the preservation and performance of native music. This authority was strengthened by his

experience and success during his term as conductor of 'Ireland's Own' Band.⁶

In a letter published in the Freeman's Journal on Saturday, 22. September 1923, O'Dwyer was critical of Larchet's scheme and particularly of Brase's appointment. The basis of his attack was that the affair was rushed and that the revival of the nation's music should have been more fully discussed before engaging a foreign musician. He was also critical of the adoption of low pitch. His argument here was strange to say the least. Bands, he claims, are to be heard in the open air where the problems of heat would not affect them, temperature being, in his view, the primary argument for the use of low pitch indoors. As to the merits of indigenous musicians, O'Dwyer states:

And let us by no means forget that we have a great training ground for young bandsmen in the world - renowned Irish schools of the Christian Brothers at Artane, Carriglea, Glynn, Limerick, Galway and Tralee, also at Presentation Monastery, Cork, all of which schools have earnest, able and devoted Irish musicians directing them. These schools have a record to be proud of, for here natural aptitude in the highest sense has, under capable instruction, developed that musical understanding to so competent a pitch of efficiency that it has given bandsmen to the armies of Europe and America. This, in plain fact, controverts the absurd plea that now, with freedom to work and means to endow, we are incapable of training bandsmen for our necessities.

There is perhaps, given O'Dwyer's experience in the area, an element of personal chagrin underlying much of his criticism. The letter makes pointed reference to his victory in Crystal Palace with 'Ireland's Own' in 1910, and to that band's successful visit to America. He followed this initial irruption into the debate with a further, more vitriolic foray through an article which was published in The Leader two weeks later:

We were surprised, indeed, and shocked - and it is hard for anyone in Ireland to be shocked having lived through the last few years - to read that a German bandmaster has been imported and appointed to the supreme control of military bands in Ireland! What is the true inwardness of this? Surely Ireland could supply a bandmaster? Is our claim that we are a musical people to go into the dustheap along with our foolish boast that we are a nation of saints and scholars?... Certainly the importation of a bandmaster from Germany calls for explanation.

8

O'Dwyer concludes the essay with a sardonic verse:

To caoch of flat reeds, German trumpets loud
blare,
We march to the goose-step on plains of
Kildare.
'Tis not now FitzStephen or Dermot
MacMurrough
Whose MacAlla's rampant in camp of the
Curragh.

9

These sentiments provoked a lively debate. In a further issue of The Leader, the cartoon was devoted to an offensive portrayal of a goose-stepping German band, its bass drum inscribed Uber Alles, while unemployed Irish musicians dolefully contemplate the parade.¹⁰ The very fact that the single cartoon is devoted to the subject indicates the degree of public interest. In a subsequent issue of the same journal, C.Sharp joined the debate and urged restraint. That such a topic could focus so much attention on matters musical was itself a benefit, he claims, as music was so rarely discussed. He proceeds to question the popular assumption that Ireland is a musical nation, an assumption which was fundamental to O'Dwyer's argument.

Just as it was years ago, our sense of proportion is unreliable, and our proneness to exaggeration seriously affects our truthfulness. In the provinces we had a grotesque idea of the extent of Dublin's musical pre-eminence, and it lasted till we came and saw and heard ourselves.

11

He proceeds to echo Larchet's belief that musical standards in

the country are dependent on the quality of instruction in the primary schools. Sharp also contends that it was correct to look abroad for a director as no Irish bandmaster of the necessary experience and competence was available. The chief characters, Mulcahy, Larchet, and Brase, avoided direct involvement in the controversy.

The argument formed the background to the first public concert in the Theatre Royal, Dublin on 14 October 1923. O'Dwyer had inadvertently focused greater attention on the personality of Brase and this added to interest in what was to be a decisive occasion. The programme showed some significant changes from the performance in the Curragh. The most notable addition was the inclusion of Brase's Irish Fantasia No.1. This large work, employing some 14 Irish airs, was the first exercise in what Brase regarded as one of his major contributions to music in Ireland, the propagation of the native musical heritage. It is indicative of his capacity for work that he had collected, orchestrated, and rehearsed this work and had it ready for its première at this concert just seven months after his arrival in Ireland. It was a remarkable achievement, given the other demands on his time and the exercise of becoming acquainted with an unfamiliar musical culture. He paid tribute to Larchet by arranging and including his Lament for Youth. The inclusion of a work by Wagner, the overture to Tannhäuser on this occasion, was a feature of Brase's concerts. He was devoted to Wagner's work and undertook a personal crusade to popularize it, to the extent that Wagner is represented in almost all his performances, be they with military band or orchestra.

The Army No.1 Band

The concert was significant in that it was the first occasion on which the designation 'No.1 Band' was employed. The title appears to have been Brase's. It was an unfortunate choice which can, perhaps, be attributed to his restricted English. His penchant for referring to bands and compositions by number is noticeable. The title, Army School of Music No.1 Band, was later abbreviated to Army No.1 Band.

This was regularly inverted to No.1 Army Band, and both names were used indiscriminately throughout Brase's period as director.¹² Initially the title had no connotation of status, it merely indicated the first of an intended series of bands. Its earliest appearance was on the programme for the Theatre Royal concert.

Army School of Music

No.1 Band

Conductor : Colonel Fritz Brase

Vocalist : Mr. J.C. Doyle

At the Piano : Mrs. J.F. Larchet

March - General Mulcahy	Brase	
Overture - Tannhäuser	Wagner	
Songs When the King went forth to War	Koenemann	
The Silver Ring	Chaminade	
Lament for Youth	Larchet	
Hungarian Rhapsody No.2	Liszt	
Intermission		
Irish Fantasy No.1	Brase	
Songs The Ould Lad	Hamilton Harty	
The Bard of Armagh	arr. Larchet	
Overture - William Tell	Rossini	
Irish March	Brase	13

The concert was a singular success and the critics were unanimous in their approbation.

Last evening's performance in the Theatre Royal will go down in the annals of Irish music and in the history, one ventures to think, of the Irish people. It was the first public performance of an Irish band drawn from the ranks of Ireland's first National Army. Never for a moment did last evening's audience seem to lose sight of that fact. Their enthusiasm was unbounded, and rightly so.

14

All of the commentators reported widely on the band's use of low pitch, a topic which had surprisingly gone unmentioned in the reports of the earlier private concert.

This is the first flat-pitched military band in Great Britain or Ireland. Few high-pitched bands could have got out the magnificance of the No.2 Hungarian Rhapsodie so perfectly, whether in the crash of the brasses or the dainty trippingness of the reeds.

15

There was unanimity that the adoption of low pitch was advantageous to the band. The novel instrumentation also excited comment:

Most of the instruments are the very latest production of the brains of German craftsmen. There is a Boehm flute, four French horns, cornets without pistons, and several types of German horn. The last-named and the wide-billed trombones largely contributed to the mellowness which characterised all the work of the band.

16

The instrumentation supported Brase's predilection for an orchestral quality of sound quite dissimilar to the accepted notion of the military band timbre. The character of the instruments ensured that a balance was maintained despite the preponderance of brass. The wider bores of the German brass produced a milder tone than their British counterparts. The rotary valves allowed for greater speed of execution especially in trumpets and flügel horns ('cornets without pistons'). The presence of a full family of horns was a further novelty:

... the inclusion of the French horn being something of an innovation and most admirable in its effects.

17

The strength of the tenor section was a feature of the instrumentation, and it doubtless produced a sonority previously unheard in an Irish military band. Along with four horns, Brase employed two tenor horns, a euphonium, three trombones, and two bassoons. The one apparent weakness was the paucity of lower reeds.

Noting this, some commentators entreated Brase to supplement a quartet of saxophones. However, Brase was not enamoured of their sound and did not adopt them until 1926, and even then they merely doubled clarinet parts. The clarinets were of the simple system, but Brase elected for Boehm system woodwind instruments in his subsequent purchases. Many erroneous observations were made of the soprano brass instruments. A flügel horn was used on the solo stand, its mellow timbre affording a keen contrast with the trumpet section. This player was supported by a ripieno cornet which allowed him to reserve his energy for those passages of particular interest.¹⁸

The first public appearance of the German director naturally aroused considerable interest. Again his conducting attracted favourable comment.

Colonel Brase's principal attraction lies, as with all the great conductors, in his electric personality. Following the lead of Savonoff and Koussevitski, he dispenses with the baton. His movements are restrained, but they are full of significance. His chief aversion seems (and we are glad of it) to be sentimentality. That, one feels, he will countenance in no circumstances whatsoever.

19

Musicians who worked with Brase all affirm his eminence as a conductor.²⁰ His strong personality and imposing mien were fundamental assets. Additionally he possessed a prodigious musical memory. His assured technique was unencumbered by any inclination towards splashy display. His primary concern was to serve the music, by which he was truly, in Leinsdorf's phrase, 'the composer's advocate'.²¹ In performance he eschewed the use of all extraneous material including rostrum, score, and baton. His command earned him the respect of players and listeners alike. Prior to the creation of the school there were no permanent national orchestras or bands in the country and consequently there was no employment for conductors. Brase was not only the primary exponent, but a pioneer in this discipline, and as a teacher was to influence a generation of young Irish conductors. His students in the Army School of Music were to play a leading role in the formation, development, and direction of the country's first professional symphony orchestra.²²

Brase's facility as a composer and arranger likewise commanded attention.

There is no doubt about the ability of the conductor of the band. He shows not only by his control of his forces and his interpretation of the pieces, but by his remarkable power as a composer and arranger that he is a musician of an exceptionally high order. His Irish Selection is a true fantasia and not a string of melodies connected by cheap cadenzas and awkward modulations.

23

The selection referred to, Irish Fantasia No.1, won widespread, but not universal, approval. The treatment of the airs was considered too rich by some. Dr W.H.Grattan Flood, organist of St Aidan's Cathedral, Enniscorthy and an historian of Irish music, in a restrained comment stated that he had not 'the least intention of minimizing the wonderful results achieved by Colonel Brase' but that in the arrangements 'a modal treatment should be adopted'.²⁴ This initiated another debate through the newspapers which continued, albeit intermittently, for quite some time. The subject invariably revived with the first performance of each subsequent fantasia. Almost one year after Grattan Flood's comments, another prominent Irish musical figure, Seamus Clandillon,²⁵ joined the debate:

The first Fantasia is far more distinctively Gaelic than the second or third. This, I understand, is because at that time Col. Brase had the advantage of an Irish musical adviser, with whom he could consult as to what tunes were suitable for inclusion in his selections, and what were foreign. This was a wise policy, as Col.Brased, great musician though he is, could not be expected to distinguish Gaelic music from Anglo-Irish and foreign music in imitation of the Gaelic. In fact, many musicians born in Ireland are unable to do so. It is, therefore, very regrettable that for economic or other reasons it was thought necessary to dispense with the services of a musical adviser, and it is to be hoped that the policy of having such an adviser to consult with Col.Brased may be reverted to. It is not fair to the latter to leave him absolutely alone to face the problems of Gaelic and Anglo-Irish music without competent assistance.

As to the arrangements, Col. Brase has the whole field of European music to choose from in selecting his programmes, and in doing so he has shown a very high standard of musical taste. It will not, therefore, I hope, be taken as mere carping criticism if I suggest that Col. Brase should try the experiment of writing suites of Gaelic airs with modal arrangements. We know he can do this just as easily as the other, as I have heard him improvise delightful modal accompaniments to some of my airs.

26

The ongoing discussion over the appositeness of the arrangements principally served to focus further attention on the fantasias, and Irish Fantasia No.1 in particular became a popular favourite. But despite his advocacy of Irish music, the question of nationality was still at issue. Writing in The Leader, C. Sharp, who had earlier counselled patience in the controversy over Brase's appointment, was willing to make his judgment following the concert in the Theatre Royal.

Of the German bandmaster, it may well be said that he came, he saw, and he won hands down. He came to stay and to devote his proved talents to uplifting the status of music in Ireland. It is an open secret that the Army Board intends to foster the love of good music amongst us through the military bands. Good music grips, the love of it grows, and with it a distaste for the cheap and nasty.... It is not given to many to realise what a herculean task it is to work up comparatively raw material into the finished product. Yet it is claimed in certain circles that an Irishman could have done it. The answer is that no one has ever prevented an Irishman from attempting the task, for the simple reason that no Irishman has had the training that is absolutely necessary.

27

But the most perceptive review of the historic first concert came from Cecil Moore writing in The Irish Statesman:

Of the concert given last Sunday night in the Theatre Royal by the Army School of Music, it may be rather difficult to write without incurring the charge of extravagance. Dublin has suffered so much from the exuberance of its overcredulous critics that it has learned to accept any display of enthusiasm with very

great reserve; but certainly that concert was among the best heard in Dublin for several years, and to many of the audience was a revelation of what music can really be.

As a Conductor, Colonel Brase must rank high. His interpretative powers were at least quite equal to the programme given, and indicated a reserve of strength which should be able to carry him very much further. He conducts freely, although with a remarkable economy of energy; the slightest gesture calls forth the fullest response of which the players are capable; and he controls the band by pure force of personality. He has brought the band to a surprisingly high level. To describe them as perfect would be a decided exaggeration; perfection is a word of very serious meaning, and if such a condition can ever be achieved it will only be after many years; but they have already reached a standard which has seldom before been shown in Dublin. Their tone is remarkably pure, and the introduction of flat pitch has helped them considerably in this respect; the balance was well preserved in the brass all through, even in the most restrained playing; there was no hint of overblowing, and the free and accurate playing of the French horns would have been welcomed in any of the English Symphony Orchestras. Technical defects there undoubtedly were; but considering the raw material on which he had to work, and the short time at his disposal, Colonel Brase has achieved results for which no praise could be too high.

28

Of Brase's own compositions and arrangements he states:

Some of his own compositions were given also. The General Mulcahy march was an instantaneous success, with its contrasting subjects, its virility, and the rhythm which set blood tingling and every pulse beating; but his Irish Fantasia was the best work of the evening. It is impossible not to admire the sympathy with which he has approached the field, presumably a new field to him, of Irish music. He has picked out some of the finest of the National idioms; they are all beautiful, they are all characteristic, and they fill the canvas with a most ingenious diversity of design. He has shown also a welcome originality in leaving the already intensively cultivated ground of Moore's

Melodies; nobody previously appears to have made any use for orchestra of such airs as Kate O'Dwyer and Sean O'Dwyer an Ghleanna. He has handled his materials well; his interludes are really small development sections; and he displays a feeling for colour and movement which finds its chief expression in the beauty of his orchestration. All his materials stand out clear and distinct against a background of lower tone, and he is even more successful in those combinations of timbre which harmonise the separate voices with a real richness and euphony. His orchestral forces are treated with a warmth of colour and a certainty of judgement which, on a first hearing at any rate, shows no flaw. The work is too long, however, and, possibly also the wealth of his orchestration tends to obscure the simplicity, sometimes the austerity, of the airs; certainly he invested the fisherman straying in Lough Neagh's banks with a dignity which would inevitably have roused the ire of Mr. Bernard Shaw.

29

He concludes by sharing Mulcahy's opinion of the national relevance of the project:

Judging by Sunday night's comments, the performance has even a wider national significance; it provided a success which was the more electrifying because it appeared in a most unexpected quarter, and it should help to break the inertia which is steadily settling on the country.

30

The success of the first public concert had firmly established the Army School of Music, its director, and its No.1 Band. The substantial profit of £218-2-4 which the evening realized after the theatre expenses had been paid, reflects the popular interest aroused.³¹ There was an element of chauvinistic pride in the public response to what was perceived as a national success. Fortified by the positive reaction, Brase continued his work of developing the school. He pursued his personal aspiration to gain sanction to purchase stringed instruments for the school.³² As has been recorded earlier, he was accustomed, in Germany, to military bands having the facility to form an orchestra. Brase believed that the establishment of an orchestra would answer an obvious need in Irish musical life.

Just one week after the first public concert he received into the school its first native Irish bandmaster, Arthur Knox Duff. Born in Dublin in 1899, Duff was the son of an accountant. Following early studies at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, he entered Trinity College where he graduated with BA and Mus.B. degrees. He was a talented pianist and organist, and had held a number of appointments including that of organist in Christ Church, Bray from 1916 to 1918, where one of his predecessors was Hamilton Harty who had held this position for some five years at the turn of the century.³³ His qualifications ensured that on the date of his appointment, 22 October, he received the commissioned rank of second lieutenant, although he had no experience of bands or conducting. He proceeded directly to the Curragh where Sauerzweig records that Duff

was introduced to the secrets of conducting by the director, while I had to acquaint him with the technical peculiarities of all band instruments.

34

Duff was appointed at the instigation of Larchet and Mulcahy who were anxious to see work on another of their original objectives commence, the training of Irish bandmasters. Their selection of a relatively experienced and trained musician indicates that, with the school still located in the Curragh, there appeared little immediate prospect of initiating the proposed bandmasters' course. Brase was given no say in the appointment, and while he thought highly of Duff's musical ability he felt him unsuited to a career in the army.³⁵

The Army Reorganization, November 1923

The progress of the Army School of Music was, however, threatened by events beyond its control. Unrest was growing in government over the large size and cost of the army. The Civil War had necessitated extensive recruitment and the creation of specialized units such as the Special Infantry Corps. At the end of the conflict, in early summer 1923, Mulcahy was encumbered with the delicate task of implementing a managed reduction in army strength.

The Finance Department was adamant that a major curbing of defence expenditure was a prerequisite to achieving economic stability in the state. Thus on 25 October 1923 Mulcahy wrote to the Quartermaster General requiring him to refrain from committing the exchequer to any further expense in respect of the Army School of Music unless such expenditure was personally sanctioned by Mulcahy.³⁶

In the interim he proceeded with a revision of the total army establishment. This necessitated a decision on the size of the school of music. Once again Mulcahy sought the advice of Larchet. The very range of the questions raised by Mulcahy indicate the measure of Larchet's influence. Larchet was even requested to pass judgment on matters outside the musical area. Again Brase was not consulted. Whatever successes he may have earned, it was clear that Mulcahy intended Larchet to continue as the guiding influence.

23rd October 1923.

To:
Dr.J.F.Larchet,
8, St.Mary's Road,
Ballsbridge.

My dear Dr.Larchet,

It is a matter of importance to put the terms of service of our bandsmen on a proper basis at the earliest possible moment.

Particularly is it desirable to enroll our No.1 Band, for a definite period of service, and, with a view to this, I should like the following matters attended to at the earliest possible moment:-

- (a) I attach a copy of the rough outline of the Military School Scheme that you suggested some time ago. I want you to again go into the matter with a view to putting up a final proposal with regard to terms of service and pay for Bandsmen. In connection with this matter I attach you a copy of Defence Order No.30., giving the new rates of pay etc.. In settling what would be the proper rate of pay for Bandsmen, as well as their proper ranks, attention is called to paragraph 14, of the order dealing with additional pay.

- (b) At the same time, and in accordance with the proposals which you are making, I should like a list of the men attached to No.1 Band, with proposals as to their ranks and pay, with a view to our taking a decision to offer them re-enlistment for a period of from three to five years, according as you would suggest, and I would like to have a suggestion on this point.
- (c) I would like early steps to be taken to have the Special Infantry Band gone over, with a view to seeing:
1. What men are unsuitable for training that they may be definitely marked off for demobilisation soon.
 2. What definite material exists there for putting into a new band.
- (d) I would like a definite proposal as to the number of Bands that we would have on the stock next year.

I should like you to go over these matters early, or at any rate to see me early about any points that you would like to have cleared up.

Beir Beannacht,
Richard Mulcahy,
Aire Chosanta.

37

Mulcahy had accepted the title, No.1 Band; it had already gained popular currency and was to remain for the future. However the days of another band, that of the Special Infantry Corps, were numbered. On the following Sunday the band gave its final major concert performance in a Grand National Concert organized by Dr Larchet.³⁸ This variety concert, featuring leading Irish musicians, was held in the Theatre Royal and, coming just two weeks after the successful No.1 Band concert, it aroused the critics to engage in comparison. The consensus was that while the Special Infantry Corps Band performed well it could not be compared with the younger band. Indeed the large element of variety was regarded by Harold White as being detrimental to the success of the evening.³⁹ It was a sorry end for the band which had gained so much favourable publicity when giving the first public recitals by a Free State Army band. It had answered a demand and, unwittingly, allowed Brase the time to develop

the organization into which the Special Infantry Corps Band was now to be subsumed.

Professor Larchet responded to Mulcahy's letter with characteristic dispatch and thoroughness. His detailed submission on pay and service was fully accepted by the Minister who forwarded it to each member of the Pay Committee for consideration. The covering letter reveals that Mulcahy intended to retain those members of the Special Infantry Corps Band recommended by Larchet as the basis for a second band. Larchet had worked closely with the band from shortly after its entry to the army and was acquainted with the abilities of its members. But that he, rather than Brase, was asked to give advice on the reattestation of No.1 Band is more remarkable.

Aire Chosanta,
Bearraic Phortobello,
Baile Atha Cliath.

14th November 1923.

To:
Each member of the Pay Committee.

I am circulating herewith a Scheme of Pay and Service for members of the Army School of Music which has been very carefully gone into and which I would like considered and approved at the next Meeting of the Pay Committee.

The re-attestation of our No.1 Band requires to be attended to at once and the Special Infantry Band weeded out of some of its members, and, although the members of these two Bands will only be attested for three years, it is necessary to have the general scheme approved before their re-attestation is effected. They will be re-attested at particular points on the scale, according to their qualifications.

Beir Beannacht,
Richard Mulcahy,
Aire Chosanta.

40

One particular provision included in the submission calls for special comment. The period of service suggested by Larchet was designed to allow men who had successfully served their time in the school to retire from the age of 31 onwards. This was intended to ensure that trained and able musicians, equipped with the First Class Bandsman's Certificate, would return to their home regions young enough and with the ability to contribute to the development of music in the locality. This vocationalist policy was at the heart of Mulcahy's original plan. The flaw in the scheme was that it presupposed that conditions outside the army would be attractive enough to encourage bandsmen to opt for discharge on the completion of the full 15 years service. Furthermore there is no reference in the scheme to a provision for pensions or gratuities. Such a provision may have given a level of financial security sufficient to allow bandsmen to leave the service. The absence of such inducements and the poor economic climate of the country prevented Mulcahy's dream becoming reality.

Meanwhile the size of the school was receiving attention in conjunction with the general reorganization of the army establishment. The first complete scheme of reorganization was submitted to Mulcahy on 19 November by his Chief of Staff, General Sean McMahon. Overall this plan envisaged a drastic reduction in personnel leaving the strength of the army at 19,968.⁴¹ The Army School of Music was allowed a strength of 294, a generous establishment owing much, no doubt, to Mulcahy's personal interest. In reference to the school, McMahon's scheme had nothing to say of its function or objectives, confining its comments to the subject of strength:

The establishment for the School of Music is 294 which includes all bands in the army at present. The establishment for the School itself amounts to only 44 all ranks.

42

McMahon's scheme was, of necessity, a hastily prepared plan. The urgent requirement to limit defence expenditure prevented a detailed examination of every army unit. However, Mulcahy was satisfied that the plan answered the crucial need, and that it

presented a design for a rationalized but more efficient force. On 24 November he recommended its adoption to the members of the Executive Council.⁴³ But there was much opposition to the scheme from members of the Government and from the army. While it is beyond the scope of this history to expound the reasons underlying the negative reaction, they may be briefly described: first, there was a natural resentment among men who felt rejected by a state previously glad of their services; second, there was a popular belief that erstwhile British servicemen were being given priority at the expense of native Irishmen who were being released from the army; third, there was a suspicion that Mulcahy was in league with senior members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the secret Fenian organization; indeed, some conjectured that he was the leader of the group, and that the army was coming even further under the influence of this organization.⁴⁴

There was considerable unrest in the Curragh during the month of November. It did not amount to mutiny, but the threat of a large unsettled army was enough to encourage the leaders of the young democracy to press Mulcahy to redesign the reduction plan. Despite this reversal, Mulcahy persisted with the formal establishment of the school of music. On 20 November he issued, through the Chief of Staff, General Staff Organization Memorandum No.9 which was the formal instrument for the creation of the Army School of Music.⁴⁵ Although Brase had been labouring for some eight months and the first concert had been given, it is this document that signals the official birth of the school. The plan is an exact copy of the music section of the rejected McMahon scheme. That Mulcahy singled out the Army School of Music design and proceeded to implement it, despite rejection of the overall scheme, again indicates his particular interest in the school and his determination that it should not be damaged or delayed by the general unease over army reductions. In the memorandum, the Chief of Staff directed that the school be established henceforth under the command of Commandant J.Coughlan in Beggar's Bush Barracks, Dublin, and that all bands be transferred to the barracks by 1 January 1924.⁴⁶ The Special Infantry Corps Band came under the control of the school as from the date of the memorandum. Just one month later the band lost its title:

The scheme of organisation as laid down for the Special Infantry Band and dated the 2 April 1923 is cancelled owing to the establishment of the ASM provided for under General Staff Organisation Memo dated 20 November 1923.... The conductor Sergeant Major Devlin will, until further notice, be responsible for the musical performance and training of the band namely, rehearsals, individual and collective practices, music writing, musical items etc. 47

On 29 December ten members of the Cork Pipe Band arrived at Beggar's Bush Barracks. They were joined two days later by a further ten pipers from Limerick. Fifteen members of the Cork Command brass and reed band reported to the barracks on 2 January, and two days later eleven members of the Athlone Pipe Band arrived.⁴⁸

The Army No.1 Band was due to give its second public concert in the Theatre Royal on Sunday 13 January. Mulcahy had long wished to see Brase and his band stationed in the capital, but the inadequate accommodation in Beggar's Bush Barracks had prevented the transfer. The delay caused more than inconvenience; it effectively restricted Larchet's involvement for another academic year. It proved an inopportune delay, for as circumstances transpired, Larchet was not offered many further opportunities to influence the development of the school. One can but conjecture that had the transfer been completed in summer 1923, the course of the project would have been somewhat different. As it was, Mulcahy instructed that all members of the school serving in the Curragh were to travel to Dublin for the concert and were afterwards to remain in the city.⁴⁹

The concert was another conspicuous success. Brase presented an interesting and challenging programme and the guest artiste was the popular singer, Joseph O'Neill, later music critic of The Irish Independent and Secretary of the Leinster School of Music, who was accompanied on the piano by Lieutenant Arthur Duff.

(Band Programme)

Irish March No.3	Brase	
Minuet		
Serenade	Brase	
Overture - Rienzi	Wagner	
Hungarian Rhapsody No.1	Liszt	
Overture - The Magic Flute	Mozart	
Two Hungarian Dances	Brahms	
Capriccio italien	Tchaikovsky	
La Gioconda	Ponchielli	
March - General Mulcahy	Brase	50

Once again the press response was most favourable, with further concentration on the conductor:

None of the showman about Brase (sic). He's a musician in a soldier's uniform, a soldier with a maestro's mentality. He works with his band like a comrade, and leads them with the magnetism of a commanding officer. He prides in his bandsmen; they glory in their band colonel. There is something rarely found in military organisations that is found here between Brase and his band.

51

Harold White, writing in The Irish Statesman, shows greater perspicacity but arrives at a similar conclusion:

He /Brase/ is a musician of great distinction. In order to be convinced of this I do not need to be told that he was the Kaiser's chief musical director. It is evident in the artistry displayed, both in the choice of his music, and the interpretation of it. It is seen in his ability as a composer and more especially in his ingenuity and skill as an arranger. Colonel Brase's musicianship is also displayed in his powers as a conductor, and it is chiefly by this quality that he has been able to bring Irish military music to such a degree of perfection within a comparatively short period.

52

White uses the opportunity to record his opinion in relation to the recent controversy surrounding Brase's appointment:

Apart altogether from the matter of experience, from my knowledge of Irish musicians, I believe that an Irish conductor would not have faith in the ability of his men to do the best class of work. I think that the men would not have confidence in one of their own countrymen as conductor. I am convinced that under such conditions discipline could not be maintained, and a course of regular study would not be followed. It has, therefore, taken an expert and talented German musician to prove that we have a great deal more musical talent amongst us than we had hitherto believed.

53

C. Sharp in The Leader repeated his assertion that Brase had proved his worth and he continued:

The next notable feature of the concert, which went practically unnoticed by the press, was the really fine tone of the band. Here, in the main, was the improvement of the three months work. There need be no secret about the method of its production, for Colonel Brase, like other first-class conductors, simply uses the grand old hymn tunes to help his men to appreciate what tonality really means, and to impel them to perfect themselves therein. The high quality of the programme may best be seen from the fact that it included items from the master minds of Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia and Italy, the countries from which the great bulk of the world's classics emanates. As regards our own contribution, it is of interest to know that Colonel Brase, - like many of his country-men, knows a good deal more about our folk music than he does about ourselves, and he pays a high tribute to its richness and its value. Many friends, through the influence of The Leader, have attended, and have decided to continue to attend Colonel Brase's recitals just as they would a series of lectures, confident that their musical culture will be much enriched thereby. I have scanned programmes for a period of over thirty years and can vouch for the fact that in no instance has such high class fare been provided.

54

On the day of the concert, Routine Order No.11, issued by the Army School of Music, recorded that Brase, Sauerzweig, and Duff along with 56 other ranks were added to the strength of the school.⁵⁵ Also during January Brase combined the Cork Command brass and reed band with those members of the Special Infantry Corps Band who had been

retained by Larchet to form the No.2 Band.⁵⁶ Routine Order No.18 dated 22 January showed, for the purpose of a medical examination, that the Army School of Music consisted of: school staff, civilian boy pupils, No.1 Band, No.2 Band, and a large pipe band.⁵⁷ On 7 February 1924, 34 non-commissioned officers of No.2 Band attested for a further period of three years. They were joined by six others the following day, and by eight boys who attested for a period of five years.⁵⁸

The No.1 Band was regularly performing for military ceremonies and occasions. On the Saturday following its arrival in Beggar's Bush, the band gave a concert in the barrack gymnasium for other members of the unit. But it was the major public recitals that dominated Brase's attention. He displayed an habitual priority for the musical aspect of his office. Under his guidance the band was undoubtedly orientated towards concert performance rather than military routine.

The third Theatre Royal concert took place on Sunday evening 3 February. Wagner was represented in a fantasia based on Die Walküre and in the Vorspiel und Liebestod from Tristan und Isolde; the overture to Maritana by Wallace was included; and Brase again performed his much praised Irish Fantasia No.1, along with his arrangement of an Irish march by Molyneux Palmer. Some other smaller pieces were performed and the vocalist was Mr Michael Gallagher who was accompanied by Duff.

It proved to be the most popular of the early concerts and it realized a net profit of over £260.⁵⁹ Many people failed to gain entrance so great was the demand to attend. One correspondent advocated that second performances be given in future.⁶⁰ But all the critics were in agreement in their estimation of the success of the evening. The quality of the programme, the restrained tone of the band, and the musicianship displayed by Brase were common topics of comment. H.L.Morrow, music critic of the Freeman's Journal and an influential and perceptive commentator, in the course of his assessment of the performance turned his attention to the question of Brase and his appointment:

.... The concert was an overwhelming success. Col.Brasc (whom by now we all recognise, no matter what may have been our predilections, to be the only man for the job) was at his best; the band, especially the clarinet players, was at its best, and the audience its most enthusiastic. The house was packed from floor to ceiling, and as many more were turned away.

That Col.Brasc has moulded his players into excellent shape there is no denying. If one feared the effect of the Teutonic mind on Celtic matter, these fears had better be dispelled. Col.Brasc has not produced a machine-made body of players, as some of us dreaded, but one which seems as pliable as clay under the hand of the potter.

61

There was manifestly growing support and respect for Brasc from both public and critics who were satisfied that he did not conform to the Prussian stereotype portrayed by O'Dwyer and his supporters. Far from being a handicap, it was evident that the very fact of being a foreigner was working to Brasc's advantage. The Irish, as a rule, are ever more regardful of a foreign authority, and this was especially true of the bandmaster from 'the most musical country of the world'.⁶²

Most of the commentators noted an incident that made this concert particularly interesting: it concerned Brasc's considerable, even if initially inadvertent, influence on the choice of a national anthem for the young state.

The National Anthem

The National Anthem, Amhrán na bhFiann, was first known by its original English title, The Soldier's Song. The poem was written in 1907 by Peadar Kearney who also composed the music together with Patrick Heeney.⁶³ The text was first published in the radical monthly newspaper Irish Freedom in September 1912.⁶⁴ It consists of three stanzas and a chorus, and the opening stanza and chorus indicate the fervent nationalist tenor of the song:

suggested the memory of a time when Irishmen appeared united behind a common goal, and therefore it transcended the bitterness of the Civil War. However The Soldier's Song had no official status or recognition.

The absence of an official anthem was the subject of a letter, dated 1 February 1924, from the publicity section of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the President of the Executive Council.

There is no accepted Irish National Anthem. This is beginning to be noticed. A request has come, for example, from the directors of the Olympic Games in Paris to supply them with copies of our National Anthem to be played during the Games there. The Soldier's Song is hardly suitable either in words or music. Neither is A Nation Once Again. In this particular case we are thinking of recommending the use of Let Erin Remember.

68

The publicity section proposed that a national competition be instigated to discover a suitable anthem or, if that proposal should prove unacceptable, to find a text appropriate to the air of Let Erin Remember. No reference is made in the letter to Moore's poem or to the fact that his lyric gave the name to an air formerly known as The Little Red Fox. Before the President could reply an incident occurred that demonstrated the public will in this matter. At the conclusion of the concert in the Theatre Royal on 3 February, Brase was prevailed upon to conduct an encore. He obliged with his Irish March No.1. It had been heard previously at the inaugural concert in the Curragh in September 1923, and at the first concert in the Theatre Royal. The march is a collection of popular airs including Who Fears to Speak of '98, The Minstrel Boy, and it concludes with The Soldier's Song. The Freeman's Journal described the scene in its review of the concert:

The concert had its stirring moments, apart altogether from the music.... Most thrilling of all was at the close, when Col. Brase, in response to loud and prolonged applause, conducted another of his Irish Fantasies (sic),

the whole audience, including the
Governor-General, rose to its feet at the sound
of the Soldier's Song. 69

Other accounts confirm that the audience rose in recognition of the anthem, despite its place at the end of a march. Mulcahy recalls that along with the Chief of Staff, McMahon, he remained seated in order to demonstrate that the army authorities did not consider this air to be the anthem.⁷⁰ Around them however, members of the Government stood, including the President, Mr Cosgrave.

This incident was an unequivocal public recognition of The Soldier's Song as the anthem. Brase was presumably as surprised as Mulcahy. Had he regarded the air as the anthem he would not have included it in the march. It is but conjecture to state that he did not consider the air of a sufficient quality to be the national song. It is however informed conjecture, for Mulcahy records that Brase did not favour The Soldier's Song, preferring instead O'Domhnaill Abú.⁷¹

The President, conscious no doubt of the Theatre Royal incident, sent a laconic reply to the publicity section on 28 April 1924.

I am against any change in the present air
Soldier's Song. 72

There the matter rested, with the President's attitude supporting the use of the air as the anthem although that decision had not been formally promulgated. Confusion regarding the anthem remained, especially abroad where the air, Let Erin Remember was often employed as the official anthem.⁷³

The issue was also the occasion for some public debate. Harold White was requested by the editor of The Irish Statesman, George Russell, to consider whether words and music which Russell had submitted to him were appropriate for an anthem. White, through The Irish Statesman, declined the request as he felt that an anthem was not something to be decided on, nor should it be the object of a competition. On the contrary

A national song is a spontaneous growth and must reflect the temperament of a free people.... To try and produce a national hymn by means of a prize competition is futile.

74

The Government was compelled to a decision in July 1926 when a Dáil deputy, Osmond Gratten Esmond, tabled a question to the President, enquiring whether he was aware that Irish military bands had recently played two different airs, each purporting to be the anthem, at separate functions. Furthermore, Esmond wished to know

whether he /the President/ will state what is the national anthem, or, if the matter is not finally settled, what tune should be provisionally accepted as such pending a final decision.

75

Deputy Esmond's question was due to be raised in the Dáil on 20 July. In the preceding week the Cabinet considered the issue.

It was mentioned that The Soldiers Song was regarded as the National Anthem within the Irish Free State, but that the use of the air Let Erin Remember was being encouraged abroad. It was considered desirable that there should be uniform practice in regard to this matter, and it was decided that The Soldiers Song alone should be used.

76

The official adoption of The Soldier's Song as the national anthem can be dated from this decision which was taken, ironically enough, on 12 July, the very day when Unionists commemorate the victory of King William at the Battle of the Boyne. The announcement was given in the Dáil by the Minister for Defence, Peadar Hughes, in reply to the question from Osmond Gratten Esmond. The fact that the question was referred to the Minister caused an altercation between the Ceann Comhairle and Esmond, the latter being annoyed that his question was not replied to by the President.⁷⁷

Some considered the anthem too long and lacking in immediate appeal. The brevity of the British anthem was often mentioned in

this respect, and that it began with such a memorable refrain was seen as being to its advantage. On 19 October 1928 the then Minister for Defence, Desmond Fitzgerald, wrote to the Executive Council urging changes in The Soldier's Song. He suggested that its members consider a shortened version of the anthem, and he also requested that

Colonel Fritz Brase be asked to arrange it for school singing in one, two, three and four voices.

78

The Cabinet considered the matter on 24 October and decided to reserve judgment until it had an opportunity to hear the arrangements. In the meantime the case for a definitive arrangement of the anthem was strengthened by a report received from the Chief Justice, the Hon. Hugh Kennedy, on 6 December. The Chief Justice had returned from an official visit to the United States and Canada and was disturbed to find that there was little knowledge of the existence of an Irish anthem. He had to supply the band leader on the boat journey with the air of The Soldier's Song in order that an arrangement could be made.⁷⁹ Following this episode, the Chief Justice recommended that Colonel Brase's arrangement be published and distributed, and that the copyright be purchased for the nation from the original author, as he felt that the copyright of the anthem should not be vested in one individual.

The comments of the Chief Justice gave added urgency to the question of publishing an authorized version of the anthem, and to the primary question of establishing copyright. On 14 February 1929 the Minister for Defence informed the Cabinet that Brase's arrangement was now ready:

14 February 1929.

Secretary to the Executive Council.

With reference to your communication S.3767/2 of the 23rd ultimo, I am desired by Mr.Fitzgerald to say that No.1 Band under the personal conductorship of Colonel Brase can be made available at any time and place to suit the convenience of the Cabinet to render the proposed new arrangement of the National Anthem.

The Minister considers that it would be desirable that music scores for the National Anthem for bands and orchestras should be readily available, and he agrees that it is obviously undesirable that a private individual should have any copyrights in respect of it. He understands that Mr.Patrick Heaney (sic), who died in 1911, composed the music, and that Peadar O'Cearnaigh collaborated in the words, if actually he is not the sole author of them. Colonel Brase's arrangement of the Anthem has not been published. It is not known what copyrights, if any, are held in respect of the music or the words. The Minister presumes that any necessary action in the matter will be taken in your Department.

Runaidhe Aire.⁸⁰

On 11 March the Cabinet heard the arrangement during a horse-jumping demonstration in McKee Barracks, Dublin, and on the following day it formally approved Brase's setting, and an order for 250 copies at a total cost of £22-17-6 was placed with the Stationery Office.⁸¹ The Stationery Office advocated that Brase's name be excluded from the final copy in order to avoid future complications over copyright. Instead the copy stated:

arranged by the Officer Commanding Army School
of Music (Stationery Office Copyright).

82

However copyright difficulties did arise to delay printing when Peadar Kearney claimed rights in respect of the words. Printing finally proceeded in October 1929 when it was established that no one claimed rights in respect of the music. Exhaustive proof-reading was undertaken by Brase from November until February 1930 when the Minister for Defence informed the President that the copy was ready for final printing. He also alluded to the title of the anthem which

had been represented in various ways throughout the previous years:

With reference to the query in the last paragraph of your minute as to the title of the Anthem, if I recollect aright there was an action taken some time ago by Peadar Kearney in connection with the question of copyright, I think, of the song. The affidavits in the case should shew the correct title, if you can have them looked up. From the fact that the first line of the first verse runs:-

'I'll sing you a song, a soldier's song,'

I should imagine that the correct title is either

A Soldier's Song or) i.e. Singular.
The Soldier's Song)

This however is only my personal opinion.

83

The Soldier's Song was accepted as the correct title and Brase's arrangement became the official version of the anthem. This military band arrangement remained the only official version available until 1932. On 30 January that year the Minister for Defence submitted an orchestral arrangement of the anthem by Brase for Executive Council approval. Authorization for its use was given on 19 February and two months later a recording of this arrangement was made by the Gramophone Company Ltd. (His Master's Voice) in London.⁸⁴

Two further chapters in the history of the anthem took place in October of the same year. On 5 October a shortened version of the anthem, again by Brase, was approved by the President following a rendering by No.1 Band before the Ministers for Education and Defence in Portobello Barracks. This followed another claim from Brase, in June 1932, that the anthem was too long. The present version of the anthem dates from this time. It consists of the chorus alone, excluding the three stanzas. Indeed Brase had advocated an even shorter version, which was essentially a composite of the first eight and final bars of the chorus. Also in October the copyright issue was conclusively settled when agreement was reached with Peadar Kearney, Michael Heeney, and the Talbot Press, which gave sole ownership of the anthem to the state.⁸⁵

Financial Restrictions

In the interim Brase's attempt to replenish the school's stock of instruments was meeting with some success. The amalgamation of the most able performers from two high pitch bands to form the No.2 Band necessitated the purchase of some extra low pitch instruments. Along with this, Brase placed his order for stringed instruments. It was a substantial order for 20 violins, 12 violas, 10 cellos, and 6 double basses.⁸⁶ Five dozen B flat military bugles were also included in the order, because Brase, industrious as ever, was compiling a manual of bugle salutes for the army. He was supported in his requirements by Larchet and Mulcahy, but the quotation of £1,392-16-0 from the music salon of Denis McCullough, then of Grafton Street, was considered too large an expenditure by the Finance Department. It insisted on a reduction in the order; 40 bugles were supplied at a total cost of £70; and there was an equivalent contraction in the military band instruments. The following stringed instruments were purchased:

4 1st Violins	Bows and Cases	@£ 8- 8-0 = £ 33-12-0	
8 2nd Violins			
(secondary quality)	"	@ 5- 5-0 = 42- 0-0	
2 1st Violas	"	@ 10-10-0 = 21- 0-0	
2 2nd Violas	"	@ 6- 6-0 = 25- 4-0	
1 1st V/Cello	"	@ 15-15-0 = 15-15-0	
3 2nd V/Cellos	"	@ 10-10-0 = 31-10-0	
3 D/Basses and bows	"	@ 35- 0-0 = <u>105- 0-0</u>	
		Total	<u>274- 1-0</u> 87

Financial restrictions were a feature of the public service in late 1923 and early 1924. The Defence Department budget was cut from eleven million pounds in 1923 to just four million the following year.⁸⁸ The army reductions being drafted by Mulcahy were necessary to achieve this target. The financial retrenchment had implications for the school extending beyond the provision of instruments. The Pay Committee had accepted Larchet's scheme for pay and service forwarded to them by Mulcahy on 14 November 1923. The Finance Department also accorded with the proposal but with conditions. The

Secretary to the Department, Seósamh Ua Braonán, in a letter to the Army Finance Officer, Thomas Gorman, on 28 December 1923, set out his minister's stipulations. Having first given general approval to Larchet's plan, he proceeds:

Authority is given to the Minister of Defence for an establishment of four Army Bands not exceeding 160 Bandsmen in total numbers. The Minister regrets that he cannot at present consent to the suggested formation of a fifth band to be formed of boys to be enlisted. He will, however, at a later stage when the training of the four approved bands has been completed and the wastage of those can be more definitely determined, be prepared to consider proposals for the recruitment and training of boys or whatever other measures are suggested to fill any vacancies that seem likely to occur.

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This represented a crucial limitation. Up to this point Mulcahy had, in correspondence outside his own department, assiduously avoided defining the number of bands to be created. This was because both he and Larchet considered the didactic purpose of the project to be at the centre of its long-term success, therefore they wished to devote a goodly number of places in the establishment to pupils. But the Minister for Finance, guided by more practical concerns, not only put a definite figure on the bands to be established but also postponed the decision on the intake of pupils, seeing them merely as replacements for bandsmen opting for discharge. This was contrary to the primary purpose of the school and it was an indictment of Mulcahy's failure to convey his policies, and perhaps his enthusiasm, to his colleagues. The Department of Finance saw the school of music only in terms of its bands, and despite the success of the first public concert and all the attendant publicity, Ua Braonán could still state:

Furthermore the Minister of Finance considers that, as Military Bands exist primarily and will be used principally for the benefit and enjoyment of the Army itself, there should be some form of contribution within the Army towards expenditure which will otherwise fall to be met from public funds e.g. purchase of new music and conveyance of bands where the



suggested new regulations for public charges do not apply. He would be glad to be furnished in due course with the observations of the Minister of Defence upon this suggestion.

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He also brought to an end the extra pay to which the members of the Special Infantry Corps had been entitled.

The new scheme may be put into operation as from the 1st.proximo, and as indicated in Mr. Doolin's minute of the 31st.October last, the Members of the Special Infantry Band will as from that date take their appropriate place in the scale and cease to be entitled to the special pay of 2/- per day.

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Mulcahy's response to the stipulations required by the Department of Finance was naturally centred in his concern over pupils for the school. In a minute to the Army Finance Officer on 12 February 1924, he proposed to offset the establishment of a fourth band against an intake of pupils, and he sought authority to attest these boys for a period of ten years which was double the normal period. In the same document he indicated that he intended to recruit adults to complete No.2 Band and to form a third band.⁹²

The Army Mutiny

This was a particularly difficult period for Mulcahy and he deserves credit for his continuing care and industry in the cause of the school. In January he had submitted the revised organization plan for army reductions which he had prepared with the Chief of Staff. This scheme envisaged a restructured army headquarter's establishment designed to answer criticism of the previous plan which had been raised at Executive Council meetings in early December 1923. Mulcahy still proposed to reduce numbers radically; over 1,000 officers were to be released and many others reduced in rank. Even the school of music suffered; it was proposed to reduce its establishment from the 294 of the initial scheme to 209.⁹³ The critics were not mollified; the objections they had raised remained. The members of what became known as the 'old IRA', led by army

officers, Liam Tobin and Charles Dalton, became more censorious of Mulcahy and the Army Council, and in Joseph McGrath, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, they found a champion.⁹⁴ Meetings were held between the leaders of the old IRA and members of the Government including the President, W.T.Cosgrave, and Mulcahy.⁹⁵ At first progress was made, but when the old IRA realized that Mulcahy intended to persevere with the planned reductions there emerged the danger of a split in the army.

This was the situation on 1 March 1924 when Brase and No.1 Band were commencing their first concert tour. It had always been the intention that the benefits of the school should be felt beyond the capital and especially in culturally deprived rural areas. The tour involved concerts in southern towns including performances in Cork. Two recitals were given in the Opera House on 2 March in order to cater for the expected demand. The band did not repeat a single item during the two performances, and in the second concert the band gave the first performance of Brase's Irish Fantasia No.2.⁹⁶

On 6 March as the tour came to a close the political crisis over the army reductions reached a decisive point. Tobin and Dalton sent an ultimatum to Cosgrave demanding the removal of the Army Council and the immediate suspension of army demobilization and reorganization. Their demands were accompanied by a clear threat. Should the Government not comply they would

take such action that will make clear to the Irish people that we are not renegades or traitors to the ideals that induced them to accept the Treaty. Our Organisation fully realises the seriousness of the action we may be compelled to take, but we can no longer be party to the treachery that threatens to destroy the aspirations of the nation.

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The ultimatum precipitated a political crisis. McGrath resigned in protest and Mulcahy was further ostracized by Cabinet colleagues. A group of ministers led by the Minister for Home Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins, was critical of Mulcahy and the Army Council for not averting the crisis.⁹⁸ They successfully pressed for the appointment

of the Chief of the Civic Guard, Eoin O'Duffy as Inspector General with overall command of the army. The appointment was a clear vote of no confidence in the Army Council. Mulcahy was annoyed and he studiously avoided O'Duffy in the following weeks.⁹⁹

The army mutiny reached its apogee on 18 March. On that day Free State troops surrounded a building in Parnell Street where a group of mutinous officers was meeting. An untidy military operation ensued and only the escape of the rebel officers prevented a resolution through violence. The Government, under the leadership of O'Higgins in the absence of the indisposed Cosgrave, had not been forewarned and was highly embarrassed by the incident. Its displeasure was aggravated by the military's failure to inform O'Duffy of the circumstances. O'Higgins responded with characteristic decisiveness; he demanded the resignations of three senior officers, the Chief of Staff, the Adjutant General and the Quartermaster General. The Cabinet also recommended that Mulcahy be removed from office. Aware of this, Mulcahy pre-empted the move by tendering his resignation on 19 March 1924.¹⁰⁰

Through such unlikely circumstances did the mutineers achieve their objectives; the Army Council was removed and the plans for demobilization and reorganization were temporarily suspended. The consequences of the episode dramatically altered the development of the Army School of Music. The departure of Mulcahy, not only from the Department of Defence but from Government, meant the removal of the project's instigator and chief champion from a position of influence. During the preceding two years, Mulcahy had failed to convey to colleagues his vision for the school. He had also neglected to involve Brase in designing its future course. Thus Brase was left to direct an organization without the guidance of the man who, almost singly, embodied the original ideals and prompted the national significance of the school's work. And Larchet had lost the bulk of his influence with the passing from power of Mulcahy. Although occasionally approached for advice, Larchet never again had a definitive voice in relation to the school. With his waning authority went much of the impetus behind the didactic possibilities of the venture. The departure of the senior officers including

McMahon, who had been involved with the practical organization of the school, implied that their replacements, who had scant knowledge of the project, would have little sympathy or understanding with the original objectives.

Just one year after the arrival of Brase and Sauerzweig, the position of music in the army and its relevance to national musical development faced its first major obstacle.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD. The Ceann Comhairle is the chairman of the Irish Parliament, Dáil Eireann.
2. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/322, UCDA.
3. 'Irish School of Military Music', The Irish Times (10 Sept. 1923), 4.
4. 'Notable Band performance at the Curragh', Freeman's Journal (10 Sept. 1923), 8.
5. Ibid., 8.
6. O'Dwyer was appointed professor of Irish music in UCD in 1914 having moved from Bristol to settle in Dublin in 1897. He conducted the Gaelic League Choir from 1901 and his most important work Eithne, an Irish opera in three acts, was performed in Dublin in 1910. His connection with 'Ireland's Own' is discussed in chap.I.
7. Robert O'Dwyer, 'Ireland's Band Music', Freeman's Journal (22 Sept. 1923), 6.
8. Robert O'Dwyer, 'A Military Bandmaster from Germany', The Leader (6 Oct. 1923), 201.
9. Ibid., 201.
10. 'Our German Band', The Leader (13 Oct. 1923), 227.
11. C.Sharp, 'The German Bandmaster', The Leader (20 Oct. 1923), 256-8.
12. The evidence suggests that Brase preferred the name No.1 Army

Band as it connoted the finest band. He certainly strove to maintain the ascendancy of the band by transferring the most able players from other army bands to No.1 Band. Since his passing the name Army No.1 Band has reasserted itself and is now the officially accepted title. This is because it better indicates the original notion that the bands' titles would reflect the order of their creation. Furthermore in the light of recent political developments, the military authorities are sensitive to the charge that the use of No.1 Army Band could imply that there is more than one army.

13. Programme file, ASMA. Brase was later to refer to his Irish Fantasia No.1. During 1923 and 1924 it is, however, referred to as Irish Fantasy No.1, and even Irish Phantasy No.1.
14. 'Impressive performance at Theatre Royal', Freeman's Journal (15 Oct. 1923), 4.
15. 'Fine performance by Free State Band', The Irish Times (15 Oct. 1923), 4.
16. Ibid., 4.
17. 'Notable Band performance at the Curragh', Freeman's Journal (10 Sept. 1923), 8.
18. Interview with Colonel J.M.Doyle, 1 July 1986, Dublin.
19. 'Impressive performance at Theatre Royal', Freeman's Journal (15 Oct. 1923), 4.
20. The evidence of the music critics is endorsed by the recollections of musicians such as Michael Bowles, John Brennock, and Éimear Ó Broin, who had worked with Brase or had observed his conducting.
21. Erich Leinsdorf, The Composer's Advocate (Yale, 1981).

22. The first professional Irish symphony orchestra was developed by the national broadcasting station. The Army School of Music had a close connection with the service from its foundation in 1926. This subject is discussed in chap.VII.
23. Harold White, 'Army Music School', The Irish Independent (15 Oct. 1923), 5.
24. W.H.Grattan Flood, 'German Military Music', The Irish Statesman (2 Feb. 1924), 658.
25. Clandillon was a traditional singer of some renown. He was appointed first director of the national broadcasting service in 1926. See chap. VII.
26. Seamus Clandillon, 'The Army Band and Gaelic Music', The Leader (22 Nov. 1924), 373-5.
27. C.Sharp, 'Our Army Band No.1', The Leader (27 Oct. 1923), 278-80.
28. Cecil Moore, 'The Army School of Music', The Irish Statesman (20 Oct. 1923), 178-9.
29. Ibid., 179. Moore's allusion to the fisherman is a reference to the second verse of Thomas Moore's Let Erin Remember:

On Lough Neagh's bank as the fisherman strays,
 When the clear cold eve's declining,
 He sees the round towers of other days
 In the wave beneath him shining!
30. Ibid., 179.
31. 47/Bands/1, DDAD.
32. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
33. Philip Hammond, 'Dublin and London', Hamilton Harty, ed.

David Greer (Belfast, 1978), 23-7.

34. Sauerzweig, ASMA.
35. Arthur Duff personal file, DDAD.
36. Bands File, A/9541, DDAD.
37. Ibid.
38. The Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA. A handbill for the concert states: 'Concert under the direction of Dr. J.F. Larchet'.
39. Harold White, 'Too much variety', The Irish Independent (29 Oct. 1923), 4.
40. Pay file, A/10531, DDAD.
41. Army Reorganization file, A/11801, DDAD. See also 'Restructure of Army', Mulcahy papers, P7/B/189, UCDA.
42. Army Reorganization file, A/11801, DDAD.
43. Ibid. There is a covering letter from Mulcahy to the Executive Council recommending the prompt adoption of the scheme. However, on 26 November 1923 the Cabinet formed a committee to examine the question of demobilization. See Maryann Valiulis, Almost a Rebellion (Cork, 1985), 45.
44. See Maryann Valiulis, op.cit., 96-113.
45. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
46. Ibid. Brase eventually took command of the ASM from Coughlan (Staff duties, Memo 12, 29 Feb. 1924).
47. Beggar's Bush Barracks Routine Order, 21 (15 Dec. 1923), the

- Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
48. Army School of Music Routine Order, 1 (1 Jan. 1924), the Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
 49. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD. Correspondence: Minister with Chief of Staff (7 Jan. 1924).
 50. Band programme collated from reviews of the concert in the national press.
 51. 'Jacques', 'The Baton-less Band Director', The Evening Herald (14 Jan. 1924), 5.
 52. Harold White, 'Irish Military Music', The Irish Statesman (19 Jan. 1924), 592-4.
 53. Ibid., 592.
 54. C.Sharp, 'Music - The One Bright Spot', The Leader (26 Jan. 1924), 604-6.
 55. Army School of Music Routine Order, 11 (13 Jan. 1924); the Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
 56. The Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
 57. Army School of Music Routine Order, 18 (22 Jan. 1924); the Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers P7/D/107, UCDA.
 58. The Coughlan notes, Mulcahy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA.
 59. 47/Bands/1, DDAD.
 60. Harold White, 'A Great musical Treat', The Irish Independent (4 Feb. 1924), 5.
 61. H.L.Morrow, 'Musical Triumph', Freeman's Journal

(4 Feb. 1924), 4.

62. Quoted from John F.Larchet, The Army School of Music (see Appendix C).
63. There is inconsistency in the spelling of both Peadar Kearney's and Patrick Heeney's names. The spelling adopted here is that employed in official documents, but where other versions are used in quotations they are quoted as in the original. Kearney's name is also given in its Irish form, Peadar O'Cearnaigh. The English title of the anthem is correctly The Soldier's Song. Inconsistency is also apparent in this and is dealt with in the chapter.
64. Irish Freedom, 23 (Sept. 1912), 7.
65. Irish Freedom, 25 (Nov. 1912), 6. Erie is an ancient name for Ireland.
66. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/182, UCDA.
67. Ibid.
68. National Anthem file, S3 767A, SPOD.
69. H.L.Morrow, 'Musical Triumph', Freeman's Journal (4 Feb. 1924), 4. The report incorrectly describes Brase's Irish March No.1 as 'another of his Irish Fantasias'.
70. Mulcahy papers, P7/D/131, UCDA.
71. Ibid.
72. National Anthem file, S3 767A, SPOD.
73. Ibid.
74. Harold White, 'A National Anthem', The Irish Statesman

- (16 Jan. 1926), 596-8.
75. Dáil Debates (20 July 1926), Column 2196-7-8.
 76. Executive Council minutes (12 July 1926), C.2/278.
 77. Dáil Debates (20 July 1926), Column 2196-7-8.
 78. National Anthem file, S3 767A, SPOD.
 79. Ibid.
 80. Ibid.
 81. Ibid.
 82. Ibid.
 83. Ibid.
 84. Executive Council minutes (19 Feb. 1932), 5/104.
 85. National Anthem file, S3 767A, SPOD.
 86. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/180, UCDA.
 87. Ibid.
 88. Estimates for the Public Service, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1923 and 1924. In 1923/24 the army cost £11,229,410 while the estimate for 1924/25 was £3,927,145.
 89. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD.
 90. Ibid.
 91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.
93. Mulcahy papers, P7/B/189, UCDA.
94. F.S.L.Lyons, Ireland Since the Famine (London, 1971), 489;
Maryann Valiulis, Almost a Rebellion, 32-3. The old IRA was a group of pre-Truce officers who had supported the Treaty out of loyalty to Collins, but were disenchanted with the political stance taken by his successors.
95. Maryann Valiulis, op.cit., 49-50.
96. 'A Revelation of Efficiency', Cork Examiner (3 Mar. 1924), 3.
97. Irish Republican Army Organisation pamphlet, The Truth about the Army Crisis (Dublin, n.d.), 12.
98. F.S.L.Lyons, op.cit., 490.
99. Maryann Valiulis, op.cit., 54.
100. Ibid., 75. There is an interesting epilogue to these events. On the day of the Parnell Street raid, surely a strenuous time for Mulcahy, he still found time to sign a formal agreement with Brase specifying his conditions of service which hitherto had been subject to a gentleman's agreement. The agreement, witnessed by the Treasury Solicitor in Ireland, P.Coll, confirmed Brase in his appointment and provided him with a strong position for future discussions over terms of service. There seems little doubt that the politically astute Mulcahy was determined to ensure Brase's future. No such provision was made at this time for Sauerzweig.

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C H A P T E R VI

Routine Order¹

The extent of the obstacle facing the Army School of Music following the resignation of General Mulcahy was soon revealed. General Eoin O'Duffy,² who had emerged from the mutiny and its aftermath in a strengthened position as overall commander of the army, now faced the responsibility of reorganizing the force, the very enterprise which had occasioned the military unrest and Mulcahy's resignation. The degree of urgency attaching to this task is indicated by the fact that he submitted his scheme of reorganization to the Executive Council on 2 May 1924, less than two months after his appointment. In constructing his scheme, O'Duffy benefited from the preparation for the two unsuccessful plans drawn up by Mulcahy and McMahon, and, ironically, he retained many of their suggestions. His proposals were accompanied by detailed introductory notes, explaining the purpose of each unit and justifying the reductions recommended. He envisaged an army of 18,968 men, exactly 1,000 lower than the aggregate proposed in the initial Mulcahy scheme of November 1923.³

His recommendations for the Army School of Music display a utilitarian disposition and demonstrate nothing of the imagination which had characterized Mulcahy's vision. In his preface to that section concerning the school, O'Duffy welcomes the establishment of bands for the army but evidently feels that the course set by his predecessor was unnecessarily ambitious.

There is no doubt that the School of Music will occupy a very important position in the professional and social life of the Army. Governments consider that money spent on Military Bands is money well spent. The truth of this was proved last Summer when the Army possessed no less than nine Bands. They were certainly anything but high-class musical combinations, but to the soldiers they were their Bands and that was sufficient. Where a Command or a Corps had a Band attached, it was found that discipline improved; the troops carried out their work in a

cheerful spirit; they began to develop a sense of pride in their Unit; in their own appearance, and in the Army in general. In a word, we saw the beginning of that most essential quality in any Army - Esprit de Corps. From the outside point of view also, these Bands such as they were, were invaluable. The civilian population began to take an interest in the Army; favourable notices appeared in the press, and before the end of the Summer the Army was inundated with requests for the services of Military Bands to play at Fêtes, Seaside Resorts, Carnivals, etc. Then for various reasons - financial, demobilization of the Army etc., the various Bands gradually disappeared until now we are left in the position of having only one Band in the whole Army.

This is undoubtedly a first-class combination of musicians, but it cannot be regarded as a real Army Band; in fact, it is only a big indoor Orchestra. The average soldier or the ordinary civilian never hears it.

4

In order to support this functional view of the school, O'Duffy proposed a radical review of its objectives:

It is intended to thoroughly remodel the policy of the School of Music, and see that it devotes its attention to turning out real Bands - Bands that will march with the soldiers, and will play for them in their Barracks and give performances at their sports and games, as well as at civilian functions. In a word, Bands that the whole Army and the country in general will get to know and take a pride in.

5

This represented a major departure from the original ideals. O'Duffy was essentially concerned with the creation and performance of bands. He envisaged a school with the sole purpose of providing trained bandsmen for military bands. Accordingly the school became largely concerned with, and dependent upon, the success of its first and subsequent bands. O'Duffy was equally content to limit his estimation of what the bands could achieve; he saw them not as instruments of national musical regeneration, but merely as a musical service for the army and as agents in the development of good public relations. His comments on No.1 Band indicate how completely Brase had transformed the accepted Irish notion of the military band. But

O'Duffy clearly wanted a return to the traditional concept. There is no reference in his preface to repertoire, but there is the inference that bands should concern themselves with music of a conventional martial character. Again this was contrary to Brase's beliefs and he resisted the pressure to change. He had no intention of adjusting a repertoire standard which was musically satisfying and had earned public approval and critical acclaim.

In practice the scheme had little immediate effect. Throughout the summer of 1924 the school and its No.1 Band performed much as they had in the preceding months. But they were soon to feel the fuller purport of the loss of Mulcahy's protection and Larchet's influence. One practical consequence was the increasingly longer service periods which were introduced for band members during the 1920s.⁶ This change, which was contrary to the original intention, was made to strengthen the bands which were suffering from a high turnover of personnel. It also denotes the growing emphasis on bands. O'Duffy's disavowal of the training aspect was ultimately to prove the greatest loss. The proposal that the school would act as a fountain-head for a general musical rejuvenation had invested the project with a profound significance and purpose. Larchet's association with the didactic function of the school had appeared set to complement Brase's practical success. Deprived of his presence, the school became increasingly isolated from other educational centres and it subsequently became less relevant. The resources allocated to the training aspect were attenuated and diverted to the bands. Indeed the high standard of its teaching in subsequent years was due less to the constitution of the school than to the able talents of Sauerzweig.

As previously, Brase was given no voice in the formulation of the scheme. But there is no evidence to suggest that he objected to the abrupt change it proposed. Perhaps he was not unduly concerned, initially at least, because a band-centred institution suited his talents. It is more probable that having been excluded from the development of the original objectives, he did not comprehend the very scale of the revision announced by O'Duffy. But he was eventually to experience its consequences. His request to engage

some string teachers on a part-time basis did not receive support and as a result his ambition to form a military orchestra went unrealized.⁷ The constricted function proposed for the school precipitated a change in his attitude. Of an ambitious and active nature, he was not fulfilled by the less exacting demands. He continued his labour, but without the degree of commitment or energy he had displayed in the first exciting year of the project. Increasingly he sought alternative challenges and much of his attention was diverted to musical activities outside the army. His creative enterprise reveals a corresponding inclination. In that productive period following his arrival in Ireland almost all his compositions and arrangements were written for the school and its intended bands. In just over a year he had completed four major fantasias and five marches. Yet from 1926 he wrote only sporadically for the school. In fact he wrote relatively little for band, concentrating rather on other genres and on pieces for German publishers.

Although removed from a position of immediate influence, Mulcahy retained an interest in the development of the school. Fearful of how O'Duffy might seek to change the nature of the project, he had called on the President of the Executive Council, W.T.Cosgrave, on 22 April to see that

nothing was done to interfere radically with
the music school.

8

He had proceeded to suggest that Cosgrave and Brase should carefully consider O'Duffy's plans for the school before accepting them. However his advice was not heeded. It was his last attempt to influence the development of the venture that he had initiated.

Cosgrave's ratification of O'Duffy's scheme for the reorganization of the army on 31 July 1924 marked the beginning of a new era for the young army. It became a more disciplined force which never again held the power or independence it had during the previous years. For the Army School of Music the scheme's adoption signalled the final break with the original ideals. The new objectives appeared more practical and easily achievable, but yet the future

seemed more mundane. In the ensuing years, and in the absence of the broader ambitions, the school was to settle to a routine existence broken only by its occasional participation in state functions and events of national importance.

It is ironic that the Cabinet's consideration of O'Duffy's scheme coincided with the high point of the school's popular recognition. The publicity engendered by the examination of Brase's suitability and by the performances of No.1 Band focused favourable popular attention on the school, and Brase was already gaining recognition as a national figure. His achievements were assuming a significance beyond exclusively musical considerations. It was a source of national pride that a native enterprise could achieve such a high standard in so short a time; for many it exemplified the possibilities offered in the young state.

The highest praise that can be given to Col. Brase and his No.1 Band is that his is the honour of having made Dublin sit up and, to continue the metaphor, rub its eyes in surprise and in new delight. The awakening from its long slumber is the natural sequence.... a leader in commerce gives strong corroboration indeed in stating that his whole faith in the future of this country is placed primarily on Col.Brased and his band.

9

The degree of public interest in the venture was again demonstrated by the large attendance at the fourth concert in the Theatre Royal on 11 May 1924. C.Sharp noted that some 2,000 people were in attendance.¹⁰ He was not the only commentator to preface a highly favourable review with a reference to the unprecedented size of audience for such a concert.

To put it bluntly, it is becoming more obvious every day that in the No.1 Army Band Dublin is in possession of a 'draw' more certain than the Hallé orchestra, as unfailling, almost, as Tetrzzini, Clara Butt, and the galaxy of the 'Celebrity' concerts. On Sunday night, under Colonel Fritz Brase, it again packed the Theatre Royal. And the enthusiasm of the

audience! One hardly imagined our lethargic Sunday night concert goers capable of such demonstration where music, or rather, I should say, where good music was concerned.

11

The programme of music presented by Brase, just over one week after O'Duffy's reorganization scheme had been submitted to the Executive Council, indicated that he had no intention of altering the quality of music performed by the band despite O'Duffy's contention that it was nothing but 'a big indoor orchestra'.¹²

Festival March	written for piano	Marchioness MacSwiney	
		scored	Brase
Overture	Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg	Wagner	
Prelude	Lohengrin	Wagner	
Fantasie	Der Fliegende Holländer	Wagner	
		arr.	Schmidt-Kothen
Prelude	Parsifal	Wagner	
Irish Fantasia No.2	(1st Performance)	Brase	
Polonaise, E Major		Liszt	
		arr.	C.Hellman

13

It is interesting to note that the programme proclaimed the première of Irish Fantasia No.2; it had in fact been performed in the Opera House, Cork during the short tour in March.

The preponderance of music by Wagner was a feature of this concert. Noting this, H.L.Morrow, writing in The Irish Statesman, neatly illustrates the gulf that existed in the perception of the future development of the school as between the liberal view exemplified by his comments and the more circumscribed demands laid down in O'Duffy's scheme:

A programme consisting, with two exceptions, of Wagner and Liszt, shows us, roughly, at least, in what direction we may expect further development.

14

There readily followed further examples of the growing popular appeal of the Army No.1 Band. On Wednesday 28 May the first matinée performance was given by the band in the Theatre Royal, the reason for which was given in the issue of The Sunday Independent on the weekend immediately preceding the concert:

This concert will be the fifth given in Dublin by the band, but the former concerts were given on Sunday nights - a time which many music lovers found inconvenient. There is no doubt that Sunday night is the most popular time for a band recital in Dublin, but the School Directors wisely decided to arrange for a matinée performance next Wednesday in order to give an opportunity for hearing the band to those who find it impossible to attend on Sunday nights.

15

As was the practice in all the previous concerts, a vocal soloist was engaged; on this occasion it was the distinguished baritone, J.C.Doyle. The concert was adjudged a success and a profit was recorded.

Indeed financially the concerts in the Theatre Royal had realized a healthy return to the Department of Defence. However it was the first free recital given by the band in the Hollow, Phoenix Park on Sunday 13 July that attracted the largest audience and manifestly revealed the degree of public interest. The performance was arranged in order to give that part of the capital's population unable to attend the series of concerts in the Theatre Royal an opportunity to hear the band. It was the first such recital since the series given by the Special Infantry Corps Band the previous summer. The event attracted an audience larger than any previously gathered for such a concert, in spite of indifferent weather. While it is hard to credit the claim in The Sunday Independent that the audience exceeded 30,000, there is unanimous wonder in subsequent reports at the scale of the response.¹⁶

To say that the first free public performance given by the National Army No 1 Band, personally conducted by Colonel Fritz Brase, Musical Director, was an unqualified success, would be a feeble phrase. An enormous

concourse of people thronged on foot and in every conceivable form of vehicle to the Phoenix Park yesterday. The natural amphitheatre around the bandstand was so crowded that one wondered how all the people fitted in. During the playing of the various selections the silence was tense, strained attention, but as each piece was finished a thunderous burst of applause went up from the many thousands of auditors.

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It might be expected, given that the concert was organized principally for the working class of Dublin and as it was held in the open, that Brase would vary the calibre of music to be presented by the band. However, this was not the case. Both in composition and duration the programme was similar to those performed during the indoor series.

Irish National March	Brase
Overture - Rienzi	Wagner
Lament for Youth	Larchet
Selection from Der Fliegende Holländer	Wagner
Irish Fantasia No.1	Brase
Overture - Maritana	Wallace
Waltz - The Blue Danube	Strauss
March - General Mulcahy	Brase

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The positive audience response to such a selection unquestionably confirmed Brase's belief that he was correct in presenting music of quality in place of the regular diet of marches and novelty items generally provided by brass and reed bands.

The Phoenix Park recital represented the zenith of popular approbation of Brase and his band. The enthusiastic display of appreciation was a manifestation of public gratitude for the pleasure and confidence that the band had instilled into Irish life from an audience largely unaware of questions concerning future band development. Such immediate appeal is difficult to sustain. The No.1 Band and its director soon became victims of over-exposure. The very novelty of a foreign musician and his able charges, which had excited much of the early interest, was no longer a factor. So too the early critical success enjoyed by Brase was replaced with a more measured assessment. H.L.Morrow was among the first of the critics

to display this tendency when he questioned the repertoire being performed by the band:

It would be an interesting experiment if Colonel Brase dropped all these 'arrangements', which are of necessity nearly always brutal and insensible botches, and confined himself to works written expressly for military band - a mean and narrow repertoire some years ago, but now, happily, no longer so. It would be a bold step, but one, I think, which would quickly demonstrate its advantage.

19

Some of the comment went beyond the gentle suggestion made by Morrow. There were those who, although speaking independently, tended to agree with O'Duffy that the combination created by Brase was neither a proper military band nor an orchestra, but was a band with aspirations to be an orchestra. Such critics wished Brase to confine himself to traditional military music, and even to traditional military occasions. The critic of The Leader, C. Sharp, remained faithful in his support of Brase and came quickly to his defence on this issue:

Instead of emulating such examples here in Dublin, /that of the Hallé Orchestra which had recently visited Dublin/ a tendency is growing to belittle what has been done, by criticism that is futile, and by comparisons that would have been odious were they not happily complimentary. From criticism of the nationality in the early stages, we have now veered round to comments upon the audacity of a military band attempting the impossible in music. The excellence of the Band neatly turns comparison with the Hallé Orchestra into a compliment. Few are so blind as to ignore the limitations of a military band, but our No.1 Band is no ordinary band, and it delivers the goods so perfectly that it has become of national importance. What we have is a band of marvellous proficiency, what we have not is an adequate orchestra, nor the will to create one, nor the spirit to sustain one. Better tenfold such a magnificent band than the best orchestral makeshift possible at present.

20

This comment is indicative of the considerable contribution made by the school of music to the development of the nation's musical

expectations. For the very presence of Brase and his band provoked comment, be it positive or otherwise, which focused attention on the dearth of musical activity in the state. It would be incorrect to claim that Brase should take all the credit in this respect; others, such as Esposito and Larchet, laboured to provide a musical standard. Their efforts were most successful in the area of chamber music, whereas Brase, apart from his work with the school, was to concentrate on larger orchestral performances.²¹ In fact the school made its most important contribution to the musical life of the country over the next ten years through the influence of its members on other musical organizations rather than through the direct work of the bands. This occurred as a reaction to the curtailment of its design. Thus, in a manner not foreseen in the original plan, the school did play an important part in the education and development of Irish musical life.

The Creation of Bands

It is indeed salient that the high level of initiative and energy initially displayed by the school declined commensurately with its reduced expectations. However the momentum generated during its remarkably active first year was sufficiently sustained, even beyond O'Duffy's arrival, to ensure the successful establishment of further bands. Four brass and reed bands had been established by 1928. The creation of No.2 Band, which had resulted from the amalgamation of selected members of the Special Infantry Corps Band and members of the brass and reed band from the Cork Command in January 1924, was quickly followed by the creation of No.3 Band. Both remained in the school of music alongside No.1 Band until 1926. In January of that year No.3 Band was transferred to the Curragh Camp to serve the south-eastern quarter of the country, and it was followed in May by the transfer of No.2 Band to its permanent location in Cork.²² The fourth group was not a full band; it was, rather, the group of students which was undergoing training to fill vacancies as they arose in the three senior bands. Financial restrictions had constrained Brase to offset much of the establishment of No.4 Band against the intake of pupils required by the school. Consequently

the group rarely had the personnel or complement of instruments to undertake an engagement as a complete band. It was 1936 before the band was of sufficient strength to transfer to its permanent home. This was originally intended to be Galway, but shortly before the transfer it was decided to situate the band alongside the command headquarters in Athlone.

Brase pursued a policy which promoted No.1 Band as the supremely best band in the army.²³ He regarded the other bands as inferior in standard, and never conducted them unless they were massed with the senior band. He was satisfied to have the command bands, as the three junior groups were called, of a standard sufficient to meet local requirements; he did not encourage them to achieve the high profile enjoyed by the Army No.1 Band. The command bands had fewer members and possessed a more limited instrumentation. The engagements they attended were mainly of a functional nature: military parades, sports fixtures, local festivals, and other occasions where the colour and presence of a band were of greater importance than the standard of music it provided. The music for major state ceremonies was generally rendered by No.1 Band. It also enjoyed a greater number of indoor concerts which are musically the most rewarding facet of a band's work. Brase had, in fact, created a symphonic wind band long before that term had common currency in the British Isles.²⁴ He personally conducted the band for all major events leaving others to direct when the occasion was of lesser significance, or when the musical demands were less exacting.²⁵

He supported his policy of maintaining the pre-eminence of No.1 Band by transferring to it the most able members of the command bands. He also ensured that members of the senior band were rewarded financially. According to an agreement made between the Minister for Defence, senior army officers, and Brase, in 1925, a certain percentage of instrumentalists in the school became entitled to an increased level of technical pay.²⁶ Brase, who had the management of this facility, concentrated the majority of the bonus payments on the senior band thereby giving its members a higher remuneration than their colleagues in the command bands. This acted as an incentive to procure and retain positions in No.1 Band, and it further increased

the gulf in standard between it and the other army bands.

While primarily concerned with the creation of brass and reed bands, the school also involved itself in some smaller areas of enterprise. Although the original Mulcahy plan had made no provision for pipe bands, some were already formed within the army in 1922. They had answered the call to join the Army School of Music in Beggar's Bush Barracks in January 1924 and were subsequently formed into a large composite band under a Lieutenant Lalor.²⁷ The intention was to train sufficient pipers and drummers to provide each battalion with its own band. However neither Brase nor Sauerzweig had any previous experience of bagpipes, therefore they could offer little practical encouragement to this plan. After just one month Lalor was released from the school and little further progress was made in the training of pipers. The composite band eventually dispersed, and by June 1924 only 19 out of a total complement of 324 piping positions were filled.²⁸

In January 1926 a further attempt was made to improve the state of piping in the army when a separate school of piping was established.²⁹ It is indicative of the tenuous relationship that was to develop between the Army School of Music and pipe bands that this new venture was located in the Curragh. It met with little success as did a further attempt to establish a course of instruction for pipers within the school of music in the early 1930s. Although the school nominally retained responsibility for the training and equipping of pipe bands, in practice the battalion bands were divorced from its influence. Consequently the standard of piping remained low during Brase's period as director.

Regarding other musical contributions, not the least was the compilation by Brase of the Manual of Bugle Calls and Salutes with over 100 calls.³⁰ Brase completed this work by 1925, but problems with printing delayed the issue of the manual by a further year. While the restricted range and tone of the bugle obviously limit the musical significance of the enterprise it still remains a considerable accomplishment, especially as all the salutes and calls are original with the sole exception of the Last Post. This salute,

inherited from the British Army, had already gained currency when Brase arrived in Ireland. The collection of calls contained in the manual is comprehensive, ranging from calls identifying individual corps and units to religious, political, and military salutes appropriate to ceremonial occasions. At a period when the bugle was a more serviceable means of communication than it is today, Brase's labour represented a valuable addition to army routine.

The Recruitment of Bandmasters

The creation of bands necessitated the recruitment and training of bandmasters. Yet despite the obvious need and the priority given to this particular objective in the original plan, nothing of substance was achieved in the school's early years. O'Duffy's scheme of reorganization did not even refer to the subject. Brase repeatedly called attention to the necessity for a consistent policy on this question, but his petitions went largely unheeded and the haphazard approach continued throughout his term as director.³¹

The issue of recruitment became crucial in the mid-1920s when it became apparent that the appointment of Duff was not proving a success. Brase's early fears that Duff would be unsuited to a career which demanded stability and discipline were quickly justified. The difference in temperament between the two men developed into a personal antagonism which persisted despite Brase's appreciation of the younger man's musical ability. In 1926 Duff was appointed conductor of No.2 Band when it was transferred to its new location in Cork. He was unhappy away from Dublin and tendered and withdrew his resignation on no less than five occasions between 1926 and 1929.³² Unsettled in Cork and unsuited to army life, he finally resigned in November 1931.³³

Despite forebodings of Duff's departure and despite the fact that there were three bands located, there was yet only one bandmaster-student enrolled in the school up to 1930. James Doyle had joined the school at the age of 18 in November 1924 on the recommendation of Dr Larchet.³⁴ A nephew of the baritone, J.C.Doyle,

he came from a musical family. His aptitude had first come to notice while he was a member of Larchet's choir in St Francis Xavier's Church, Gardiner Street. Through Larchet, he obtained a scholarship to the Royal Irish Academy of Music where he studied with both Esposito and Larchet.³⁵ The early record of his career gives example of the disorganization and lack of policy pertaining to the training of bandmasters. There was no course established for prospective bandmasters and Doyle's training, pay, and even rank, were subjects of confusion during his first years of service. He had been in the school for almost two years before it was finally decided to appoint him a cadet.³⁶

At an army finance meeting in June 1925, the Minister for Defence addressed the question of bandmaster-training, and his remarks illustrate how little thought had been given to the subject:

The Minister accentuated the necessity for a number of Conductors being taught for the Army Bands. It was felt that sufficient attention was not being paid to this very important matter and a discussion arose as to the status, etc., of Bandmasters. It was thought that they should in any event be Officers, and that their pay, after a probationary period of six months, should be in accordance with what a professional man of the kind would ordinarily receive. One suggestion with regard to Bandmasters was that they should have additional emoluments - say a percentage of the receipts in respect of public Recitals. The Army Finance Officer said that the principle was a bad one to adopt.

37

As a result of this meeting, Brase submitted to the Adjutant General a scheme of training for students. The following extracts from the scheme show how closely Brase followed Larchet's thinking:

An intensive course of training in progressive theory and harmony is absolutely essential as part of a Bandmaster's training, and the responsibility for payment of such training in civilian institutions should be borne by the State. Such provision for the training of students is made by most - if not all - Armies. Kneller Hall, the British Military

School of Music, is an outstanding example of this, part of the training of students being as follows:

- (a) Professors of instrumentation from the London Symphony Orchestra attend Kneller Hall six days each week for the purpose of giving instruction on various instruments.
- (b) Students attend the Royal Academy of Music three times each week to undergo lessons in advanced theory and harmony.

The expenses in both cases are borne by the authorities. You will, therefore realise the necessity for sending our Bandmaster Students to the Royal Irish Academy for such instruction. Without it, the Director of the School of Music states, no man can qualify as a Bandmaster.

The final examination of the Cadet, which would entitle him to appointment as an Army Bandmaster should be carried out by a Board of Examiners appointed by the Minister for Defence. Such board would be composed of at least three members of the musical profession, including probably the Director of the School, whose qualifications would be such that the highest standard possible should be demanded from the candidates. This examination would comprise:

Harmony, Counterpoint, Military Band and Orchestral Instrumentation, Piano Scoring, Scoring for Military Bands and Orchestras, Teaching and Management of a Choir, Conducting and Training of a Military Band, including practical instructional knowledge of all instruments used in Military Bands.

This is, of course, a much higher standard than the British Army demands, but is identical with that in vogue in the German Army....

I believe that if these rates were agreed upon and published, we would get sufficient young boys to enter the service. The financial commitment is really very small, as the maximum number of bandmasters required would be five, and if the Army possessed five bands conducted by Officers possessing such qualification, it would certainly be found that music in the Army would be absolutely self-supporting, apart altogether from the elevating effect such bands would have on the musical standards of the country. And we even in the Army, must, I am

sure you will agree, keep this in mind when considering the future of the Army School of Music and Army Bands generally.

38

The final sentiments echo some of the original objectives. But like them, the scheme was not implemented. Consequently Doyle received his training within the school. His recollection of the two Germans as instructors is representative:

Col. Brase was a very talented conductor and an excellent arranger of music for wind band. He taught conducting by precept and example; I worked out the mechanics of the art for myself. He could be very abrupt and aggressive, lacking in patience and tolerance, and difficult to approach. Capt. Sauerzweig was an excellent teacher.

39

On 12 April 1926 Doyle was appointed bandmaster-cadet, thus becoming one of the first cadets in the army.⁴⁰ Again there was no set procedure for advancement from this rank. He was eventually commissioned in 1928 on Brase's recommendation.⁴¹

That Doyle was the only cadet enrolled in the school prior to 1930 is not an indication of complete indifference to the question of recruitment. Brase had repeatedly tried to interest young musicians in joining the school. His efforts went unrewarded. Recruiting of potential bandmasters was approached in this direct manner rather than by public advertisement. The minutes of a meeting of the Council of Defence held on 4 January 1930 record such an approach:

Army School of Music Cadetships: The Adjutant General stated that Colonel Brase had a prospective Cadet for the Army School of Music and would interview him in the near future. The candidate's name is Fleischmann, the son of an organist in Cork City, and is said to have had a University education and has musical ability. His parents are further of musical talent (sic). His mother is Irish and the candidate was born in Ireland.

The Acting Minister /Ernest Blythe/ felt that if he satisfies the O.C., Army School of

Music, and if he agrees to become a Cadet, he should be appointed. 42

Much to Brase's disappointment, Fleischmann did not wish to join the school.⁴³ Four years later the same young man was appointed to the chair of music in University College, Cork.

The failure of such personal approaches to attract candidates forced the Department to advertise in 1930. Brase was asked what qualifications he would consider necessary. His reply is as surprising as it is undemanding:

... the only qualification necessary is that the applicant must be a good pianist. 44

In conjunction with the decision to advertise, Brase again submitted a training programme for prospective bandmasters. On this occasion it was accepted and sanctioned by the Minister for Defence.⁴⁵ The ambitious course corresponded to a full university programme for a primary degree at that period with a few minor changes to reflect the nature of the bandmaster's craft. The scheme also made provision for candidates to undertake the Bachelor of Music degree at the National University in Dublin. In practice all students took this option and it formed the basis of their musical education; the school simply did not have the resources to provide the elaborate course delineated by Brase.

The inability to train its own bandmasters along with the limited objectives announced by O'Duffy, call into question the appropriateness of the title, Army School of Music. The continued use of the title, which incorporated the headquarters, school, and bands, was a misnomer which has more to do with the aspiration than the reality. Moreover, the enforced abdication of responsibility for bandmaster-training naturally influenced the repertoire and style of Irish military bands. The future bandmasters benefited from the education offered at that time to every music student attending University College, Dublin. This doubtless provided a fine grounding, but it was never intended as a course for a bandmaster. Consequently Irish military bands have deviated from the established

European traditions and forged, almost accidentally, a separate practice.

Michael Bowles was the first student to avail of the new system. He joined the school in 1932 and achieved the rank of captain before resigning in 1942. His chief musical contribution was made through his pioneering work towards the development of the music department in Radio Éireann. Dermot O'Hara was another officer who made a major contribution to the broadcasting service. Having joined the school as a bandsman in 1924, he was awarded a commission in 1937, but rather in the manner of Duff before him, he found it difficult to respond to that combination of artistic freedom and administrative discipline demanded of a military bandmaster. He was promoted captain and appointed conductor of No.3 Band in 1942, but, gregarious by nature, he became depressed with the restricted social opportunities of the Curragh and left the army the following year.

Three further cadets joined the school following an open competition in autumn 1935. John Brennock, James Doherty, and Boniface Kealy were the last cadets admitted to the school during Brase's term as director. All three served full careers within the Army School of Music.

Festive Events and Tours

The leaders of the school were sufficiently professional to prevent their concern at the curtailment of its objectives from impinging upon the quality of the bands' performances. The contribution of the army bands was particularly valuable in a period of growing aesthetic awareness but limited cultural activity. Although normally engaged in routine pursuits, the bands, and especially No.1 Band, were conspicuous at all the major national festivals and events. The bands played at the first jumping competition for the Aga Khan Cup in the RDS in 1926.⁴⁶ The following year they were involved in the first Irish military tattoo staged as part of Dublin's Civic Week, and they participated in another military tattoo in 1935. In 1929 they performed for the Catholic

Emancipation Centenary celebrations, and in 1932 contributed to the many functions held in conjunction with the Eucharistic Congress. The creditable and dignified performances at these and other major events further established the school in public affection.

One valid criticism could have been levelled against the school in its first two years: that it concerned itself with serving the musical needs of the capital and not those of the country as a whole. This was not exclusively true; No.1 Band had undertaken the short tour of southern towns in early March 1924 and had performed in other rural centres during May and June. But the imbalance was sufficient to encourage the military authorities to organize a tour of rural towns to be undertaken by Brase and No.1 Band during January 1925. In arranging this tour they were acting in accordance with one of Mulcahy's original intentions, that the presence of the school would encourage musical enterprise and activity in artistically deprived rural areas. For whatever criticisms may be made of musical opportunities in Dublin, it was still immeasurably richer in such possibilities than were the majority of Irish country towns.

During a preliminary reconnaissance visit to establish suitable venues, Sergeant Major Arthur Cork of the Army School of Music recorded his own opinion of the essential value of such a tour:

In the towns I visited, the idea of the visit of No.1 Army Band, was enthusiastically received and if the tour is well advertised it is bound to be a success, apart from the fact of the moral (sic) effect it is sure to have on the people, and this point I consider the most important of all.

47

The tour commenced with a concert in Kilkenny on Sunday, 11 January 1925. Engagements followed almost daily in towns in the South-East, South, West, and in the Midlands. The final performance was given in the County Hall, Mullingar on 24 January.

So successful was the tour that a second was arranged for the autumn. The itinerary must have been as tiring as it was ambitious, especially when one considers that the band had to rehearse and

present a concert in the Theatre Royal, Dublin during the 'free' week in the middle of the tour.

Second Tour (1925) of No.1 Army Band

(a) First Half of Tour Commencing 24.9.25

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Name of Hall</u>
24. 9.25	Drogheda	Whitworth Hall
25. 9.25	Dundalk	Town Hall
26. 9.25	Clones	St. Joseph's
27. 9.25	Dundalk	Temperance Hall
28. 9.25	Monaghan	Town Hall
29. 9.25	Cavan	Town Hall
30. 9.25	Longford	St. Joseph's Temperance Hall
1.10.25	Boyle	St. Patrick's Hall
2.10.25	Ballina	Town Hall
3.10.25	Galway	Empire Theatre
4.10.25	Athlone	Barrack Gymnasium
5.10.25	Mullingar	County Hall

The Band will return to Dublin on the 7th inst.

(b) Second Half of Tour Commencing 14.10.25

<u>Date</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Name of Hall</u>
14.10.25	Nenagh	Town Hall
15.10.25	Limerick	Central Cinema
16.10.25	Tralee	Barrack Gymnasium
17.10.25		Rest
18.10.25	Cork	Opera House (2 Performances)
19.10.25	Waterford	Theatre Royal
20.10.25	do.	do.
21.10.25	Kilkenny	The Theatre
22.10.25	Thurles	New Cinema
23.10.25	Cashel	Cinema

48

The repertoire of music prepared by the band was equally demanding. Brase had assembled 60 pieces, consisting of original band compositions and classical transcriptions, from which a variety of concert programmes was compiled.

The favourable outcome of the two 1925 tours ensured that the same basic arrangement was retained the following year. A short winter tour concentrating on the eastern side of the country was undertaken in January, while a more extensive tour was arranged for September and October. This pattern was adopted for future years,

even after the placement of Nos.2 and 3 Bands. But, as had been the case in Dublin, the popularity of the tours suffered from the law of diminishing returns. As Sauerzweig recalls with admirable candour:

These tours were a great success, but as the novelty wore off the enthusiasm of the people seemed to wane, and the tours were discontinued.

49

The Tailteann Games

The revival of the Tailteann Games in August 1924 offered the school yet another platform on which to display the capabilities of its bands. The fortnight of sporting and cultural competitions recalled the ancient Gaelic games which had originally taken place in what is now Co.Meath. The purpose behind the revival was to strengthen the country's image both at home and abroad by concentrating attention on the noble traditions of the state, and in so doing to contribute to healing the bitterness which is the inevitable consequence of civil war. Sponsored by the Government, the competitions were open to all Irish people and to those of Irish descent. Among the many thousands who returned to Ireland for this celebration of nationhood was the tenor, John McCormack, who was to adjudicate the vocal competitions. On arrival, McCormack was reported as stating that he was:

anxious to hear the army band about which, he says, he has heard eulogistic references.

50

His interest in the senior band competition was reflected in his presentation of a trophy, an impressive replica of the Ardagh Chalice, which became known as the John McCormack Cup.

The band competition took place on the evening of 14 August in the Central Hall, Ballsbridge. It attracted three entries: the two police bands - the Dublin Metropolitan Police Band and the Civic Guards' Band, both of which had been defeated by the Special Infantry Corps Band in a separate competition the previous year - and the Army

School of Music Band. Competition rules pertaining to nationality prevented Brase from conducting, so Duff deputized on this occasion. Brase was anxious not to endanger the good name of No.1 Band, a title he allowed only when personally conducting, hence the change of title.

The adjudicator was an experienced British bandmaster, Lieutenant Colonel MacKenzie-Rogan. Of Irish extraction, he was the former conductor of the Band of the Coldstream Guards and senior director of music to the Brigade of Guards. The two test pieces set for the competition were a transcription by Winterbottom of Mendelssohn's Fingal's Cave, and an Irish selection of the competitor's own choice. MacKenzie-Rogan awarded the honours to the army band. However, following a protest from the Civic Guards' Band that the army band had performed a German arrangement of Fingal's Cave and not the prescribed edition, the decision was reversed and the Dublin Metropolitan Police Band was declared the victor.⁵¹

Four years later on the occasion of the next Tailteann Games, the Army School of Music gained some recompense when its three bands took the first three places in the competition, in order of seniority. In 1932 No.1 Band was again successful, and the army has retained the trophy as the Tailteann Games were not again held due to a decline in interest.⁵²

Financial Concerns

Both Brase and Sauerzweig were discontented with their level of remuneration during their first years in Ireland. As early as November 1923 they protested upon realizing that their salaries were subject to taxation.⁵³ This and subsequent issues caused Brase particular concern and conduced to occasional threats of resignation. His chief complaint was that he was not being rewarded for his conducting duties. Following the first autumn tour, during which Brase, then 50 years of age, had travelled to every province and given 24 concerts in a period of a month, he recorded his frustration

in a letter intended for the Minister for Defence:

Army School of Music
Beggar's Bush
Dublin.

30th October 1925.

Confidential

To:
Minister for Defence,
Dáil Éireann,
Leinster House,
Dublin.

Through:
Adjutant General,
Defence Forces,
Saorstát Éireann.

Sir,

I have the honour to respectfully inform you that, nearly two years ago, I was promised by the Minister for Finance and the then Minister for Defence that my salary would be augmented by the issue of emoluments in consideration of my conducting at Public Recitals. Up to the present, nothing whatsoever has transpired, although I have on various occasions made strong representations.

I now respectfully beg to inform you, that as long as this state of affairs continues, I do not intend to conduct at any further recitals, but to confine myself to the actual duties for which I am engaged, until the termination of my contract.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Fritz Brase Colonel
Director, Army School of Music.⁵⁴

In a further letter, one week later, Brase's sense of dissatisfaction was more acute:

I would respectfully point out, that it is not a condition of my agreement to conduct at Hospitals, Convents, etc. as the occasion demands, and while I have been carrying out

these duties gratuitously from time to time, nothing whatsoever has matured regarding my own representations.

I now feel my position to be absolutely hopeless, and I would much prefer to return to Germany, rather than carry on under the present impossible conditions. 55

Brase's complaint was based on his acquaintance with the German practice regarding remuneration. The band conductor was there entitled to a percentage of the profits from each concert.⁵⁶ He repeatedly attempted to have the system adopted in Ireland, but the army was unwilling to countenance such an example of free enterprise. He did, however, have a strong case, as his original contract made with Mulcahy and formally signed on 18 March 1924, did not require him to conduct. It stated that:

the said Fritz Brase shall be employed as Musical Director for the purpose of organising the Military Bands belonging to the Army of Saorstat Éireann and of training and instructing the personnel of all grades and ranks of said Bands.... 57

The matter had been discussed at a meeting of the Army Finance Committee at which both the Minister, Peadar Hughes, and Brase were in attendance on 15 June 1925.⁵⁸ It was decided to examine the question of remuneration payable to Brase for his conducting services. His letters, following the tour, reflect his impatience with the committee for its delay in arriving at a decision. His complaint received a quick response and he was invited to attend a further meeting of the committee on 9 November. Professor Larchet was also invited to attend to give his advice on this and other matters pertaining to the Army School of Music. This was one of the few occasions on which Larchet was consulted following the resignation of Mulcahy. After a measure of debate, the meeting agreed that the extra remuneration to Colonel Brase in respect of his conducting duties should take the form of an annual allowance which was fixed at £150.⁵⁹

However the matter did not end here. There was disquiet among senior officials that the terms of pay and conditions granted to an army officer should be open to negotiation. Their view was that:

it is thereby deemed to be incompatible with military discipline and administration that the emoluments, duties, and general conditions of service of the said Fritz Brase as such Commissioned Officer in the Defence Forces aforesaid should continue to be the subject of the agreement above recited.

60

A long and acrimonious debate ensued and it was not resolved until February 1927 when the original agreement was abrogated and replaced by a second contract between the Minister for Defence and Brase which allowed the latter an inclusive salary of £914.⁶¹

Sauerzweig had none of the rights enjoyed by Brase and he resented the difference in status between his compatriot and himself. His dedicated work as a teacher had contributed in no small measure to the early success of the school. Yet the nature of the work meant that it went largely unrecognized and many of those with an interest in the school and its bands must have been unaware of his presence and contribution. Because of this, Sauerzweig did not command a sufficiently high public profile to encourage him to enter a complaint with any degree of confidence in its ultimate success. Had relations between the two Germans been more cordial, he might have been given opportunities to conduct No.1 Band which would at least have created an awareness of his presence.

Although of quiet character, Sauerzweig was essentially a practical man. He found a novel way to promote his case. On 15 May 1925 he formally announced his intention to resign as and from the end of January 1926.⁶² Meanwhile he arranged a series of solo concerts in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, and Queen's Hall, London, calculated to demonstrate his remarkable instrumental versatility. During each performance he played on 15 different orchestral instruments. Accompanied by Arthur Duff, Sauerzweig's programme included two movements from each of the following: Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, the Viola Concerto in G minor by Cecil Forsyth, and

Weber's E flat Clarinet Concerto. He also performed a composition of his own, Fantasia Concertante, designed to introduce each of the 15 instruments - strings, brass, and reed - in turn.⁶³

The venture was greeted with amusement in the school of music where it was considered a display suited only to the music-hall.⁶⁴ But the music critics, both in Dublin and London, gave him a glowing testimony. Typical was the comment of The Irish Times:

It was a genuine feat. Sauerzweig is a remarkable man. A competent performer on instruments of every kind;... an admirable musician. 65

However the reviewer for the Daily Mail dissented from the general approbation. While recording his admiration of Sauerzweig's technical facility, he felt that musically the performance 'had a certain painful interest'.⁶⁶ But the concerts did serve their primary function. Sauerzweig was noticed and the Adjutant General was recorded as stating that his work was 'just as important to the bands as Colonel Brase's'.⁶⁷ He eventually received some recognition for his industry when he was promoted to the rank of commandant in September 1926, with a salary of £438.⁶⁸

A Home for the School

Another question that caused Brase and Sauerzweig concern during their first six years in Ireland was that of finding a permanent and suitable location for the Army School of Music. The move to Beggar's Bush Barracks, which had been completed by January 1924, was made at the insistence of Mulcahy. The primary reason for the transfer to Dublin was to ensure that Larchet was in a position to influence the school's development, and Beggar's Bush was chosen as the only city barracks with sufficient available space. It was a fortuitous choice that proved most acceptable to the members of the school. There was ample space and good facilities, and the school was the only unit stationed there. Both the Brase and Sauerzweig families were accommodated in the attractive front square.⁶⁹ The arrangement

pleased Brase and he was satisfied that the barracks was a suitable location for the development of the school.

However there were strong objections raised when the proposal was made in autumn 1923, and these remained even after the school took possession of the barracks. In October 1923 the Minister for Finance, Ernest Blythe, had unsuccessfully requested Mulcahy not to proceed with the transfer until full consideration had been given to the proposed use of all the capital's military installations.⁷⁰ The Ministry for Defence occupied many fine locations in the city and other ministries were anxious to see some of these allocated to alternative uses, especially in view of the proposed reduction in military strength. Blythe, for instance, was desirous to acquire Beggar's Bush Barracks for the Stationery Office which was then occupying rented accommodation in Westmoreland Street at a cost of £300 per annum.⁷¹

The school of music managed to retain possession of Beggar's Bush Barracks while the detailed discussions took place concerning the apportionment of military stations. In February 1927 the Minister for Defence proposed to transfer the school to the Hibernian School, Phoenix Park, in order to release Beggar's Bush for use by the Stationery Office.⁷² The Royal Hibernian Military School, now St Mary's Hospital, had been founded in 1764 and was granted a Royal charter and an excellent site in Phoenix Park five years later by George III.⁷³ Despite the title, the school was not a military academy but a home for orphaned children of British servicemen. Architecturally the building is noted for its fine chapel which was designed in 1771 by Thomas Cooley.⁷⁴ Furthermore the high standard of the educational programmes adopted by the school during the eighteenth century had involved it in developing an excellent range of facilities including centrally heated classrooms, playrooms, library, heated indoor swimming pool, gymnasium, and, interestingly, band practice rooms. There were also outdoor facilities for sports.⁷⁵ In company with a military engineer, Brase visited the Royal Hibernian School and was so impressed that he immediately agreed to transfer provided that a number of minor alterations to practice areas were completed.⁷⁶

At this time the military authorities were giving much thought to the location of a college for cadets. It was felt necessary to situate this college close to a university to facilitate attendance by cadets undertaking third-level courses. Having rejected a number of locations, it was eventually proposed that the college should share the Royal Hibernian School with the Army School of Music.⁷⁷

The plan never came to fruition. The objection on this occasion was raised by the Department of Education which wished to use the Hibernian School as a temporary preparatory college for Irish-speaking students preparing for teaching positions in national schools.⁷⁸ The debate between various Government Departments continued throughout 1927 with no agreement.

The school of music was transferred to McKee Barracks, beside Phoenix Park, in February 1928.⁷⁹ The only justification for the move was the release of Beggar's Bush for civil purposes; McKee Barracks had nothing to recommend it as a home for the Army School of Music. The dining facilities were poor, the accommodation was not suitable for young boys, and the rehearsal areas were inadequate. Brase repeatedly complained about the barracks and requested a return to Beggar's Bush. Indeed his frustration with the situation was his primary concern during the spring and summer of 1928.⁸⁰ He enlisted the support of medical and engineer officers in his case to have the school transferred from McKee Barracks:

The numbers of this corps on the daily morning sick parade are increasing steadily. This, in my opinion, is due to the lack of proper heating facilities in the various buildings they occupy and also to the fact that most of this corps are mere youths who cannot rough the conditions like the older soldiers.

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It is essential that the buildings, sanitary fittings, etc., for use as an Army School of Music should not only be the most modern available, but should be specially adapted for this purpose, and as a result of this inspection, I have to state that it is my considered opinion that, without considerable structural alterations and expense, McKee

Barracks cannot be rendered suitable for use by the Army School of Music. 82

Brase's persistence left the authorities no option but to find alternative accommodation. The vacated hospital in Portobello Barracks was proposed as a suitable location although the military engineers report on the proposal was not favourable:

The accommodation in the Hospital at Portobello is quite inadequate to cover these requirements. The sleeping accommodation in the Hospital will allow of 140 other ranks, but when the extra Band is reporting for annual training, accommodation is required for 170.... Similarly, there is no accommodation available that could be utilised as Recreation Rooms, School Rooms, etc., and the proposal generally to house the Army School of Music at Portobello Barracks is in my opinion quite impracticable. 83

However no other location of adequate size could be found in which to house the school. When some additional buildings adjacent to the hospital were also offered to the school, Brase accepted the move to Portobello on the grounds, no doubt, that it was an improvement on McKee Barracks. The Army School of Music completed its move to Portobello on 16 October 1928 and has remained there ever since.⁸⁴

The approach to the question of a suitable location indicates the decreasing importance that was attached to the work of the school. It finally found a home in Portobello because it was the only accommodation available; the choice had little to do with suitability. In fact a proper rehearsal hall was not constructed for No.1 Band until 1943, and it was a further 40 years before a specialized teaching centre was built. These shortcomings denoted the lack of support and the absence of forward planning that was apparent in relation to the school of music. This general want of purpose helps explain why Brase increasingly turned for fulfilment to musical activities outside the army.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. The pun is intended. A Routine Order is a basic military document detailing regular procedure and official duties.
2. O'Duffy enjoyed a remarkable career. He was a senior army officer and held the post of Chief of Staff from February to July 1922. At the end of that year he was appointed Commissioner of the Irish police force (the Garda Siochána), a position he returned to in February 1925 after his period as Inspector General of the army. He gained some political notoriety in the early 1930s as leader of the facist Blueshirt movement and as the first leader of Fine Gael. F.S.L.Lyons in his comprehensive account of this period, Ireland Since the Famine (London, 1971), 530, writes:

... the real trouble with O'Duffy was not that he was cold-bloodedly authoritarian, but that he was warm-heartedly incompetent. A good police chief, he was a child in politics and, being a vain man with no judgment, was easily betrayed into wild language and false positions.
3. Army Organization file, A/11801, DDAD; Organization and Establishment of the Army file, S3 442B, SPOD.
4. Preface to the proposed scheme for the Army School of Music, General O'Duffy's scheme of army reorganization (May 1924), Organization and Establishment of the Army file, S3 442B, SPOD.
5. Ibid.
6. The period of service to which a bandsman committed himself was gradually extended during the 1920s. At first the period was only six months. It was later raised to three years, then five, nine, and finally twelve years. Boys entering and receiving their training in the school had to give a minimum of ten years service. This too was eventually increased to twelve years.

7. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD. The subject of tutors for string instruments was discussed at an Army Finance Committee meeting on 15 June 1925. The case had first been submitted by Brase, through the Adjutant General, on 17 January 1925. Permission to employ the teachers was not forthcoming.
8. Mulcahy papers, P7/C/59, UCDA.
9. C.Sharp, 'The Awakening', The Leader (23 Feb. 1924), 62-4.
10. C.Sharp, 'Our Musical Spring Tide', The Leader (24 May 1924), 387-80.
11. H.L.Morrow, 'The Army Band Again', The Irish Statesman (17 May 1924), 302.
12. See note 4 above.
13. A copy of the programme is contained in the Mulcahy papers, P7/C/59, UCDA. The Liszt Polonaise was transposed to E flat for military band.
14. H.L.Morrow, 'The Army Band Again', The Irish Statesman (17 May 1924), 302.
15. 'Stage and Platform', The Sunday Independent (25 May 1924), 2.
16. 'Army Band in Park', The Sunday Independent (26 Apr. 1925), 3. The figure of 30,000 was cited in an article announcing the second free recital which was to be given by the band in Phoenix Park on Sunday, 3 May 1925.
17. 'Wonderful demonstration of People's Appreciation', The Irish Independent (14 July 1924), 4.
18. Engagements file, A/8968, DDAD.
19. H.L.Morrow, 'The Army Band Again', The Irish Statesman

(17 May 1924), 302.

20. C.Sharp, 'Our Musical Spring Tide', The Leader (24 May 1924), 387-80.
21. Brase's work with the Dublin Philharmonic Society is related in chap.VII.
22. Major Sauerzweig, 'Army School of Music', The Call to Arms (Dublin, 1945), 60. The No.2 Band was actually transferred to Collins Barracks, Dublin in 1925 to serve the Eastern Command as No.1 Band was considered a national, rather than a command band. However this decision was changed the following year when the large number of personnel seeking to leave the service made it impossible to create a viable fourth band. It became necessary to transfer No.2 Band to Cork to serve the southern area of the country.
23. Col.J.M.Doyle, written submission for this thesis, 20 Feb. 1986. Doyle states:

No.1 Band excelled because Col.Brase gave it preferential treatment and personal attention.
24. The difference between a symphonic wind band and a military band is essentially one of degree rather than instrumentation. The former term is gaining currency to denote a wind ensemble specializing in concert performances of a repertoire of original works and transcriptions of a technically and musically demanding nature. It is a military band with a musical conscience.
25. Col.J.M.Doyle, submission, 20 Feb. 1986. First Duff, and later Doyle, conducted No.1 Band for minor engagements. Often the band title was changed to 'The Army School of Music Band' or 'The Army Band' on such occasions.
26. Pay file, A/10531, DDAD.

27. The Coughlan notes, Múlcáhy papers, P7/D/107, UCDA. There is some confusion over the spelling of Lalor's name in the notes. It is given as Lawlor and Lalor. I have adopted the latter which is used in all official documents.
28. Bands: Private Performances file, A/11172, DDAD.
29. 'School of Music', An t-Óglách (23 Jan. 1926), 15.
30. F.O'Callaghan, 'For official use only', An Cosantóir, (Oct. 1973), 363-5.
31. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD.
32. Arthur Duff personal file, DDAD.
33. Ibid.
34. Col.J.M.Doyle, submission, 20 Feb. 1986.
35. Interview with Col.J.M.Doyle, 1 July 1986, Dublin.
36. Doyle's appointment as a bandmaster-cadet was published in Army School of Music Routine Orders on 29 October 1926 (para. 469). The Adjutant General had authorized the appointment two days previously. However the appointment was backdated to 12 April 1926, the day on which nine young men began training as cadets for the Air Corps. These were the first cadets enlisted in the army.
37. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD.
38. Ibid. Correspondence: Col.Brace with Adjutant General (7 July 1925).
39. Col.J.M.Doyle, submission, 20 Feb. 1986.
40. See note 36 above.

41. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD. Brase recommended Doyle for commissioned rank on 24 August 1928 just two days after the Tailteann Games band competition. In a letter to the Adjutant General, Brase clearly indicates that it was the victory which prompted his recommendation:

At the competitions held in connection with Aonach Tailteann he /Doyle/ took first place.... He secured premier honours notwithstanding that he was drawn as last to play which might have affected his tempos, but on the contrary he adhered perfectly to what he was taught here and acquitted himself with distinction, and, in my opinion, he shewed himself to be a conductor of merit.

The Tailteann Games are discussed later in this chapter.

42. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD.
43. Professor Aloys Fleischmann, written submission for this thesis, 17 July 1986; Interview with Professor Fleischmann, 23 Apr. 1987, Cork. He recalls that Brase travelled to Cork to try and persuade him to join the Army School of Music, and that Brase was highly disgruntled upon learning of the young man's alternative plans.
44. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD. Correspondence: Adjutant, Army School of Music with the Adjutant General (1 May 1930).
45. Bandmaster Appointments file, A/14661, DDAD. The regulation covering the appointment of cadets to the Army School of Music was issued as Defence Force Regulation 15, on 12 February 1930.
46. The No.1 Band had been involved with the 'Great Irish Horse Show' from 1924. See Mulcahy papers, P7/C/59, UCDA.
47. Tours file, A/14486, DDAD. Correspondence: Sergeant Major Cork with Col.Brased (15 Dec. 1924).

48. Tours file, A/14486, DDAD. Correspondence: Adjutant General with Minister for Defence (11 Oct. 1925).
49. Sauerzweig, ASMA.
50. 'Mr. McCormack's Enthusiasm', The Irish Independent (26 July 1924), 7.
51. 'The Tailteann Games', The Irish Times (15 Aug. 1924), 4; Col. J.M. Doyle, submission, 20 Feb. 1986.
52. The John McCormack Cup was later presented to the school by the tenor's son, Cyril. It was subsequently competed for by the four army bands. It is at present held by the Band of the Curragh Command.
53. A/151, DDAD.
54. Fritz Brase personal papers.
55. Ibid. Correspondence: Col. Brase with Adjutant General (6 Nov. 1925).
56. Josef Eckhardt, Zivil- und Militärmusiker im Wilhelminischen Reich (Regensburg, 1978), 55-6. See also chap. III.
57. Fritz Brase personal file, 'Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Defence, with Herr Fritz Brase, Musical Director: Agreement', introduction, DDAD.
58. Finance file, A/9054, DDAD.
59. Band Regulations file, A/13977, DDAD.
60. Fritz Brase personal papers. Cited in the second agreement between the Minister for Defence and Col. Brase, February 1927.
61. 47/Bands/4, DDAD.

62. 47/Bands/38, DDAD.
63. Details of the performances and programmes are contained in a publicity booklet published to promote further concerts; Fred Christe (Dublin, n.d., c.1928).
64. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin.
65. 'A Master of Many Instruments', The Irish Times (1 Feb. 1926), 4.
66. R.C., 'The Compleat Musician', Daily Mail (19 Feb. 1926), 6.
67. 47/Bands/38, quoted in correspondence: Army Finance Officer with Secretary, Department of Defence (20 Jan. 1926).
68. Ibid.
69. Interview with Miss Mona Brase, 28 Jan. 1986, Dublin. Although the members of the Army School of Music remained in Beggar's Bush for only a few years their influence can still be seen today. According to An t-Óglách (23 Jan. 1926), 15:
- The improvements carried out in the appearance of Beggar's Bush Barracks reflect great credit on the artistry of Colonel Brase, who originated the scheme. A large rockery, profusely covered with shrubs, decorates the centre of the Officers' Square, and in the centre of the rockery, rising is a fine flag-pole, nearly 50 feet high. On each side of the Square is a beautiful lawn, which is enhanced by an avenue of shrubberies.
70. Bands file, A/9541, DDAD. Correspondence: Minister for Finance with Minister for Defence (22 Oct. 1923).
71. Ibid.
72. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD. Correspondence: Secretary,

Department of Defence with Secretary, Office of Public Works
(22 Feb. 1927).

73. Pat Liddy, 'St. Mary's Hospital, Phoenix Park', The Irish Times
(25 Feb. 1987), 10.
74. Maurice Craig, Dublin 1660-1860 (Dublin, 1980), 197.
75. Pat Liddy, op.cit., 10.
76. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD.
77. Capt. Barry O'Brien, 'The Origins and Development of the Cadet
School', An Cosantóir (Sept. 1979), 264.
78. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD. Correspondence: Sir Philip
Hanson, Chairman, Office of Public Works with Charles O'Connor,
Secretary, Department of Defence (26 Feb. 1927).
79. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD.
80. The level of Brase's obsession with the problem can be gauged
from the uncharacteristically large volume of correspondence he
devotes to the issue at this time.
81. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD. Correspondence: Medical
officer, McKee Barracks with Camp Commandant, McKee Barracks
(19 Apr. 1928).
82. Ibid. Correspondence: Officer Commanding Corps of Engineers
with Quartermaster General (29 May 1928).
83. Ibid. Correspondence: Officer Commanding Corps of Engineers
with Quartermaster General (9 July 1928).
84. Accommodation file, A/10005, DDAD.

CHAPTER VII

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C H A P T E R VII

The Contribution of the School to Musical Activity outside the Army

The restriction of the school's development occasioned by the departure from the original ideals inadvertently allowed the members to devote appreciable energy to assisting in the development of extraneous musical projects. The influence that the school exerted on musical expectations and developments outside the army remains, arguably, its greatest single achievement. The very presence of the school, and especially of No.1 Band through its successes and, indeed, its limitations, excited an increase in musical awareness and contributed to a resurgence in musical activity particularly in Dublin. Its members became involved with this reawakening of interest, and some were instrumental in shaping the development of Irish musical culture. None contributed more than Brase. From the mid-1920s he increasingly focused his considerable energies on activities outside the army. His major involvement in this respect was through his fruitful association with the Dublin Philharmonic Society.

The Dublin Philharmonic Society

One of the beneficial consequences of the publicity surrounding the school and No.1 Band during their early years was the growing public awareness of the need for a permanent national symphony orchestra. This awareness was heightened by debate over the suitability of the band's repertoire, its limitations in this regard, and the efficacy of its frequent recourse to transcriptions. Only occasional orchestral concerts had been given in the capital since the discontinuance of the concerts performed by Esposito's Dublin Orchestral Society in the Royal Dublin Society. Those that did take place were principally organized by Esposito and Larchet and, together with infrequent concerts given by visiting English orchestras, they provided Dubliners with their only opportunity to hear music from the orchestral repertoire. But such limited

opportunity did not meet the growing cultural demand evident in the calmer aftermath of the Civil War. Brase was to the fore in supporting this growth in musical expectations. He joined a group of influential citizens devoted to establishing a symphony orchestra in Dublin. This group formed the Irish Musical Society in 1926 and proposed a membership subscription of one guinea per annum.¹ It was calculated that 1,200 subscribers would enable the society to establish an orchestra. However, by October 1926 only 400 subscriptions had been received and the project was doomed to failure.² Undaunted, and with characteristic determination, Brase decided to answer the obvious need by gathering together, in January 1927, a disparate group of musicians to form a largely amateur orchestra.³ He was also motivated in his action by his ambition to conduct an orchestra. No one was more conscious of the limitations of a military band than he, and his attraction to the orchestra had been apparent from his student days. His decision to form the orchestra marks his first small, but definite, step away from concentration on the Army School of Music to a broader musical involvement.

The new formation eventually became known as the Dublin Symphony Orchestra, which was the title originally suggested by the Irish Musical Society for the orchestra it had attempted to establish. It had a particular advantage in that Brase utilized members of No.1 Band to provide the woodwind, brass, and percussion sections. The string players were all civilians. It was comparatively easy to recruit such players in a city with a flourishing string tradition.

In March 1927 the orchestra combined with the Dublin Philharmonic Choral Society to present a concert commemorating the centenary of Beethoven's death. This initial cooperation proved so successful that a formal amalgamation between the two organizations was completed by the following July. The Dublin Philharmonic Society was the title given the new body. That Brase was responsible for instigating the merger is indicated in the first annual report:

The Council wish to place on record their high appreciation of the magnificent services which Col. Brase has rendered to this Society. First by the wonderful way in which he built up the Orchestra composed as it largely is of members who are Amateur Players, most of them unacquainted with Orchestral Work. Secondly by suggesting the amalgamation of the two original Societies, Col. Brase has never spared himself in any way, giving up a large proportion of his private time not only to the many rehearsals of the Orchestra and Choir, but also by drawing up the Programmes and attending the numerous meetings of the various Committees, and there is no doubt that the major portion of the success attained by the Society has been due not only to his great gifts as a conductor and musician, but also to his inspiring leadership in all activities of the Society.

4

The merger represented not so much the formation of a new society as the reactivation of a much older one. According to Aloys Fleischmann, a Philharmonic Society had been founded in Dublin just 100 years previously,⁵ in 1826, and it had been responsible, in 1856, for the first performance in Ireland of Beethoven's Choral Symphony.⁶ Philharmonic societies in other European centres, such as that in London which had been in existence for over 100 years and that in Berlin for 40 years, had made a decided contribution to musical advancement in those cities. The intention of the Dublin Philharmonic Society was to imitate this example and present an annual series of concerts comprising symphonic performances conducted by Brase, choral concerts directed by Mr Turner Huggard, and performances of larger choral works with the combined forces of the society again conducted by Brase. The concert, on 27 March 1927, to commemorate Beethoven's centenary and given before the society was formally inaugurated, was devoted to compositions by the dedicatee. The overture Leonora No.3, the Kyrie and Gloria from Missa Solemnis, and the Ninth Symphony were performed. The concert programme, beautifully produced with a short essay on Beethoven by Dr Walter Starkie, and with detailed and illustrated analytical notes by Harold White, indicated a quality of presentation that was to become the hallmark of the society. The concert attracted such a degree of interest that it was necessary to repeat it on 9 April. The music

critics praised the performance and did not neglect to record the contribution made by members of the Army School of Music:

The exquisite tone of the horns in the introduction of the second theme /in Leonora No.37 made one realise and appreciate the worth of the Army Band players. 7

The members of the woodwind, brass, and percussion sections were, without exception, from the Army School of Music. And the society continued to rely exclusively on the school for the provision of players for these sections of its orchestra. Sauerzweig, as became his practice for the society, played the first oboe.

During the third week of September 1927, the Philharmonic Choir combined with the massed army bands for three evenings to perform a selection of Irish airs arranged and conducted by Brase.⁸ These performances were given in Lansdowne Road as part of the first Irish military tattoo which was held in conjunction with Dublin's Civic Week. The Dublin Philharmonic Society also contributed to the festival by presenting a choral and symphonic concert conducted by Brase and Turner Huggard on Saturday, 24 September. An occasional and discerning commentator, Walter Starkie, recorded his impressions of the evening and inevitably turned to a consideration of Brase's contribution:

Colonel Brase was never more brilliant than on Saturday. It is little short of miraculous what he is able to extract from an orchestra that has only worked under him some months. Not only has he the limitless enthusiasm of the true musician but he has the strength of personality to compel the exact obedience of his players. He understands every instrument of the orchestra, his eye is worth all those of Argus, and his beat is so deliberate that there is no chance of missing it. If he continues to maintain the enthusiasm of his players at such a high pitch he will undoubtedly produce a first-rate symphony orchestra worthy of Dublin. At present he has gone a long way towards solving the difficulty by creating so efficient a body of wind players. 9

Brase's personality and ability were recognised as factors contributing to the success of the society in attracting audiences hitherto disinclined to support concerts of classical music:

The fourth concert of the season by the Dublin Philharmonic Society was wholly orchestral. In the past that would have meant a small attendance, but Dublin is alive now to the fact that orchestral music, as opened to understanding through Colonel Fritz Brase's conducting is strong in appeal. A large audience was drawn by that appeal last Saturday: the Theatre Royal, where, as usual, the concert took place, appeared to be full everywhere.

10

The society also benefited from the support of many leading citizens. Its complement of vice-presidents, members of council, and officers represented a veritable register of civic worthies.

Many of the aims set by the society were met in the initial years. Its policy of giving opportunity to Irish artistes was faithfully followed. Among the soloists born or based in Ireland who appeared with the society were pianists, Rhoda Coghill, Dina Copeman, Dorothy Stokes, Rhona Marshall, Edith Boxwell, Frederick Stone, Claude Biggs, and Victor Love; violinists, Nancie Lord, Petite O'Hara, and Bay Jellett; cellist, Ida Starkie-O'Reilly; singers, Jean Nolan, Joan Burke, Norah Lough, John McCormack, John Nolan, W.F.Watt, Joseph O'Neill, Maestro Viani, Robert McCullagh, Frank Cowle, and Robert Irwin. Sauerzweig also appeared as a soloist, playing oboe in an arrangement of a concerto grosso by Handel.¹¹

One of the Irish performers mentioned above, Miss Rhoda Coghill, made a particular contribution to the Dublin Philharmonic Society. She had the distinction of being the first soloist to appear with the society following its formal inauguration. During the opening concert of its first season, given in the Theatre Royal on 29 October 1927, she performed Tchaikovsky's B flat minor Piano Concerto, then changed her gown at the interval to reappear as a double bass player in the orchestra which proceeded, under Brase's direction, to give the first complete performance in Ireland of the Symphonie fantastique by Berlioz. Writing with charm and humour,

Rhoda Coghill recalls her memories of Brase and the society:

My memories of the DPS are very pleasant ones, and I remember Colonel Brase and Commandant Sauerzweig very well. Colonel Brase was an impressive figure, immaculate in his army uniform, standing sometimes with his hand inside the breast of his jacket in a Napoleonic pose - his great height and straight, supple bearing gave him an air of distinction. His profile was hawklike, the lips closed in a tight line - but at times his features relaxed in a smile of great charm and kindness. I thought him a fine conductor, with a musician's understanding of a wide repertoire, which was obvious in the arrangements of orchestral music which the No.1 Army Band played under his direction. We were privileged to work with the Army Band players who formed the basis of the DPS, men so well trained by Commandant Sauerzweig and equipped with their excellent instruments provided for them by the Government.

I can hardly call myself a 'Bass Player', as I was self taught with a three-stringed instrument. When I played in a small string orchestra formed by Petite O'Hara (who was an important figure beside Joshua Watson at the first desk of the violins in the DPS), I played about one note per beat! Some time after I joined the DPS I obtained the use of a four-stringed bass and a modern bow; and when Mr Stott of the Hallé Orchestra joined us for our final performances at our concerts, I had a few lessons from him, so that I was able to scrape away more confidently at the recitatives in the Choral Symphony, covered up by our two other amateur lady bass players and Mr Stott.

However, on one occasion I remember Colonel Brase hissing acidly: 'Ha! Ze basses zey are ahlays hrong!'

12

The programmes of music offered by the society contained a mixture of classical favourites and a laudably high percentage of more modern works, many of which were performed for the first time in Ireland. Among these compositions were Berlioz's Symphonie fantastique; Phaëton by Saint-Saëns; Cesar Franck's Variations Symphoniques; Symphony No.1 in E flat major by Arnold Bax; Liszt's Faust Symphony; Prokofiev's Symphony in D; and oratorios The Atonement by Coleridge-Taylor and Elgar's The Dream of Gerontius

along with the cantata trilogy, The Song of Hiawatha, also by Coleridge-Taylor. Compositions by Irish composers also benefited from the progressive policy towards repertoire. The Stabat Mater by Stanford was performed during the first season as was the overture to Autolykus by Harold White. It was the first performance of White's work and the society also gave the première of the Hymn of St Patrick at Tara and the tone poem, The Opium Smoker, by the same composer. Brase conducted orchestral arrangements of his Irish Fantasias Nos. 3 and 4 and an original composition for orchestra, Irelandia, a suite of four movements based on traditional airs which he dedicated to John Count McCormack. He had planned to perform his suite, Aus meiner Heimat, during the fourth concert season in 1931, however illness prevented him from conducting that year and the composition was not subsequently performed. Sir Hamilton Harty, with whom Brase had developed a friendship, also had compositions performed by the society. With the Wild Geese and The Mystic Trumpeter were presented during the early seasons while the orchestral version of his fantasy for flute, harp, and orchestra, In Ireland, was given its première by Brase in 1936 with the flute part played by a Corporal Harty of the Army School of Music.¹³ Brase confirmed his advocacy of Harty's works when he conducted a performance of An Irish Symphony in a further concert given by the society in 1936.

Brase's influence on programme selection is evident in the attention given to Wagner. Despite his low output of independent orchestral works, he is, through overtures and opera extracts, the composer most frequently represented in the society's programmes. He even qualified for a concert devoted solely to his compositions. Perhaps ironically, the only other musician so honoured was Brahms; indeed Brase was particularly praised for his interpretation of this master's works.¹⁴ The compositions of both Elgar and Richard Strauss also featured regularly.

The duration of the concerts says much for the concentration and stamina of both performers and audience. The degree of dedication to the task in hand is indicated by the note in one of the society's programmes stating that:

interest and soon faced financial problems. The difficulty of retaining the interest of Dubliners in an innovative musical enterprise was becoming all too familiar to Brase. Joseph O'Neill, a soloist with the society and successor to White as music critic of The Irish Independent, offers his explanation for a situation that was not limited to the 1920s or to Dublin:

There can be no doubt about the fact that the love of music is not very deep-rooted in Irish people. By this I do not mean that music does not attract them. They have a superficial love of music and an emotional reaction to it, but the music must be both simple and familiar.

18

The society's reaction was to engage an increased number of foreign soloists in order to attract audiences. Among those who performed with the Dublin Philharmonic Society were the violinists, Isolde Menges and Adila Fachiri (formerly Aranyi); sopranos, Isobel Baillie and the Russian, Oda Slobodskaya; contralto, Dorothea Helmrich; tenor, Steuart Wilson; baritone, Keith Falkner; and bass, Harold Williams. The pianist, William Murdoch, was also engaged to perform Rachmaninoff's Second Piano Concerto.

Initially the policy worked; the celebrity soloists attracted renewed interest in the society's performances. However, soloists of international stature were expensive and had to be engaged well in advance, and public interest proved ephemeral; the society was soon in even deeper financial trouble. The following review of one of the final concerts combines appreciation for the achievements of the society and disappointment at the degree of public support.

It is a matter for regret that the attendance at the Philharmonic Society's Concert at the Theatre Royal on Saturday was not equal to the merits of the programme. The playing of the orchestra clearly-represented many weeks of serious and intensive rehearsing under the personal direction of Col. Fritz Brase whose insistence on the perfection of detail is only really appreciated by those playing under him.

19

The Dublin Philharmonic Society became increasingly dependent on the assistance of other organizations such as the Royal Dublin Society which sponsored annual performances. In 1929 the Philharmonic Society gave afternoon and evening performances to open the winter season of RDS concerts.²⁰ A similar facility was offered in subsequent years. However, the profits from these occasions were insufficient to avert the financial collapse facing the society.

The society's difficulties betokened the continuing division in Irish musical life between the minority which supported an enlightened approach and the remainder which was composed of the few who advocated an insular practice and the many who were insensible to any artistic enterprise. Aloys Fleischmann was in the vanguard of those who felt that Irish musical activity was becoming too singular in its focus.

A new wave of interest and enthusiasm is indeed perceptible, but the majority of the enthusiasts, when they speak of music, mean traditional music, bidding us measure progress by the amount of folk-music played and sung. Composition is conceived as the adding of three parts to a folk-tune. Centuries of development in craft and idiom are ignored.... Continuity or fidelity of tradition is not best achieved by atavism, by a slavish use of the material of the past.

21

A leading advocate of the indigenous tradition, Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair, was stung by the charge of atavism, and his response illustrates the opposing school of thought:

I am trying to say that for the Irishman, the Irish idiom expresses deep things that have not been expressed by Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Elgar or Sibelius - by any of the great composers; and that where the vehicle used for the presentation of the Irish idiom is the vehicle of any of these men or their schools - then the Irishman is conscious of a clash of values, a struggle for mastery and he rejects the presentation as 'wrong'.... And so I say that in no Irish art as much as in music does the Irish mind hold fast to the set of values fundamentally its own; and in no other art is the mind so conscious of the continued integrity of those values.... And this is why I

have said that the stigma implied by many writers using the word 'atavism' is not quite fair. Novelty in art is mere vulgarity, and a new thing is strong only when it has deep roots in the past. If a new music arise to express Ireland it can have as its roots only the fundamental sense of value that belongs to the Irish mind, and it is conceivable that a great strength will lie in its atavism.

22

The debate was not about the value or quality of Irish music but rather, in Ó Gallchobhair's phrase, over 'the vehicle used for the presentation'. Fleischmann had previously acknowledged this to be the case.

The position then at the moment is as follows. We have on the one hand a unique tradition in folk-music, on the other hand a half developed art music which is for the most part alien or at best no more than superficially connected with that tradition. What is needed is a Gaelic art music which will embody all the technique that contemporary music can boast and at the same time will be rooted in the folk-music spirit, and will be individual and genuine as that folk-music is individual and genuine.

23

Viewed against such a background, the Dublin Philharmonic Society's endeavour to present a challenging and refined repertoire, with a generous representation of works by Irish composers, deserves credit. But the problems experienced by the society suggest that the initially high level of support it received was not sufficiently committed to sustain an interest in such an advanced policy. The absence of an agreed tradition was detrimental to the society, and it continued to hinder both musical development and the creation of a native school of composition. As late as 1955, Denis Donoghue, later professor of modern English and American literature at University College, Dublin, was to point to the paucity of works by Irish composers that could command a place in an international repertoire. He unequivocally asserts that this situation results from the pervasive obsession with folk music:

There are many reasons for the relative poverty of contemporary Irish music.... The first reason is the lamentable fact that many Irish composers have fallen into the trap of folk music.... If an Irish composer evades the issue by quoting folk songs, he can hardly object when his music is condemned as insular and irrelevant.

24

The decline in the society's financial fortunes was mirrored by a decline in Brase's personal condition. For the last ten years of his life Brase was burdened with poor health. Carcinoma of the kidney was eventually diagnosed.²⁵ The demands of organizing, rehearsing, and performing for the society were proving too great a strain, especially in view of the precarious financial situation. He had first suggested retiring from the society in 1929 in order to concentrate on his study of Irish music. He was, however, persuaded to remain on by the then chairman of the council, Frederick Eason, who argued that no comparable replacement was available.²⁶ Ill-health prevented Brase from conducting during the fourth season of concerts. Sir Hamilton Harty conducted the first concert of the season in October 1930 and Sauerzweig conducted the society for the remainder of that year. By 1936 Brase was unable to sustain the demands of conducting for a full season and he was joined for the series by Sir Hamilton Harty, Dr Larchet, Dr Vincent O'Brien, and Mr E. Godfrey Brown, director of the Belfast Wireless Symphony Orchestra and director of music for the BBC, Northern Ireland.²⁷ It was during this final season that the combination of financial strain and Brase's weakening health forced the society out of existence.

It was an ignoble conclusion to a venture which had contributed much to musical culture in Dublin during its ten-year existence. From its early dependence on the resources of the Army School of Music, the society had succeeded in attracting an assortment of influential patrons from various sections of the capital's social structure and in building an organization with a broad appeal. It complemented the chamber recitals sponsored by the RDS in providing the Dublin public with the regular opportunity to hear larger symphonic and choral works. In so doing, the society had shown imagination and courage in its choice of repertoire. It had also

provided a much needed stage for native performers and composers. In introducing foreign artistes it had hoped, apart from the practical consideration of attracting larger audiences, to set a standard for Irish performers. Finally the society became a victim not only of the fickleness of public response and the division of musical tradition within the country, but also of its own courage and, perhaps even, naivety. For Brase it was a further experience like others in his life: initial success followed by gradual decline. In some respects he answered his convictions and achieved many of his personal musical ambitions through the Dublin Philharmonic Society. He certainly devoted a substantial part of his energy to the society. While its passing was a considerable loss to musical life in Ireland and is to be lamented, there is yet something ironically fitting in the fact that it did not survive beyond the involvement of the man who had laboured so diligently in its service.

The School's contribution to the Broadcasting Service

The development of an independent Irish broadcasting service also benefited from considerable support given by the Army School of Music. The trauma of the War of Independence and the subsequent Civil War delayed the advent of broadcasting in Ireland.²⁸ When the service was inaugurated in 1926 the school, although only three years in existence, was sufficiently developed to make a telling contribution.

The coming of the radio occasioned a debate on its intended content. No news service was proposed and the political situation in Ireland was still too delicate to be considered suitable material. Because of the technical limitations on recording, it was decided that it would fall to live music to provide the substantial part of the station's output. This conclusion was supported in an editorial article in The Irish Radio Journal on the eve of the launching of the broadcasting service:

Music will always be predominant in broadcast programmes.

The first broadcast from the new station, known by its attractive call-sign 2RN, took place on 1 January 1926.³⁰ It took the form of a studio concert organized by the station director, Seamus Clandillon, and the part-time music director, Vincent O'Brien. They gathered a distinguished and representative assemblage of Irish musicians for the occasion, including Arthur Darley playing violin, the contralto, Joan Burke, tenor, Joseph O'Meara and the baritone, J.C.Doyle. Esposito was to have contributed a short piano recital but was prevented from doing so by illness. His able pupil, Miss Dina Copeman, deputized for him, performing a nocturne by Field and a polonaise by Chopin. Vincent O'Brien conducted his Palestrina Choir in movements from Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli. Traditional music was well represented with songs from Clandillon and his wife, Maighr ad N  Annag ain, while Seamus Ennis and William Andrews gave a selection of dance tunes on the union pipes. The principal musical contribution of the evening was made by the Army No.1 Band under Brase. Following the opening statement made by Dr Douglas Hyde, the band performed Brase's Irish Fantasia No.1. It was thus the first music heard on the national broadcasting service. The band played again during the four-hour transmission and concluded the evening with the Vorspiel und Liebestod from Wagner's Tristan und Isolde, and Brase's arrangement of The Soldier's Song. The band's contribution was facilitated by an exciting technical innovation: it was relayed from its home in Beggar's Bush Barracks, as it was too large to be accommodated in the small Denmark Street studio. The school also provided Lieutenant Arthur Duff as the accompanist for the evening.

The first transmission was adjudged a success with especial praise proffered for the musical balance achieved. The Irish Radio Journal considered the effect that the station would have on native musicians and general musical appreciation:

The talents of our home-bred musicians have not too many opportunities to manifest themselves. The station ought to prove a great incentive to them. By its means our musicians may find a first-rate outlet for their gifts, and musical taste and education in our midst be greatly stimulated thereby.

31

The same journal singled out the performance of No.1 Band for particular approbation. Some weeks later it returned to the subject of the band and suggested that it could be more frequently heard on the radio:

There is a general wish for more of the Irish Army Band. There can be no doubt about its excellence. Its ability has often been demonstrated, and never more satisfactorily than when it played on the night of 2RN's inauguration. By a consensus of opinion it would be an immensely popular feature in our broadcast programmes and a very great help to the station. It is there ready to hand, a splendid body of fine instrumentalists, under a highly efficient conductor, and with a really superb repertoire. There ought to be no very great difficulty in having it as a constant, one might almost say characteristic, feature of our Dublin programmes. The nation, that is the taxpayers, pay for it, for its upkeep and training. They have a right to its music. The first object and duty of a military band is, of course, to entertain the troops, to head them and enliven them on the march, to lend the glories of martial music to spectacular evolutions on the parade and review ground. That is the raison d'être of a regimental military band. After that there is a wide field in which they can be profitably employed; but it should always be remembered that the people, the whole people, have a right to their music. Could they be better employed than in helping our National Broadcasting Station over its inevitable initial difficulties, aiding towards the upbuild of its success, assisting, if you wish to put it at its lowest level, to keep down expense? This would be really using it for State purposes. It would be for the constant enjoyment of a great many of the citizens. The Army Band is not too often heard. It seldom marches at the head of the troops. There are an immense number who have never heard a note from it. Of course, it cannot be always and ever playing. Colonel Brase is the authority to decide when it shall give concerts. But we respectfully urge that, without casting any very undue strain upon it, it could be frequently used for this great national purpose.

32

The military band was suited to the medium of radio. Moreover bands were available and could perform a wide range of repertoire. In a survey commissioned by the longer established Belfast Radio, 2BE, 73 per cent of its listeners were in favour of an increase in

the amount of military band music broadcast. In a comprehensive set of questions this was the largest response recorded for a change in schedule in any area.³³

Performances by bands became a regular feature of 2RN broadcasts. Both No.1 Band and No.2 Band were frequently heard as were the Garda bands and all the leading amateur bands. The question of standards apart, it was the type of repertoire performed that differentiated the army bands from the others. Brase's choice of music for broadcasts was consistent with the policy he pursued unceasingly. And the other army bandmasters who broadcast in the early years of 2RN, Duff and Doyle, both had to have their selections of music approved by Brase prior to performance.³⁴

In contrast, all other bands adopted the lighter, more popular approach in their selection of music. The following programme taken from a broadcast made by 'Ireland's Own' Band on 7 February 1926 is representative of the style of music chosen by the majority of bands:

March - Colonel Ward	Cheeseman
Light Cavalry Overture	Suppé
Reminiscences of Ireland	Godfrey
Dreams of Love	Friedmann
Reminiscences of Verdi	Godfrey
Egyptian Ballet	Luigini
In a Monastery Garden	Ketelbey
Shandon Bells	Partridge
A Musical Switch	Alford

35

The primary limitation on the early development of broadcasting in Ireland was the financial restriction placed on the station by the Department of Finance. Clandillon was authorized to spend not more than £20 a night, and not more than £120 for a full week's programmes which included Sunday broadcasting.³⁶ In view of such constraints, it is not surprising that the station orchestra began as a trio: viola, cello, and piano. Violinist, Terry O'Connor, was soon added as leader and in June the 'orchestra' was augmented to seven. By 1933 it had still only nineteen members.³⁷ Therefore bands represented the sole viable source of performance on a large scale.

In 1927 Vincent O'Brien made a valiant attempt to provide occasional orchestral concerts by augmenting the station orchestra and giving public symphony performances in the Metropolitan Hall, Dublin.³⁸ Again the Army School of Music provided the woodwind, brass, and percussion players; indeed, without their presence such a venture would probably not have been possible. As it was, declining public support forced the discontinuance of the concerts in 1929. It was not until the autumn of 1941 that such public performances were revived under the enthusiastic direction of an Army School of Music officer, Michael Bowles.

Arguments over the propriety of transcriptions occasioned by Brase's choice of repertoire have already been rehearsed. It is interesting to note that their use was not confined to the bands; transcriptions were a fairly common feature of Irish musical experience in the 1920s. Often their use was impelled by practical necessity. The station orchestra, for instance, with its limited strength regularly resorted to arrangements of standard works; the justification being that a performance which was at least faithful to the original intention was preferable to no performance at all. Dr George Hewson, organist in St Patrick's Cathedral and a frequent contributor to 2RN, habitually employed transcriptions in his recitals. In these broadcasts, relayed from St Patrick's, he played arrangements which included the overture to Samson by Handel and the second movement from the Symphony in E minor by Dvořák.³⁹ Indeed the inclusion of arrangements was a common practice by concert organists at this time.

The contribution made by the school to 2RN was not limited to broadcasts by the bands. Sauerzweig regularly contributed, principally performing on oboe or clarinet. His first appearance was in the extended broadcast made on St Patrick's Day 1926, when he played oboe in two movements from a concerto by Kleinecke, and clarinet in the third movement of Weber's E flat Concerto.⁴⁰ The selection was typical of many such recitals in which he was normally accompanied on piano by either Duff or Doyle. On 5 May he performed the complete F minor Clarinet Concerto by Weber, again with piano accompaniment.⁴¹ Just two weeks later he joined the four members of

the station orchestra to perform Mozart's Clarinet Quintet.⁴²
Sauerzweig was a popular broadcaster as the following review from
The Irish Radio Journal reveals:

The manipulation of the oboe by the Commandant is well nigh perfect. In fact I do not see why the well nigh should be put in at all. He imbues it with both tonal and expressional qualities and with a flexibility of enunciation of the most attractive kind. His mastery was further exemplified in a composition on the famous ill-fated heroine Adrienne Lecouvrier (sic), one of the most beautiful and hapless Queens of the French Stage, and a Hamilton Harty Chansonette of very dainty texture. No one could fail to see how admirably suited the oboe is for broadcasting. The tone was literally delightful, with a seasoned and matured sweetness and a piquant crispness that gave a choice beauty of contrast. It was played in the way I would like all instruments to be played from 2RN, so that every single note came out clearly, distinctly and truthfully. And I want to end up with a wish that, for solo work, the help of as many of the individual instruments of the orchestra as possible should be invoked. No finer musical instruction could be imparted and no more desirable variety provided. Listeners are tied to piano and strings almost entirely, but I am glad to say that, latterly, we have had the flute, cornet and piccolo, and now the oboe. We could do with more of them, and in Comdt. Sauerzweig the Studio people have the very man to show the way.

43

The 'studio people' were happy to take this advice. In later years Sauerzweig presented a series of illustrated lectures on the history and development of various woodwind instruments.⁴⁴ His command of the language, versatile talent, and jovial personality suited him to the medium. Brase, conversely, made his direct contribution through his regular broadcasts with both No.1 Band and the Dublin Philharmonic Society. However he also had a significant influence on the formulation of musical policy in the station through his membership of the Advisory Committee which had been established to superintend all aspects of the station's development.⁴⁵ Brase was to the fore in advocating the enlargement of the station orchestra and in 1930 he led a delegation to discuss the issue with the

Parliamentary Secretary, M.R.Heffernan.⁴⁶ Following a further meeting between the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, with whom lay the responsibility for broadcasting, and the Advisory Committee, the orchestra was augmented to 19 instrumentalists. For the committee it was a Pyrrhic victory as Maurice Gorham records in his Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting:

It was a positive achievement for the Advisory Committee, and its last. The idea of having such a committee had been thrust upon the Government in the first place by Deputies who dreaded the dictatorial powers that might be exercised by a Director of Broadcasting, and its constant remonstrances on such topics as the use of the Irish and the augmentation of the orchestra had caused it to be regarded by the Department and the Director as more of a nuisance than a help.

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Schools' broadcasts were another development strongly advocated and supported by Brase. 2RN began such an enlightened scheme in 1936 with the approval of the Department of Education.⁴⁸ The programmes took the form of a recital by the Army No.1 Band preceded by an introductory talk. This new broadcasting venture was actually an extension of a practice started some years earlier. Brase attached considerable importance to the value of educational visits to schools by the bands. He had initiated such a scheme in the 1920s and it culminated in a series of Saturday morning recitals in the Rotunda which were especially for school children.⁴⁹ It is a measure of his belief in the worth of this work that he personally conducted on these occasions. They offered children a rare opportunity to hear live music performed by a large ensemble, and for some, perhaps, it stimulated a latent musical curiosity which would otherwise have lain dormant. Brase was quick to realize the potential of broadcasting for the development of musical awareness. It is significant that the Army School of Music gave the lead in this respect. In view of Brase's enthusiastic support of this aspect of the bands' work, it is to be regretted that the practice was not consistently pursued following his death.

In May 1936 it was decided to disband the station orchestra and to audition for an enlarged Irish Radio Orchestra of 24 members.⁵⁰ A board of assessors composed of Sir Hamilton Harty, Dr Larchet, and Mr E. Godfrey Brown was established to conduct the auditions. As it transpired all the members of the disbanded orchestra were re-engaged and Terry O'Connor was again appointed leader. The new body consisted of a flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, trumpet, trombone, timpani, along with strings and a piano. As Séumas Ó Braonáin later explained, the station then faced the difficult task of engaging a conductor:

The question of a regular conductor for the Orchestra was always a difficulty. There was and is no other professional symphony orchestra in Ireland and there was consequently no local source on which to draw for trained and experienced orchestral conductors. In these circumstances, Radio Éireann had to rely on the services, on loan, of conductors of Army Bands trained in the Army School of Music under the late Colonel Fritz Brase.

51

Once again the Army School of Music responded to the opportunity to make a significant contribution to the station and to the development of a vital component of the broader musical revival. In July 1936 Lieutenant Doyle was transferred on secondment to the Department of Posts and Telegraphs for one year to conduct the Irish Radio Orchestra. He was replaced the following year by Lieutenant O'Hara who also remained for one year. Doyle returned to the orchestra in December 1938 for a further two years and, when recalled to the school in 1940, was succeeded by Lieutenant Michael Bowles. During the Second World War when the issue of Irish neutrality was the source of diplomatic friction between Ireland and Britain, there was the comforting anomaly of an Irish Army Officer, Lieutenant Bowles, conducting a two-hour concert with the BBC Symphony Orchestra in London.⁵²

Certainly the cooperation between the school and Radio Éireann⁵³ regarding conductors was based on necessity and the absence of any other suitable candidates. However, it should be recognized that the involvement of school personnel coincided with the formative

years of broadcasting in Ireland when the service was developing at an exciting pace. Michael Bowles resigned from the army in 1942 to concentrate on developing the music department of Radio Éireann where he combined the posts of music director, in succession to Dr Vincent O'Brien, and conductor of the station orchestra. He increased the size of the orchestra to 62 members, enabling it to perform a demanding repertoire of symphonic music. He restarted the series of public concerts and established them as a successful feature of the station's work. In addition, a station choir, Cór Radio Éireann, consisting of 24 trained singers, was formed in 1943, and a second orchestra, The Light Orchestra, was established five years later.⁵⁴ Arthur Duff was appointed assistant to Bowles in 1944 and continued to work as a producer for the station when Bowles resigned in 1948. Yet another former officer from the school of music, Dermot O'Hara, contributed much to the development of the Light Orchestra. He conducted this group until 1961 when he concentrated on producing programmes.

The energy and enthusiasm of Bowles and his colleagues laid a strong foundation for the considerable contribution that the national broadcasting service was to make to the development of Irish musical life. Their work remains a testimony to the influence of the Army School of Music, and in many respects their contribution precisely answered the original intention which Mulcahy had proposed for the school.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. Mulcahy papers, P7b/35, UCDA. Mulcahy was a member of the society and he took a keen interest in its progress.
2. The Irish Radio Journal (23 Oct. 1926), 2100.
3. 'Excelsior', 'Music in Dublin', The Irish Times (9 Mar. 1927), 9.
4. Report of the Council on the Season 1927-28, Dublin Philharmonic Society (20 Apr. 1928), 3-4.
5. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', Four Centuries of Music in Ireland, ed. Brian Boydell (London, 1979), 39.
6. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Historical Survey', Music in Ireland, ed. Fleischmann (Cork, 1952), 8.
7. 'Beethoven Centenary', The Irish Times (28 Mar. 1927), 9.
8. Report of the Council on the Season 1927-28, op.cit., 2.
9. Walter Starkie, 'Dublin Philharmonic Society', The Irish Statesman (1 Oct. 1927), 86-7.
10. 'Obligato', 'Brilliant orchestral performance', The Irish Times (5 Mar. 1928), 4.
11. The programme does not indicate which concerto grosso was performed by Sauerzweig. It would have been one of the six from op.3.
12. Rhoda Coghill, written submission for this thesis, 27 Apr. 1986, Dublin.
13. Composed in 1918, In Ireland was originally set for flute and

piano. Harty orchestrated it in 1935; see Ivor Keys, 'Chamber Music', Hamilton Harty, ed. David Greer (Belfast, 1978), 131-2. The first performance was given on 9 February 1936 at a special song recital given by John McCormack. Brase conducted the orchestra both for the Harty première and in the orchestral accompaniments for McCormack. Sir Hamilton Harty's composition was given the altered title To Ireland on the programme cover but this was corrected to In Ireland in White's analytical note. Corporal Harty was a long-serving member of No.1 Band and had combined with Sauerzweig to give a clarinet and flute recital on 2RN in December 1926; see The Irish Radio Journal (18 Dec. 1926), 2194. The harpist in the première of Harty's composition was Miss Annie Fagan.

14. In a tribute to Brase following his death, a fellow conductor, E. Godfrey Brown is reported as stating:

His strength of character, and his overflowing enthusiasm for the art he loved so well, were traits which came to the fore in his conducting, especially so, perhaps, in Brahms.

Quoted in 'Col. Fritz Brase Dead', The Irish Times (2 Dec. 1940), 4.

15. This note is given in the programme of a concert performed by the society, conducted by Brase, on 23 November 1935.
16. Taken from the programme of two recitals given before the members of the Royal Dublin Society on 7 November 1932. Harold White's programme notes do not state which wind serenade by Mozart was performed. However it would appear to be K.361 in B flat major.
17. Report of the Council on the Season 1927-28, op.cit., 2.
18. Joseph O'Neill, 'Music in Dublin', Music in Ireland, 260.
19. Harold White, 'Fine Playing of Harty Symphony',

Irish Independent (27 Jan. 1936), 5. This concert was broadcast live on Radio Athlone the following day.

20. Anthony Hughes, 'The Society and Music', The Royal Dublin Society 1731-1981, eds. J.Meenan and D.Clarke (Dublin, 1981), 272.
21. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Ars Nova:Irish Music in the Shaping', Ireland To-Day, I (July, 1936), 41-8.
22. Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair, 'Atavism', Ireland To-Day, I (Sept. 1936), 56.
23. Aloys Fleischmann, 'The Outlook of Music in Ireland', Studies, XXIV (Mar. 1935), 121.
24. Denis Donoghue, 'The Future of Irish Music', Studies, XLIV (Spring, 1955), 109.
25. Fritz Brase personal file, DDAD.
26. Fritz Brase personal papers. Correspondence: Frederick Eason with Fritz Brase (11 Apr. 1929). Eason states:

At the moment I know of no Irish Conductor over here to whom I should like to hand over the Conductorship of our Orchestra!

Indeed it seems out of character for Brase to seek to resign. It appears from correspondence that he was unhappy with the attendance and punctuality of members of the orchestra at rehearsals. He was assured by Eason that improvement would be made in this respect. Brase obviously accepted this as he continued to conduct the society. In her submission for this thesis, Rhoda Coghill refers to the standard of conduct in the society:

In spite of the apparently military ambience (the Secretary was Colonel Carty) there was no atmosphere of discipline except in so far as it was imposed by Col. Brase when conducting, and this we accepted very willingly.

27. Programmes for the Dublin Philharmonic Society 1935-36 season.
28. The Government had issued a White Paper proposing a national broadcasting service as early as November 1923. The British Broadcasting Company, as it then was, had commenced broadcasting in November 1922.
29. The Irish Radio Journal (15 Dec. 1925), 1177.
30. Maurice Gorham, Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting (Dublin, 1967), 22-4. It is interesting to note that the estimated audience for the first night broadcast was 5,000 listeners. This figure was given in After Sixty Years, a history of Irish broadcasting presented by John Bowman and broadcast on RÉ on 5 January 1986. The estimated audience by the end of 1926 was 40,000; See Séumas Ó Braonáin, 'Music in the Broadcasting Service', Music in Ireland, 198.
31. The Irish Radio Journal (9 Jan. 1926), 1216.
32. The Irish Radio Journal (23 Jan. 1926), 1253.
33. The Irish Radio Journal (20 Mar. 1926), 1453.
34. Col. J.M. Doyle, written submission for this thesis, 20 Feb. 1986.
35. The programme is copied from the announcer's report, 7 Feb. 1926, Radio Telefis Éireann Archives Department (RTEAD).
36. Maurice Gorham, op.cit., 25.
37. Ibid., 82.

38. Ibid., 44-5.
39. For further information on Hewson's use of transcription see the review of one broadcast recital in The Irish Radio Journal (31 July 1926), 1887.
40. Announcer's report, 17 Mar. 1926, RTEAD.
41. Ibid., 5 May 1926, RTEAD.
42. Ibid., 26 May 1926, RTEAD.
43. The Irish Radio Journal (13 Nov. 1926), 2151. No author is credited with this review.
44. Interview with Mr Bernhard Sauerzweig, 28 May 1986, Dublin. Sauerzweig's hand-written scripts of these talks are among his private papers. His accompanist on these occasions was Dr Vincent O'Brien.
45. Maurice Gorham, op.cit., 82-3.
46. Ibid., 82.
47. Ibid., 83.
48. Ibid., 101.
49. Interview with Mr Domhnall McCullough, 14 Mar. 1986, Dublin. He recalls one such concert when Brase stopped the performance to censure a member of the band. According to McCullough 'the atmosphere was electric'. Brase was equally remonstrative with over-boisterous members of the audience; he frequently interrupted such recitals to order unattentive children from the hall; see Liam Robinson's interview with Michael Bowles 'The man who marched the British out of Ireland', The Irish Press (1 Apr. 1987), 10. Despite such occurrences, Brase remained committed to, and proud of, the bands' involvement in schools'

concerts. So much so, indeed, that he suffered the displeasure of the army authorities when he wrote a letter to The Irish Independent on 21 November 1932 outlining the merits of the scheme without informing the Army Press Office. Further details of this minor indiscretion are contained in Fritz Brase's personal file, DDAD.

50. Maurice Gorham, op.cit., 107.
51. Séumas Ó Braonáin, 'Music in the Broadcasting Service', Music in Ireland, 198.
52. Interview with Mr Michael Bowles, 4 Mar. 1986, Dublin. The concert took place on 8 October 1942 when Bowles, still an army officer, was acting director of music and principal conductor in Radio Éireann.
53. The Irish broadcasting service informally adopted the name Radio Éireann at the end of 1937. This reflected the national responsibility of the organization whereas the previous call-sign, 2RN, had been associated with the Dublin Broadcasting Service.
54. Maurice Gorham, op.cit., 127-8.

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C H A P T E R VIII

An Appraisalment

The extent of political and social change experienced in Ireland during the 1920s resulted in a milieu which was unpropitious to cultural development. The very act of political survival subordinated other considerations. It was the middle and later years of the decade before Irish society had regained sufficient stability to allow for concentration on cultural matters. Set against such a background the creation of the Army School of Music was both ambitious and imaginative, and the concept reflects credit on its deviser, General Richard Mulcahy. It remains the best example of his enterprising, if ultimately unrealized, visualization of the national army. His proposition of an army which would be a fountain-head of economic and cultural rejuvenation was as brave as it was novel, and his assiduity in persevering with the music project was especially commendable. The early popular success of No.1 Band, coming as it did just after the Civil War, contributed towards reconciliation and the rebuilding of national confidence, and it suggested that the more extensive design could be effectuated.

In appraising Mulcahy's contribution, it is first necessary to concede that some developments would have occurred regardless of his influence. There were bands in the army prior to the implementation of his scheme and these would, in time, have been organized into one unit for logistic reasons. It would then have been necessary to form a school to train replacements for these bands. Such a sequence would have mirrored the practice in other nations with a flourishing military band tradition. Not only did Mulcahy anticipate these developments but, through the involvement of Larchet, he imbued the school with a distinct purpose, and, by introducing Brase, he offered it the possibility to attain a standard hitherto unrealized by native bands.

Whether or not Mulcahy's ambitions for the school were realistic must remain a matter for conjecture. He was convinced of their viability. He wished to see the school advance to a stage where it could influence broader musical development, and he entrusted Larchet with the responsibility of designing the practical framework for the realization of this ambition. While Larchet's proposals reflected his interest in music education, they were also perceptive and rational. If the four objectives¹ he set for the school did not quite encompass the breadth of Mulcahy's vision, this surely was because of the extent of that vision; and his proposals were capable of further development.

The very scale of the undertaking disposed it to complications. From its inception, its path was at variance with the course proposed for it by Mulcahy. Brase's considerable talents did not correspond to the requirements, and this introduced a fundamental tension. It threatened to vitiate the didactic quality of the enterprise, but Larchet's presence appeared to ensure that a balance would be maintained between the basic objectives and Brase's band-centred approach. It was unfortunate that Larchet never had the opportunity to support his diligent preparation with a practical involvement. The early location in the Curragh, and the later political circumstances deprived him of a closer working association with the school. Consequently, the didactic aspect, which he had sedulously delineated, was not implemented. Indeed the failure to realize the broader national objectives originated with the transfer of attention to the bands.

But many of the impediments were attributable to Mulcahy's failure to secure wider support for the venture. His propensity to personally supervise all matters pertaining to the school, while admirable, was ultimately detrimental. Under his guidance the project was conceived and inaugurated with remarkable haste; too much so, in truth, to allow for a measured consideration of its objectives. Details of those objectives were still being discussed by the architects of the school even after its establishment. This want of purpose was more clearly apparent in the aftermath of the army mutiny. That event curtailed the development of the school, and

revealed how dependent it had been on the presence of Mulcahy and Larchet. Deprived of their influence, it was confined to a more prosaic function retaining little of the avidity which had distinguished its inception. This in turn gave rise to a persevering irresolution. Although O'Duffy unequivocally proposed a constricted role for the school which it duly adopted, this was never discussed or approved by the Government.² Consequently the ethos of the school relies more on tradition than on a determined policy.

The departure of Mulcahy and Larchet deprived Brase of the vision and design they had imparted to the project. His aptitude for making music had neatly complemented their contribution. In autumn 1923 it appeared that the combination of diverse talents would strengthen the school. Brase proved more skilled as an executive than a director. Left without influential support, and restricted in his actions by the military code of conduct, he had little prospect of guiding the school in any direction other than that proposed by O'Duffy.

It is clear with hindsight that the army was not the ideal host for a project designed to contribute to musical revival. It had initially exerted considerable influence in the emergent state, but this was deliberately eroded, for political and economic reasons, as the life of the country adjusted to the new order. The Free State, born of idealism and physical revolution, quickly adopted a conservative social order inimical to innovation. Mulcahy's novel conception of the army was soon dispensed with following his departure and was replaced by attitudes less ambitious. The reversion to a more traditional military role further constricted the development of specialist units such as the school of music. In confining itself to the limited demands made of it, the school forfeited the opportunity of achieving its projected potential. Its failure to establish an orchestra was emblematic of its waning influence. The musical initiative transferred from the school to other musical organizations which could better respond to the changing expectations of the mid-1920s. The succeeding decades proved less exciting and the school had to accustom itself to a routine existence.

One consequence of the diminished ambition was the increasing difficulty that the institution experienced in attracting young men to enlist as bandmaster-students. This also reflected the failure to evolve into an educational centre of the station envisaged by Larchet. It did contribute to the standard of wind playing but was soon challenged by the civilian music schools in Dublin and Cork. Boys who elected to join the school were assured of a good musical education. This was primarily due to the instruction given by the energetic and versatile Sauerzweig. The organization was dependent on the presence of this one man and it was never again to have a teacher combining his ability and experience. Nor did it have the resources to employ qualified wind instructors. Furthermore, the isolation of the school from other teaching institutions, and its inability to confer qualifications, meant that it had a dubious academic standing. Many young students with talent and ambition were more likely to join civilian academic institutions, where they were furnished with the opportunity for broader musical fulfilment, than the Army School of Music, which offered secure employment. Deprived of the chance to attract the most promising young boys through its lack of academic standing, and constrained by its more limited role, it was further consigned to the periphery of mainstream musical development in Ireland.

For the chief protagonists in the practical development of the Army School of Music, Brase and Sauerzweig, the venture must have ultimately proved as frustrating as it had initially been challenging. Brase had come to Ireland in search of a new beginning. He was particularly attracted by the ambitious musical project with which he was entrusted and by the generous conditions of service. His dissatisfaction at the eventual course of the school was manifest in his concentration on the Dublin Philharmonic Society. His creative enterprise displays a similar shift away from the school to works written for German publishers. It is surely indicative that recognition came not from Ireland but from his Fatherland. In May 1935, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, Brase was awarded the honorary title, Professor of Music, by the Reich Chancellor, Hitler, for his services to military music and his work in the dissemination of German culture (Deutschum).³ He employed this title the following

year in support of a request for early retirement with sufficient resources to enable him to devote his remaining years to a study and collection of traditional Irish music.⁴ His application was not granted.

Despite such setbacks and offers of positions in Germany,⁵ he remained faithful to his adopted country. His drawn and lined face, revealed in later photographs, suggests the extent and severity of his illness. He was retired by the President on the grounds of ill health on 30 November 1940 and died two days later in St Bricin's Military Hospital, Dublin.⁶ It is one of those strange historical coincidences that his death took place on the very day that his friend and musical paragon, Sir Hamilton Harty, conducted his final orchestral concert.⁷

Many tributes were paid to Brase. They concentrated on his generous contribution to Irish musical life and were widely reported in the national and provincial press. In the course of an appreciation, Larchet recorded his assessment:

He was a great figure in the musical life of the country.... a great character, a great disciplinarian, and a great musician at the same time.

8

The adroit Sauerzweig succeeded his compatriot as director of the school. His talents were never fully recognized and he was treated less generously than Brase. Despite his contribution and experience, it was not until 1943 that he was promoted to the rank of major and it was a further two years before he achieved the rank of colonel. He too was retired by the President on medical grounds as he was suffering increasingly from bouts of severe depression.⁹ Until his retirement on 25 April 1947 he had continued to give individual instrumental instruction to the pupils of the school. He died six years later and was buried, like his colleague, in Mount Jerome Cemetery.

The foregoing assessment is based on the ambitious design set for the school at its inauguration. While it records the valiant, if ultimately unsuccessful, attempt to realize that aspiration, it does not gainsay the influence or significant achievements. The school can boast of a proud record of success if judged not as a national academy with ambitious objectives, but rather as a modest institution with the limited responsibility to provide military bands. Both as an organization and through its individual members, the school has made a noteworthy contribution to Irish musical life. It provided a musical presence when little else was available; fostered a heightened musical awareness among the population; assisted in convincing many of the beauty of the rich heritage of native song; provided training and employment for hundreds of young musicians; contributed to many musical ventures outside the army; and in the central area of the provision of bands of quality, achieved a remarkable success in a very short period. Within just a few years of its foundation No.1 Band had achieved a standard to compare with the finest European military bands. The command bands received less publicity, but they became important components in the musical life of their localities, especially so, perhaps, in the Curragh and Athlone where little such activity occurred without the involvement of band personnel. All of this was accomplished despite Ireland's limited band tradition. Consequently the school forged a distinct style which drew on British, French, and German practices. Furthermore, as a result of Brase's resolute concern to provide music of quality and his diligence in collecting and arranging traditional Irish airs, a characteristic repertoire was developed. While the appositeness of his Irish arrangements was the occasion of some debate, Brase's musical sensitivity and his facility as an orchestrator ensured that the perceptive listener would unfailingly find his arrangements engaging and even challenging.

It is a record of achievement that commands respect. Yet behind this catalogue of success there remains that title, an uneasy reminder of the unfulfilled ideals that gave rise to the Army School of Music.

N O T E S and R E F E R E N C E S

1. See Appendix C.
2. The Government's acceptance of O'Duffy's scheme of reorganization in July 1924 was solely concerned with the reduction in military strength. No consideration was given to the purpose of individual units.
3. Interview with Miss Mona Brase, 28 Jan. 1986, Dublin.
4. Fritz Brase personal file, DDAD. Correspondence: Fritz Brase with the Adjutant General (1 May 1937).
5. Interview with Miss Mona Brase, 28 Jan. 1986, Dublin. Through his compositions, Brase remained a respected figure in Germany where his reputation and political disposition earned him a number of invitations to accept positions there.
6. Brase was intentionally retired to secure more favourable pension conditions for his dependants.
7. John Barry, 'Last Years', Hamilton Harty, ed. David Greer (Belfast, 1978), 60-2. Harty conducted his final concert with the BBC Symphony Orchestra at Tunbridge Wells. He was ailing and died some two months later.
8. Quoted in 'Colonel Fritz Brase Dead', The Irish Times (2 Dec. 1940), 4.
9. Friedrich Christian Sauerzweig personal file, DDAD.

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A P P E N D I X A

The 'Foundation' Band

/Proposed by Dr Larchet in his submission, October 19227

Woodwind

1 flute
1 piccolo
1 oboe
1 E flat clarinet
8 bassoons

Brass

2 French horns in F
3 B flat trumpets
3 B flat cornets
3 trombones
1 euphonium
3 bombardons

1 string bass

Percussion

2 timpani
1 side drum
1 bass drum, cymbals, and triangle

Additional instruments to be added at the discretion of the bandmaster as the band develops.

1 E flat alto saxophone, 1 B flat tenor saxophone,
3rd and 4th French horns, 1 B flat tenor horn,
2 additional B flat clarinets, another flute, oboe, E flat
clarinet, and slight reinforcement of the alto and tenor brass
instruments.

Basses to be increased to be always at least one-tenth of total.

All instruments to be in New Philharmonic Pitch.

A P P E N D I X B

The 'Foundation' Band

/George Miller, The Military Band (London, 1912), 65-67

A band should consist of at least thirty performers in order to provide for sufficient 'doubling' of certain parts, to secure a proper balance, and be worthy of serious artistic consideration. Thirty is the minimum number that could include the 'foundation stops' in their complete register:

<u>Wood</u> (13 Players)	<u>Brass</u> (6 Players)
1 flute (or piccolo)	3 B flat trumpets or cornets
1 oboe	(solo, ripieno and second)
1 E flat clarinet	3 trombones (first, second, and bass)
2 solo B flat clarinets	
2 ripieno " "	<u>Horns</u> (6 Players)
2 second " "	3 B flat cornets of flügel horns
2 third " "	(solo, ripieno and second)
2 bassoons	2 French horns (first and second)
	1 Euphonium
	3 basses (one being a 'string' bass
	whenever circumstances permit)
	2 drums

The additional instruments, named in their probable 'order of going in' are:

E flat alto saxophone or E flat alto clarinet,
B flat tenor saxophone or bass clarinet,
3rd and 4th horns, B flat tenor horn (baritone).

Additional B flat clarinets, another flute, oboe, E flat clarinet, timpani, and a slight reinforcement of the alto and brass instruments.

The basses to be increased so as to be always at least one-tenth of the total number of instruments.

A P P E N D I X C

The Army School of Music

John F. Larchet
(Musical Adviser to the Army)

Note: This was first published in Freeman's Journal,
Free State Supplement, Section II (13 Aug. 1923).
It was later reprinted as a pamphlet.

THE ARMY SCHOOL OF MUSIC

Dr J.F. Larchet

An Army without a band is in the same position as a performance of 'Hamlet' without the Prince of Denmark; the central inspiration is lacking. The traditions of the French Army are inseparably bound up with the Marseillaise and the Partant pour la Syrie; and even the most pacifist nation (if there be a pacifist nation) is not insensible to the inspiration of military music.

Its influence on the Army is inspiring and vivifying, and it makes a most potent appeal to the nation at large. It calls up even in the dullest the emotions which symbolise and stand for the most abstract conceptions of patriotism and honour, and it binds all together in one common feeling of national pride. No nation can dispense with it, and all are ennobled by it.

Musical Education

In October, 1922, it was, therefore, decided to proceed without delay with the formation of an Army School of Music. When asked what he required, General Mulcahy's requisitions were concise and characteristic: 'I want, in the first place, bands for the Army. I want to have bands that will dispense music and musical understanding in the highest sense of these terms to the people. I want to assure from the outset that they will be such that no one will come along some day and say, as I find people are saying of British military bands in England, "There will be no music in the country until you scrap all our military bands". I have two prejudices in the matter. You are entitled to take them as prejudices, and to do in respect of them what you will, because I lay no claim to knowing anything of music. I suggest that we introduce the 'flat pitch', and that we get a man of Continental training and experience, capable of turning out bandmasters as distinct from bandsmen. There must be at the present time many such men of great culture and experience in Germany, and the conditions there are such as would seem to offer us a rare

opportunity of getting an exceptional man, to whom, personally, it would be a God-send to get such an opening.'

Our Own Band Masters

General Mulcahy apparently wanted efficiency, and nothing short of efficiency. But only on a close examination of the situation did the greatness of the difficulties in the matter disclose themselves, and in the end it was clear that the efficiency sought was only to be obtained by working along the lines of General Mulcahy's 'prejudices'.

It must be remembered that the standard of military band performances in this country has been for a considerable time very low indeed. For obvious reasons, we had nothing but British military bands; and while there are undoubtedly some very good bands in the British Army, these have never been stationed in Ireland. The military bands heard here were possibly the poorest in the British Army. Their personnel was second-rate, their performance was mediocre, and the music they offered was neither of Irish nor educational interest. It became necessary to organise our own bands, to find competent musicians to fill them, and, above all, to produce our own bandmasters.

British System Unsuitable

The first thing was to build up the organisation of the bands, to erect a framework on which the bands could be developed, and it was found necessary to work out a completely new system. From the point of view of military organisation the British system was unsuitable, and, even from the musical aspect, it contained grave defects. It may not be generally known, for instance, that British bands use a pitch different from that of every other country. Continental and American bands use 'flat pitch', generally known as 'French normal diapason'; and in England, 'new Philharmonic'. The British military musical authorities, having realised the folly of ignoring the universal standard of pitch, made an effort some short time ago to have the pitch altered, but the undertaking was

indefinitely postponed, owing to the great expense the reform would involve. Of course the Hallé, the London Symphony and the Queen's Hall Orchestras, and all the principal theatre orchestras in England, have now adopted the 'flat pitch', but no change has yet been made in the military bands. It would have been exceedingly foolish on the part of the Irish Government, in what is really their first official recognition of music, to cut themselves adrift from the great musical nations of the world by following the English system.

A Difficulty

To obtain good bandsmen proved another great difficulty. That they must be Irish is a sine qua non; and at present we have not enough good Irish wind players. They cannot be obtained in any provincial centre, and an examination of conditions in Dublin disclosed the curious fact that, while Dublin possesses an excellent school of string players, the foundations of which were laid some 40 years ago by Signor Papini and Herr Bast, we have never had a proper local school of wind playing. We possess a few very excellent wind players, but not sufficient to complete a large orchestra; and the deficiency is evidently an old one, as, even in the days of the Dublin Musical Society, the conductors, both Mr. Joseph Robinson and Dr. Smith, were forced to send to Liverpool or Manchester for players for their performances.

Priceless Irish Music

Having discovered that they must train their own bandsmen, the Irish Army authorities were faced with the more serious problem of obtaining an Irish bandmaster. The bandmaster and the future of Irish music seem to be definitely connected. A priceless collection of Irish music remains still unknown to the majority of our people. The work of classifying and editing this collection is long since overdue; and among the most important of the bandmaster's duties will be that of arranging much of this music for military bands. Any further arrangement of Moore's 'Melodies', and the 'Londonderry Air', will be superfluous, and the Irish musician must be trained and prepared to do some original research work.

National Inspiration

These settings will be performed through the country, and upon publication (for which every facility will be given) they will doubtless find their way to other countries. Although these publications cannot claim the imprimatur which they would obtain from a body like the French Academy, they will none the less be looked upon as practically official, as being published under the auspices of the Government, and it is essential that they should display a musicianship sufficient to pass the severest test. This is all the more necessary if the false impression regarding Irish music, so prevalent at home and abroad, and chiefly due to the vulgar and un-Irish arrangements so frequently heard, is to be counteracted.

Not only is it advisable that work of such importance to Irish music should be entrusted only to competent and trained musicians, but the bandmaster requires many other qualifications. He must be a good instructor, and must of necessity possess an intimate practical knowledge of the technique of every instrument in his band, if the pupils placed under his charge are to become skilled executants in their instruments.

In short, the Irish bandmaster must be a cultured musician, inspired with national sentiments and artistic ideals, a disciplinarian, an efficient instructor and a good conductor.

The Ideal Irish Bandmaster

Without setting before themselves any impossible ideal, the Army authorities felt that they were bound to strive for the best obtainable result, and to this end it was decided to break away entirely from the old system, and to train our own bandmasters according to our own national desires. This involved making a complete new beginning; and, to diminish as far as possible the delays inevitable before our desires could be achieved, to obtain the maximum of progress with the minimum of waiting, it was found necessary to obtain outside assistance. The first ideal Irish bandmaster has yet to be made; and, before this can be accomplished,

he must receive expert instruction of a special kind. That this instruction was not obtainable without external aid was unfortunate, but probably, in view of our historical difficulties, inevitable; and if the new beginning was to start with the strongest possible impetus, and to fructify without disappointment and delay, it was reluctantly decided that outside assistance must bridge over the preliminary period.

A Distinguished German

In seeking the best possible assistance, the Army succeeded in securing the services of Herr Fritz Brase, one of the outstanding figures in German music, and possibly one of their greatest military bandmasters. Born in 1875, at Egestorf, Hanover, he is one of the most distinguished modern graduates of the Leipzig Conservatoire and the Berlin Royal Academy of Music. He has studied under the most celebrated professors, and succeeded in attracting the special attention of both Joachim and Max Bruch. In 1906 he succeeded the great Professor Grawert in the 13th Infantry Regiment, when the latter was appointed Director of the Royal School of Military Music at Berlin; and in 1909 he received the title of 'Royal Musical Director', being the first person to achieve that distinction at such an early age. In the same year he was appointed to the 2nd Foot Artillery Regiment at Danzig; and there his Military Orchestra became famous. In a series of 42 symphony concerts he attracted practically every conductor and soloist of world-wide repute, and the principal modern composers, including Richard Strauss. In 1911 he went to Berlin to the Band of the First Grenadier Guards, the 'blue ribbon' of German military music, a position which he held until their dissolution on the break up of the Imperial household. He occupied the very first place amongst the 500 Army musical directors, and as a conductor and a composer he stands on the highest pinnacle, even in the most musical nation of the world. As instructor (in which capacity he is of most concern to us), his qualifications are, perhaps, unique; and his success in this respect was one of the deciding factors in bringing about his appointment.

A Great Beginning

Under such auspices the Irish Army School of Music commences its career. Its main objects may be briefly summarised:

- (1) The production of first-class military bands.
- (2) The training of first-class bandsmen.
- (3) The training of Irish bandmasters.
- (4) The development of Irish music.

Musical youths of from 15 to 18 years of age will be accepted after preliminary examination. An extension might be given in the case of exceptional ability; and, as the training given will equip any of them on leaving the Army with a lucrative means of livelihood, no great difficulty in obtaining sufficient numbers need be anticipated. The course for bandsmen will be exhaustive, both theoretical and practical, and the qualifications of any of the students will always be obtainable afterwards, as certificates will be granted to them on leaving, graded into first or second-class.

For bandmasters, of course, further training will be given, both at the Army School and at the National University. The Army cannot be expected to incur any expenditure of time or money which is not likely to be repaid afterwards; and a strict test of ability will, therefore, be a condition precedent to any aspirant being allowed to follow this training; but, if our boast of being a musical nation is true, there should be no lack of suitable material.

Special attention will be given by the bands to the performance of Irish music, and an important part of the bandmaster's training will consist of the study of Irish music.

The influence of the new school is bound to be felt in a few years throughout Ireland. Our principal difficulties heretofore in the development of music have been a shortage of good players, a dearth of good audiences, and a lack of enthusiasm for good music. When the bandsmen from the army school return to civil life they will be able to remedy the first deficiency, and both in the army and afterwards their work will consist in the gradual education of our

audiences to an appreciation of good music, and to a desire for more. The best education in musical appreciation consists of listening to good music, and the more the taste is fed the higher it grows. Up to the present our people have been starved in this respect, but conditions should now improve, and we shall yet be able to compete with even such highly cultured nations as Germany and France. Their military bands play an important part in the musical education of their peoples, and ours should be able to achieve the same results.

The following rough outline is not made definitely nor authoritatively, but is intended to serve as an indication of the lines along which service in the School of Music will run.

Periods of Service (Age Limit for Entry, 15 to 18 years)

1st period, A and B - 10 years minimum.

2nd period, C and D - 5 years.

1st Period, 10 years

A. First Stage - (2 years). Probationer, one year; no rank. Recruit, one year. Elementary musical training, annual examination, and after final probationer examination he reaches the

B. Second Stage - (8 years). Bandsman, rank and pay of private.

Period examination, and when proficient may obtain a second-class certificate. In no case shall this stage exceed eight years.

Holder of a second-class certificate may enter upon:

2nd Period, 5 years

C. Third Stage - (3 years). 2nd class bandsman, rank of corporal.

On the expiration of three years 2nd class bandsman may enter for examination for first-class certificate, and reaches the

D. Fourth Stage - (2 years). First-class bandsman, rank of sergeant.

Holder of first-class certificate is eligible for promotion to instructor.

E. Fifth Stage (unlimited period). Instructor, rank sergeant-major.

The sixth stage can only be entered upon recommendation from the Army musical authorities.

F. Sixth Stage (unlimited period). Assistant-Bandmaster, rank sergeant-major.

G. Seventh and Final Stage, Bandmaster, 2nd lieutenant.
Bandmaster on approved service is eligible for further promotion.

In any case of unusual ability, the qualifying periods above may be shortened or dispensed with on the recommendation of the Army musical authorities. Any first-class bandsman showing proper ability may be taken out of the ranks, and commence training for bandmastership.

A P P E N D I X D

/Instrumentation of bands competing at
World Exhibition in Paris, 1867/

	Austrian	Prussian	Garde Républicane Bayern	Russian	Imperial Guard	Holland	Baden	Spanish	Belgian
Piccolo	1	2	1	1	2	-	1	1	1
Flute	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1
Oboe	-	3	2	-	2	3	2	-	2
A flat Clarinet	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
E flat Clarinet	4	4	4	4	2	3	2	2	2
B flat Clarinet	12	18	8	10	15	12	12	15	13
Basset Horn	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Cor Anglais	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Bass Clarinet	2C*	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Bassoon	-	4	-	1	2	-	2	2	3
Contrabassoon	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Saxophone	-	-	8	-	8	6	4	-	-
French Horn	6	4	2	5	8	3	4	2	4
Cornet	2	-	4	3	2	4	2	2	2
Flügel Horn in E flat high	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1
Flügel Horn in B flat	6	4	1	3	-	2	2	3	2
Flügel Horn in E flat alto	-	4	3	2	-	2	-	1	-
Flügel Horn in B flat contra alto	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flügel Horn in B flat tenor	3	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	1

	Austrian	Prussian	Garde Républicane Bayern	Russian	Imperial Guard	Holland	Baden	Spanish	Belgian	
Baritone (Euphonium)	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	-	
Trumpet	12	6	3	5	8	3	4	5	6	4
				3Bt*		2St*				
Trombone	6	8	5	3	6	5	3	4	6	4
Bass Tuba	4	4	5	1	3	6	2	2	3	5
Contrabass Tuba	4	4	4	2	3	5	2	3	3	4
String Bass	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	1
Timpani (Pair)	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Side Drum	2	3	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	-
Bass Drum	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1
Cymbals (Pair)	2	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1
Triangle	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Glockenspiel	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

- * 2C = 2 Clariophones
 3Bt = 3 Bass Trumpets
 2St = 2 Sax Trumpets

Note: This table is collated from a variety of sources, but principally from Wolfgang Suppan, Lexikon des Blasmusikwesens (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976), 44.

A P P E N D I X E

/Wieprecht's suggested instrumentation for military band/

Woodwind

2 flutes
2 oboes
1 A flat clarinet
1 E flat clarinet
9 B flat clarinets
2 bassoons
2 contrabassoons

Brass

2 soprano cornets
2 alto cornets
4 trumpets
4 French horns
2 tenor horns
1 euphonium
2 tenor trombones
4 bass trombones
4 tubas

Percussion

Timpani, side drum,
bass drum, cymbals,
triangle and
Turkish crescent

A P P E N D I X F

/Typical instrumentation for a German military band 19207

Woodwind

1 flute
1 oboe
1 E flat clarinet
4-5 B flat clarinets
1 bassoon

Brass

2 soprano cornets
(or flügel horns)
2 trumpets
4 French horns
2 tenor horns
2 trombones
1 baritone tuba
2 bass tubas

Percussion

Bass drum
side drum
cymbals

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1986

January

Miss M.Brase

February

Colonel J.M.Doyle

Colonel F.O'Callaghan

Professor R.Mulcahy

Mr B.Sauerzweig

Master T.de Valera

March

Captain M.Bowles

Mrs S.Larchet-Cuthbert

Mr D.McCullough

Mr É.Ó Broin

April

Miss R.Coghill

Mr R.McCullagh

May

Mr J.P.Flahive

June

Colonel J.Brennock

July

Professor A.Fleischmann

October

Major W.Probst

November

Mr M.McCullough

Mr T.Ó Ruairc

Note: Above dates refer to initial interviews or submissions.
In some cases additional contributions were made.

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Radio Telefis Éireann Sound Archives

Royal Dublin Society Archives

State Paper Office, Dublin

University College, Dublin, Archives Department

Note: Manuscript collections and files as indicated in the footnotes.

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