

Musical Warriors: British Military Music and Musicians during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

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Abstract

Military music was pervasive in Britain and Ireland during the French Wars but has received limited attention from historians. This thesis interprets martial music-making as a core military activity and an integral part of wider musical culture. A critical tool of communication and discipline, music sounded the alarm, aided recruitment, and governed soldiers' routines and bodily movements. Officers invested heavily in military bands, regarding them as social amenities, sources of prestige, and essential for maintaining soldiers' morale. Regiments competed and cooperated in a seller's market for musical labour, engaging knowledgeable civilian performers and training a mass of novice instrumentalists through a cogent instructional programme.

Attention to music reveals the depth and reciprocity of interactions between the military and society. Regimental bands provided sought-after entertainment at myriad public events, staged free open-air concerts for socially diverse audiences, and amplified wartime expressions of patriotism. Military performers also promoted cultural dissemination and exchange, rehearsing eclectic repertoires and adopting melodies from other regiments, armies, and peoples.

Military mobilisation palpably shaped nineteenth-century musical culture. Volunteer and militia bands established in wartime continued playing together for decades after Waterloo while discharged regimental instrumentalists actively contributed to

provincial and colonial musical life as teachers, performers, and retailers. The expansion of military music-making also encouraged the post-war spread of amateur wind and brass bands, which were often led by old soldiers and modelled on regimental lines. Ingrained in popular culture after two decades of conflict, martial music was widely emulated by political reformers with the involvement of musically trained ex-servicemen.

Military music, in sum, was an everyday and intrusive part of wartime life, a source of entertainment and opportunity, and a politically charged exponent of both patriotism and protest. The legacies of martial music-making, as this thesis argues, echoed far beyond the barrack gates.

Abbreviations and Conventions

BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BUA	Bangor University Archives and Special Collections
CWM	Canadian War Museum Archives
DCRO	Durham County Record Office
DHC	Devon Heritage Centre
ERA	East Riding Archives
ERO	Essex Record Office
GA	Gloucestershire Archives
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GCM	General Court-Martial
HA	Hampshire Archives
HALS	Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies
HHC	Hull History Centre
JSAHR	Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
LB	Letter Book
LM	Local Militia
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MS	Manuscript

NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NAM	National Army Museum
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NLNZ	National Library of New Zealand
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
NMS	National Museums Scotland
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
NRS	National Records of Scotland
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office
OB	Order Book
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PKA	Perth & Kinross Archives
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
QMMR	Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review
RCM	Regimental Court-Martial
RMRW	Regimental Museum of the Royal Welsh
SA	Shropshire Archives
SHC	Somerset Heritage Centre
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
StaffsRO	Staffordshire Record Office

TCD	Trinity College Dublin, Manuscripts & Archives
TNA	National Archives of the United Kingdom
ADM	Admiralty Papers
CO	Colonial Office Papers
TS	Treasury Solicitor and HM Procurator General Papers
HO	Home Office Papers
WO	War Office Papers
USJ	<i>United Service Journal</i> , published as the <i>United Service Magazine</i> from 1842
VWML	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service

All cited books were published in London unless otherwise stated.

Infantry regiments in the regular army often mustered multiple battalions. Where necessary, the relevant battalion number is stated before the regimental number, such that 3/1st Foot refers to the 3rd Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Foot.

While the spelling used in primary sources has been retained in direct quotations, punctuation and capitalisation have been modernised to aid the reader.

Currency in Britain and Ireland prior to decimalisation in 1971 included the pound (£), the shilling (s) and the penny (d). A pound equalled twenty shillings and a shilling was divided into twelve pennies; 240 pence therefore made a pound. A guinea was worth twenty-one shillings, or slightly more than a pound.

Introduction

Few who lived in Britain or Ireland during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars could forget the noise. The streets of Edinburgh, one memoirist claimed, echoed with ‘nothing but drumming and fifing’ every afternoon.¹ ‘The whole air was filled with war’ during James Nasmyth’s boyhood in the same city; he recalled the auditory onslaught of artillery salutes, martial music, and cheering crowds.² The threat of invasion and the demands of overseas campaigning required mobilisation on an unexampled scale: more than one in five men of military age were serving in the armed forces in 1805.³ ‘Every town’, the caricaturist George Cruikshank remembered, was ‘a sort of garrison; in one place you might hear the “tattoo” of some youth learning to beat the drum; at another place some march or national air being practised upon the fife’ while twice daily ‘the bugle horn was sounded through the streets’ to summon the volunteers for drill.⁴ The difference between war and peace was acutely audible in urban centres and at local fairs. One Colchester tailor described the cacophony of drums, fifes, and trumpets that ‘again greeted our ears’ after Napoleon’s escape from Elba, renewing ‘all the warlike feelings’ that had dissipated in the brief ‘quiet’ following

¹ R. Butler, *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant Butler*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 1854), p.25.

² J. Nasmyth, *James Nasmyth, Engineer*, ed. S. Smiles (1883), pp.67-73.

³ J.E. Cookson, *The British Armed Nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997), pp.95-9.

⁴ B. Jerrold, *The Life of George Cruikshank* (2 vols, New York, NY, 1882), i, p.44.

his abdication.⁵ Martial music also loomed large in the writings of soldiers themselves.⁶ Officers and men described the bittersweet strains of 'The Girl I Left Behind Me', played as they embarked for foreign fields, and recalled the pride and mirth spurred by the sound of 'The British Grenadiers' or 'The Downfall of Paris' as they crossed Iberian rivers and marched into captured enemy strongholds.⁷ George Elers, writing more than forty years later, professed he could 'never forget' his euphoria on first hearing his regiment's fifes and drums as a newly-minted lieutenant: 'I literally trod on air.'⁸

This thesis argues that the French Wars were experienced by the ears as much as the eyes. Focusing on one important element of the wartime soundscape, it investigates the role of music in the British military and considers the impact of martial music-making on society more generally. These are not topics which have attracted much prior scrutiny. Although conventional histories of battles and campaigns are often described as 'drum and trumpet' narratives, military historians have tended to consider music as fodder for scene-setting descriptions instead of a worthwhile subject of analysis in its own right. Musical historians have also overlooked military

⁵ [J. Carter], *Memoirs of a Working Man* (1845), p.183; Oldham Library, William Rowbottom diary, 17 October 1801, cited in J. Uglow, *In These Times* (2014), p.290.

⁶ N. Ramsey, 'Listening to War: Sound and Noise in Romantic Era Military Writing', *Republics of Letters*, 5/2 (2017), p.2.

⁷ W. Lawrence, *Autobiography of Sergeant William Lawrence*, ed. G.N. Bankes (1886), p.18; G. Simmons, *A British Rifle Man*, ed. W. Verner (1899), pp.287, 305; C. Askin *et al.*, *The John Askin Papers*, ed. M.M. Quaife (2 vols, Detroit, 1928-1931), ii, p.719.

⁸ G. Elers, *Memoirs of George Elers*, ed. Lord Monson and G.L. Gower (1903), p.40.

music. As Jeffrey Richards observed in a study of music and British imperialism, few other forms of music 'have been subject to such contempt from musicologists'.⁹ E.D. Mackerness's classic *Social History of English Music* is typical in devoting only a single paragraph to military music in its 300-odd pages, while Cyril Ehrlich, in his influential study of the British music profession since the eighteenth century, scarcely mentioned the army before the 1850s.¹⁰ Several reasons may account for this neglect. Military music has suffered from a reputation as derivative, crass, and merely functional. Perceived as insufficiently sophisticated to justify study as 'art music', martial music is also, by dint of its affiliation with a state institution, not considered 'popular' enough to demand much attention from scholars seeking to document the musical habits of the labouring poor.¹¹ Political and moral qualms about military music, given its role in the legitimisation of war and empire, have no doubt further discouraged academic scrutiny; even musicologists who stress the importance of paying greater attention to the topic dwell on the need to condemn it for perpetuating the horrors of armed conflict.¹² The difficulty of navigating unfamiliar military archives and understanding the army's terminology, traditions, and organisation has also likely deterred historians

⁹ J. Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester, 2001), p.414.

¹⁰ E.D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (1964), p.166; C. Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain* (Oxford, 1985).

¹¹ For example, D.H. Van Ess, 'Band Music', in N. Temperley (ed), *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914* (1981), p.137; D. Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1997).

¹² R. Bannister, 'How Are We to Write our Music History? Perspectives on the Historiography of Military Music', *Musicology Australia*, 25/1 (2002), pp.2, 9, 18; D. Francfort, 'Pour une Approche Historique Comparée des Musiques Militaires', *Vingtième Siècle, Revue d'Histoire*, 85 (2005), pp.85-6.

more conversant with major thirds than sergeant majors. As a result, study of martial music has been traditionally left to amateur enthusiasts and retired regimental bandmen, pipers, and drummers. Lewis Winstock and James Tanner have drawn productively on printed military memoirs and manuals, but most work on the subject, including the much-cited writings of Henry George Farmer (1882-1965), tends to be nostalgic rather than critical, often fails to identify sources or present significant original research, and makes little reference to wider socio-political and cultural contexts.¹³

The marginalisation of the military in wider histories of music is all the more striking given the sheer scale of its musical establishment. The regular army, which officially mustered 1,214 drummers and trumpeters in January 1792 before the outbreak of war, employed 5,804 in the closing stages of hostilities twenty-two years later. When the Royal Artillery, militia, and home defence forces, including the local militia and yeomanry, are taken into account, the number serving at the end of January 1814 rises to 16,564.¹⁴ Calculating the quantity of musicians in military bands is far more difficult

¹³ P.L. Binns, *A Hundred Years of Military Music* (Gillingham, 1959); L. Winstock, *Songs & Music of the Redcoats* (1970); H. Barty-King, *The Drum* (1988); D. Murray, *Music of the Scottish Regiments*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2001); J. Norris, *Marching to the Drums* (Stroud, 2012); M. Hall, *With Trumpet, Drum and Fife* (Solihull, 2013); J. Tanner, *Instruments of Battle* (Oxford, 2017); H.G. Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music* (1912); D.M. Henderson, *Highland Soldier* (Edinburgh, 1989), p.256, n.55. Farmer's *History of the Royal Artillery Band* (1954), however, is a thorough history of the author's former outfit.

¹⁴ *PP* (1843), xxxi (140), Return of Number of Officers and Men serving in Great Britain, Ireland, and Colonies, 1792-1840, p.2; TNA, WO162/326, pp.635-6, strength return of British forces, 25 January 1814, and WO17/2562, artillery strength return, 1 February 1814. These figures do not include the Royal Marines.

as the War Office did not keep records of their overall numbers, and orders limiting the size of regimental ensembles were routinely ignored. Yet bands were clearly commonplace: at least three-quarters of regular army battalions mustered one in 1815, as did nearly all English militia regiments.¹⁵ A rough estimate of the overall number of bandsmen may be calculated by assuming that each battalion on strength, with the exception of the veteran battalions and other corps such as the Royal Waggon Train and the Ceylon regiments which did not have bands, employed the typical number of authorised musicians - ten men and a sergeant as bandmaster. This assumption furnishes a figure of above 4,000 for regular, militia, and fencible regiments in 1814, in addition to the sizeable number of bandsmen in part-time auxiliary corps.¹⁶ All in all, it is safe to conclude that the land forces employed more than twenty thousand instrumentalists at the close of the war.

These numbers are worth comparing with those of the civilian music profession. Cyril Ehrlich reckoned that no more than 2,000 professional musicians were active in Britain in the late eighteenth century. This approximation was largely based on a 1794

¹⁵ TNA, WO27/133, 1815 inspection reports and M.J. Lomas, “‘Sounds of Concord and Harmony’: Wind Bands of the English Auxiliary Forces, 1757-1815’ (unpublished report, 1992), pp.33, 39 citing WO27/108-30, 1812-14 inspection reports.

¹⁶ The estimate for regular, militia, and fencible bands has been derived from the lists of battalions included in TNA, WO27/126, 1st Half Year 1814 inspection reports, and comparison with WO27/107-35, 1812-1815 inspection reports. The reliability of this estimate is bolstered by comparison with an October 1806 return of the Colchester garrison (SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/227) which exceptionally enumerates musicians as a separate category. The seven listed units mustered a total of eighty musicians, corresponding closely to the figure obtained from an estimate of eleven bandsmen per battalion.

directory which excluded almost all military performers.¹⁷ Joseph Haliday, an informed contemporary and erstwhile regimental bandmaster, put the number who ‘follow[ed] the profession of music’ in England and Scotland at above 8,000 in 1817, although the basis for his estimate, and whether he included military personnel in his figures, is unclear.¹⁸ The first census to include detailed occupational data, compiled in 1841 after a further quarter-century of population growth, enumerates 10,483 civilian musicians and music teachers working in the United Kingdom.¹⁹ There are significant disparities between these figures, not to mention difficulties in accounting for part-time and street performers, but the scale of the military’s musical mobilisation is astonishing by any measure. Numbers cannot of course differentiate between an elite singer or clarinettist and a juvenile triangle-player, and not all military performers were recruited from or served within Britain and Ireland. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to conclude that, during the French Wars, more paid instrumentalists were employed in the military than outside it.

The experiences of these uniformed performers, and their place in British and Irish musical culture during the late Georgian period, have belatedly begun to receive more

¹⁷ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp.1-3; J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* ([1794]). Twenty-nine London-based musicians who performed in the Horse and Foot Guards are listed in Doane’s directory.

¹⁸ [J. Haliday], *Strictures on Mr. Logier’s Pamphlets...* (Dublin, 1817), p.10.

¹⁹ *PP* (1844), xxvii (587), *Census of Great Britain, Occupation Abstract*, 1841, pp.38, 42 and (1843), xxiv (504), *Report of Commissioners on the Census of Ireland*, 1841, p.440. The occupational categories included here are ‘teachers of music and singing’ and ‘musicians and organists’ in the British census and ‘teachers of music’, ‘teachers of dancing and music’ and ‘musicians’ in the Irish census.

scholarly attention. Between 1989 and 1992, Mike Lomas wrote several well-researched articles on militia and volunteer bands in southern England from the 1760s to Waterloo. He suggested that the military encouraged instrumental music-making among labouring men and produced an astute though unpublished report on the subject for the Army Museums Ogilby Trust.²⁰ The twenty-first century has brought brief case studies of volunteer bands in Oxford and Newcastle during the French Wars, longer articles on the musicians of the Galway Militia and the drummers of the Canadian Fencibles, and a book-length study of the band of the Coldstream Guards.²¹ The latest monographs on regional and civic musical life in the late Georgian era have also displayed greater awareness of the significance of military bands as providers of public entertainment.²² Moreover, excellent work has been done on the activities of regimental performers in British colonies in North America and Australia.²³ Caribbean

²⁰ M.J. Lomas, 'Militia and Volunteer Wind Bands in Southern England', *JSAHR*, 67/271 (1989), pp.154-166; M.J. Lomas, 'The Wiltshire Militia Band, 1769-c.1831', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 85 (1992), pp.93-100; Lomas, 'Sounds of Concord and Harmony'. See also M.J. Lomas, 'Amateur Brass and Wind Bands in Southern England Between the Late Eighteenth Century and Circa 1900' (PhD thesis, Open University, 1990).

²¹ M. Philp *et al.*, 'Music and Politics, 1793-1815', in M. Philp (ed), *Resisting Napoleon* (Aldershot, 2006), pp.179-84, 192-7; P. O'Connell, 'A Wind Band in Cork in the First Decade of the 1800s', in B. Carty, P. O'Connell, and B. Strahan (eds), *Maynooth Musicology* (2 vols, Maynooth, 2008-2009), ii, pp.102-18; E. O'Keeffe, 'The Anatomy of a Drum Corps: Drummers and Musicians in the Canadian Regiment of Fencible Infantry, 1803-1816', *JSAHR*, 98/392 (2020), pp.41-57; J. Gleeson, *Pomp and Circumstance: A History on the Band of H.M. Coldstream Guards, 1685-2015* (2015).

²² S. O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork, 1700-1900* (Cork, 2018); R. Johnston and D. Plummer, *The Musical Life of Nineteenth-Century Belfast* (Farnham, 2015); S. Banfield, *Music in the West Country* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp.92-99. See also R. McGrady, *Music and Musicians in Early Nineteenth-Century Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), pp.43-6, 140-1.

²³ E. Keillor, *Music in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston, 2006), pp.69-70, 101-2; D. Bourassa, 'La Contribution des Bandes Militaires Britanniques au Développement de la Musique au Québec de la Conquête à 1836' (M.Mus. thesis, Université Laval, 1993); R. Jordan, 'Music and the Military in New South Wales, 1788-1809', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 17 (2015),

historians, for their part, have characterised military music as an important influence on the creole musical traditions that arose in West Indian islands under British rule.²⁴ A few military historians, furthermore, have called for greater investigation of music in the army or begun to consider the lives of uniformed performers.²⁵ The most noteworthy recent contributions to the study of martial music during the French Wars, however, have been made by the musicologists Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow. The pair drew attention to the military's role as a 'musical institution' in their 2013 book *Music & The British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*, which charted the development and performances of military bands between the 1770s and 1914.²⁶ Yet their work has left many questions unanswered. Herbert and Barlow had relatively little to say about key aspects of martial music, not least its significance as a means of command and control, and struggled to explain the late Georgian military's remarkable capacity to mobilise musical manpower. Notwithstanding their stated goal of tracing interactions between military and civilian music-making, they neither fully

pp.1-22.

²⁴ K. Bilby, 'More Than Met the Eye: African-Jamaican Festivities in the Time of Belisario' and S. Banfield, 'Anglophone Musical Culture in Jamaica', in T. Barringer *et al.*, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica* (New Haven, CT, 2007), pp.127-32, 141-3, 488; E. Cooper, 'Playing against Empire', *Slavery & Abolition*, 39/3 (2018), pp.540-57; S. Meredith, *Tuk Music Tradition in Barbados* (Farnham, 2015).

²⁵ K. Linch and M. McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers: Britain's Military, c.1740-1815', *War in History*, 20/2 (2013), p.157; R. Holmes, *Soldiers: Army Lives and Loyalties from Redcoats to Dusty Warriors* (2011), pp.473-94; J. Ellis, 'The Visual Representation, Role and Origin of Black Soldiers in British Army Regiments during the Early Nineteenth Century' (M.A. thesis, University of Nottingham, 2000); N. Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers* (Liverpool, 2016), pp.104-10.

²⁶ See also T. Herbert and H. Barlow, 'The British Military as a Musical Institution, c.1780-c.1860', in P. Rodmell (ed), *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Farnham, 2012), pp.247-66; H. Barlow, 'The British Army and the Music Profession', in R. Golding (ed), *The Music Profession in Britain, 1780-1920* (Abingdon, 2018), pp.72-89.

documented the depth of the military's engagement with wider musical culture nor appreciated its lasting influence on the post-war musical scene.

This thesis expands on and significantly revises existing scholarship on martial music during the French Wars. It sees music as a core military activity, a preoccupation of officers, and an inescapable and meaningful part of soldiers' lives. Then as now, music was a fundamental aspect of human culture. Endowed with a special capacity to attract attention and entertain, it could convey information, values, and feelings; coordinate emotions and movement; and foster communal bonds.²⁷ Study of martial music during the French Wars demonstrates its significance as a source of solace, diversion, and motivation, and underscores the capacity of war and the military to shape popular culture. Above all, this thesis demonstrates the depth and reciprocity of interactions between the armed forces and wider society. Scholars have increasingly asserted that the French Wars gave rise to a profound or even insurmountable gulf between military and civilian domains, and there is no doubt that regiments of the professional forces functioned in many respects as self-contained societies.²⁸ Yet to insist on too hard and fast a division between civilian and military spheres would be to obscure reality, for the boundaries were often porous and indistinct. Military music, indeed, exerted such a profound influence on wider musical

²⁷ D.J. Levitin, *This is Your Brain on Music* (2007); T. Cochrane, B. Fantini, and K.R. Scherer, *The Emotional Power of Music* (Oxford, 2013); M. Spitzer, *The Musical Human* (2021).

²⁸ D. Bell, *The First Total War* (2007), pp.11-12; N. Ramsey, *The Military Memoir and Romantic Literary Culture, 1780-1835* (Farnham, 2011), p.4; E. Charters, E. Rosenhaft, and H. Smith, *Civilians and War in Europe, 1618-1815* (Liverpool, 2012).

practices precisely because it was so much a part of the civilian experience of these wars.

This thesis builds on a growing body of scholarship on the social history of the British army in the long eighteenth century. Wide-ranging surveys and intensively researched regimental histories have furnished a deeper understanding of myriad topics from soldiers' marriages and military justice to the backgrounds and behaviour of rank-and-file recruits.²⁹ Yet as Linda Colley and John Cookson have noted, many facets of military life, and indeed the fates of veterans after discharge, remain obscure.³⁰ The present study helps fill some of these gaps. In highlighting the importance of music to military morale, it contributes to debates on the motivation and management of common soldiers, accounts of which have variously emphasised disciplinary coercion and class conflict or loyalty to comrades and a sense of soldierly honour.³¹ This thesis also expands on the work of Scott Hughes Myerly, who has stressed the role of military ceremony and uniforms in encouraging obedience and group solidarity.³² The increasing prominence of music in the military should be seen

²⁹ For example, C. Divall, *Inside the Regiment* (Barnsley, 2011); E.J. Coss, *All for the King's Shilling* (Norman, OK, 2010); J. Hurl-Eamon, *Marriage & the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2014); P.J. Haythornthwaite, *The Armies of Wellington* (1994); D.N. Hagist, *Noble Volunteers* (Yardley, PA, 2020).

³⁰ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, revised edn (2005), pp.284, 321; J.E. Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds: Interpreting the Experience of British Soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars', in A. Forrest, K. Hagemann, and J. Rendall (eds), *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians* (Basingstoke, 2009), p.24.

³¹ Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, pp.135-45, 153; Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers*, p.1; R.N. Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies* (Gainesville, FL, 1998) pp.203-37; I. Berkovich, *Motivation in War* (Cambridge, 2017), p.231.

³² S.H. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea*

as an element of growing efforts on the part of officers to provide for the welfare of their soldiers and foster a sense of regimental pride and community.³³ Historians have often understood the eighteenth-century military as a melting pot which brought men from different backgrounds into close proximity and sent them far afield, thereby broadening soldiers' horizons and giving rise to new identities.³⁴ Music was a key medium through which these cultural interactions occurred and can be traced. Indeed, a central theme of this study is that martial music, which at first glance might appear to be inherently insular and nationalistic, was in fact a product and vehicle of cross-cultural exchange.

In recent decades historians have characterised the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as a defining era in the making of modern Britain and Ireland, not least because these years saw the creation of the United Kingdom, the advent of republican nationalism and unionism in Ireland, and the dawn of a century of British imperial hegemony. Whether or not these conflicts deserve the label of 'total wars', hostilities between 1793 to 1815 required an unprecedented mobilisation of money, manpower, and material resources and exacted a dreadful human toll.³⁵ The demands

(Cambridge, MA, 1996).

³³ Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.34-7; A.J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army, 1714-63* (Manchester, 1985), p.73; E. Charters, 'The Caring Fiscal-Military State during the Seven Years War, 1756-1763', *Historical Journal*, 52/3 (2009), pp.921-41.

³⁴ S. Conway, *War, State, and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2006), p.207; M. McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford, 2015), pp.175-6, 185-6.

³⁵ T. Bartlett, 'Ireland during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1791-1815', in J. Kelly

of war, Clive Emsley has argued, were more widely felt during these years than the changes wrought by industrialisation, while the formation of volunteer corps to defend home shores, according to John Cookson, deserves consideration as ‘the greatest popular movement of the Hanoverian age’.³⁶ Scholars have increasingly contended that warfare had transformative implications for government, society, and the economy in the long eighteenth century, giving rise to industrial and commercial expansion as well as increased taxation, public debt, and improved state administration.³⁷ Medical historians, meanwhile, have assessed that the military surgeons who honed their trade during the French Wars played an important role in the nineteenth-century professionalisation of medicine.³⁸ Linda Colley has cast these conflicts as crucial to the creation of a British national consciousness, although her influential thesis has been critiqued by scholars who stress the persistence of allegiances to regiments, regions, and the constituent nations of the United Kingdom.³⁹ Other historians seem to regard the impact of mass arming as evanescent

et al. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (4 vols, Cambridge, 2018), iii, pp.74-101; Bell, *First Total War*; R. Knight, *Britain Against Napoleon* (2013).

³⁶ C. Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815* (1979), p.4; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.66.

³⁷ J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power* (1989); C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian* (1989); H. Bowen, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* (Cambridge, 1998); M. Lincoln, *Trading in War* (New Haven, CT, 2018); P. Satia, *Empire of Guns* (Stanford, CA, 2019); P. Jupp, ‘The British State and the Napoleonic Wars, 1799-1815’, in M. Rowe (ed), *Collaboration and Resistance in Napoleonic Europe* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.213-37; Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*; P.K. O’Brien, ‘Britain’s Wars with France 1793–1815 and Their Contribution to the Consolidation of Its Industrial Revolution’, in O’Brien (ed), *The Crucible of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Warfare and European Transitions to Modern Economic Growth* (Leiden, 2022), pp.22-49.

³⁸ M. Ackroyd *et al.*, *Advancing with the Army* (Oxford, 2006); C. Kelly, *War and the Militarization of British Army Medicine, 1793-1830* (2011).

³⁹ Colley, *Britons*, especially p.312; K. Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire* (Oxford, 2009), pp.8-10, 250; C. Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*

rather than enduring. In his study of the volunteer movement, Austin Gee contended that the expansion of part-time soldiering 'left few obvious legacies'.⁴⁰ Attention to military music offers new perspectives on the experience and impact of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. As a prevalent part of British and Irish soundscapes, especially in towns, it was a palpable manifestation of the impingement of war on everyday life. Musical mobilisation during the French Wars also had lasting cultural consequences, facilitating the post-war spread of civilian wind and brass bands and expanding opportunities for men and boys to develop instrumental skills.

Music, according to Mark Philp, was probably 'the most far-reaching form of entertainment' in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and was critical in the 'struggle for the loyalty of the British public' following the French Revolution.⁴¹ Yet research on the cultural representation of war in this period has largely concentrated on fine art, literature, and drama.⁴² Historians have conceptualised contemporary debates on the war and the merits of a more egalitarian society as contests which were prosecuted in print and carried on via crowd gatherings seeking to assert control over public space.⁴³ Holger Hoock has interpreted officially-sponsored cultural initiatives,

(Basingstoke, 2013), pp.3, 60-6, 198; Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.38-9.

⁴⁰ A. Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814* (Oxford, 2003), p.268.

⁴¹ Philp, 'Music and Politics', p.173.

⁴² P. Shaw, 'Cannon-Fever: Beethoven, Waterloo and the Noise of War', *Romanticism*, 24/3 (2018), p.255; S. Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* (Oxford, 2003); S. Valladares, *Staging the Peninsular War* (Farnham, 2015); G. Russell, *Theatres of War* (Oxford, 1995); M.A. Favret, *War at a Distance* (Princeton, NJ, 2010).

⁴³ E.V. Macleod, 'British Attitudes to the French Revolution', *Historical Journal*, 50/3 (2007), pp.700-1; M. Harrison, *Crowds and History* (Cambridge, 1988); K. Navickas, *Protest and the*

not least monuments and architectural projects, as important means of underpinning British imperial authority.⁴⁴ The political significance of sound and music in wartime, however, has received less scrutiny. A notable exception is the work of Oskar Cox Jensen, who has characterised popular ballads as an important medium of propaganda and dissent but argued - in contrast to Mark Philp - that loyalist attempts to spread their message through song were relatively unavailing.⁴⁵ This thesis directs attention to regimental music-making as an influential form of cultural propaganda and an essential element of patriotic displays. The significance of music as a kind of auditory weapon, with the capacity to rouse not only soldiers but the public more generally, was amply appreciated by contemporaries.⁴⁶ 'The war-songs of every people', one Peninsular veteran averred, 'are part of their arsenal; and by no means the least in power.'⁴⁷

Attention to music permits a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the military and society. Professional soldiers have been commonly viewed as social pariahs who joined a peripheral and despised institution and were further isolated from the civilian world by the widespread construction of barracks during the French Wars. Eventual victory in these conflicts may have improved the army's

Politics of Space and Place 1789-1848 (Manchester, 2015).

⁴⁴ H. Hooch, *Empires of the Imagination* (2010), pp.xvi, 13.

⁴⁵ O. Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song, 1797-1822* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp.1-2, 102-3; M. Philp, *Reforming Ideas in Britain* (Cambridge, 2014), pp.235-6.

⁴⁶ K. Barclay, 'The Sound of Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Journal of British Studies* 60/2 (2021), pp.389-402.

⁴⁷ [D.W. Maginn], *The Military Sketch-Book* (2 vols, 1827), ii, pp.107-9.

reputation, but the United Kingdom after 1815 is supposed to have speedily abandoned the military posturing of the wartime nation-in-arms.⁴⁸ Indeed, popular militarism in Britain has generally been regarded as a Victorian or Edwardian rather than a Georgian phenomenon.⁴⁹ The present thesis qualifies these interpretations. Although civilian attitudes towards the military remained ambivalent and even contradictory, it is clear that martial music and display enjoyed popular acclaim and kept the armed forces firmly in the public eye.⁵⁰ Individual military performers could become celebrities on account of their skills, while regimental bands were widely imitated by civilians in the post-war decades.

This study also reinterprets the place of military music within wider musical culture. Scholars rightly regard the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a time when the music profession was expanding on account of population growth, greater commercial opportunities, and consumer demand from the increasingly affluent middle classes. The state's ostensible failure to support music education is sometimes lamented, and the French Wars, if they feature at all, tend to be noted only as the

⁴⁸ Linch and McCormack, 'Defining Soldiers', p.150; Kennedy, *Narratives*, pp.41-2, 90-1; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.244-55; C.J. Esdaile, *The Wars of Napoleon*, 2nd edn (Abingdon, 2019), pp.251-3; K. Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army* (Basingstoke, 2011), p.3; C. Barnett, *Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970* (1970), p.139; C. Emsley, 'The Military and Popular Disorder in England, 1790-1801', *JSAHR*, 61/245-6 (1983), p.112.

⁴⁹ O. Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review*, 86/338 (1971), pp.46-72; A. Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *History Workshop Journal*, 2/1 (1976), pp.104-23; M. Paris, *Warrior Nation* (2000), p.8.

⁵⁰ See also Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, pp.139-73.

cause of economic and travel problems that impeded the organisation of concerts.⁵¹ Yet this conventional account overlooks the military's role as a major provider of government-sponsored musical training and employment and neglects its significance in shaping and stimulating public tastes. War and the British state, as Holger Hoock has argued, were more important catalysts of cultural activity in this period than scholars have generally supposed.⁵² Later aesthetic hierarchies which cast wind and brass bands as relatively 'lowbrow' musical forms should not be applied anachronistically to an era in which regimental bands and their members were often highly regarded by informed musical commentators, took part in orchestral concerts, and attracted the keen patronage of royalty and the landed gentry.⁵³ Skilled professional musicians were prepared to work for the military, albeit on advantageous terms and for the right price, while regimental performers routinely undertook non-military musical work, playing central roles in the cultural lives of civilian communities. Military service, moreover, often comprised only one phase in longer musical careers; ex-regimental bandsmen or their progeny often found success in the music business

⁵¹ See, for example, S. McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music', in R. Illiano and L. Sala (eds), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution* (Bologna, 2010), pp.3-34; W. Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 2nd edn (2004), pp.6-8; I. Taylor, *Music in London and the Myth of Decline* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.28-29; Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p.54; B. Rainbow, 'Music in Education', in Temperley (ed), *Music in Britain*, pp.29-45; D.J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, 2004), p.59.

⁵² Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*, xvii.

⁵³ Royal interest in military music-making was such that George III's temporary insanity in 1788-9 was partly ascribed to an impassioned dispute over the instrumentation of the bands of the Foot Guards. See C. Papendiek, *Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte*, ed. V.D. Broughton (2 vols, 1887), i, p.9, and also M.J. Lomas, 'Secular Civilian Amateur Wind Bands in Southern England in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Galpin Society Journal*, 45 (1992), pp.89-90; D.B. Scott, 'Music and Social Class in Victorian London', *Urban History*, 29/1 (2002), p.64.

as instrumentalists, instructors, vocalists, and composers. Nor was martial music an exclusively male domain. While military performers were men and boys, women not only listened to their music in large numbers but composed regimental marches, performed military tunes on domestic keyboard instruments, and even sponsored and managed regimental bands.⁵⁴ Military music-making, in short, was hardly a 'closed musical world' as some scholars still maintain.⁵⁵ Rather, it constituted an integral part of the wider musical ecosystem, which as regimental records powerfully demonstrate was impressively vigorous and expansive far beyond London.

This thesis makes significant contributions to the historiography of nineteenth-century popular music, not least by documenting the material connections between martial and sacred music-making which have previously been conjectured.⁵⁶ English church bands provided the military with many knowledgeable performers while serving and retired regimental instrumentalists played in and composed music for churches and chapels. Vic and Sheila Gammon have made a case for a 'musical revolution' between 1830 and 1860, when, in their telling, the aural and improvisatory musical habits of the labouring poor were displaced by a more disciplined approach - originating with the middle class and spread by newly established brass bands - which

⁵⁴ NRS, Buccleuch papers, GD224/628/3, account of band subscriptions, 1801[?], mentions contributions for the upkeep of the band of the 4th North British Militia made by the Duchess of Buccleuch and three other female family members.

⁵⁵ R. Golding, 'Introduction', in Golding, *Music Profession in Britain*, p.9.

⁵⁶ Lomas, 'Militia and Volunteer Wind Bands', pp.158-9; S. Drage, 'John Fawcett of Bolton: The Changing Face of Psalmody', in J. Dibble and B. Zon, *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 2 (Aldershot, 2001), pp.59-69.

privileged knowledge of musical notation, precise timekeeping, and fidelity to printed scores. Yet this account of a seismic mid-century transition - quite apart from its rather idealised depiction of an independent 'plebeian musical tradition' on the basis of slight contemporary evidence - falters when military bands are brought into the picture, for regimental ensembles had been propagating identical principles among performers drawn from the labouring classes long before.⁵⁷ In addition, the propensity to view brass bands primarily through the prism of class and the Victorian drive for 'rational recreation' has tended to obscure the degree to which early civilian wind ensembles were influenced by specifically *military* precedents.⁵⁸ This study provides an important corrective by demonstrating the fundamental importance of the regimental band as a template for popular music-making and the role of former martial musicians in training amateur ensembles.

The investigative approach adopted in this thesis has been informed by a burgeoning body of work on auditory history, which has demonstrated the possibility and potential of reconstructing the sound worlds of the early modern and nineteenth-century past through surviving textual and musical records.⁵⁹ In particular, it derives

⁵⁷ V. and S. Gammon, 'The Musical Revolution of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in T. Herbert (ed), *The British Brass Band* (Oxford, 2000), pp.122-54. For a similar critique of the Gammons' interpretation, see Lomas, 'Sounds of Concord and Harmony', pp.193-4.

⁵⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.238-9; J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd* (New York, NY, 1985), pp.106-8; F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society* (1988), pp.213, 303-4.

⁵⁹ C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010); M.M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2001); D.R. Laxer, *Listening to the Fur Trade* (Montreal and Kingston, 2022); W. Tullett, 'Political Engines: The Emotional Politics

inspiration from recent studies outlining the prevalence and resonance of music during the Crimean War and American Civil War, not to mention detailed research into the music of the British army during the American Revolutionary War, the First World War, and the twentieth-century interwar period.⁶⁰ The ensuing chapters adopt the framework of the so-called 'new military history', in that they focus not only on battles and campaigns but take a rounded view of the military as an institution and interrogate the broader societal consequences of conflict. Rather than assessing the artistic merits of particular pieces or extensively analysing their composition and arrangement, this thesis traces the provision and appeal of military music in order to furnish a social history of a far-reaching but understudied strand of late Georgian musical culture. Eschewing the tendency to privilege the cultural milieu of a London-based elite, it aims to consider the experience of performing and listening to music more broadly in terms of geography and social rank.⁶¹ The military music which was audible in the street, on the march, or in the barrack square is given as much consideration as pieces played in formal concerts, just as the activities of drummers, trumpeters, fifers, and buglers are discussed alongside the performances of regimental bands. Music is conceptualised in

of Bells in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 59 (July 2020), pp.555-81; M. Philp, 'Music and Movement in Britain, 1793-1815', *Journal of British Studies*, 60 (2021), pp.403-15; Ramsey, 'Listening to War', pp.1-12.

⁶⁰ G. Williams (ed), *Hearing the Crimean War* (Oxford, 2019); E. Hanna, *Sounds of War* (Cambridge, 2020); D.B. Hammond, 'British Army Music in the Interwar Years' (PhD thesis, Open University, 2018); C. McWhirter, *Battle Hymns* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012); J.A. Davis, *Music along the Rapidan* (Lincoln, NE, 2014); R.F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1976); S.M. Baule, 'Drummers in the British Army during the American Revolution', *JSAHR*, 86/345 (2008), pp.20-33.

⁶¹ R.D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 77/4 (2014), p.415.

this thesis as an active and communal medium which prior to the advent of recorded sound had to be *made* each time it was heard. More a process than a thing, music was always in some sense participatory, for listeners as well as players were involved in constructing its meaning by interpreting and responding to the tunes they encountered.⁶² Music could give rise to an impression of ‘unisonality’, contributing to the creation of ‘imagined communities’ such as nations and empires by eliciting simultaneous expressions of public feeling.⁶³ Yet at the same time reception was inherently individualised, depending on a person’s preconceptions and tastes.⁶⁴ Drawing on an abundance of first-hand accounts, this thesis aims as far as possible to substantiate rather than assume the nature of listeners’ responses to military music, which while broadly favourable were also varied, contextual, and more than occasionally negative.

The chronological and geographical scope of this thesis requires some explanation. Efforts to inculcate drumming and other musical skills in English and later British armies can be traced back to the reign of Henry VIII.⁶⁵ Regimental bands, notwithstanding persistent assertions that they were only officially sanctioned in 1803, were in fact recognised in military regulations by 1770 and had significantly

⁶² McWhirter, *Battle Hymns*, p.2; Davis, *Music along the Rapidan*, pp.14-15; C. Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT, 1998).

⁶³ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, new edn (2006), p.145.

⁶⁴ D. Rowland, ‘British Listeners, c.1780-1830’, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 17 (2020), pp.359-79.

⁶⁵ S. Gunn, *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII* (Oxford, 2018), p.43.

earlier roots.⁶⁶ Yet the French Wars deserve special attention because the six-fold expansion of the regular army and the proliferation of auxiliary corps prompted unparalleled investment in military music, drastically increasing its public prominence for more than two decades.⁶⁷ This thesis primarily attends to the war years but also encompasses the post-war era up to *circa* 1850 in order to assess the longer-term implications of military music-making for popular culture and politics. It embraces all four nations of the post-1800 United Kingdom - England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales - as well as overseas territories under British rule. The thesis also covers other areas in which British forces were deployed during the French Wars and contemporaneous conflicts such as the Anglo-American War of 1812. This expansive remit not only enables full consideration of the available source material but makes plain the remarkable reach of military music-making and directs attention to its role in creating national and imperial networks of musical transmission. Although distinctions are drawn between different regions and places where appropriate, one of the most striking features of martial music was the degree to which its patterns of performance and influence were replicated in communities of very different character, from rural Ireland to colonial garrisons and English or Scottish manufacturing towns.

The broad scope of this thesis extends to the range of military forces under scrutiny. This project encompasses not only the Royal Artillery and the regular army

⁶⁶ *General Regulations and Orders for His Majesty's Forces* (Dublin, 1786), p.84.

⁶⁷ D. Gates, 'The Transformation of the Army 1783-1815', in D. Chandler and I. Beckett (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford, 1996), p.132.

but also the county-based militia, which became a full-time force in wartime yet usually did not serve beyond Britain and Ireland, as well as the fencible regiments raised to safeguard the home islands and British North America. Besides the professional forces, successive waves of volunteer and yeomanry corps were established to defend against enemy landings and domestic insurrection. At the height of the invasion scare nearly 400,000 Britons served in the volunteers in addition to the 70,000 yeomen mustered across the Irish Sea.⁶⁸ These auxiliary corps were not typically deployed far from their place of origin and participation was generally a part-time commitment; men received pay for attending regular drill sessions and occasional weeks of training, although some sergeants, drummers, and trumpeters were given permanent salaries due to their importance to the functioning of their units.⁶⁹ In 1808 the British volunteers were largely superseded by the local militia, an infantry force which was distinct from the militia proper; its part-time participants normally trained in their localities for a few weeks annually but, as with the volunteers, some of the sergeants and drummers were paid year-round.⁷⁰ Although this study covers the gamut of land forces organised under the auspices of the Crown, it does not include the armies of the East India Company, which fielded their own drummers, fifers, and

⁶⁸ Gee, *British Volunteer Movement*, p.2; A. Blackstock, *An Ascendancy Army* (Dublin, 1998), p.114. While the British yeomanry was a mounted force, the Irish yeomanry was mainly comprised of infantry.

⁶⁹ Blackstock, *Ascendancy Army*, p.104; *List of the Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps of the United Kingdom* (1804), p.127.

⁷⁰ In a local militia regiment consisting of ten companies, for example, five of twenty-two drummers, including one drum-major, were formally eligible for permanent pay by 1812. See G. Thomas, *The Local Militia Paymaster* (1812), p.24 and also I.F.W. Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition, 1558-1945* (Manchester, 1991), pp.114-21.

regimental bands on the Indian subcontinent.⁷¹ It also excludes the Royal Navy. Men-of-war often hosted bands of music, which were important to shipboard life and deserve their own study, but their performers were less visible and audible to civilians than those of the land forces.⁷² The Royal Marines, which mustered drummers and maintained military bands at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, have likewise not received detailed attention given their administration by the Admiralty as a primarily seaborne force.⁷³

Military music is defined here as music made by or intended for military personnel. While the thesis includes some discussion of soldiers' songs, the primary focus is on the instrumental music-making formally sponsored by the military and the adoption of regimental tunes and practices by civilians.⁷⁴ Care is needed in using the term 'musician', for it was almost exclusively used by contemporaries to refer to members of regimental bands of music, whose performances were ceremonial and recreational rather than strictly utilitarian in nature. Fifers, drummers, trumpeters, and buglers were considered separate categories of instrumentalists and not called 'musicians',

⁷¹ D. Ghosh, 'Making and Un-making Loyal Subjects: Pensioning Widows and Educating Orphans in Early Colonial India', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31/1 (2003), pp.18-19; BL, MSS.Eur.D.1148, William Scot Papers, pp.1-4, R. Scot to [Sir George Nugent], 10 February 1813.

⁷² N.A.M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean* (2004), pp.405, 504-5; K. Brown, *The Seasick Admiral: Nelson and the Health of the Navy* (Barnsley, 2015), pp.93-6.

⁷³ Some research has been published on music in the Royal Marines: J. Trendell, *Operation Music-Maker: The Story of Royal Marines Bands* (Southampton, 1978); J.A. Lowe (ed), *Records of the Portsmouth Division of Marines, 1764-1800* (Portsmouth, 1990).

⁷⁴ For a compilation of eighteenth and nineteenth-century soldiers' songs, see R. Palmer, *The Rambling Soldier* (Gloucester, 1985).

although these individuals should certainly not be dismissed as unmusical. On the contrary, they were often skilled performers conversant in musical notation and played extensive repertoires intended to entertain as well as transmit orders. Nevertheless, to avoid perpetuating the muddle caused by historians who have blithely assumed that the terms were interchangeable, this thesis reserves the word 'musician' for bandsmen. Alternative expressions are used when referring to all performers employed by the military, including 'martial instrumentalists' and 'musical warriors'. The latter phrase, which was coined by the former fifer John Shipp in his memoirs, neatly captures their dual identities as soldiers and musical performers.⁷⁵ Yet it is vital to emphasise that not all musical warriors had the same relationship with military service or would even have regarded themselves as soldiers. The drummer or musician who had been born in barracks and performed for his regiment since childhood had a different and deeper connection to the military than the musically inclined shoemaker who moonlighted in his local volunteer corps or the theatre musician who negotiated a short-term contract to train a militia band. The following chapters remain sensitive to this spectrum of experience, which only underscores the extent to which boundaries between soldier and civilian in this period could be blurred, while also charting commonalities.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ J. Shipp, *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp*, ed. H.M. Chichester (1890), p.20.

⁷⁶ K.B. Linch, "'A Citizen and Not a Soldier": The British Volunteer Movement and the War against Napoleon' in Forrest, Hagemann and Rendall, *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians*, pp.205-21.

This thesis draws on a range of primary sources held in archives in Britain and Ireland as well as in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and North America. Inspection reports, courts-martial proceedings, official correspondence, and pay and pension records at the National Archives of the United Kingdom provide information on manifold aspects of military music-making and the lives of individual performers. A vast but geographically dispersed array of printed standing orders, manuscript order books, correspondence, and other regimental records illuminate the recruitment and training of martial instrumentalists and the management of regimental bands. Evidence from administrative documents is supplemented by information gleaned from soldiers' journals, memoirs, and letters home, including about a dozen accounts written by musical warriors themselves. Manuscript music books furnish a better understanding of regimental repertoires. Newspapers and periodicals are especially useful in detailing the events attended by military musicians, their fortunes after discharge, and the organisation of post-war wind and amateur bands.

The available sources are not without gaps, imbalances, and limitations. Given the impossibility of quantifying the emotional impact of military music, not to mention the scarcity of numerical data on the musical profession and the spread of musical skills, this thesis inevitably relies heavily on the qualitative observations of contemporaries. The absence of audio recordings of course hampers detailed investigation into the playing techniques of musical warriors, while crucial but mundane aspects of music-making in the military, notably the tuning of instruments and the structuring of

rehearsal time, are rarely if ever discussed in writing, and then only as chance asides. A disproportionate number of journals, diaries, and memoirs reflecting on listeners' experiences of military music were written by the more prosperous members of civilian society; the perspectives of the poor and enslaved or colonised peoples are far less often articulated in their own words. Most military memoirs, moreover, pertain to the regular army, and especially the celebrated Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns. By contrast, the internal paperwork of militia and volunteer corps, so often cocooned in the stately homes of onetime commanding officers until its eventual deposit in public archives, survives in far greater volume than comparable documents from nomadic regular regiments. Furthermore, the quantity of records available varies enormously by unit; while extensive collections exist for militia or fencible corps of all four nations, comparatively few papers survive from Irish militia regiments formed outside Ulster, likely due to the loss of relevant archives during the Irish War of Independence and the ensuing Civil War.

The shortcomings of memoirs as sources have attracted particular scholarly attention: historians rightly regard them as a form of literature, shaped by hindsight, editorial choices, narrative conventions, and a propensity to echo 'the retrospective tropes of collective memory'.⁷⁷ However, as Emma Griffin and Jane Humphries have

⁷⁷ Ramsey, *Military Memoir*; M. Greig, *Dead Men Telling Tales* (Oxford, 2021); D. Vincent, 'Working-Class Autobiography in the Nineteenth Century', in A. Smyth (ed), *A History of English Autobiography* (Cambridge, 2016), pp.165-78; K. Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38/3 (2015), pp.336-7, 346.

demonstrated, albeit in different ways, autobiographical writings provide vital insight into how a diverse array of labouring men made sense of their own experiences.⁷⁸ The same can be said for the memoirs of common soldiers, which were penned in unprecedented numbers in the post-war decades for print publication and private circulation in manuscript. Far from being invariably adulatory and romanticised, these writings draw on a range of narrative influences, are sometimes sharply critical of war and the military, and broach facets of regimental life which can otherwise be accessed only from the perspective of officers. This thesis regards the recurrent discussion of military music in retrospective autobiographies not as a sentimental flourish or a cliché worthy of dismissal but as an indication of its importance and emotive power, not least because music is so often described in similar terms in contemporary accounts such as diaries and correspondence. By placing the available sources in conversation with each other, in sum, it is possible to identify general patterns and make informed assessments about the functions, significance, and influence of martial music-making.

The thesis is organised thematically and comprises seven chapters divided into three broad sections. It begins by examining the place of music and musical warriors in the military, then considers the interplay between martial music-making and civilians, and ends with an investigation of the post-1815 impact of wartime musical mobilisation. The opening chapter argues that music was important to many facets of

⁷⁸ J. Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.5-24; E. Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn* (New Haven, CT, 2013), pp.222-45.

military life. A critical tool of communication and discipline, it sounded the alarm and governed soldiers' routines and bodily movements. Regimental bands were lavishly subsidised by officers who regarded them as vital social assets, founts of unit prestige, and important for soldiers' morale and well-being. A significant aid to recruitment, music cultivated not only loyalty to the monarch and the British state but also promoted an array of local, regimental, and national allegiances. Although bands did not generally play in battle, Highland pipers were celebrated for performing under fire. Bugles, trumpets, and to a far lesser extent drums were also employed to convey commands in action.

The second chapter provides a detailed portrait of the lives of musical warriors. It argues that drummers and bandsmen comprised distinct castes within the armed forces, generally enjoying better pay and working conditions than their non-musical comrades. It chronicles the responsibilities and social status of military instrumentalists, including elite bandmasters and black musicians, and explains that most drummers, though frequently recruited at a tender age, were not in fact young children as is generally believed. While musical warriors in the professional forces often resented the rigours of regimental life, a sense of occupational pride and camaraderie helped bind men to the military. The armed forces offered its performers a steady wage which could be supplemented by income from external engagements, not to mention opportunities for education and professional advancement.

The third chapter investigates the recruitment and training of musical warriors. It argues that the military met its demand for musical manpower by hiring knowledgeable players and instructors from the civilian sphere, including foreign professionals, church musicians, and self-taught artisans. The chapter analyses musical recruitment as a labour market in which qualified players enjoyed considerable negotiating power and regiments competed and cooperated in their scramble to engage and instruct musical warriors. It explains why established and aspiring performers joined the armed forces and argues that the military's approach to musical tuition was by no means as haphazard as has previously been claimed. The chapter also documents military efforts to standardise musical timekeeping, establish uniform beats, calls, and sounds, and even implement educational certification in advance of the civilian music profession.

The music played by military instrumentalists is considered in chapter four. It outlines the salient features of military marches before stressing the wider eclecticism of regimental repertoires, which reflected the fluidity of contemporary musical culture as well as the military's multinational composition and mobility. Military service facilitated musical dissemination and exchange: fifers and bandsmen borrowed melodies from other regiments, armies, and peoples and introduced listeners to new tunes as they moved between postings. The chapter shows that military and civilian repertoires were intertwined rather than distinct. Musical warriors repurposed dances

and theatrical songs while amateur pianists, ballroom performers, and street musicians adopted pieces popularised by the armed forces.

The fifth chapter explores interactions between musical warriors and civilians in Britain and Ireland, overseas colonies, and foreign theatres of operations. An acutely audible reminder of war and the presence of the military, martial music was a staple of the social calendar in provincial and garrison towns. Military bands played for myriad public events and staged free open-air concerts for socially diverse audiences while encouraging and amplifying expressions of wartime patriotism. Yet musical warriors were also criticised for playing sectarian tunes, violating the sanctity of the Sabbath, and even emitting noise pollution through their recurrent performances. Military music, moreover, constituted a form of soft power abroad: it aided diplomacy, enhanced imperial authority, and generally improved relations with local populations.

The sixth chapter explores the post-war fates of regimental instrumentalists and assesses the influence of the military on wider musical culture. Although some veterans found unrelated civilian employment, others continued to draw on the musical skills honed in uniform by working as music teachers, performers, composers, and retailers. The military helped stimulate the nineteenth-century expansion of popular music-making: it encouraged new instrument designs, nurtured the commercial infrastructure of the music trade, and generated substantial stocks of second-hand instruments. As will be seen, numerous militia, local militia, and

volunteer bands were not in fact broken up after Waterloo but continued performing long after the demobilisation of their respective corps. This chapter contends that the wartime expansion of martial music-making encouraged and facilitated the subsequent development of amateur civilian wind and brass bands, which were often led by ex-servicemen and modelled on military lines.

The seventh chapter examines the impact of wartime musical mobilisation on popular and electoral politics, as this was a sphere in which the influence of military music and spectacle was particularly conspicuous in the post-war years. Regimental bands proved a customary and generally accepted feature of political pageantry at post-war parliamentary elections, which were themselves often conceptualised by newspapers, crowds, and candidates in distinctly martial terms. Military music and drill likewise figured prominently in British demonstrations in support of constitutional reform, which often involved musically trained ex-servicemen. In Ireland, campaigners for Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union, not to mention the Orange Order, also marshalled supporters with quasi-regimental display. The chapter argues that demonstrators drew on the familiar vocabulary of military pageantry to organise themselves in an orderly and eye-catching fashion while obliquely threatening insurrectionary violence.

Military music, in sum, was an everyday and intrusive part of wartime life, a source of entertainment and opportunity, and a politically charged exponent of both

patriotism and protest. The legacies of martial music-making, as this thesis argues, echoed far beyond the barrack gates.

1. Music and the Military

Music was a constant accompaniment to military life. As one private recalled of his time at an army depot on the Isle of Wight: the 'drum was rolling, or the bugle braying nearly every hour of the day'.¹ Martial music was emblematic of the soldier's trade and intrinsic to his vision of service in arms: officers wrote of their determination 'to follow the drum and fife', bemoaned 'this present drumming life', and strongly identified with familiar regimental strains. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Staunton St. Clair, for example, avowed in his memoirs that 'to my ears, the rattling of a British drum and fife is the sweetest of music.'² Few military memoirs and journals fail to mention music in some form, yet its functions and significance have attracted relatively limited scrutiny. The most interesting analyses to date have in fact come from outside the field of military history proper. Simon Werrett, a historian of science, contended that music played an integral role in regimental life and interpreted the military band as an ideal embodiment of order, discipline, and theatrical display.³ In a perceptive article calling attention to the auditory dimension of war in the Romantic era, the literary scholar Neil Ramsey argued that armies sought to instil obedience and

¹ J.M. Jones, 'The Old Halberdier: From the Pyrenees to Plattsburgh with a Welshman of the 39th', ed. E. O'Keeffe, *JSAHR*, 95/381-3 (2017), p.19.

² W.T. Keep, *In the Service of the King: The Letters of William Thornton Keep*, ed. I. Fletcher (Staplehurst, 1997), p.73; T. Johnes, *A Land of Pure Delight: Selections from the Letters of Thomas Johnes of Hafod, Cardiganshire (1748-1816)*, ed. R.J. Moore-Colyer (Llandysul, 1992), p.102; T.S. St. Clair, *A Soldier's Recollections of the West Indies and America* (2 vols, 1834), i, pp.1-2.

³ S. Werrett, 'Disciplinary Culture: Artillery, Sound, and Science in Woolwich, 1800-1850', *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 39/2 (2015), p.88.

mitigate against the chaos of crowds and combat by tightly regulating sound and silence on and off the battlefield.⁴ This chapter expands on these brief discussions by exploring the place of music in the military and identifying the different ways in which it featured in the soldier's world. Though necessarily wide-ranging, it demonstrates throughout that music was central to the military's organisation and distinctive rhythms and was highly valued by officers and men.

Historians of music and work have thoughtfully documented the importance of song and sound in easing the tedium of toil through the ages, but have entirely neglected the role of music in the military, notwithstanding its importance as a major employer.⁵ Studies of time and labour have likewise debated whether consciousness of clock time and regular work patterns were products of industrialisation with scant reference to the armed forces.⁶ Yet the army, like the navy, was a 'time-obsessed community' that relied on sound to govern the routines and deportment of its members.⁷ As David Suisman has argued in an analysis of the American military, martial music should be understood as a kind of 'sonic technology' intended to 'direct and discipline' soldiers.⁸

⁴ Ramsey, 'Listening to War', p.2.

⁵ M. Korczynski, M. Pickering and E. Robertson, *Rhythms of Labour: Music at Work in Britain* (Cambridge, 2013).

⁶ For example, E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, 38/1 (1967), pp.56-97; H. Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure* (Manchester, 2014), pp.33-60.

⁷ P. Glennie and N. Thrift, *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford, 2009), pp.87-9, 304-19.

⁸ D. Suisman, 'How Military Music Works', in F. Iazzetta et al. (eds), *Sonologia 2019: Proceedings of the International Conference on Sound Studies* (São Paulo, 2020), p.58.

Although the rank-and-file sometimes used music to challenge their own subordination, the professional military was largely successful in assimilating recruits into its institutional culture, training soldiers who rose, ate, laboured, and sometimes fought on musical cues.

Recent studies of military motivation rightly emphasise the importance of camaraderie, peer expectations, and mutual bonds between officers and men, but have been largely deaf to music's capacity to enhance morale and cultivate the loyalty of the rank-and-file. Edward Coss, in an influential analysis of British regular soldiers in the Peninsular War, contended that officers relied predominantly on coercion and took virtually no interest in improving the morale of their subordinates, contrasting this indifference with the egalitarian incentives and propaganda employed by the French.⁹ Oskar Cox Jensen recently posited that the British armed forces refused to exploit music's emotive power because of its ostensibly republican, rabble-rousing implications.¹⁰ In fact, the 'inspiring' potential of instrumental performances was not only acknowledged in the official *Rules and Regulations* but recurrently recognised by officers and military commentators, some of whom invoked the French precedent of citizen-armies invigorated by patriotic tunes.¹¹ The British state, to be sure, did not

⁹ Berkovich, *Motivation in War*; A. Bamford, *Sickness, Suffering, and the Sword* (Norman, OK, 2013); Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, pp.144-50, 208.

¹⁰ O. Cox Jensen, 'Music to Some Consequence: Reaction, Reform, Race', *Journal of British Studies*, 60 (2021), pp.375-9.

¹¹ *Rules and Regulations for the Formations, Field Exercise, and Movements of His Majesty's Forces* (Dublin, 1815), p.78; A. Browne, *Some Few Brief Principles of Tacticks, extracted from Guibert* (Dublin, 1797), p.25; [R. Hamilton], *Sketch of the Present State of the Army* (1796),

subject its troops to an intensive, centrally-coordinated programme of political education, encompassing news journals and songbooks, as in revolutionary France.¹² Yet music was routinely and consciously used to motivate and manage George III's diverse soldiery, with considerable effect.

The place of music on the battlefield remains poorly understood. Writing in 1965, H.G. Farmer claimed that British military bands frequently played in action to steel soldiers' resolve, an assertion echoed by historians such as Philip Haythornthwaite and Richard Holmes.¹³ Lewis Winstock, Trevor Herbert, and Helen Barlow have questioned the reliability of Farmer's claims but felt unable to draw secure conclusions about the prevalence of battlefield performances.¹⁴ Informed by a wealth of eyewitness accounts, this chapter argues that regimental bands did not usually perform under fire. Highland pipers, on the other hand, were celebrated for their battlefield performances. Bugles and trumpets were essential for relaying tactical commands but, as James Tanner has recently suggested, British drums were less often heard in action.¹⁵

pp.2-3, 44-6; R. Jackson, *Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies* (1804), pp.224-6, 270, 335-6.

¹² J.A. Lynn, *Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-94* (Chicago, IL, 1984), pp.124-60.

¹³ H.G. Farmer, *British Bands in Battle* ([1965]), p.11; R. Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (2001), p.124; P.J. Haythornthwaite, *Wellington's Army: Uniforms of the British Soldier, 1812-1815* (2002), p.19.

¹⁴ Winstock, *Songs & Music of the Redcoats*, pp.97-102; T. Herbert and H. Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), p.245.

¹⁵ Tanner, *Instruments of Battle*, pp.115, 122-3.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first considers the role of music and military instrumentalists in broadcasting orders, keeping time, and instilling discipline. The second argues that music was valued by officers as a social amenity and a source of unit prestige; the devolved nature of the regimental system encouraged an instrumental 'arms race' among units and localities in defiance of official attempts to restrain the size of military ensembles. The third section contends that music buoyed military recruitment, improved soldiers' morale and well-being, and affirmed their regimental, national, and local allegiances. The final section details the role of music in combat. Music may not have won battles or dictated grand strategy, and indeed some officers considered the military's conspicuous enthusiasm for music to be a counterproductive distraction. Yet on the whole it seems difficult to deny that music functioned as a 'force multiplier' in the lexicon of the modern military, turning men into more effective soldiers by directing their actions and reshaping the auditory environment in a manner conducive to institutional objectives.¹⁶ Music was not solely an instrument of control and indoctrination but also offered a means of self-preservation, helping men pass the time and manage their emotions when faced with boredom, hardship, and danger.

¹⁶ Suisman, 'How Military Music Works', p.63

Music, Discipline, and Time

Music was an essential tool of communication throughout the military, but the instruments employed depended on the nature of the corps. The establishment of a typical line infantry battalion, which at full strength mustered a thousand rank and file, included twenty drummers (two per company) and a pair of fifers attached to the elite grenadiers.¹⁷ These musical warriors performed beatings on the snare drum accompanied by 'cheerful' melodies on a six-holed transverse flute known as a fife.¹⁸ Although fully-fledged pipe bands lay in the future, Highland corps generally replaced some of their fifers and drummers with two or more pipers.¹⁹ The bugle, a descendant of the hunting horn, was favoured in light infantry formations; during the French Wars it began to supersede the drum as an instrument of command even in line regiments.²⁰ The cavalry employed trumpets and bugles: mounted regiments generally comprised

¹⁷ R. MacArthur, 'British Army Establishments during the Napoleonic Wars, Part 1', *JSAHR*, 87/350 (2009), pp.152-161.

¹⁸ S. Potter, *The Art of Playing the Fife, with the Camp, Garrison & Street Duty* (1817), p.1.

¹⁹ H.B. Mackintosh, *The Grant, Strathspey or First Highland Fencible Regiment, 1793-1799* (Elgin, 1934), pp.17-18, 26; I.H. Mackay Scobie, *An Old Highland Fencible Corps: The History of the Reay Fencible Highland Regiment of Foot...1794-1802* (1914), pp.29, 195, 318; The Highlanders' Museum, Inverness, beating order for the 79th Foot, Yonge to Cameron, 15 August 1793; C. Greenhill Gardyne, *The Life of a Regiment* (Edinburgh, 1901), pp.140, 388; R.D. Cannon and K. Sanger, *Donald MacDonald's Collection of Piobaireachd, Volume 1 (1820)* (2006), p.4; Henderson, *Highland Soldier*, pp.214, 246-8.

²⁰ *Standing Orders, and Manoeuvres for the 2d Battalion of His Majesty's 56th Regiment* (Bombay, 1812); BL, Add.MS.32468, Journal of the Campaign in Portugal by John Westcott, 19 September 1811; MS regulations in NAM copy of *Standing Orders of the 81st Regiment* (Dublin, 1808), p.93; J.C. Cox, 'Belper Regiment – Grenadiers', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 12 (1890), pp.88, 97. See also S.K. Klaus, 'Bugle', in T. Herbert, A. Myers, and J. Wallace (eds), *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Brass Instruments* (Cambridge, 2019), p.90.

eight to twelve troops, each mustering a trumpeter.²¹ All of these instruments, by virtue of their volume, conveyed commands beyond the range of a human voice. A good bugle, according to an 1806 light infantry manual, 'may be heard at the distance of three miles.'²²

Music was indispensable for marshalling military manpower. A militia captain tasked with arresting riotous Cornish tinnerns asked his colonel for a drummer and a fifer in 1793, explaining it would be 'impossible' to muster two companies without them.²³ On a march through Ulster three years later, drummers of the Manx Fencibles beat each morning to assemble soldiers quartered in dispersed roadside settlements: according to one officer, the sound reverberated 'through the valleys and amongst the hills...and answered the purpose well.'²⁴ Volunteer corps were similarly dependent on sound, requiring drummers to 'beat and play round the town' to give notice of impending musters.²⁵ Drummers and fifers were also 'of the first necessity in case of alarm', according to the commander of Fort Michilimackinac on the Great Lakes,

²¹ R. MacArthur, 'British Army Establishments during the Napoleonic Wars, Part 2', *JSAHR*, 87/352 (2009), pp.332-5; *Instructions and Regulations for the Formations and Movements of the Cavalry*, 3rd edn (1799), p.374.

²² T.H. Cooper, *A Practical Guide for the Light Infantry Officer* (1806), p.98. See also *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* (16-23 July 1803), cols. 124-5, which noted that 'the drummer *talks* to [soldiers] at a mile's distance'.

²³ SHC, DD/SLI/12/2/3, Somerset Militia LB, Captain Curtis to Lord Cork, 4 March 1793.

²⁴ E.M.H. McKerlie, *Two Sons of Galloway* (Dumfries, 1928), p.27.

²⁵ StaffsRO, Aqualate Papers, D(W)1788/P1/B5, Newcastle-under-Lyme Volunteers, 1797 regulations; University of Leeds, Special Collections, BC Yorkshire H-She-1.3/ARM, Rules and regulations for the Corps of Loyal Independent Sheffield Volunteers, [1794?]; TNA, HO50/47, Major Fenwick to Henry Dundas, 3 May 1800.

enabling round-the-clock responses to fires, civil strife, and enemy incursions.²⁶ The 10th Light Dragoons, stationed in barracks more than a mile and a half outside Brighton, could dress, mount, and arrive in town within fifteen minutes of the bugle's first blast.²⁷ The military took pains to ensure that soldiers recognised and responded quickly to musical alerts in emergencies: officers designated rallying points, staged nocturnal drills, and, as in Belfast in 1803, sounded the bugle signal for the alarm at morning parade so 'the men may be perfectly acquainted with it'.²⁸ During periods of heightened invasion fears, commanders insisted that soldiers remain within earshot of instrumental signals; militiamen permitted to help with the harvest were only allowed to stray as far as bugles or drums could be heard.²⁹

Duty calls and beatings regulated regimental routines. The timings and tunes employed varied by unit and posting, but the basic rhythms of the martial musical timetable were broadly shared.³⁰ Infantrymen woke to 'The Reveille' at daybreak and sat down for breakfast to the sound of a drum or bugle. They assembled for morning parade, inspections, and guard mounting as drummers performed a warning beating

²⁶ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 677, p.158, Captain Roberts to Maj-Gen Sheaffe, 12 October 1812.

²⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 10 October 1803.

²⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 30 January 1804; LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 1168, pp.19-21, General Disposition for Alarms in Quebec City, 8 October 1811; PRONI, D3221/1, Belfast Yeomanry OB, 4 August 1803.

²⁹ BUA, Nannau Manuscripts, MS686, Royal Merioneth Militia OB, 11 June 1798; NLW, MS1240B, Royal Monmouth and Brecon Militia OB, 28 May and 9 August 1805.

³⁰ *The Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, ed. A. Rees, (39 vols, 1819), xii, 'drum'; C. James, *A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary* (1802), 'drum'.

(often 'The Drummers' Call') followed by 'The Troop'.³¹ 'The Dinner Call' – 'the most joyful music I ever heard', according to one militiaman – summoned soldiers to dine between twelve and two o'clock, depending on the regiment.³² 'The Retreat' was played at or around sunset, coinciding with evening parade; at this time regimental colours were lodged indoors, piquets formed for nocturnal security and barrack gates often shut.³³ Between eight and ten o'clock, depending on the season, Highland pipers or drummers in garrison performed 'The Tattoo', prompting non-commissioned officers to close the canteens and call the rolls, visiting barracks and billets to ensure 'that every man is in bed and that all fires and lights are completely extinguished.'³⁴ Orderly trumpeters, drummers, and fifers, stationed at a fixed place such as the guardroom, also transmitted more particular beats and calls throughout the day: they assembled men for work or drill, summoned non-commissioned officers for briefings with the sergeant-major, and even told soldiers precisely when to air out their

³¹ SHC, DD/SLI/12/2/6, 1st Somerset Militia LB, daily schedule of the regiment, 9 September 1809; BUA, MS686, Royal Merioneth Militia OB, 28 July 1798; *Standing Orders of the 81st Regiment*, pp.7-8, 44; *Standing Orders and Regulations for the 85th Light Infantry* (1813), pp.55-65; *Standing Orders...in the Garrison of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar, 1802), p.33.

³² T. Jackson, *Narrative of the Eventful Life of Thomas Jackson* (Birmingham, 1847), p.16; *Standing Orders...for the 2d Battalion...56th Regiment*, p.38; *Standing Rules and Regulations of His Majesty's Regiment of Fraser Fencible Infantry* (Dublin, 1798), p.54.

³³ *Regimental Standing Orders, Royal Fusileers* (1812), p.4; *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Army in Ireland* (Dublin, 1794), p.121; NAM, 1993-03-218, standing orders of the Minorca garrison, 1800, p.43; T. Reide, *Treatise on the Duty of Infantry Officers* (1795), pp.27, 62; LAC, MG24-A1, Reel M-15, Quebec Garrison OB, 7 August 1805.

³⁴ Reide, *Treatise*, p.52; *Standing Orders for the Third West York Militia* (1809), pp.59, 79-82. For Highland pipers, see NRS, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/52/569/1, Breadalbane Fencibles OB, 13 May 1793.

bedding.³⁵ Other signals cancelled parades in bad weather or directed dragoons to feed, groom, and saddle their horses.³⁶

Punctuality was paramount to this system of musical commands. Regimental orders stipulated that duty beatings correspond with the firing of morning and evening guns or the hands of the town clock and never be 'a minute too soon or too late.'³⁷ Prompt obedience was also required, as a clergyman in New South Wales discovered in 1793: 'at the beat of a drum all the soldiers instantly rose up, took their arms and marched away' to relieve the guard in the middle of his sermon.³⁸ Instrumental signals not only ordered soldiers around but helped them keep track of the passing hours. Court-martial testimony reveals how men sometimes told time through music, describing events as 'just after tattoo beating' or 'when the morning parade drum was beating'.³⁹

³⁵ *Standing Orders for the 76th...Foot* (1807), p.57; *Standing Orders of the Second Battalion of the 62nd...Foot* (Cork, 1813), pp.46, 73; *Standing Orders for the Eleventh Regiment of Light Dragoons* (Dorchester, 1799), p.33.

³⁶ *Standing Orders for the Third, or King's Own Regiment of Dragoons* (Dublin, 1805), pp.84-91; *Regimental Standing Orders...observed by the...Westmeath...Militia* (Dublin, 1807), p.43.

³⁷ *Standing Orders for the Norwich or 106th Regiment* (Waterford, 1795), p.23; NAM, 1979-12-52, Bedfordshire Militia OB, 17 April 1798 and 1998-10-295, Cambridgeshire Light Dragoons OB, 4 July 1797.

³⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, Archbishop Moore Papers, MOORE 1, ff.9-14, Johnson to Moore, 8 May 1793.

³⁹ NRO, MC500/2, 761X5, East Norfolk Militia RCMs, pp.97, 111; TNA, WO71/221, Captain Hay (Canadian Fencibles) GCM, 1810, Rondeau testimony.

THE BEATS, CALLS AND SOUNDS FOR THE DIFFERENT DUTIES.

<i>Duty.</i>	<i>Hour.</i>	<i>Beat, Call or Sound.</i>
To Rise	Day-break	Reveille.
Turn out of Barracks	Half an hour after day-break ..	Rouse Bugle.
General cleaning of Do.	Do. Do. Do. ..	Pioneer's March.
Breakfast	Eight o'Clock	Molly put the kettle on.
Serjeants Do.	Half an hour after	Bugle call for Serjeants.
Serjeant-major's inspection of } Non-commissioned Officers }	Quarter of an hour before parade	{ Non-commissioned Officer's call.
Morning Parade		Bugle sound for Do.
Officer's assembly for Do.	Quarter of an hour after	Officer's call.
Dinner Inspection	Half past Twelve o'Clock	Bugle sound for Do.
Dinner	One o'Clock	Lumps of Pudding.
Serjeant's Dinner Mess	Half past One o'Clock	Peas upon a Trencher.
Soldier's School		German Hymn.
Evening Parade		Same as Morning.
Retreat beating	Sun-set	Retreat.
To go to bed & extinguish lights	Eight in Winter, Nine in Summer	Drums, Fifes and Bugles.
Airing of bedding & taking it in		Bugle sounds for Do.
Surgeon's Sunday Inspection ..	Seven o'Clock, A.M.	Assembly by Bugle.

Figure 1. This regimental timetable lists the musical beats, calls, and sounds corresponding with daily events and duties in a line infantry battalion. The prominence of the bugle, traditionally associated with the light infantry, is indicative of its increased popularity as an instrument of command across the army by the early nineteenth century. *Standing Orders of the Second Battalion of the 62nd, or Wiltshire Regiment of Foot* (Cork, 1813), p.73.

Besides controlling cycles of work and rest, the military moulded soldiers' comportment through restrictive uniforms and repetitive training intended to promote reflexive obedience. Drill remodelled a recruit's posture, giving him a distinctive 'military air', and regulated the length and speed of his stride.⁴⁰ Unauthorised movement and talking was forbidden under arms, ensuring that military music and vocal orders dominated the auditory environment on parade.⁴¹ Cadenced marching, with men advancing to the sound of fifes and drums, was adopted in the

⁴⁰ Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, pp.77-79; J.A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford, 1981), pp.259-69; McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, pp.97-101; Lady Morgan, *France*, 2nd edn (2 vols, 1817), i, p.53.

⁴¹ *Rules and Regulations...for the use of the Non-Commissioned Officers of the British Army* (1807), p.79.

mid-eighteenth century to facilitate close order manoeuvres, yet relying on music to set the pace was ultimately recognised as impractical, not least because the laws of physics meant that drums beat at the front of a column were heard slightly later by men at the rear.⁴² Though expected to adhere to the cadence whenever playing on the move, drummers and bandsmen were expressly prohibited from performing continually to regulate marching speeds during the French Wars.⁴³ ‘Strong taps of the drum’ were, however, still employed during training to familiarise recruits with the required marching speeds, after which the men were expected to step in time ‘by habit alone’ without depending on the ‘false aid’ of constant musical accompaniment. The standard cadence of seventy-five steps per minute was also used to choreograph arms drill; men were trained to move their firelocks in unison with ‘three pauses of the ordinary time of march between each motion’.⁴⁴ Rhythm therefore governed soldiers’ bodily movements just as duty calls controlled their daily lives, enhancing group cohesion and esprit de corps, as William McNeill argued, through a collective process of ‘muscular bonding’.⁴⁵ Rather than mindlessly following instrumental cues, soldiers

⁴² Houlding, *Fit for Service*, pp.260-61, 277-9; D. Dundas, *Principles of Military Movements* (1788), pp.28-9; A. Suasso, *A Treatise on the British Drill*, 2nd edn (1816), p.26-7; R.J. Macdonald, *The History of the Dress of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, 1625-1897* (1899), p.68.

⁴³ *Rules and Regulations for...His Majesty's Forces*, pp.78, 226, 384-5; Reide, *Treatise*, p.158. For evidence that the bass drum and other band percussion instruments, when heard on the march, continued to guide soldiers by indicating the pace, see *Cyclopædia*, xii, ‘drum’ and J. Cooke, *Memoirs of the Late War* (2 vols, 1831), i, pp.25, 275.

⁴⁴ *Rules and Regulations...for the use of the Non-Commissioned Officers*, pp.2, 28, 43-9; J. Cross, *A System of Drill and Manoeuvres, as practised in the 52nd Light Infantry Regiment* (1823), p.7.

⁴⁵ W.H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), pp.2-3.

were expected to internalize and conform to cadences inspired by drum beats, until marching and moving in time became second nature.

Drummers, trumpeters, and buglers not only governed the lives of professional soldiers through musical commands but penalised their transgressions by inflicting the lash.⁴⁶ Punishments including floggings and imprisonment were administered for offences such as drunkenness, theft, or desertion, but also for failure to adhere to the military's musically regulated timetable. A cavalry corporal was briefly demoted for saddling his horse without waiting for the corresponding trumpet sound, for example, while men were often whipped for failing to attend parade or leaving quarters after 'Tattoo' without permission.⁴⁷ Carried out before the assembled regiment or garrison, floggings were intended to humiliate wrongdoers and deter would-be offenders. Drummers took turns inflicting twenty-five lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails as a surgeon stood by to prevent a lethal outcome.⁴⁸ The severity of the lash depended on the age and strength of the drummers involved, as well as their contempt or sympathy for the culprit, although musical warriors who struck too lightly risked a caning from

⁴⁶ For background on the drummers' punishment responsibilities, see F. Grose, *Military Antiquities* (2 vols, 1786-8), ii, p.201 and M.J. Grant, 'Music and Punishment in the British Army in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *The World of Music (New Series)*, 2/1 (2013), pp.9-30.

⁴⁷ NLI, Limerick Papers, MS16074, 2nd (Irish) Fencible Cavalry OB, 14 and 22 April 1795; SHC, DD/SLI/7/1, 1st Somerset Militia courts-martial, 1807-12; TNA, WO27/116, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, 1/18th Foot RCMs.

⁴⁸ R. Hamilton, *The Duties of a Regimental Surgeon Considered* (2 vols, [1794]), ii, pp.23-4, 48-51.

the drum-major themselves.⁴⁹ These public spectacles were traumatising for all involved: drummers were spattered with blood and flesh while soldiers compelled to watch fainted or fell ill during the proceedings.⁵⁰

Musical warriors also played prominent roles in other exemplary punishments. Drum and bugle-majors stripped demoted non-commissioned officers of their stripes, cut buttons from the uniforms of incorrigible drunkards, and even commanded firing squads at military executions.⁵¹ Serial or stigmatised defaulters, including men guilty of cowardice, sodomy, and seditious utterances, were occasionally discharged or ‘drummed out’ of their regiments with ignominy. The culprit was paraded with a rope around his neck as drummers played a mocking melody known as ‘The Rogue’s March’; the youngest drummer then dispatched the miscreant with a kick in the posterior.⁵² This musical shaming ritual was emulated by part-time home defence corps seeking to reprimand absent or resigning members and also used against soldiers’ wives and

⁴⁹ C.J. Napier, *Remarks on Military Law and the Punishment of Flogging* (1837), pp.150-72; Jackson, *Narrative*, p.13; C. Crowe, *An Eloquent Soldier: The Peninsular War Journals of Lieutenant Charles Crowe*, ed. G. Glover (Barnsley, 2011), p.58; Hamilton, *Duties*, ii, pp.42-51.

⁵⁰ J. Shipp, *Flogging and its Substitute* (1831), p.20; J. Green, *The Vicissitudes of a Soldier’s Life* (Louth, 1827), p.15; G. Jackson, *The Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson*, ed. C.C. Jackson (2 vols, 1872), ii, p.253.

⁵¹ R. Flockhart, *The Street Preacher, being the Autobiography of Robert Flockhart*, ed. T. Guthrie (Edinburgh, 1858), p.55; W. Green, *Where Duty Calls Me: Napoleonic War Experiences of Rifleman William Green*, ed. J. and D. Teague (Sittingbourne, 2007), p.58; B. Harris, *Recollections of Rifleman Harris*, ed. H. Curling (1848), pp.5-6.

⁵² J. Williamson, *The Elements of Military Arrangement, and of the Discipline of War*, 3rd edn (2 vols, 1791), ii, p.173; *Bath Chronicle*, 21 February 1793; *Bristol Mirror*, 11 August 1810; Lawrence, *Autobiography*, pp.222-4; R. Griffith, *Riflemen: The History of the 5th Battalion, 60th (Royal American) Regiment, 1797-1818* (Solihull, 2019), pp.111-12.

prostitutes, who were expelled for contracting venereal disease or smuggling liquor into cantonments, often to the alternate tune of 'The Whore's March'.⁵³

By demonstrating the cadence, performing duty calls, and wielding the cat, drummers enforced the military's assertion of control over soldiers' lives and deportment, fostering what Michel Foucault termed 'docile bodies'.⁵⁴ Discipline was intended to transform recruits, in the language of a 1781 military manual, from 'stubborn clowns' into 'machines only animated by the voice of their officers, beats of the drum, or sounds of the fife'.⁵⁵ Of course, such prescriptions were never fully realised in practice. Men sometimes ignored or were slow to respond to musical commands; drummers of the Royal Downshire Militia struggled to beat punctually owing to the erratic mechanism of Youghal's town clock.⁵⁶ Although the military's musical timetable was adopted by volunteer and local militia corps during weeks spent on duty, part-time soldiers were especially prone to disregard the post-Tattoo curfew.⁵⁷ Music was also used to challenge military hierarchy. Soldiers satirised superiors and bemoaned their

⁵³ *Hereford Journal*, 28 March 1798; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 7 May 1804; Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.136-7; *Regimental Standing Orders...to be observed by the...Royal Meath Regiment of Militia* (Cork, 1796), p.64; Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ii, p.254.

⁵⁴ M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York, NY, 1995), pp.135-51.

⁵⁵ T. Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers* (1781), p.146.

⁵⁶ PRONI, D374/4, Royal Downshire Militia RCMs, Drummer McConnell, 27 May 1794; BUA, MS686, Royal Merioneth Militia OB, 1 August 1798; J. Mills, *For King and Country: The letters and Diaries of John Mills, Coldstream Guards, 1811-14*, ed. I. Fletcher (Staplehurst, 1995), p.110; A. Davenport, *The Life and Literary Pursuits of Allen Davenport*, ed. M. Chase (Aldershot, 1994), p.9.

⁵⁷ NAM, 1969-06-10, 5th North York Local Militia order book, 7 May 1810; A. Jones, 'The Stockton Volunteers', in H. Heavisides (ed), *The Poetical and Prose Remains of Edward Marsh Heavisides* (1850), p.75.

lot in song: Lower Canadian militiamen cursed the ‘maudit tambour’ (‘damned drum’) to the melody of ‘The General’, a duty call performed when units marched from camp.⁵⁸ Scholars have increasingly characterised authority in the regular army as negotiated rather than absolute, recognising soldiers’ willingness to engage in collective protest, often with musical accompaniment.⁵⁹ Mutinous soldiers repeatedly made drummers and fifers beat ‘To Arms’ to rally comrades in support of their grievances, while the 22nd Foot in India defied a draconian commanding officer by confidently marching off to petition their general, ‘the band playing and the drums beating alternately’.⁶⁰

Yet due recognition of the limits of coercion, surveillance, and musical timekeeping does not diminish their significance as military management techniques. Contemporary orders confirm that ‘zealous superintendence’ and the inculcation of ‘habits of obedience and regularity’ were linchpins of the disciplinary regime, credited with reducing recourse to flogging by forestalling misbehaviour.⁶¹ Despite the

⁵⁸ *Standing Orders for the Third West York Militia*, p.41; A. Roy, ‘Chansons Militaires de 1812’, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 36/5 (1930), pp.274-75; S.C. Smith, ‘Loyalty and Opposition in the Napoleonic Wars: The Impact of the Local Militia, 1807-15’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1984), pp.118, 206-7; J. Clare, *The Prose of John Clare*, ed. J.W. and A. Tibble (1951, repr. 1970), pp.49-50.

⁵⁹ For example, W.P. Tatum, “‘The Soldiers Murmured Much on Account of this Usage’: Military Justice and Negotiated Authority in the Eighteenth-Century British Army’, in K. Lynch and M. McCormack (eds), *Britain’s Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715-1815* (Liverpool, 2014), pp.95-113; S. Conway, *The British Army, 1714-1783: An Institutional History* (Barnsley, 2021), pp.97-113.

⁶⁰ TNA, HO102/10, Lt-Col Donaldson to A. Gordon, 12 March 1794; WO71/217, Drummer Sparks *et al.* (Archenfield Local Militia) GCM, 1809; Flockhart, *Street Preacher*, p.46.

⁶¹ NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1334, pp.82-5, 7 August 1812 general order.

emerging emphasis on independent initiative among light infantrymen, officers routinely invoked mechanistic visions of order and control, aiming to make their battalions run like 'clockwork' and sometimes carrying the system of musical commands to unnecessary extremes.⁶² During the Walcheren expedition, for example, a battalion sent to bathe in a river undressed at a given bugle sound, not daring to enter the water to bathe until permission was granted by another shrill blast, while the 1st Somerset Militia used drum beats to precisely choreograph the erection of tents.⁶³ It is striking, moreover, how frequently the conceit of the military machine was echoed by its cogs: an army or regiment, according to rank-and-file autobiographers, was 'a complex machine' requiring 'promptitude and regularity' and comprised of 'little and subordinate wheels'.⁶⁴ Although soldiers generally enjoyed more leisure time and less back-breaking toil than agricultural workers, the military enforced a time-oriented labour discipline that was alien to artisans and farmhands.⁶⁵ Accustomed to more autonomy over patterns of work and rest, recruits initially rankled at the rigour and repetitiveness of regimental life.⁶⁶ Desertion rates were

⁶² Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, pp.74-6; [R.G. Wallace], *Fifteen Years in India* (1822), pp.429-30.

⁶³ [J. Hope], *Military Memoirs of an Infantry Officer, 1809-1816* (Edinburgh, 1833), p.38; W.J.W. Kerr, *Records of the 1st Somerset Militia* (Aldershot, [1931]), p.46.

⁶⁴ J. Stevenson, *A Soldier in a Time of War* (1841), p.151; J. Shipp, *The Military Bijou* (2 vols, 1831), i, p.193; J. Donaldson, *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier* (1856), p.43.

⁶⁵ J.R. Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (1965), pp.270-1; P. Way, 'Class and the Common Soldier in the Seven Years' War', *Labor History*, 44/4 (2003), p.472; T. Simes, *The Regulator: or, Instructions to Form the Officer, and Complete the Soldier, Upon Fixed Principles* (1780), pp.166-7.

⁶⁶ For example, J. Mayett, *The Autobiography of Joseph Mayett of Quainton, 1783-1839*, ed. A. Kussmaul (Aylesbury, 1986), pp.24-6; J. Brown, *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest* (Cambridge, 1858), p.49.

unsurprisingly highest in the first year of service, but most men became habituated to the military's extraordinary demands on their lives and bodies.⁶⁷ The verdict of light infantryman Thomas Jackson, though overstated, is revealing nonetheless: a soldier became 'a living automaton' who 'has no power over himself. His every moving action is by stern command.'⁶⁸

The true test of the military's disciplinary regime came on active service when ready obedience was especially imperative. Although sonic signals were often dispensed with during covert operations close to the enemy, musical warriors routinely ordered men to sleep, rise, and strike camp while in the field.⁶⁹ Stories of starving soldiers jettisoning or quickly quaffing partly-cooked meals when 'the well-known bugle' called them to arms are ubiquitous in military memoirs.⁷⁰ Private Thomas Morris, sensing an opportune moment for a sewing project on campaign, had just taken apart his trousers when the alarm sounded: 'confound the bugle', thought Morris, 'however, go I must'. He 'hurried out' to join his company, his modesty precariously preserved by a few well-placed pins.⁷¹ Letters to loved ones were also cut short by instrumental summons. Lord

⁶⁷ K. Linch, 'Desertion from the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars', *Journal of Social History*, 49/4 (2016), p.811.

⁶⁸ Jackson, *Narrative*, p.v.

⁶⁹ *Peninsular Sketches*, ed. W.H. Maxwell (2 vols, 1845), ii, p.13; G.B. L'Estrange, *Recollections of Sir George B. L'Estrange* ([1874]), pp.74-7; W. Wheeler, *The Letters of Private Wheeler, 1809-1828*, ed. B.H. Liddell Hart (1951), p.81; *Supplementary Despatches...of...[the] Duke of Wellington*, ed. 2nd Duke of Wellington (15 vols, 1858-72), iv, p.54.

⁷⁰ *Memoirs of a Sergeant Late in the Forty-Third Light Infantry Regiment* (1835), p.109; [Hope], *Military Memoirs*, p.81; NRO, MC766/1, 795X5, John Hemmingway autobiography, pp.213-14.

⁷¹ T. Morris et al., *Three Serjeants, or Phases of the Soldier's Life* (1858), p.51.

Wallingford, writing from a camp near Tournai in 1794, bid peremptory adieu to his mother as ‘our drums are beating to march’.⁷² When news of Napoleon’s advance reached British forces in Brussels on 15 June 1815, a nocturnal commotion of drums, trumpets, and bugles roused ‘the most sleepy fellow in an instant’ and facilitated a remarkably methodical mobilisation. ‘So regularly and orderly was the affair gone about’, remarked a sergeant of the 92nd Foot, ‘that we were ready to march in half an hour after the first sound of the bugle.’⁷³ This ingrained responsiveness to musical commands could prove lifelong: ‘I still prick up my ears at the sound of the bugle or drum’, Morris reported, decades after discharge.⁷⁴

The Musical Arms Race

Martial music was a source of entertainment and pageantry as well as a means of command and control. Although drummers and fifers performed broad repertoires beyond the core duty calls and beats, their instruments were considered too crude and loud to satisfy sophisticated tastes. Contemporaries criticised the side drum’s ‘monotony’ and ‘oppressive’ rattling and the limited musical range of the trumpet and

⁷² HA, Knollys Papers, 1M44/110/121, Lord Wallingford to the Countess of Banbury, 24 June [1794].

⁷³ G. Simmons cited in *The Waterloo Archive*, ed. G. Glover (6 vols, Barnsley, 2010-14), iv, p.208; D. Robertson, *The Journal of Sergeant D. Robertson* (Perth, 1842; repr. 1982), p.143.

⁷⁴ Morris, *Three Serjeants*, p.160.

bugle; one veteran of the French Wars, in a nod to the fife's shrill pitch, sarcastically suggested that confining a man indoors with four fifers was the swiftest means of inducing insanity.⁷⁵ Officers accordingly sponsored wind bands, resembling the *harmonie* ensembles popular at continental courts, to provide less ear-splitting indoor entertainment and lend additional ceremony to what might otherwise have been pedestrian parade-ground occasions.⁷⁶ The military 'hautboys' (oboists) employed since the late seventeenth century evolved by 1750 into fuller 'bands of music' maintained by the Foot Guards and even some line regiments.⁷⁷ Ensembles of six or more instrumentalists, primarily equipped with clarinets, horns, and bassoons, were widespread in cavalry, line, and militia regiments by the American Revolutionary War.⁷⁸ The number of regimental bands ballooned, however, with the expansion of the regular army and the formation of home defence corps from 1793. Individual ensembles grew larger and incorporated a wider range of wind instruments, including various types of flutes, the trombone, and the serpent, a bass instrument named for its snake-like appearance.⁷⁹ Inspired by Ottoman military bands, regiments also acquired bass drums, tambourines, triangles, cymbals, and sometimes the Turkish

⁷⁵ *Cyclopædia*, xii, 'drum'; W. Nicholson, *The British Encyclopedia* (6 vols, 1809), iv, 'fife', 'drum', and 'bugle' within the 'musical instruments' entry; G. Jones, *History of the Rise and Progress of Music* (1818), p.389; J. Carr, *Caledonian Sketches* (1809), p.181; *USJ* (June 1845), p.197; J. Patterson, *Camp and Quarters* (2 vols, 1840), i, pp.315-17.

⁷⁶ R. Hellyer, 'Harmoniemusik', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12392> (19 May 2021).

⁷⁷ *Ipswich Journal*, 15 April 1749; *Newcastle Courant*, 1 September 1750.

⁷⁸ R. Hinde, *The Discipline of the Light-Horse* (1778), pp.206-7; Lomas, 'Amateur Brass and Wind Bands in Southern England', pp.81-7; Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution*, pp.22, 46, 53, 179-83.

⁷⁹ *Quarterly Musical Register* (January 1812), p.23, reprinted in M. Kassler, *A.F.C. Kollmann's Quarterly Musical Register* (Aldershot, 2008).

crescent, an ornamental standard adorned with jingling bells. Many of these percussion instruments were played by black musicians, who were exotically attired in turbans and pseudo-oriental dress.⁸⁰ By investigating the organisation, funding, and functions of martial ensembles, this section demonstrates that officers took a keen interest in military music, devoted substantial resources to its cultivation, and readily participated in an inter-regimental musical 'arms race'.

The proliferation and expansion of military bands was encouraged by competition between regiments. Musicians and drummers enjoyed a high profile, taking pride of place at or near the head of the corps on the march.⁸¹ Their quantity and abilities became preeminent points of unit prestige, regularly remarked upon by officers, civilian observers, and the press.⁸² A captain of the West Somerset Militia, for example, fretted in 1799 that the unit's new band, which the officers had been 'very anxious' to obtain, would 'cut but a bad figure in the same parade' as the capable musicians of the Monmouth regiment.⁸³ The only thing worse than a poor ensemble, in the opinion

⁸⁰ E.A. Bowles, 'The Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Early Music*, 34/4 (November 2006), pp.533-59. For black percussionists and their dress, see, for example, NLW, Chirk Castle Estate Records, B/iii/No. 117, accounts and correspondence of the Denbighshire Militia, 1793-6, especially letter from J. & C. Oliphant, 13 September 1793. For Turkish crescents, see BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 31 May 1812 and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders Museum, Stirling Castle, Turkish crescent of the Sutherland Fencibles, 1793-9.

⁸¹ NLI, MS9475, Dublin garrison OB, c.1811-20, p.33; *Standing Orders and Regulations for His Majesty's Fourth Regiment of North British Militia* (Edinburgh, 1799), p.103; Jackson, *Narrative*, p.9.

⁸² For example, BL, Add.MS. 40166, Thomas Law Hodges diary, f.86, 16 March 1799; *Ipswich Journal*, 12 August 1809; NLS, MS.1502, Royal Perthshire LM (Central Battalion) papers, f.32, Quartermaster Bisset to Colonel Mackenzie, 22 January 1810.

⁸³ SHC, Tynte Papers, DD/S/WH/343, Captain Membrye? to Colonel Tynte, 31 December 1799.

of most military men, was no band at all. Officers of the 100th Foot, concerned that a regiment without musicians would 'appear deficient' alongside other corps, sought to place their fledgling unit on 'the most respectable footing' by spending £180 on band instruments, which they promptly lost in a shipwreck.⁸⁴ The part-time auxiliaries also considered music to be a necessity: as a Welsh local militia captain advised his colonel, 'nothing setts out a regiment better' than a smart and proficient band.⁸⁵ Less prosperous volunteer corps contented themselves with 'excelling in their drums and fifes', sometimes complemented by a bass drum and a tambourine or triangle to add a touch of Turkish glamour.⁸⁶ Such musical striving partly stemmed from the determination of auxiliary soldiers to affirm their newfound military identities by embracing the pageantry and dress associated with the professional army.⁸⁷ But band formation also reflected the personal or civic pride of the local notables and urban middle classes who organised home defence corps: the musicians and uniforms of the Loyal Preston Volunteers, as one of its members tellingly crowed in the press, were recognised during their service in Ormskirk as 'exceeding, in splendor, that of any

⁸⁴ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 1214, pp.183-5, Lt-Col Murray to Colonel Brock, 15 March 1807.

⁸⁵ BUA, Mostyn Manuscripts, MOST/3488, Captain Smalley to Lt-Col Lloyd, 8 May 1809; BL, Hardwicke Papers, Add.MS.35676, ff.1-2, Lt-Col Wylde to Lord Hardwicke, 6 January 1807; [A.M. Mackenzie], *General observations upon the probable effects of any measures which have for their object the increase of the regular army...* (Edinburgh, 1807), p.62.

⁸⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 December 1804; NYCRO, ZS MIC3206, Masham Volunteers Papers, pp.1231, 1279, 1359, 1434; W. Harrod, *The History of Market-Harborough* (Market Harborough, 1808), p.53.

⁸⁷ K. Linch, 'Making New Soldiers: Legitimacy, Identity and Attitudes, c.1740-1815', in Linch and McCormack (eds), *Britain's Soldiers*, pp.218-19; Bodleian Libraries, MS.Top.Oxon.e.241, Oxford Loyal Volunteers minutes, ff.14-15; NLS, MS.9363, Royal Aberdeen Volunteers LB, Major Bannerman to the Duke of Gordon, 21 May 1796.

volunteer corps in the kingdom.’⁸⁸ Although such superlatives were hotly contested, informed commentators broadly agreed that the military was obsessed with music. A former inspector of army hospitals observed in 1804 that martial music ‘occupies much of the attention of military persons’, while a concert critic, writing a quarter-century later, recalled that ‘nearly all the volunteer corps’ in wartime London had ‘retained the ambition of cultivating music as much as target-shooting.’⁸⁹

The significance of military music-making as a forum for regimental display and one-upmanship is underscored by the distinct and elaborate attire of regimental performers. As a Scottish clergyman observed in 1813, the militia regiments of Britain and Ireland ‘seem to have the foolish vanity of vieing with one another in nothing more than in the richness and fantastic dress of their drummers and military band.’⁹⁰ Bedizened with feathers, tassels, and metallic or patterned lace, the clothing of musical warriors was polychromatic and ostentatious even by the flamboyant standards of day, ‘making them appear more like harlequins and mountebanks’, in the view of one military writer, and setting them apart from other soldiers.⁹¹ Colonels and other field officers enjoyed great scope for creativity when outfitting regimental performers, designing and redesigning uniforms according to their aesthetic fancies

⁸⁸ *Lancaster Gazette*, 14 July 1804; A. Blackstock, *Double Traitors? The Belfast Volunteers and Yeomen 1778-1828* (Belfast, 2000), pp.39-41; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.73.

⁸⁹ Jackson, *Systematic View*, p.225; *The Olio; or, Museum of Entertainment* (11 vols, 1828-33), ii, p.395.

⁹⁰ J. Hall, *Tour through Ireland* (2 vols, 1813), ii, p.107.

⁹¹ James, *New and Enlarged Military Dictionary*, ‘musicians’; Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.18.

and at times ignoring official regulations.⁹² The Armagh Militia, though not a cavalry regiment, imaginatively attired their musicians in white jackets with bearskin shoulder wings and scarlet braiding 'in the light dragoon style'.⁹³ In an era when status was customarily communicated through dress, musical liveries symbolised the importance of military instrumentalists and the munificence of their commanders, and even conveyed specific political claims.⁹⁴ The magnificent attire of drum-majors, whose deportment and dress had long been considered an index of regimental grandeur, caused them to be mistaken for generals and foreign dignitaries.⁹⁵ Such military glamour was not cheap. The Coldstream Guards lavished an exceptional £1170 16s 5d on twenty-two state uniforms for their band in 1815, most of which was expended on gold lace and other adornments, but costs could be substantial even for militia and auxiliary corps.⁹⁶ The East Devon Militia, for instance, paid £17 6s 6d for their drum-major's 'suit', baldric and 'fine silver-laced hat' in 1813, while a Somerset local militia

⁹² SHC, DD/S/WH/343, J., N. & B. Pearse to Captain Simmons, 20 January 1803; PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/145/11, Major Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 6 July 1793. See also CWM, 19770094-023, Pearse clothiers, uniform design book, 1797-1802, for the evolving band uniforms of the South Gloucester Militia.

⁹³ *Belfast News-Letter*, 6 November 1807.

⁹⁴ The Duke of York, piqued by his father's abandonment of the monarchy's traditional claim to the French crown, refused to remove the fleurs-de-lis from the lace of his regimental drummers. See A.F. Loveday, *Sir Hilgrove Turner* (Alkham, 1964), p.58, and also Cooke, *Memoirs*, i, p.25; McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, pp.130-5.

⁹⁵ *Advice to the Officers of the British Army* (1782), p.75; B. Cuthbertson, *System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy of a Battalion of Infantry* (Bristol, 1776), pp.10, 105; *Government Gazette* (India), 2 April 1812; *USJ* (June 1847), p.265; W. Grattan, *Adventures of the Connaught Rangers* (2 vols, 1847), ii, p.206; H. O'Donnell, *Historical Records of the 14th Regiment* (Devonport, 1893), p.280.

⁹⁶ D. Mackinnon, *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards* (2 vols, 1833), ii, pp.368-9.

corps spent more on clothing a musician than outfitting a sergeant, remitting £56 14s for eighteen band uniforms in the same year.⁹⁷

Table 1: Field return of troops commanded by Lord Chatham, headquartered at Colchester, 4 October 1806

	Sergeants	Drummers (or buglers)	Musicians	Rank and File
1st Battn, 4th Foot	46	19	15	908
1st Battn, 23rd Foot	36	18	9	692
1st Battn, 95th Foot	21	11	14	394
1st Battn, 79th Foot	28	17	10	662
1st Battn, 92nd Foot	41	22	0 (no band)	956
Derby Militia	48	18	17	969
East Norfolk Militia	36	17	15	663
Total	256	122	80	5244
	Source: SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/227. Note: 'Rank and File' refers to all corporals and privates, excluding men acting as musicians.			

This return of eight battalions of the Colchester garrison, which is unusual in listing musicians as a separate category, illustrates the varied size of regimental bands.

The significance of regimental bands is also apparent from the appreciable manpower devoted to them (see Table 1). Military authorities repeatedly issued orders limiting the size of regimental ensembles to one private per company or troop, in addition to a non-commissioned officer authorised to act as master.⁹⁸ Yet this regulation, which permitted a band of eleven men in a typical infantry battalion, was widely flouted by acquisitive commanding officers such as Lord Newark of the 3rd Foot, who seemed

⁹⁷ H. Walrond, *Historical Records of the 1st Devon Militia* (1897), p.292; P.J. Haythornthwaite, 'East Mendip Local Militia, 1813-1815', *JSARH*, 53/215 (1975), p.178.

⁹⁸ PRONI, Downshire Papers, D607/F/63, Adjutant Harrison to Lord Downshire, 21 February 1798; *A Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions for the Army* (1807), p.557; *Morning Post*, 10 November 1821. See also *General Regulations and Orders* (Dublin, 1786), p.84.

more interested in increasing the quantity of his musicians than improving their ‘noisy’ playing style.⁹⁹ Major-General Adam, writing in 1815, even claimed that ‘no corps I have ever met with’ obeyed the quota.¹⁰⁰ A considerable proportion of regular battalions mustered at least twice the number of permitted players: the 7th Hussars maintained a band of twenty-two in 1813, for example, and the 1/26th Foot fielded twenty-seven musicians at Gibraltar the following year.¹⁰¹ Moreover, inspecting officers often made excuses for oversized ensembles. Informing the War Office of the 40th Foot’s 33 musicians in 1817, Major-General Hope recognised it was an ‘awkward subject to report on, as most regiments wish to have good bands, which out of 10 men and 1 sergeant it is impossible to form.’¹⁰² Militia ensembles also commonly exceeded the prescribed number, frequently comprising about twenty bandsmen, although parliamentary legislation did permit extra musicians in militia regiments provided officers covered the additional expense.¹⁰³ The bands of urban volunteer units, for their part, rivalled the largest ensembles of the professional forces in magnitude.¹⁰⁴ The Manchester Rifle Corps, mustering three hundred rank-and-file, maintained ‘upwards of thirty volunteer performers’, while the Worlingworth Volunteers in rural

⁹⁹ J. Marsh, *The John Marsh Journals*, ed. B. Robins (2 vols, Stuyvesant and Hillsdale, NY, 1998-2013), i, p.497.

¹⁰⁰ TNA, WO27/135, 2nd half-year 1815 inspection returns, 52nd Foot.

¹⁰¹ T.H. McGuffie, ‘The 7th Hussars in 1813’, *JSAHR*, 42/169 (1964), p.5; BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, f.120.

¹⁰² TNA, WO27/141, 1st half-year 1817 inspection returns, 40th Foot.

¹⁰³ LMA, Clitherow Papers, Acc1360/750/5, Royal Westminster Regiment band return, 8 October 1801; *An Account of the Presentation of Colours to the Monmouth Volunteers* (Monmouth, 1799), p.[4]; TNA, WO27/118, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, Royal North Lincoln Militia. For the legislation, see 42 Geo. III, c.90, §85.

¹⁰⁴ *The Cambrian*, 4 February 1804.

Suffolk fielded a drummer, a fifer and eleven bandsmen alongside just sixty privates.¹⁰⁵

Little wonder, then, that Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, complained in 1802 of musicians comprising 'a most ridiculous proportion of small corps'.¹⁰⁶

Military bands consumed significant financial resources. The eleven-man ensemble of the Antrim Militia was neither large nor particularly celebrated but nonetheless absorbed more than £807 between March 1812 and March 1813, including over £205 in state-funded military salaries for the bandsmen. This sum amounted to one and a half times the colonel's annual salary and was enough to have covered the wages of the regiment's rank-and-file for a month.¹⁰⁷ Bands were funded through a mixture of public money, some of it misappropriated, and private subscriptions. Commanders often subsidised the higher pay awarded to musicians by improperly appointing them as non-commissioned officers or drummers rather than privates; one militia colonel was court-martialled in 1796 for adding fictitious soldiers to the muster rolls to bankroll the band, which he characterised as a longstanding practice.¹⁰⁸ Officers also customarily applied state clothing allowances towards the cost of outfitting

¹⁰⁵ *The Manchester Guide: A Brief Historical Description of the Towns of Manchester & Salford* (Manchester, 1804), pp.287-8; Suffolk Archives, Henniker Papers, HA116/1/2/6, 'Some Account of the Families of Major and Henniker', 1803.

¹⁰⁶ BL, Newcastle Papers, Add.MS.33048, f.362, [Lord Pelham to Charles Yorke], March 1802.

¹⁰⁷ PRONI, O'Neill Papers, D1470/3/36B, 1812-13 band accounts; TNA, WO13/2587, Antrim Militia pay-lists, 1812-13. 'Rank and file' refers to the corporals and privates.

¹⁰⁸ NAM, 1993-03-218, Minorca standing orders, 1800, pp.65-6; HA, Jervoise papers, 44M69/G6/2/1/21/4, Lt-Col Frith to Colonel Jervoise, 19 May 1805; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B7, Adjutant Cooper to Lt-Col Boughey, 24 April 1813; *PP* (1807), iii (155), court-martial of J.F. Cawthorne, 1795-6, pp.232-59.

musicians.¹⁰⁹ The remaining expenses - including the cost of band instruments, which unlike most drums, trumpets, and bugles were not furnished by government - were financed through contributions to the regimental band fund, although the amounts levied depended on rank and corps (see Table 2). Captains of the 40th Foot paid five guineas a year while those of the 3rd West India Regiment subscribed £10 annually, equivalent to ten and approximately nineteen days' pay respectively.¹¹⁰ The Earl of Ormonde, by contrast, maintained the distinguished Kilkenny Militia ensemble entirely at his own expense.¹¹¹ Junior officers were exempt from musical subscriptions in many but not all regiments; ensigns might be expected to contribute up to twenty guineas for the band on first joining the mess.¹¹² The volunteers also relied on contributions from their officers and even (in monied corps) from the rank-and-file to finance the band, devoting much of their government pay, according to William Wilberforce, to purchasing instruments and compensating musicians.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Western, *English Militia*, p.357; NLI, Leslie Papers, MS49495/2/139, folder 3, f.209; SHC, DD/S/WH/343, J., N. & B. Pearse to Captain Simmons, 4 January 1803.

¹¹⁰ TNA, WO71/222, 3rd West India Regiment band account for 1809 and WO71/243, Paymaster Durand (40th Foot) GCM, 1815, Barnet testimony; R. Burnham and R. McGuigan, *The British Army Against Napoleon* (Barnsley, 2010), p.147.

¹¹¹ *Kilkenny Moderator*, 8 November 1814.

¹¹² PRONI, Downshire Papers, D607/D/426, Humphrey Galbraith to Lord Downshire, 26 December 1796; Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.75.

¹¹³ *The Senator: or, Parliamentary Chronicle* (27 vols, 1800), xxvii, p.230.

Table 2: Officers' Annual Contributions to Regimental Band Funds, 1812

	Shropshire Militia	Royal County Limerick Militia
Colonel	£100	£34 2s 6d
Lt-Cols	£15 each	£22 15s each
Majors	£10 each	£19 6s 9d each
Captains	£7 10s each	£12 10s 3d each
Total	£240	£218 8s
	Source: SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/848, Shropshire Militia 1812 band accounts and Limerick Archives, P10/2, Royal County Limerick Militia band accounts, ff.2-4.	

Regarding regimental bands as essential to unit prestige, officers were broadly willing to finance their upkeep. The adjutant of the Inverness Militia, corresponding about a subscription for band instruments in 1803, was prepared to 'pawn myself to have a band to give any man pleasure' and was 'satisfied there is not an officer but would give his mite.'¹¹⁴ Yet the mounting costs of military music, in addition to mess and uniform expenses, were resented by junior officers without independent means and sometimes proved unaffordable. The 1st (or Royal) Dragoons invested £500 of spoils from the battle of Vitoria in reviving their band but soon abandoned the initiative after running out of funds.¹¹⁵ Colonel Steuart of the 12th Light Dragoons opposed regimental ensembles as a waste of money and manpower: he recalled in 1814 that the 'first thing I did on getting the regiment was to dismiss the band' and 'destroy the

¹¹⁴ *Historical Records of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders* (2 vols, 1909), ii, p.50.

¹¹⁵ A captain's successful push to halve the 'heavy expence' of band subscriptions in the Roll Regiment incurred the wrath of the commanding officer, leading to his social ostracism, a duel, and the mutilation of his dog. See TNA, WO71/222, Captain Fuchs (Roll Regiment) GCM, 9 November 1810, and also A.G. Watt, *Not Born to be Drowned: An Orkney Soldier in the Napoleonic Wars*, ed. W.S. Hewison (Kirkwall, 2001), pp.94-5; R. Heathcote, *Letters of a Young Diplomatist and Soldier*, ed. Countess G. Gröben (1907), p.280; A.E. Clark-Kennedy, *Attack the Colour: The Royal Dragoons in the Peninsula and at Waterloo* ([1975]), p.83.

instruments', although subordinates resolved to resurrect it on his departure.¹¹⁶ Extant ledgers of volunteer corps demonstrate that music-related expenses accounted for one-quarter to over half of their total obligations: the Oxford Loyal Volunteers only scaled back their ensemble, which consumed £300 annually, when faced with impending bankruptcy.¹¹⁷ Even units without bands suffered financial problems because of military music-making: a Portsmouth volunteer corps, whose members had initially declined government remuneration, sought state subsidies three and a half years later after spending nearly £210 to train, clothe, and pay their drummers.¹¹⁸

Having invested heavily in military bands, officers generally, and colonels especially, treated these ensembles as private musical retinues. Regimental musicians performed only with the authorisation of their commanding officer, who naturally ensured that the band spent ample time serenading his own quarters.¹¹⁹ The wife of a lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Foot, for instance, was 'delighted' to hear the band playing 'every evening outside our door for as long as we liked'.¹²⁰ Public performances by military

¹¹⁶ A. Bamford, *Gallantry and Discipline: The 12th Light Dragoons at War with Wellington* (2014), pp.229-30. For similar scepticism from a volunteer officer, see Barnsley Archives, Spencer Stanhope papers, SpSt/60565, ff.84, 110, J.H. Lees to Colonel Stanhope, 27 June 180[4] and 3 April 1805.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian Libraries, MS.Top.Oxon.d.247, Diary of events in Oxford, p.270, 26-28 October 1808; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B4, Newcastle-under-Lyme Volunteers accounts, 1802; TNA, HO50/46, St. James's Volunteers accounts, 1798-9; *Literary Panorama* (August 1807), cols. 909-10.

¹¹⁸ TNA, HO50/47, Lt-Col Arnaud to H. Dundas, 17 May 1800.

¹¹⁹ *Standing Orders and Regulations of His Majesty's 1st Battalion of the 82nd Regiment* (Lewes, 1810), p.10.

¹²⁰ S. Sibbald, *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald (1783-1812)*, ed. F.P. Hett (1926), p.255. See also J. Cruikshank, *Sketch of the Incorporation of Masons; and the Lodge of Glasgow St. John* (Glasgow, 1879), p.305.

ensembles were thought to improve the social and political standing of their sponsors, endearing them to the local notables and electorates who returned many militia and local militia colonels to Parliament.¹²¹ Furthermore, bandsmen provided instruction and accompaniment to the large number of officers for whom music was a favoured leisure pursuit.¹²² Captain Quist of the Lancashire Fencibles, for instance, formed a string quartet with the quartermaster and a couple of regimental musicians at Goodwood camp in 1794, playing with them most evenings in his tent.¹²³

Perhaps the band's most important service for the officers was performed in the mess. In the volunteers as in the regular army, music was central to mealtime conviviality, promoting the social cohesion considered necessary for battlefield success.¹²⁴ Officers debated tune choices, sang for each other, and even struggled to converse over the continual playing of the band or regimental pipers.¹²⁵ Musicians performed melodies corresponding to various toasts, including one to the monarch, to the tune of 'God

¹²¹ *Advice to the Officers of the British Army*, pp.28-9; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B7, Adjutant Cooper to Lt-Col Boughey, 5 May 1813, and Boughey to Mr Tilstone, 8 June 1813; PRONI, Granard papers, T3765/J/9/2/10, Moira to Granard, 22 October 1800.

¹²² [R.G. Wallace], *Forty Years in the World* (3 vols, 1825), i, p.122; W. Verner, *Reminiscences of William Verner*, ed. R. Verner (1965), p.56; G. Woodberry, *With Wellington's Hussars in the Peninsula and Waterloo*, ed. G. Glover and C. Yorke (Barnsley, 2018), p.47.

¹²³ Marsh, *Marsh Journals*, i, pp.562-3.

¹²⁴ St. Clair, *Soldier's Recollections*, i, pp.33-35; [Wallace], *Fifteen Years in India*, pp.39-41; *The Heber Letters, 1783-1832*, ed. R.H. Cholmondley (1950), p.153.

¹²⁵ [Maginn], *Military Sketch-Book*, i, pp.115-9, 236-56; Patterson, *Camp and Quarters*, i, pp.321-4; Lord Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France* (2 vols, 1814), ii, p.474; J.L. Panter, 'The Early Life of a Civil Servant', *Blackwood's Magazine* (September 1946), p.152.

Save the King', and another to the regiment, accompanied by a regimental march.¹²⁶ The bandsmen, however, were generally heard rather than seen; none could enter the mess-room without permission, presumably to prevent officers' inebriated repartee and antics from becoming barrack-room gossip. Instead, the musicians played in an adjacent passage, chamber, or tent, or even outside the mess-room window, relying on a band-boy to relay the mess president's desired tunes.¹²⁷ Yet even these safeguards were not always sufficient to prevent social embarrassment. The 1822 standing orders of the 55th Foot felt compelled to warn officers that abandoning themselves to 'the last consequences of conviviality, in the presence of musicians' was beneath their dignity as officers and gentlemen. The band were cautioned against considering their mess-room performances as a 'license for intoxication', but the regulations nonetheless recognized that 'after two or three hours, the musicians become more inclined to drink than to play' and were 'seldom competent' on parade the next morning unless dismissed by ten o'clock.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ J. Blakiston, *Twelve Years' Military Adventure in Three Quarters of the Globe* (2 vols, 1829), i, pp.44-6; V. Blacker, *War Without Pity in the South Indian Peninsula, 1798-1813*, ed. D. Howell (Warwick, 2018), p.88.

¹²⁷ *Standing Orders...for the 2d Battalion...56th Regiment*, pp.75-6; *PP* (1807), iii (155), Cawthorne court-martial, pp.173-4.

¹²⁸ *Standing Orders...of the 55th Regiment* (Cape Town, 1822), p.15.

Recruitment, Morale, and Identity

Music aided recruitment by sparking interest in soldiering, helping the military meet its unparalleled manpower needs. Although economic hardship was undoubtedly a major cause of enlistment, autobiographical accounts strongly suggest that many recruits had less material motives for taking the King's shilling.¹²⁹ A number cite the appeal of martial music as a reason for their decision, albeit usually in tandem with other factors including a desire to travel or disputes with parents and employers.¹³⁰ For the Suffolk orphan John Shipp, the sound of 'Over the Hills and Far Away' from a passing military band 'kindled a flame in my bosom which nothing but death can extinguish', prompting him to pursue a military career.¹³¹ A Scottish recruit described his rendezvous with regimental musicians in the streets of Glasgow in similarly rapturous terms: 'A military enthusiasm instantly seized me, and I felt as if a soldier's life was the only station for which nature had designed me.'¹³² Officers also acknowledged the influence of martial music and songs on their choice of occupation, including a farmer's son who resolved to obtain a commission after hearing a fine regimental band in St. James's Park in London.¹³³ Musical warriors could encourage

¹²⁹ J.T. Cozens, 'The Experience of Soldiering: Civil-Military Relations and Popular Protest in England, 1790-1805' (PhD thesis, University of Essex, 2016), pp.63-95; Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, pp.144-5.

¹³⁰ Mayett, *Autobiography*, pp.20-25; *Memoirs of a Sergeant*, p.13.

¹³¹ Shipp, *Memoirs*, p.23.

¹³² A. Alexander, *The Life of Alexander Alexander*, ed. J. Howell (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1830), i, p.71.

¹³³ J. Harley, *The Veteran, or Forty Years in the British Service* (2 vols, 1838), i, pp.182-3; J. Le Couteur, *Merry Hearts Make Light Days*, 2nd edn, ed. D. Graves (Montreal, 2012), p.155; J.

enrolment even at a distance. An eighteen-year-old farm labourer, seized by 'a sudden start of patriotism' on hearing the drum of a Shropshire volunteer company in 1804, chased after the corps for nearly two miles to offer his services.¹³⁴

The recruiting parties that roamed Britain, Ireland, and overseas colonies almost invariably included one or two drummers, fifers, pipers, or trumpeters.¹³⁵ Their performances attracted interest at bustling marketplaces, horse races, and fairs, helping recruiters vie for public attention amidst ballad singers, organ-grinders, and travelling menageries.¹³⁶ The appeal of music, of course, was neither all-powerful nor universal: recruiters often encountered popular indifference or hostility regardless of their instrumental accompaniment.¹³⁷ Yet recruiting officers themselves believed that competent performers were indispensable to their task: a captain of the Breadalbane Fencibles, for instance, noted that a regimental musician at Dumfries 'had a great effect in inducing' men to enlist.¹³⁸ Some recruiters even spurned the customary fife and drum for more ambitious musical medleys, borrowing or burlesquing bass drums

Malcolm, 'Reminiscences of a Campaign in the Pyrenees and the South of France, in 1814', in *Memorials of the Late War* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1828), i, p.235.

¹³⁴ *Heber Letters*, p.151.

¹³⁵ Divall, *Inside the Regiment*, p.66; Shipp, *Memoirs*, pp.19-21.

¹³⁶ Jackson, *Narrative*, p.40; [P.B. Ainslie], *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman* (1861), p.73.

¹³⁷ J.P. Malcolm, *Excursions in Kent, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire and Somersetshire* (1807), p.248; *USJ* (May 1845), pp.101-2; G. Fraser, *Memoirs in the Life and Travels of George Fraser* (Glasgow, 1808), p.23.

¹³⁸ NRS, GD112/52/33/10, Captain Lindsay to Adjutant Roy, 18 April 1794, and GD112/52/38/19, Captain Ranaldson to Roy, 21 August 1794.

and other band instruments to gather larger crowds.¹³⁹ Tasked with raising a company in 1790, William Harness engaged drummers, fiddlers, and colours, not to mention 'a cart with a barrel of ale' and 'a man with a surloin of roast beef upon a pitch fork'. 'You can conceive', he wrote proudly to his wife, 'the stir...all this noise must make.'¹⁴⁰ Music also aided government attempts to convince soldiers enlisted for home service to transfer into regular regiments, a critical means of replacing losses sustained overseas. In the 2/26th Foot, comprised of men enrolled under the Army of Reserve Act, the commanding officer lavished free drink on his subordinates to encourage them to volunteer, ordering the drums and fifes to play, in the words of one of their number, 'to add to the intoxicating effect of the liquor'.¹⁴¹

Integral to the process of raising manpower, drummers and musicians also bolstered morale after enlistment. Conscientious commanders routinely ordered bands to play to influence their subordinates' emotions and behaviour. Musicians enhanced the elation of battlefield successes and homecomings, welcomed new recruits into the regiment, and steeled the resolve of shipwrecked soldiers languishing in enemy captivity.¹⁴² One officer, recalling the 1812 siege of Badajoz, claimed that 'a flourish of

¹³⁹ BL, Add.MS.35678, ff.147-8, Captain Buckley to Lord Hardwicke, 14 February 1813; LAC, 'C' Series, vol. 718, p.82, Captain Christian to Colonel Bowes, 21 April 1806; L. Dillwyn, 'Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Waterford, Cork and Tipperary in 1809', ed. G.J. Lyne, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 91/250 (1986), p.95.

¹⁴⁰ W. Harness, *Trusty and Well Beloved: The Letters Home of William Harness*, ed. C.M. Duncan-Jones (1957), pp.27-8.

¹⁴¹ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.37-8.

¹⁴² NLS, MS.15369, Marshall Papers, George Marshall to Jane Marshall, 21 May 1811, and George Marshall to William Marshall, 2 August 1812; W. Napier, *The Life and Opinions of*

drums, with the “British Grenadiers” or “Garryown,” set our fellows wild for a dash at any time’.¹⁴³ Back in Britain, the commandant of the Oldham Local Militia insisted that skilled fifers and drummers imbued soldiering with ‘the charm of attraction’, mitigating plebeian resentment of military discipline.¹⁴⁴ Another local militia officer, arguing against a reduction in the number of drummers on constant pay, bluntly declared that ‘without our music our men will not be instructed’.¹⁴⁵ How far such assertions reflected rank-and-file sentiment is difficult to ascertain, but evidence of the uplifting power of music is readily found in soldiers’ autobiographies. According to Joseph Donaldson of the 94th Foot, ‘when I heard the crowd cheering, and our music playing before us’ on a march through Aberdeen, ‘I felt at least a foot higher, and strutted with as much dignity as if I had been a general.’¹⁴⁶ Musical warriors also enhanced the enjoyment and self-importance of men serving in the volunteers by singing for convivial company dinners in public houses and fostering a festive atmosphere during weeks of duty in neighbouring towns.¹⁴⁷ John Parkhill, though an avowed political radical, recalled his service in the 2nd Paisley Volunteers as ‘the

General Sir Charles James Napier (4 vols, 1857), i, p.172; Wheeler, *Letters*, pp.40-2; J. Hale, *Journal of James Hale* (Cirencester, 1826), p.40; C.F.W. von Ompteda, *A Hanoverian-English Officer a Hundred Years Ago*, trans. J. Hill (1892), p.216.

¹⁴³ G. Bell, *Rough Notes by an Old Soldier* (1867), p.26.

¹⁴⁴ TNA, HO50/285, Lt-Col Lees to Richard Ryder, 1 March 1812.

¹⁴⁵ NLS, MS.1501, Royal Perthshire LM (Central Battalion) papers, ff.59-64, [Colonel Mackenzie] to Lord Melville, 11 December 1809.

¹⁴⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, pp.43-4.

¹⁴⁷ Jones, ‘Stockton Volunteers’, pp.69-75; H. Heavisides, *The Annals of Stockton-on-Tees* (Stockton-on-Tees, 1865), pp.25-6; *Bath Chronicle*, 27 September 1798.

happiest period of my life', explaining that the regiment's 'excellent band' reliably attracted throngs of admirers to their parades.¹⁴⁸

Music was widely acknowledged as an effective means of reinvigorating troops on the march, although - as regiments found to their cost when fighting Jamaican guerrillas - it could also forewarn enemies of their approach.¹⁴⁹ Drummers and bandsmen, as mentioned, did not play constantly to regulate the cadence; men were not required to keep in step at all during route marches, and were even permitted to smoke and converse.¹⁵⁰ But officers periodically called for music to ease fatigue and boredom; one even entertained marching soldiers by playing the flute himself.¹⁵¹ Captain Patterson of the 50th Foot recalled the 'marvellous effect' of the band and drums whenever they struck up 'some well-known national quickstep' in Portugal: 'as if by magic, those who were tired and jaded sprung up, endued as it were with additional life and vigour, and...stepped out once more with fresh spirit.'¹⁵² Piper Hugh Mackay proved himself the 'most serviceable man' in the 2/73rd Foot during forced marches through Germany, according to Thomas Morris. When men were 'fatigued and straggling', Mackay fell back to the rear 'on receiving a hint from the colonel', played some 'lively tune', and was swarmed by his reinvigorated comrades 'like a cluster of

¹⁴⁸ J. Parkhill, *The Life and Opinions of Arthur Sneddon* (Paisley, 1860), pp.38-9.

¹⁴⁹ *A Journal Kept in the British Army* (Liverpool, 1796), pp.18-9; Harris, *Recollections*, pp.10-11; J. Stewart, *An Account of Jamaica and its Inhabitants* (1808), pp.283-4.

¹⁵⁰ Cooke, *Memoirs*, i, p.79; *Standing Orders for the 76th*, p.88.

¹⁵¹ L'Estrange, *Recollections*, p.20.

¹⁵² J. Patterson, *The Adventures of Captain John Patterson* (1837), p.64.

bees'.¹⁵³ Marching soldiers also occupied their minds, and promoted group solidarity, through vocal music: English-speaking soldiers could not compete with the accomplished choruses of continental troops in the 5/60th Foot or King's German Legion, but nonetheless indulged in song.¹⁵⁴ En route to Quatre Bras in 1815, members of the 3/1st Foot Guards distracted themselves from hunger and heat with a rendition of 'All the World's In Paris', a comic song satirising the peacetime influx of British tourists to the French capital.¹⁵⁵

Besides sustaining spirits on the march, music helped alleviate the miseries and monotony of military life. Regimental bands enabled officers to 'levy war against melancholy' in Peninsular cantonments by accompanying dances and amateur theatrics.¹⁵⁶ Languishing outside Fort Erie in Upper Canada during its 1814 siege, a lieutenant of the 104th Foot praised the bands of the 82nd and 89th Regiments for 'enliven[ing] our dreary existence'.¹⁵⁷ Musicians attended picnics, hunting parties, and assorted sightseeing excursions, serenading officers and their guests during day trips to Castle Howard in Yorkshire or pleasure cruises down the Mondego in Portugal.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ T. Morris, *Recollections of Military Service* (1845), p.34.

¹⁵⁴ BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 24 November 1811; [G.R. Gleig], *The Subaltern* (1825), p.277; Bell, *Rough Notes*, pp.64-5.

¹⁵⁵ Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, pp.48-50, 114; R. Master, 'An Ensign at War: The Narrative of Richard Master, First Guards', ed. D. Fraser, *JSAHR*, 66/267 (1988), p.138.

¹⁵⁶ Patterson, *Adventures*, pp.291-2; Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.134.

¹⁵⁷ Le Couteur, *Merry Hearts*, p.192.

¹⁵⁸ Sibbald, *Memoirs*, p.258; J. Leach, *Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier* (1831), pp.241-2; N.L. Beamish, *History of the King's German Legion* (2 vols, 1832-1837), i, p.145; BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 5 April 1812.

The lower ranks also appear to have valued the levity provided by musical warriors. A homesick sergeant in the Grenadier Guards, for example, informed his wife in September 1815 that he expected to remain in France over the winter but took solace in the arrival of the regimental band from England as ‘we shall have plenty of music.’¹⁵⁹ On or off parade, private soldiers had no shortage of opportunities to listen to regimental ensembles. At Playden barracks in Sussex in 1806, the band of the 5th Foot turned Sunday evenings into ‘a kind of gala’ enjoyed by both soldiers and local inhabitants while British bivouacs ‘resounded with music’ on the Saturday after Waterloo, ‘with the bands of almost all corps playing’.¹⁶⁰ ‘Music was our great want’ in Spanish winter quarters, reported one soldier of the 71st Foot; the men held dances to pass the time, sometimes accompanied by a piper or ‘two or three of our band’.¹⁶¹ Musicians helped soldiers celebrate good news, holidays, and comrades’ weddings.¹⁶² The band of the 1/95th Rifles struck up ‘country dances’ to celebrate tidings of Napoleon’s Russian catastrophe, and soon both officers and privates were ‘kicking about their heels to the tune of “The Downfall of Paris”’.¹⁶³ Soldiers also had favourite songs, and a mass of evidence suggests that vocal music helped them express

¹⁵⁹ Nottinghamshire Archives, M/24306, Sergeant Tennant to Ann Tennant, 24 September 1815. See also PRONI, Castlereagh Papers, D3030/T/3, Lord Castlereagh to Lady Castlereagh, 4 January 1797.

¹⁶⁰ [S. Morley], *Memoirs of a Serjeant of the 5th Regt. of Foot* (Ashford, 1842), p.18; A.S. Frazer, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer*, ed. E. Sabine (1859), p.573.

¹⁶¹ *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st Regiment*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh, 1822), p.142; *Vicissitudes in the Life of a Scottish Soldier* (1827), p.131.

¹⁶² J.S. Cooper, *Rough Notes of Seven Campaigns* (1869), p.107; J.C. Maempel, *Adventures of a Young Rifleman in the French and English Armies*, 2nd edn (1826), pp.348-9.

¹⁶³ E. Costello, *The Adventures of a Soldier* (1841), p.219.

pleasure, pass the time, and cope with hardship.¹⁶⁴ In barracks or around campfires, Scottish airs and English carols promoted camaraderie and reminded men of home; one officer even described how a red-haired Irishman distracted himself from the searing pain of a leg amputation by belting out the lyrics of 'God Save the King'.¹⁶⁵



Figure 2. This aquatint, depicting a drummer, a fife and a black cymbalist performing for soldiers and their wives or sweethearts, suggests that military music was enjoyed recreationally by the lower ranks as well as officers. T. Rowlandson, 'Soldiers Recreating', 1798 (A.S.K. Brown Collection).

¹⁶⁴ Wheeler, *Letters*, p.118; [J. Williamson], *Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner* (Montreal, 1838), p.31; NAM, 1994-03-129-42, Dalrymple Papers, Sir Hew Dalrymple to Lady Dalrymple, 7 November 1793.

¹⁶⁵ G.T. Landmann, *Recollections of My Military Life* (2 vols, 1854), ii, p.166; Malcolm, 'Reminiscences', p.248; *Soldier of the 71st*, pp.44-6, 143-4; Butler, *Narrative* (1854) pp.161, 170; *USJ* (July 1838), pp.328-9.

Music not only improved soldiers' mental states but bettered their physical health. Dancing was praised in regimental orders as a wholesome alternative to drinking and gambling yet also served an important medical purpose, especially on transoceanic voyages, as soldiers wasted away in cramped conditions.¹⁶⁶ Concerts and dances were held on the quarterdeck to provide much-needed fresh air and exercise. Musicians of the 2/1st Foot, for example, were 'often requested' to perform while men danced 'for the benefit of their health' en route to India, and at other times the regimental bands of entire convoys struck up simultaneously for an hour or two, sounding upon the water in a manner 'at once agreeable and imposing.'¹⁶⁷ In the 1/45th Foot, which spent nearly eighteen months aboard transports in 1806 and 1807, fifers and drummers played for the soldiers as they kept in shape by marching around the decks twice daily.¹⁶⁸

Besides enhancing soldiers' well-being, music became a cornerstone of the distinctive regimental identities which developed markedly during the French Wars, particularly in the professional forces.¹⁶⁹ While humane and charismatic officers were undoubtedly important in fostering *esprit de corps*, songs associated with the fencibles and volunteers stress the centrality of idiosyncratic uniforms, badges, spectacle, and

¹⁶⁶ *Standing Orders...for the 85th*, pp.113-4; [W. Henry], *Trifles from My Portfolio* (2 vols, Quebec, 1839), i, p.202.

¹⁶⁷ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.62-63; SLNSW, B 1514, Ensign Alexander Huey journal, p.6; *Journal of an Officer in the King's German Legion* (1827), p.80.

¹⁶⁸ S. Brown, *Wellington's Redjackets: The 45th (Nottinghamshire) Regiment on Campaign in South America and the Peninsula, 1805-14* (Barnsley, 2016), p.15.

¹⁶⁹ Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.33-7; Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, pp.137-8.

music to a unit's self-image.¹⁷⁰ Local militia commanders likewise justified musical expenditure by arguing that all ranks took pride in accomplished musicians or 'expert corps of drums and fifes'.¹⁷¹ Indeed, regular references to 'our band' in soldiers' correspondence and memoirs suggest that men identified with military ensembles, regarding them as collective assets rather than the exclusive playthings of the officers.¹⁷² Fondness for military music and its close connection with unit identity is apparent in a letter by William Wheeler, a convalescing corporal of the 51st Light Infantry, who informed his family in 1814 that he longed to re-join his regiment and 'hear the sound of its soul stirring bugles again'.¹⁷³ The bugle itself was the emblem of riflemen and the light infantry, worn on caps and breastplates as markers of their elite status, while regimental drums, regarded as important corporate symbols, were conspicuously piled in the centre of encampments when not in use.¹⁷⁴ Regimental marches also became sonic trademarks of their corps.¹⁷⁵ Infantry drum-majors were given the important ceremonial task of unfurling and lodging the colours: these consecrated symbols of collective honour were customarily saluted by the entire

¹⁷⁰ D.B. MacIntyre, *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre*, ed. A. Macleod (Edinburgh, 1952), pp.375-81; R.P. Evans, 'The Flintshire Loyalist Association and the Loyal Holywell Volunteers', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 33 (1992), p.65.

¹⁷¹ TNA, HO50/254, Lt-Col Hardy to Lord Fitzwilliam, 9 July 1810; Mackenzie, *General Observations*, p.62.

¹⁷² For example, Cooper, *Rough Notes*, p.50; R. Innes, *The Life of Roderick Innes* (Stonehaven, 1844), p.169.

¹⁷³ Wheeler, *Letters*, p.148.

¹⁷⁴ Spaniards uninitiated in military distinctions sometimes mistook light infantry officers for musicians on account of their bugle insignia. See [H. Ross-Lewin], *The Life of a Soldier* (3 vols, 1834), i, p.192 and *The Brigade-Major's Assistant* (1806), p.52; J. Douglas, *Douglas's Tale of the Peninsula & Waterloo*, ed. S. Monick (1997), p.36.

¹⁷⁵ *Rules and Regulations* (1815), p.396; D. Campbell, *A Treatise on the Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans* (Edinburgh, 1862), p.225.

regiment or battalion as the band played and drummers beat.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, music strengthened a unit's collective memory. Musical instruments and assorted paraphernalia captured on active service, including the staffs of enemy drum-majors, were played or brandished on parade as trophies of prior regimental achievements.¹⁷⁷ Bands figured prominently in unit commemorations of past victories, appearing at officers' dinners and balls in honour of the battles of Alexandria and Salamanca, but also performed for exuberant celebrations spearheaded by the lower ranks. Men of the 2/30th Foot, for example, hoisted their officers aloft and romped through Limerick on the first anniversary of Waterloo, accompanied by cheering inhabitants and quicksteps performed by the band.¹⁷⁸ Finally, soldiers memorialised the exploits and adventures of their regiments in song. Rankers of the 92nd Foot devised at least three new versions of the Jacobite song 'Hey, Johnnie Cope' in honour of their surprise attack on Arroyo dos Molinos, although the laboured lyrics were, in words of a Victorian historian, more reflective of the authors' 'patriotism and pluck' than any true 'poetic powers'.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Harness, *Trusty and Well Beloved*, pp.44-5; Reide, *Treatise*, pp.122-4; Sibbald, *Memoirs*, pp.255-6.

¹⁷⁷ R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Thirty-Fourth...Foot* (1844), p.52; NAM, 1973-07-24-1, history of the Turkish crescent or 'Jingling Johnny' captured by the 88th Foot; Lawrence, *Autobiography*, pp.124-5; TNA, WO27/142, 2nd half-year 1817 inspection returns, 25th Foot.

¹⁷⁸ *Kentish Gazette*, 10 April 1807; Woodberry, *With Wellington's Hussars*, p.156; NAM, 1978-05-74-1, Henry Grove autobiography, pp.179-81 and 1968-07-209-1, Edward Nevil Macready journal, chapter 20.

¹⁷⁹ A. Clerk, *Memoir of Colonel John Cameron* (Glasgow, 1858), p.51. See also J. Smithies, *Adventurous Pursuits of a Peninsular War and Waterloo Veteran*, ed. G. Glover (Cambridge, 2012), pp.11-13.

Military music-making articulated national and local loyalties, which were often complementary to or inseparable from regimental identities. The Caledonian gentlemen of the London-based Highland Armed Association, for example, insisted on wearing tartan and fielding pipers, arguing that pride in national distinctions would 'lead to perfection in discipline, and intrepidity in action'.¹⁸⁰ The feast day of Ireland's patron saint was widely and raucously observed, and not solely by Irishmen or in Irish regiments, as drummers and musicians performed 'St. Patrick's Day in the Morning' in English and Iberian streets.¹⁸¹ Although military service may have broadened men's horizons through travel within or beyond the United Kingdom, it could also undergird regional affinities, as indicated by the lyrics of songs composed by members of county militia regiments.¹⁸² Soldiers of the 78th Foot in India took turns throwing balls in honour of their respective counties – first the Ross-shire men, then the sons of Sutherland, and so on. The officers not only attended these events but authorised the participation of the band, which played Irish jigs as well as Scottish reels in deference to Hibernian members of this Highland corps.¹⁸³ Not all musical interactions between soldiers of different nationalities were so amicable, but on the whole, as Catriona Kennedy has argued, the military offered 'a reasonably tolerant environment' in which

¹⁸⁰ TNA, HO50/43, offer of service of the Highland Armed Association, 23 July 1798.

¹⁸¹ *Hampshire Telegraph*, 23 March 1812; C. Boutflower, *The Journal of an Army Surgeon during the Peninsular War* (Manchester, 1912), p.43; C. Leslie, *Military Journal of Colonel Leslie...of Balquhain* (Aberdeen, 1887), pp.191-2; R. Blakeney, *A Boy in the Peninsular War*, ed. J. Sturgis (1899), pp.259-60.

¹⁸² *A New Song on the Tipperary Militia* (Limerick, [1810?]); J.T. Stanley, *A Song for the Royal Cheshire Militia* ([1794]); J. Bell, *A Right Merry Garland of Northumberland Heroes* (Newcastle, 1814), pp.13-23.

¹⁸³ [Williamson], *Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner*, pp.183-4.

multiple affiliations could be expressed.¹⁸⁴ Just as drums, fife cases, and pipe banners depicted thistles and harps, county symbols, and clan devices alongside royal insignia, the lyrics of regimental songs suggest that military identities could be fluid, concentric, and complementary.¹⁸⁵ A Waterloo ballad composed by the bandmaster of the 71st Highlanders, for example, celebrated the victory of ‘Wellington’s sons’ over Napoleon, the nefarious ‘Corsican elf’, saluting ‘Scotia or Eire’ and ‘bold British heroes’ in the same breath to the bawdy Irish air ‘Langolee’.¹⁸⁶ The outpouring of songs written by and for the volunteers foregrounded their commanders and the locality but commonly situated parochial pride within wider regional and national contexts. Thus the Holmesdale Volunteers were lauded not only as parish heroes but as ‘unconquer’d men of Kent’ and valiant sons of Britannia.¹⁸⁷

If military music reflected and accentuated regimental, local, and national distinctions, it also sought to promote an overarching loyalty to the monarch and the British state. The deliberate use of music to advance Anglo-Irish union is exemplified by the official response to an 1811 brawl between the Limerick City and Nottinghamshire regiments in Dublin. The militiamen were marched to St Stephen’s Green and exhorted to shake hands ‘like Britons and brother soldiers’ as each band performed the other’s favourite

¹⁸⁴ Kennedy, *Narratives*, p.34; P. Le Mesurier, *Through Spain with Wellington*, ed. A. Greenwood (Stroud, 2016), p.158.

¹⁸⁵ For example, NMS, M.1930.316, Breadalbane Fencibles pipe banner, 1793; The Highlanders’ Museum, Inverness, Inches Volunteers fife case, c.1800; Piece Hall Museum, Halifax, Yorkshire, 1st Halifax Local Militia kettledrum, c.1808-16.

¹⁸⁶ WYAS Calderdale, Lister papers, SH:3/L/89, song on the battle of Waterloo.

¹⁸⁷ *Gentleman’s Magazine* (December 1803), p.1162.

tune: 'British Grenadiers' for the Englishmen and 'Garryowen', a song named after a Limerick neighbourhood, for their Irish counterparts. The reconciliation ceremony, which reportedly ended the quarrelling, was bookended by renditions of 'God Save the King.'¹⁸⁸ The reactions of the rank-and-file in this and other cases are impossible to recover, but incessant regimental performances of 'God Save the King', with its expression of loyalty to the unifying figure of the sovereign, belie scholarly assertions that the military made scant efforts to indoctrinate its members.¹⁸⁹ The Royal Tyrone militiamen who doffed their caps to 'God Save the King' in 1794 when preparing to confront mutineers of the Donegal regiment no doubt recognised the gesture as a reaffirmation of their allegiance in the face of a grave challenge to military authority.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, it is possible to identify soldiers who actively espoused the anthem's counter-revolutionary implications. Sergeant George Darby of the 1st Foot Guards, describing the 1793 surrender of Valenciennes in a letter to his parents, scorned the 'king killing spirit' of French inhabitants who turned away when regimental bands struck up 'God Save the King.'¹⁹¹ Yet the prevalence of patriotic tunes did not necessarily imply identification with the well-developed sense of Britishness envisioned by Linda Colley. As John Cookson and Catriona Kennedy have suggested, professional soldiers appear to have identified primarily with their regiments and

¹⁸⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 October 1811; *Morning Post*, 12 November 1811.

¹⁸⁹ Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, p.14; Kennedy, *Narratives*, pp.56-7.

¹⁹⁰ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/146/27, George Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 3 March 1794.

¹⁹¹ NAM, 2016-10-23-4-225, Grenadier Guards archives, Sergeant Darby to parents, 13 August 1793.

home nations rather than the composite abstraction that was the United Kingdom.¹⁹²

Indeed, investigation of music and song shows that the military sought to motivate George III's multinational, polyglot soldiery more by appealing to their differences than by imposing a unitary British identity, cultivating allegiances to particular regiments, regions, and nations within the framework of service to an imperial state.

Music in Battle

Though audible in camp and on the march, British regimental bands did not regularly play in the heat of battle. H.G. Farmer's work on music in combat is unreferenced and appears to be largely unreliable, incorporating untraceable hearsay and anecdotes shorn of proper context.¹⁹³ Farmer reported, for example, that the Duke of York ordered his regimental band to play for a nervous Lady Webster to mask the sound of gunfire during the 1793 siege of Dunkirk. Yet this was not truly an example of a band striking up in combat, as the performance occurred at headquarters, far removed from the front lines.¹⁹⁴ Over the course of the entire French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, just two instances of British military ensembles playing in battle can be corroborated by first-hand accounts and press reports. In 1793, the 14th Foot stormed a fortified camp at Famars as their musicians performed an

¹⁹² Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.37-8; Kennedy, *Narratives*, pp.60-8.

¹⁹³ Farmer, *British Bands in Battle*, pp.11-16; Farmer, *Rise & Development of Military Music*, pp.88-9.

¹⁹⁴ Lady Holland, *The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, ed. Earl of Ilchester (2 vols, 1908), i, pp.94-5.

ironic rendition of the revolutionary anthem 'Ça Ira', prompting the Duke of York to designate the melody as the regiment's quick march.¹⁹⁵ Eighteen years later during the siege of Tarifa, Lieutenant-Colonel Gough sought to raise the spirits of the Irish 2/87th Foot by ordering the musicians to play 'Garryowen' just before the battalion opened fire on a French column, according to an officer present.¹⁹⁶ However, several other combatants made clear that such musical bravado was exceptional rather than routine. William Leeke, who had served with the 52nd Light Infantry at Waterloo, was categorical: 'The story one used to hear in one's boyhood, of the bands of regiments playing during the raging of a battle to drown the cries of the wounded, is a myth.' Instead, the 'men of the band and some of the buglers generally make themselves useful in action, in attending to the wounded.'¹⁹⁷

Yet if bands did not ordinarily play in combat, their music was still sometimes heard on and around the battlefield. Veterans of the Peninsular War frequently described musicians playing on the march to a general action or storming, and occasionally within range of enemy artillery, but these performances ceased before their regiments were closely engaged.¹⁹⁸ One officer recalled how musicians of the King's German

¹⁹⁵ NAM, 1976-07-45, Lieutenant Thomas Powell diary typescript, 23 May 1793; *Freeman's Journal*, 15 August 1793.

¹⁹⁶ *Anecdotes of British and Spanish Heroism at Tarifa* (1812), pp.68-9.

¹⁹⁷ W. Leeke, *The History of Lord Seaton's Regiment* (2 vols, 1866), i, p.33. See also *Peninsular Sketches*, ii, pp.257-8; L. Knowles, *The British in Capri, 1806-1808* (1918), pp.83-4.

¹⁹⁸ Robertson, *Journal*, p.102; Verner, *Reminiscences*, p.30; J.E. Daniel, *Journal of an Officer in the Commissariat Department of the Army* (1820), p.125; Grattan, *Adventures*, i, pp.192-3, 270.

Legion answered French bands 'note for note' across the battlefield at Fuentes de Oñoro in 1811, although this sonic skirmish occurred during a day-long truce in the actual fighting.¹⁹⁹ Additionally, several spontaneous solos under fire can be documented, including singing and drumming by officers intent on encouraging their men.²⁰⁰ John Scott of the 42nd Highlanders, who had been left to his own devices as a ten-year-old band-boy at Waterloo, later recalled playing his triangle and excitedly shouting 'Scotland forever!' amid the smoke and musketry, while soldiers of the 39th Foot were treated to 'several lively airs' on a midshipman's flute as they manned a gunboat during the 1814 battle of Lake Champlain.²⁰¹

In contrast to band musicians, pipers were expected to play alongside Highland soldiers in action; they marched at the head of their regiments while advancing and performed to rally scattered comrades.²⁰² Although the psychological impact of these sonic standard-bearers is difficult to assess, myriad accounts written by officers and men suggest that piping reinforced the morale and cohesion necessary for battlefield success.²⁰³ Lieutenant-General Stewart was even obliged to silence the 92nd Foot's

¹⁹⁹ [J.S. Cowell], *Leaves from the Diary of an Officer of the Guards* (1854), p.84.

²⁰⁰ *Monthly Mirror* (April 1803), p.283; Blakeney, *Boy in the Peninsular War*, p.188; [Hope], *Military Memoirs*, p.426.

²⁰¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 June 1889; Jones, 'The Old Halberdier', pp.218-9.

²⁰² *Peninsular Sketches*, ii, pp.142-3; Robertson, *Journal*, pp.78, 122; *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*, ed. J.S. Keltie (2 vols, 1875), ii, p.586; D. Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1822), ii, p.239.

²⁰³ R. Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle in the Age of Napoleon* (New Haven, CT, 1998), p.193.

piper-major during fighting in the Pyrenees, according to an officer of the corps, to prevent the galvanised Highlanders from charging precipitately, so 'powerful' was the 'effect of our national music on the minds of the soldiers'.²⁰⁴ Even non-Scottish combatants were genuinely heartened by the skirl of the pipes. An Irishman serving with the 72nd Highlanders, for example, witnessed its pipers playing during an engagement near Cape Town in 1806 and informed a cousin in County Tipperary that he could not 'recollect a more glorious sight'.²⁰⁵

Music fulfilled several other practical roles on the battlefield. In the first place, it facilitated surrender negotiations and dialogue between opposing forces. Trumpeters, buglers, and drummers regularly performed to announce the approach of officers delivering messages under flags of truce.²⁰⁶ Moreover, military instrumentalists were occasionally employed in ruses. In 1813, drummers were left behind to 'beat the reveille at the usual places' to disguise British movements during the battle of the Nive, while outnumbered Anglo-Canadian defenders at the battle of Chateauguay ordered buglers to scatter and sound 'in all directions', thereby creating the impression of a larger force.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ Hope, *Letters from Portugal, Spain, and France* (1819), pp.179-80.

²⁰⁵ Letter from Thomas Lucas to Joshua Fennell, 17 March 1806, scan available at 'Thomas Lucas Letter', The Battle of Blaauwberg website, https://battle.blaauwberg.net/thomas_lucas_letter.php (16 Nov. 2021).

²⁰⁶ J. Vandeleur, *With Wellington's Outposts: The Peninsular and Waterloo Letters of John Vandeleur*, ed. A. Bamford (2015), p.191; *Royal Military Panorama* (November 1813), p.136.

²⁰⁷ J. Anton, *Retrospect of a Military Life* (Edinburgh, 1841), p.88; O'Keeffe, 'Anatomy of a Drum Corps', pp.46-7.

Musical instruments also transmitted commands in combat, supplementing and sometimes superseding vocal directions for light infantry and mounted forces. Cavalry officers were meant to recognise signals played by the chief commander's trumpeter and verbalise them for their men, with trumpeters of all squadrons repeating the 'charge' and 'rally'.²⁰⁸ The recollections of Private Thomas Playford, who served in the 2nd Life Guards at Waterloo, illustrate how trumpet sounds complemented officers' words and gestures to regulate the pace of the advance, preserving order while gathering momentum as troopers progressed from the walk to the trot and ultimately the charge.²⁰⁹ Buglers also shadowed light infantry officers in action, allowing commanders to control skirmishers deployed in extended order or direct remote detachments while surveying the fighting from high ground. According to a 95th Rifles sergeant, the bugle was the best means of 'conveying orders and intelligence from distance to distance' with 'precision and dispatch.'²¹⁰ Distinctive musical phrases instructed men to extend their front, retreat, or advance obliquely, among other actions, and reported sightings of enemy infantry and cavalry. The commanding officer's bugler issued general signals, which were echoed by the others, and could

²⁰⁸ *Instructions and Regulations for the Formations and Movements of the Cavalry* (1799), pp.368-74.

²⁰⁹ T. Playford cited in *The Waterloo Archive*, iv, pp.38-40.

²¹⁰ W. Weddeburne, *Observations on the Exercise of Riflemen* (Norwich, 1804), pp.35-6.

even preface commands with ‘distinguishing sounds’ referring to specific companies and regiments or the right, left, and centre of the line.²¹¹

Light infantry officers, sergeants, and even in some cases common soldiers were expected to familiarise themselves with bugle signals.²¹² Mastering the system was by no means easy. The 2/56th Foot allowed officers in its light and rifle companies up to six months to become ‘thoroughly acquainted’ with the bugle calls, while an second lieutenant of the 95th Rifles, which employed a daunting sixty field sounds in 1804, was advised that learning the flute would expedite this ‘very difficult business’.²¹³ Song also served as a memory aid; a light infantryman in a London volunteer corps published lyrics (‘We now advance’, and so on) to help comrades recall a dozen sounds.²¹⁴ Whilst it would be unrealistic to presume that drill-book prescriptions translated neatly into battlefield reality, eyewitness accounts clearly demonstrate the light infantry’s reliance on bugle signals in action. The light company of the 1/9th Foot, for example, performed ‘all its motions by the sound of the bugle’ when skirmishing ahead the regiment, according to one of their number.²¹⁵ Bugle sounds appear to have been

²¹¹ N. Campbell, *Instructions for Light Infantry and Riflemen*, 2nd edn (1813), pp.89-99; Cross, *System of Drill and Manoeuvres*. See also Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, pp.86-7.

²¹² J. Moore, ‘Sir John Moore’s Light Infantry Instructions of 1798-1799’, ed. J.F.C. Fuller, *JSaHR*, 30/122 (1952), p.72.

²¹³ *Standing Orders...for the 2d Battalion...56th Regiment*, p.54; G. Miller, *The Making of a Rifles Officer: The Life and Letters of Colonel George Miller*, ed. E. Laidlaw (Edinburgh, 2019), p.74; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 15 September 1804.

²¹⁴ W. Wakefield, *The Call of the Bugle Horn as ordered by Lord Harrington* (c.1805).

²¹⁵ Hale, *Journal*, p.40. See also Bell, *Rough Notes*, p.104; NAM, 1968-07-209-1, Edward Nevil Macready journal, chapter 12.

audible in all but the most intense of firefights and, according to a French veteran of the Peninsular War, were sufficient to unsettle raw enemy troops from across the battlefield.²¹⁶ By contrast, the whistle signals mentioned alongside bugle sounds in official manuals appear to have been less practical; one officer scorned them as ‘very fine for a field day’ but ‘a great nonsense’ in action, not least because a whistle would be ‘impossible to *hear*!’²¹⁷

If musical commands were vital for marshalling cavalry and light infantry in the fluid, fast-changing circumstances of combat, experienced officers recognised that their complexity could cause confusion and required highly trained and disciplined troops.²¹⁸ Military manuals stressed the primacy of vocal commands, particularly when in close order or when issuing sub-unit directives to cavalrymen, due to the risk of misunderstandings. A cavalry order issued during the Waterloo campaign, for example, warned that a trumpet sound intended for only part of a force ‘might set in motion the whole line’.²¹⁹ Errors nonetheless occurred: during an ambush in the Michigan Territory in 1812, the grenadiers of the 41st Foot snatched defeat from the

²¹⁶ Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, p.19; R.G.A. Levinge, *Historical Records of the Forty-Third Regiment* (1868), pp.136-7; J.B. Lemonnier-Delafoisse, *Campagnes...ou Souvenirs Militaires* (Le Havre, 1850), p.67.

²¹⁷ C.A. Stevens, ‘The Rifle Brigade 1800 to c.1870: A Study of Social, Cultural and Religious Attitudes’ (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1995), p.66.

²¹⁸ Campbell, *Instructions*, pp.89-99; Cross, *System*, pp.125-6.

²¹⁹ Cooper, *Practical Guide for the Light Infantry Officer*, p.97; D.J. Blackmore, *So Bloody a Day: The 16th Light Dragoons in the Waterloo Campaign* (Warwick, 2019), p.54.

jaws of victory by misinterpreting the bugle sound for charge as an order to retreat.²²⁰

Furthermore, inexperienced and excitable men sometimes ignored signals to halt or rally after a successful advance, thereby incurring unnecessary casualties and exposing themselves to counterattacks. Lord Uxbridge attempted to reform the heavy cavalry at Waterloo by sounding the rally but explained that 'neither voice nor trumpet availed', resulting in appalling losses to French lancers.²²¹

Compared to the trumpet and bugle, the drum appears to have played a more limited role in actual combat, beyond calling soldiers to arms as battle loomed.²²² While earlier manuals prescribed drum signals for every movement from 'right face' to 'shoulder arms', this unwieldy approach had been discarded by the French Revolutionary War in favour of vocal commands.²²³ Nonetheless, regulations of 1804 empowered commanders to control basic manoeuvring through a handful of drum beats, performed by a single drummer standing behind the colours of each battalion.²²⁴ Drum signals to commence and cease firing were also mentioned in military treatises and standing orders and certainly used by regular and volunteer units

²²⁰ T. Boucher de Boucherville, 'Journal de M. Thomas Verchères de Boucherville', *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, 3/3 (1901), pp.85-6.

²²¹ Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle*, pp.116-18, 163; [S. Rogers], *Historical Record of the Eighty-First Regiment* (Gibraltar, 1872), p.106.

²²² B. Hall, *Fragments of Voyages and Travels* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1831), ii, pp.359-60.

²²³ Simes, *The Regulator*, p.49; *General Regulations and Orders* (1786), p.60; Reide, *Treatise*, p.140.

²²⁴ *Rules and Regulations* (1815), pp.285, 386.

during exercises.²²⁵ Colonel Meade of the 31st Foot, in a motivational address probably drafted in 1803, reminded his men to heed the drum signal to cease fire when opposing expected French landings on the English coast.²²⁶ However, there is little evidence to indicate that drummers actually controlled infantry firepower in combat. Rather, memoirs and correspondence suggest that line regiments primarily relied on vocal commands and sometimes also used the bugle to communicate battlefield orders, a trend which reflected the growing popularity of light infantry tactics across the army.²²⁷ Lord Blayney, for example, dispensed with the drum for the 1810 Fuengirola expedition and taught four bugle sounds to his multilingual force.²²⁸

On the other hand, eyewitnesses mention British drummers performing ‘The Grenadiers’ March’, the traditional signal to advance, or ‘The Point of War’, the beating for a bayonet charge, in several engagements between 1795 and 1814.²²⁹ ‘The

²²⁵ Reide, *Treatise*, pp.153, 172; *Standing Orders...for the 2d Battalion...56th Regiment*, pp.180-85; NAM, 1993-03-218, Minorca standing orders, 1800, p.16 and 1978-05-72, Drinkwater Papers, ff.225-7, orders for Ealing Common review, 2 May 1805; J. Macdonald, *Instructions for the Conduct of Infantry on Actual Service* (2 vols, 1807), pp.182-3. See also GA, D45/X7/3, George Whitmore notebook, c.1800, which documents the use of drumbeats ‘in the practice of quick firing’ artillery at Gibraltar.

²²⁶ NRO, Meade of Earsham papers, MEA11/61, 663X3, undated regimental order [1803?].

²²⁷ The bugle’s superior portability and durability may also have made it more practical for battlefield signalling than the drum. See Douglas, *Douglas’s Tale*, pp.7-8, 43, 71, 105-6; J. Commins, ‘The War on the Canadian Frontier, 1812-1814’, ed. N.C. Lord, *JSAHR*, 18/72 (1939), p.204; A.M. Delavoye, *Records of the 90th Regiment* (1880), p.40; G.C. Swiney, *Historical Records of the 32nd (Cornwall) Light Infantry* (1893), p.116.

²²⁸ Blayney, *Narrative*, i, pp.12-13, 481-3.

²²⁹ James, *New and Enlarged Military Dictionary*, ‘point of war’; Innes, *Life*, p.29; A. Nichols, *Wellington’s Switzers: The Watteville Regiment (1801-1816)* (Godmanchester, 2015), p.173; G. McFeely, ‘Chronicle of Valor: The Journal of a Pennsylvania Officer in the War of 1812’, ed. J.C. Fredericksen, *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 67/3 (1984), p.276.

Grenadiers' March', for example, was beat to encourage the wavering 33rd Foot during a nocturnal attack near Seringapatam in India in 1799.²³⁰ Private William Wheeler even compared a British assault in the Pyrenees fourteen years later to a concert: 'fifty buglers' of the 51st and 68th Light Infantry 'were sounding the charge, and the drums of the 82nd [Foot] and C[hasseurs] B[ritanniques] were beating time to the music', prompting a 'general rush' by the whole brigade.²³¹

Yet no other accounts of the Peninsular War record British drummers beating in combat, in stark contrast to their profuse descriptions of friendly bugles sounding the charge or drumbeats accompanying approaching French columns.²³² Although a drummer of the 33rd Foot later claimed to have been wounded while beating his instrument at Waterloo, British drums were evidently little heard during the battle.²³³ One officer present on 18 June 1815 noted that British drummers no longer rolled during the charge, in contrast to the French; another infantryman at Waterloo confirmed that neither drum nor fife 'mock[ed] us with useless din' amid the groans and gunfire.²³⁴ Indeed, French and British descriptions of battlefield soundscapes throughout the wars typically contrasted the unflappable silence of British lines with

²³⁰ BL, Add.MS.13663, 'Journal of Remarks and Observations' by Colin Mackenzie, 1798-9, ff.72-3.

²³¹ Wheeler, *Letters*, p.122.

²³² Morley, *Memoirs*, pp.49, 113-14; *USJ* (June 1841), p.182.

²³³ Chetham's Library, Manuscripts/1/371, 'Recollections...by James Weatherley', pp.34-5; TNA, WO97/512/8, James Hallowell discharge.

²³⁴ Anton, *Retrospect of a Military Life*, p.211; Ross-Lewin, *Life of a Soldier*, ii, p.198.

Gallic drumming and shouting.²³⁵ In the Peninsula, Wellington's regiments generally reserved their firepower and bravado until close to the enemy: the shock of a short-range infantry volley, often accompanied by three cheers, was followed by a vociferous rush with bayonets.²³⁶ Continual 'huzzaing, bawling, [and] yelling,...blended with the brayings of the bugle', according to one soldier, fortified the attackers' nerves and intimidated adversaries.²³⁷ This vocal cacophony at the moment of the charge was mentioned far more frequently in British accounts than the hubbub of rolling drums. Cheering, which arguably deserves consideration as a potent form of vocal battle music in its own right, was even recognised by British officers as a psychological weapon capable of turning the tide in combat.²³⁸

Conclusion

In his authoritative history of the English militia, J.R. Western characterised regimental bands as 'an expensive nuisance'.²³⁹ Yet as this chapter has argued, music was highly significant to and greatly valued by the military. Musical warriors communicated commands, helped inculcate discipline, and governed daily routines.

²³⁵ W. Fergusson, *Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*, ed. J. Fergusson (1846), pp.7-8; C.W.C. Oman, *Wellington's Army, 1809-1814* (1913), pp.90-2.

²³⁶ Leslie, *Military Journal*, p.148; [C. Jones], *Cavalry in the Corunna Campaign*, ed. Lord Carnock (1936), p.17; *Cornhill Magazine* (June 1899), p.745; Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle*, pp.99-102.

²³⁷ Jones, 'The Old Halberdier', p.153.

²³⁸ G.R. Gleig, *Subaltern in America* (Philadelphia, PA, 1833), pp.75-6; Oman, *Wellington's Army*, p.235.

²³⁹ Western, *English Militia*, p.370.

They also enticed recruits and enhanced regimental prestige. Military bands entertained the commanders who sponsored them but also had a wider social reach, lifting spirits in the ranks as well as in the officers' mess. Study of martial music-making, moreover, affords wider insight into the nature of the British armed forces during the French Wars. While Linda Colley has characterised the Napoleonic Wars as a formative phase in the development of British national sentiment, this chapter shows how music appealed to and reinforced a range of interlocking allegiances, contributing to fluid and multifocal military identities.²⁴⁰ The relative impotence of official efforts to limit the size of bands, furthermore, strikingly illustrates the limits of central military authority and the strength of proprietary attitudes among late Georgian officers, who continued to regard their semi-autonomous regiments as personal fiefdoms.²⁴¹ Although conventional interpretations of the eighteenth-century British military have emphasised iron discipline and the social chasm between officers and men, attention to military music suggests that commanders recognised the importance of improving soldiers' morale and well-being. As scholars including Ilya Berkovich and David Huf have recently argued, officers frequently - though by no means universally - sought to bolster their authority by treating subordinates fairly and finding alternatives to corporal punishment.²⁴² Regimental paternalism often extended to recreational and

²⁴⁰ See also Kennedy, *Narratives*, pp.66, 197-8.

²⁴¹ Lynch, *Wellington's Army*, pp.134-5; H. McNally, *The Irish Militia, 1793-1816* (Dublin, 1949), p.217. See also Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*.

²⁴² Berkovich, *Motivation*, pp.198-214; D.L. Huf, 'The Junior British Army Officer: Experience and Identity, 1793-1815', (PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2017), pp.164-92; Conway, *The British Army, 1714-1783*, pp.xvii.

educational activities for common soldiers, including gardening, sport, dancing, and fishing, not to mention the opening of regimental schools well in advance of the 1811 order mandating their establishment.²⁴³ Propaganda and emotional appeals were also not the exclusive preserve of French revolutionary or Napoleonic armies. Conscious that an effective fighting force could not be created through fear of punishment alone, officers widely aimed to inspire and incentivise their men, not least by awarding regimental medals, appealing to patriotism and occupational pride, and investing in military music and display.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ See for example A. Brett-James, *Life in Wellington's Army* (1972), p.220; Hagist, *Noble Volunteers*, p.36; Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.34-5; T.H. Browne, *The Napoleonic War Journal of Captain Thomas Henry Browne, 1807-1816*, ed. R.N. Buckley (1987), pp.78-9.

²⁴⁴ On medals and speeches, see for example, G.O. Rickword, 'Regimental Medals and Orders of Merit', *JSAHR*, 20/80 (1941), pp.247-8; R. Eadie, *Recollections of Robert Eadie* (Kincardine, 1829), pp.17-18; *A Military History of Perthshire, 1660-1902*, ed. Marchioness of Tullibardine (Perth, 1908), pp.148-9, 161; NRO, MEA11/61, 663X3, 16 September 1798 GO.

2. Life as a Musical Warrior

Standard histories of the British army generally pass over the service conditions of drummers and musicians with little comment, doubtless regarding the subject as a distraction from the main focus on officers and common soldiers. Existing works on military music, moreover, provide limited insight into their experiences and attitudes owing to a paucity of archival research. This chapter exploits a wealth of newly identified sources to outline the responsibilities, age profile, and social standing of musical warriors, drawing distinctions between different types of performers and making comparisons with the civilian music profession. Dominated by routine duties and parades, training, and spit and polish, the lives of musical warriors in the professional forces resembled those of other soldiers in many respects. Yet drummers and musicians also comprised distinct castes within the military. They generally enjoyed better pay and lighter obligations than their non-musical comrades and were regarded as more unruly than the rank-and-file. Bandsmen in particular occupied an ambiguous position in the regiment: musicians were not always regarded as effective soldiers, even when formally enlisted, despite the efforts of military authorities to curtail their special status. While drum-majors and musicians earned respect and even celebrity in uniform, drummers were stigmatised because of their responsibility for inflicting punishment and their association with childishness, even though most were in fact young adults. The chapter also demonstrates that the military offered its performers guaranteed wages, which could be augmented by income from external

engagements, as well as opportunities for education and promotion. It considers how musical warriors actually felt about military life, drawing on their own accounts as far as possible, and concludes by documenting the experiences of musical warriors on the battlefield.

Martial instrumentalists played significant and acutely audible roles in most aspects of military life. As mentioned in the previous chapter, drummers accompanied recruiting parties and administered corporal punishment. John Shipp undertook the 'disgusting duty' of inflicting the lash at least thrice weekly as a fifer in the 22nd Foot, although drummers in home defence corps, and professional regiments which minimised recourse to flogging, were obliged to handle the cat-o'-nine-tails rarely or not at all.¹ Drummers also performed guard or orderly duties on a rotating basis: the west, south, and north guards at the Dartmoor prisoner-of-war depot in December 1813, for example, each included one drummer.² On duty for twenty-four hours at a time, these musical warriors performed 'To Arms' in emergencies, beat marches or rolls in honour of senior officers, and generally maintained the guardroom, replacing mattresses or candles and tending the fire.³ Other drummers entertained fatigue

¹ Shipp, *Flogging and its Substitute*, p.20; *PP* (1836), Cm 59, Report...inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army, pp.69-70, 73-6; Blackstock, *Ascendancy Army*, pp.106-7; Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, p.269.

² 'Colonel Wellesley's Standing Orders to the Thirty-Third Regiment, 1798', ed. B.W. Webb-Carter, *JSAHR*, 50/202 (1972), p.68; NRO, MC500/6, 761X, East Norfolk Militia OB, 16 December 1813.

³ Reide, *Treatise*, p.36; PRONI, D374/4, Royal Downshire Militia RCMs, Drummer Caughey, 24 April 1795; C. James, *The Regimental Companion* (3 vols, 1811), i, p.262; *Standing Orders for the Third West York Militia*, p.53-4.

parties: soldiers marched off to collect provisions accompanied by a fife or, in Highland corps, a piper.⁴ Off-duty drummers assembled daily to beat 'The Troop', 'Retreat' and 'Tattoo'; musicians also performed for the mounting of guards and parades in camp and garrison.⁵ Furthermore, musical warriors stirred emotions during spiritual rituals. They played as men marched to church on Sundays, provided vocal and instrumental accompaniment during worship, and attended military funerals.⁶ High mortality rates in Wallajahbad in India, for example, obliged one fife-major to assign a fife to funeral parties for twelve consecutive days, although commanders faced with epidemics often ordered burials without music to avoid distressing the sick.⁷

In addition to performing publicly, musical warriors were expected to maintain their skills, equipment, and personal appearance. They practised regularly and often daily, adhering to rigorous rehearsal regimens which will be examined in the next chapter. Trumpeters also cared for their horses.⁸ Although smartness was demanded of all soldiers, the importance of drummers and musicians to regimental display

⁴ *Standing Orders and Regulations...in the Garrison of Gibraltar*, p.96; Greenhill Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment*, pp.39, 412.

⁵ Reide, *Treatise*, pp.52-3; *Standing Orders for the 76th...Regiment*, pp.65-6; *Selections from the General Orders of...the Duke of Wellington*, ed. J. Gurwood (1847), p.67.

⁶ C.M. Howard, *Reminiscences for my Children* (4 vols, Carlisle, 1838), iv, p.8; J.F.S. Gordon, *The Catholic Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1869), p.387; NRS, Eglinton Papers, GD3/9/10/1/3/1, West Lowland Fencibles OB, 16 June 1794.

⁷ Butler, *Narrative* (1854) pp.90-2; Leach, *Rough Sketches*, p.14; G. Pinckard, *Notes on the West Indies* (3 vols, 1806), iii, pp.232-3.

⁸ *Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry* (1795), p.35.

obliged them to spend disproportionate time looking after their uniforms and coiffure. Bandsmen of the Somerset Militia, for example, applied a chalk-based pigment to the lace of their clothing every Saturday to renew its golden sheen.⁹ Sartorial slackness was sternly rebuked: the Bedfordshire Militia's colonel complained in 1798 that his musicians were 'very irregular[ly] dressed and the hair of some of them disgraced the regiment', vowing to punish continued negligence.¹⁰ Musicians were liable for damage to their instruments caused by 'carelessness or inattention'; drummers, who gained a reputation for secreting contraband and plundered fowl in their drums, were likewise encouraged to look after their equipment by the prospect of pay deductions for broken drum-heads or mislaid sticks and slings.¹¹

Responsibility for the cleanliness, behaviour, and instruction of the drummers, and the punctual performance of duty calls, lay with the drum-major, who was typically ranked as a sergeant.¹² (The equivalent positions in mounted and light infantry corps were trumpet-major and bugle-major, respectively.) Fife-majors were also generally appointed in infantry regiments, with the rank of either sergeant or corporal, to teach

⁹ Kerr, *Records of the 1st Somerset Militia*, p.53; *Cyclopædia*, xxvii, 'pink'. See also 'Standing Orders for the Loyal Essex Fencible Infantry, 1795', ed. P. Young, *JSaHR*, 25/102 (1947), p.91.

¹⁰ NAM, 1979-12-52, Bedfordshire Militia OB, 15 August 1798.

¹¹ *Standing Orders of the King's County Regiment of Militia* (Dublin, 1810), p.22; *The Standing Orders of H.M. 29th, or Worcestershire Regiment of Foot* (1812), p.100; G. Drage, 'Royal Radnor Regular Militia', *Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 10 (1940), p.40; Bell, *Rough Notes*, pp.150-151; Harley, *The Veteran*, i, p.182.

¹² *Standing Orders...for His Majesty's Fourth Regiment of North British Militia*, pp.47-50.

the fifers and act as the drum-major's deputy.¹³ The conduct of these musical non-commissioned officers, who were often barred from drinking and associating with their subordinates to preserve the expected hierarchy, ranged from pastoral to tyrannical.¹⁴ Although Fife-Major Butler of the 2/1st Foot described visiting his fifers in hospital and teaching boys to keep themselves 'trig and clean', a bugle-major of the 43rd Foot was flogged for organising his charges into a shoplifting ring.¹⁵ Expected to be consummate showmen, drum-majors marched in front of the musicians, drummers, or both on parade, keeping time and issuing commands by flourishing an ornate staff.¹⁶ Drum- and trumpet-majors also counted the strokes during floggings. They taught subordinates to apply the lash by 'practic[ing] them at a mark', and even supplied the cat-o'-nine-tails, for which offenders paid them sixpence or a shilling.¹⁷ Finally, drum-majors and their equivalents handled the regiment's mail, a responsibility that required regular visits to the post office but entitled them to charge recipients up to a penny per letter.¹⁸ Given the volume of public and personal correspondence, this appears to have been a relatively lucrative sideline: officers of

¹³ *Standing Orders for the Third West York Militia*, p.40; 'Standing Orders of the 43rd Regiment, 1795', in *The 43rd & 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle*, ed. A.F. Mockler-Ferryman (3 vols, [1892-4]), iii, p.166.

¹⁴ NRS, Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers, GD174/2315, 'Orders for the Assistance and Guidance of the Non-Commissioned Officers of the First Battalion 79th Regiment', c.1814, pp.9-10.

¹⁵ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.143, 150; *PP* (1836), Cm 59, p.254.

¹⁶ James, *Regimental Companion*, ii, pp.478-86; Williamson, *Elements of Military Arrangement* (1791), ii, pp.60-1.

¹⁷ *Standing Orders for the Third, Or King's Own...Dragoons*, p.44; *Regimental Standing Orders...[of the]...Westmeath...Militia*, pp.27-8.

¹⁸ This practice was presumably a holdover from the seventeenth century, when drummers acted as messengers. See F. Markham, *Five Decades of Epistles of Warre* (1622), p.59 and *Standing Orders for the Royal South Gloucester Militia* (Dock, 1811), pp.37-8.

the 3rd Royal Lincoln Militia promised their drum-major up to eighteen guineas annually in exchange for exempting the lower ranks from his customary postal levy.¹⁹

The master of the band, who like the drum-major was usually ranked as a sergeant, supervised the musicians and was accountable for their playing, appearance, and conduct.²⁰ An 1818 testimonial for the 96th Foot's bandmaster encapsulates the versatile attributes required, including prowess as a performer, 'excellent taste in arranging music', and an 'admirable method of bringing forward young musicians'.²¹ Unlike modern conductors, bandmasters did not direct with a baton but generally led their ensembles on the clarinet, relying on the drum-major to issue commands on parade.²²

As the drum-major's authority over the band suggests, there was considerable interdependence between the musicians and drummers of a regiment. Individuals moved between the two musical contingents during their military careers or even served in both simultaneously. Trumpeters of cavalry regiments in particular often

¹⁹ *Standing Orders for the Third Royal Lincoln Militia* (Hull, 1805), pp.14-15; *List of the Officers of the Militia*, 11th edn (1805).

²⁰ *Standing Orders of H.M. 29th...Foot*, p.99.

²¹ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 877, p.34, Lt-Col McCarthy and Captain Coppinger testimonial, 10 December 1818.

²² *Saunders' News-Letter*, 23 November 1802; *The Courier* (London), 30 November 1815; *Standing Orders for the Second Battalion of the Fifty-Sixth Regiment* (1805), pp.22-3; *Standing Orders for the Southern Regiment of Staffordshire Local Militia* (Lichfield, 1813), p.18.

doubled as musicians.²³ Inspection reports and extant regimental archives provide further examples of the interchange of personnel between the band and the drums, revealing in the process that pay-lists submitted to the War Office frequently failed to reflect the actual roles of performers. In 1800, for instance, the Reay Fencibles made two musicians 'do duty also as buglers' and appointed drummer Archibald Buchanan as both master of the band and fife-major.²⁴ Five of the twenty-two individuals ranked as drummers in the Staffordshire Militia in 1803 in fact played wind instruments in the band full-time; another pair of drummers performed with the band on the cymbals and bass drum, and three more played the clarinet, bassoon, and horn 'occasionally'. The band's triangle player was also 'ordered to learn the drum', becoming one of eight 'supernumerary' drummers and fifers who were listed on muster rolls as privates.²⁵ Synergy between the musicians and the drummers was also audible on parade: the two musical contingents frequently played in alternation and sometimes performed together, with B-flat fifes melodically complementing the B-flat clarinets.²⁶

²³ TNA, WO27/84, 1801 inspection returns, 3rd Dragoon Guards; *Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry*, pp.35-6.

²⁴ Mackay Scobie, *Old Highland Fencible Corps*, p.274. Several other corps expected a band musician (usually the master) to oversee their fifers. See for example Birmingham Archives, Boulton Papers, MS3782/18/2, Loyal Birmingham Volunteers orders, 24 May 1804; NRS, GD3/9/10/1/3/1, West Lowland Fencibles OB, 10 December 1793 and 26 January 1794.

²⁵ StaffsRO, Paget Papers, D603/O/2/33, list of fifers and drummers, 2 November 1803; TNA, WO13/1949, Staffordshire Militia pay-lists, 1803.

²⁶ *Cyclopædia*, xiv, 'fife' entry; *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August 1791; NLNZ, MS-Papers-8670-020, Fanny Chapman diary, 7 July 1808; W. Elrington, *The Austrian Retreat* ([1795?]); M.P. King, *The British March* ([1798]).

Military bandsmen, like professional musicians in the civilian world, were frequently competent on multiple instruments.²⁷ Indeed, officers sometimes expected their musicians to perform as a string ensemble and sing as a choir.²⁸ Drummers could become multi-instrumentalists even without serving in the band; in the 3rd West York Militia, any drummer who failed to learn both drum and fife was sent into the ranks.²⁹ Although the establishments of infantry battalions generally made formal provision for only two grenadier fifers, an abundance of pictorial and archival evidence suggests that between one-third and one-half of drummers - often one per company - played the fife on any given parade.³⁰ The pair of drummers attached to the light company of each line regiment widely adopted the bugle; by 1812 a drummer in every company of the 2/27th Foot carried a bugle for use in skirmishing manoeuvres.³¹ Drummers occasionally employed other instruments at the behest of their officers: those of a Perthshire local militia battalion learned the panpipes, while others serving in

²⁷ D. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.113-14; *Madras Courier*, 19 June 1810; *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 August 1793; Marquis of Anglesey, 'Two Brothers in the Netherlands, 1794-1795', *JSAHR*, 32/130-1 (1954), p.103.

²⁸ See, for example, NLI, Clements Papers, MS36058/7, John Mahon to Lord Leitrim, 23 May 1809.

²⁹ *Standing Orders for the Third West York Militia*, p.40. See also WYAS, WYW1686/2, Wakefield Local Militia OB, 12 and 29 June 1809; Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ii, p.248.

³⁰ For example, LMA, Clitherow Papers, Acc1360/750/5, return of the musicians and drummers of the Royal Westminster Regiment, 8 October 1801; TNA, HO50/137, Lt-Col Bradshaw to Lord Hawkesbury, 22 June 1805; Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, pp.17-18, 26.

³¹ J. Moore, 'Two Private Letters from Major-General Sir John Moore', ed. J.F.C. Fuller, *JSAHR*, 9/37 (1930), p.163; W.C. Trimble, *The Historical Record of the 27th Inniskilling Regiment* (1876), p.60.

Portugal, in deference to an eccentric commander who disliked the noise of drumming, assembled their comrades by tolling the convent bell.³²

Another similarity between military and civilian music-making, besides multi-instrumentalism, was the prevalence of musical families.³³ Civilian professionals instructed and performed with their offspring just as fathers, sons, and brothers served together in uniform. The drummers of the 100th Foot in 1815, for example, included three Greens, three Gutherys, two Coxes, and two Badgers, while a father and seven siblings played in the band of the 1/95th Rifles.³⁴ The musicians of the Road Volunteers in Somerset provide an extreme example of musical kinship: all eight were related to each other, six as brothers and two as sons of the eldest performer.³⁵

Though often recruited as children, drummers were on average more mature than contemporary caricatures and modern stereotypes suggest. The age distribution depended substantially on regimental custom. The 2/60th Foot sent drummers into the ranks ‘the moment they were sufficiently tall’ to shoulder arms, while drummers of 3rd West York Militia ‘very frequently’ asked to serve as privates on turning twenty-

³² NLS, MS.1502, Royal Perthshire LM (Central Battalion) papers, f.94, Quartermaster Bisset to Colonel Mackenzie, 25 January 1812; [Cowell], *Leaves from the Diary*, pp.35-6.

³³ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p.11; S.D.I. Fleming, ‘The Howgill Family’, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 10 (2013), p.62, n27.

³⁴ TNA, WO12/9852, 100th Foot pay-lists; Costello, *Adventures*, p.365; Harris, *Recollections*, pp.67-72.

³⁵ *Bath Chronicle*, 15 October 1801.

three or twenty-four.³⁶ Yet other commanding officers were keen to retain experienced performers into adulthood: drummers of the Westmeath Militia were barred from transferring to the ranks 'as it is Lord Delvin's wish to establish as good a corps of drummers as possible'.³⁷ During the Waterloo campaign, drummers of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 1st Foot Guards were on average twenty-two years old; although seven years younger than the average private, they had served nearly sixty percent longer on account of their precocious enlistment.³⁸ Those of the 2nd North British Militia were aged between fourteen and twenty-four in 1801, with a median age of eighteen.³⁹ Demographic data of this kind is not without problems, given the possibility that ages were inaccurately recorded and the certainty that some individuals listed as drummers in fact served in regimental bands while others (often young drummers in training) were officially returned as boys or privates. Nonetheless, it is striking to note that four-fifths of trumpeters and drummers serving in regular regiments, according to extant inspection returns from 1815 (see Figure 3), were adults.⁴⁰ Information on the ages of bandsmen is harder to obtain because musicians were not ordinarily listed as a separate category in military returns, but the available evidence suggests similar patterns of youthful entry and long service, often resulting

³⁶ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 931, pp.134-44, Duke of Kent to Lt-Gen Hunter, 13 September 1799; Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/Y/16/419/a, Colonel Cooke to Lord Fitzwilliam, 19 April 1812.

³⁷ *Regimental Standing Orders...[of the]...Westmeath...Militia*, pp.27-8.

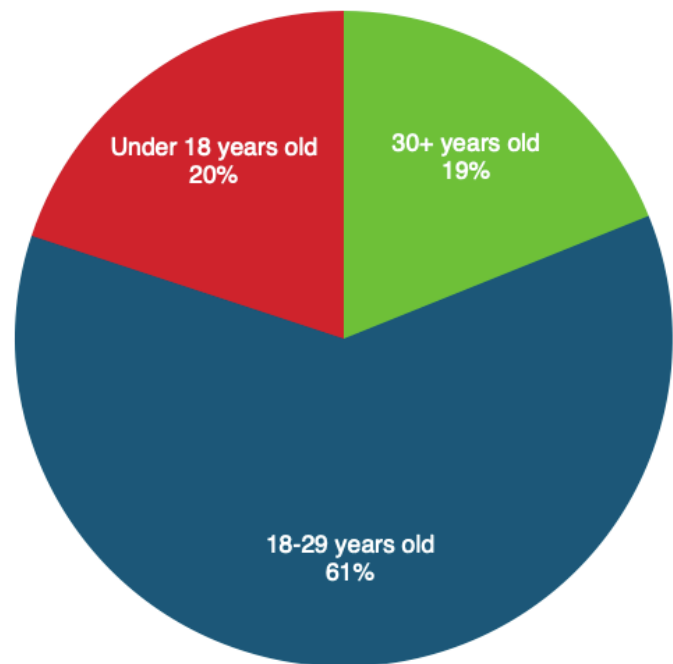
³⁸ R. Burnham and R. McGuigan, *Wellington's Foot Guards at Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2018), pp.27-8.

³⁹ Highlanders' Museum, Inverness, return book of the 2nd North British Militia, p.140, muster roll of 8 and 15 October 1801.

⁴⁰ TNA, WO27/133, 1st half-year 1815 inspection returns.

in multigenerational ensembles. An 1801 return of musicians of the 24th Foot, for example, records an age distribution of thirteen to fifty and a median age of twenty-five, although all twelve had entered service between the ages of eight and thirteen.⁴¹

Figure 3. Ages of Drummers in British Regular Army Battalions, 1815



Source: TNA, WO27/133, 1st half-year 1815 inspection returns. Sample size: 1938 drummers and trumpeters in 102 battalions and 8 regimental depots.

The degree to which musicians were deemed effective soldiers was a

matter of contemporary disagreement; their status varied according to the regiment and context. Most musicians, as with drummers and Highland pipers, joined the professional forces on the same terms as other recruits: they enlisted for a fixed or unlimited period of service and were subject to military discipline, as manifold references to courts-martial and floggings attest.⁴² Individual bandsman sometimes embraced their dual occupational identity, including the Irish militiaman who cited his ‘behaviour as a soldier and abilities as a musician’ when requesting a discharge.⁴³ On the other hand, a number of expert music-masters led regular and militia bands while

⁴¹ RMRW, enclosed in Sergeant McBride to Lt-Gen Whyte, 9 October 1801.

⁴² *Standing Orders...of the 55th Regiment*, pp.28-9; *Standing Orders for the...106th Regiment*, pp.22-3; NRS, GD112/52/208-30, Breadalbane Fencibles RCMs, 1794-8.

⁴³ NLI, MS36,058/7, David Browne to Lord Leitrim, 1 March 1813.

remaining civilians themselves: the commanding officer of the 89th Foot could not prevent his first horn player from resigning in 1804 as the man was 'an Italian and no soldier'.⁴⁴ Other top-flight performers, while formally enlisted, negotiated contracts guaranteeing their right to live out of barracks, their freedom to wear civilian clothes when off-duty, and occasionally even exemption from military law or service overseas. John Graber's 1793 agreement with the Staffordshire Militia was not unique in specifying that 'tho' sworn and inrolled as a serjeant, [he] shall not be required to do any other duty than that of musician'.⁴⁵ An 1800 general order issued to the army in Ireland, which complained about musicians who had 'never been drilled as soldiers', was one of a number of attempts by military authorities to remind regiments that their bandsmen should be properly trained and capable of bearing arms in emergencies.⁴⁶ Many regular and militia regiments do appear to have exercised their adult musicians (and sometimes also their drummers) with muskets at least occasionally. The 1813 standing orders of the 2/62nd Foot, for example, stipulated that musicians and drummers should drill with firelocks at least once weekly, while the musicians of the 51st Foot did so daily when the regiment was under orders for foreign service.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁴ PRONI, Massereene-Foster Papers, D562/3607, Lord Blayney to Colonel Foster, 21 September 1804.

⁴⁵ StaffsRO, D603/O/2/12, agreement between John Graber and Lord Uxbridge, 10 December 1793, and D603/O/2/33, agreement between Henry Liebe and Lord Uxbridge, 7 May 1803; TNA, WO119/3/106, John Crozier discharge from the 41st Foot, 1793; PRONI, Downshire Papers, D607/D/124, Major Matthews to Lord Downshire, 16 August 1796.

⁴⁶ NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1330, 26 April 1800 general order; *General Regulations and Orders for the Army* (1811), p.92.

⁴⁷ *Standing Orders of the Second Battalion of the 62nd...Foot*, p.45; WYAS (Kirklees), Fisher Papers, WYK1263/1/18, Thomas Fisher to Joseph Fisher, 22 August 1810. See also Cambridgeshire Archives, L79/6, Cambridgeshire Militia OB, 19 September 1813.

band of the Glamorgan Volunteers not only participated in target practice but were pronounced the best shots in the corps.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, it is difficult to avoid the impression that military bandsmen were musicians first and effective soldiers second, as Adjutant-General Sir Harry Calvert, in his efforts to curtail oversized regimental ensembles, clearly believed.⁴⁹ When musicians of the Nottinghamshire Militia shouldered muskets and paraded as sentinels at the Tower of London in 1813, the sight was characterised in the press, significantly, as a 'novelty' symptomatic of the nation's acute manpower shortage.⁵⁰

The band and 'the drums' or 'the corps of buglers' were regarded as discrete formations within a regiment.⁵¹ Musical warriors, as previously mentioned, were differentiated by their dress, which was not only especially splendid but typically of a different hue than that of the rank and file. Musicians' clothing was not officially regulated, but bandsmen tended to wear white uniforms; infantry drummers mostly wore coats of their regiment's facing colour, such as yellow, buff, or green.⁵² Trumpeters were commonly distinguished by the grey colour of their horses while musical warriors in general were equipped with swords rather than firearms and

⁴⁸ *The Cambrian*, 14 November 1807.

⁴⁹ TNA, WO3/49, p.357, Adjutant-General Calvert to Lt-Gen Nicolls, 7 December 1809; WO3/361, p.481, Calvert to Captain Miller, 15 December 1812.

⁵⁰ *Morning Post*, 23 October 1813.

⁵¹ *Standing Orders...for the 85th*, p.84; NAI, M3481, Royal Longford Militia OB, 27 May 1814.

⁵² TNA, WO3/35, W.W. to Maj-Gen England, 22 October 1802 and WO3/333, W.W. to Lt-Col Brown, 5 November 1802; CWM, 19770094-011, Pearse clothiers, military tailors' sample book, 1810-46, and 19770094-023, uniform design book, 1796-1802; W.Y. Carman, 'Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802', *JSAHR*, 19/76 (1940), p.219.

bayonets.⁵³ Musicians formed friendships with men outside the band but also socialised together and petitioned officers collectively, illustrating the importance of their musical roles in their personal and professional lives.⁵⁴ In some regiments, musicians and drummers lived, ate, and were inspected alongside non-musical comrades of the same company and squad. Yet other corps quartered bandsmen together and arranged for drummers to mess as a group, thereby reinforcing their separation from common soldiers.⁵⁵ Drummers followed their companies when detached to perform duty beatings and calls but musicians generally remained at regimental headquarters, regardless of the whereabouts of their companies, to avoid dividing the band.⁵⁶ Musical warriors also tended to be segregated from the rank-and-file during parades and manoeuvres. Official regulations instructed infantry drummers and musicians to form six and twelve paces to the rear of the battalion, respectively, when in close order. Alternatively, when in open order, the band was placed in front of the centre of the line, just behind the colours, and drummers could be arrayed on both flanks to 'in order to make more show'.⁵⁷ Certain corps instead positioned their

⁵³ StaffsRO, Staffordshire Yeomanry Papers, D1300/1/1, Adjutant's OB, 11 June 1810; P. Sumner, '1st Dragoon Guards, Trumpeters' Horses', *JSAHR*, 30/123 (1952), p.136.

⁵⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, p.202; SHC, DD/SLI/7/1, 1st Somerset Militia RCMs, p.230, 13 January 1812 enquiry; SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/1118, Betton to Bradford, 13 September 1811.

⁵⁵ *Regimental Standing Orders...Royal Meath Regiment*, p.47; NLI, MS9889, Donegal Militia OB, 13 June 1794; *Standing Orders and Regulations for His Majesty's Newton and Failsworth Regiment of Lancashire Local Militia* (Manchester, 1810?), p.36; PRONI, D286/1, Royal North Down Militia RCMs, Drummer Doran, 11 January 1808; Cooper, *Rough Notes*, p.50.

⁵⁶ James, *Regimental Companion*, i, p.236; *Standing Rules...[of the]...Fraser Fencible Infantry*, p.79; *Standing Orders of the 51st, or Edinburgh Regiment of British Militia* (Edinburgh, 1812), p.68.

⁵⁷ *Rules and Regulations* (1815), pp.68-72.

musicians and drummers in a position of honour on the extreme right of the line or in the centre of an inward-facing square; in 1798 the musicians of the Montreal garrison played from an elevated platform opposite the regiments on parade.⁵⁸ All these dispositions underscored the status of military instrumentalists as breeds apart.



Figure 4. This painting depicts a militia regiment deployed in open order with the band in the centre (clad in white) and the drummers and fifers in two divisions on the flanks. R. Livesay, 'The Worcestershire Regiment [of Militia], commanded by Colonel Newport, being reviewed by Major-General Whitelocke on Southsea Common, October 14th, 1800' (Portsmouth Museums).

Military musicians were also marked out by their comparatively leisured lifestyle and unruly behaviour. Thomas Fisher of the 51st Foot described his 'situation in the band' as preferable to that of an ordinary private: musicians on home service were 'not under so much controul and subjection to ev'ry petty [non-commissioned] officer'

⁵⁸ *Standing Orders of the King's County...Militia*, p.22; William Salt Library, Stafford, M607, Central Staffordshire LM OB, 23 Sept 1810; J. Durang, *The Memoir of John Durang*, ed. A.S. Downer (Pittsburgh, PA, 1966), p.68.

and generally enjoyed 'a lazy life.'⁵⁹ The standing orders of the 29th Foot agreed that bandsmen were 'exempt from the harder and more laborious duties of their brother soldiers' and urged them to set an example through good behaviour, yet officers variously described musicians as 'proverbially fond of drink' and 'the most difficult part of a regiment to keep in order'.⁶⁰ Reports of rehearsal-room rebellions and drunken antics are legion. The musicians of 18th Hussars, having failed to attend an officers' ball in Spain, were found dancing with several women while 'completely naked, except having their pelisses slung across their shoulders'.⁶¹ Drummers and buglers were also perceived as mischievous, unnecessarily numerous, and underworked.⁶² Volunteer performers during the French Revolutionary War proved 'almost impossible to govern', according to one Scottish lord-lieutenant; their persistent misbehaviour prompted Parliament to subject all drummers, trumpeters, and buglers of the yeomanry and volunteers to military discipline in 1803, although reports of their delinquency persisted.⁶³ Fifers and drummers in the regular army were 'never oppressed with hard duty', according to a lieutenant of the 27th Foot, and led especially 'idle and disorderly lives' during drawn-out Peninsular sieges; one

⁵⁹ WYAS (Kirklees), WYK1263/1/18, Thomas Fisher to Joseph Fisher, 22 August 1810.

⁶⁰ *Standing Orders of H.M. 29th...Foot*, p.99; [Hansard], *Parliamentary Debates*, new series, vi, col. 909 (4 March 1822); Patterson, *Camp and Quarters*, ii, p.335.

⁶¹ Woodberry, *With Wellington's Hussars*, p.145.

⁶² Napier, *Remarks on Military Law*, p.152; G. Rigaud, *Celer et Audax: A Sketch of the Services of the Fifth Battalion, Sixtieth Regiment* (Oxford, 1879), p.71; BL, Newcastle Papers, Add.MS.33048, f.362, [Lord Pelham to Charles Yorke], March 1802; J.T. Stanley, *The Correspondence of J.T. Stanley, Esq. with the Earl of Stamford* (Chester, 1798), p.18.

⁶³ TNA, HO50/41, Major Rock to Henry Dundas, 3 April 1798, and HO50/46, Sir James Grant to Henry Dundas, 8 November 1799; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 16 September 1803; HA, Bolton Papers, 11M49/241, L. Lidiard and Edward P. Knell to Lord Bolton, 1 April 1804.

commander ordered them to take turns playing for working parties near Bayonne to prevent trouble.⁶⁴ Though customarily exempt from cooking and fatigue duties, presumably to ensure that they remained free to perform beatings and attend parades, off-duty drummers and buglers were assigned a multitude of menial tasks.⁶⁵ They performed chores for officers and surgeons, delivered dinner to their soldier-fathers, and even acted as human targets during blank firing exercises.⁶⁶ Abstracts of regimental courts-martial also appear to corroborate the charge of disproportionate indiscipline. Drummers comprised 2.38% of the manpower in three infantry battalions (the 4/1st, 2/18th, and 1/30th Foot) but stood accused in 7.5% of 200 cases for which records survive in 1812-13, meaning they were over three times more likely to face trial than other soldiers.⁶⁷ Judicial documents probably do not capture the full scope of their mischief, given the use of summary punishment; it was customary in the 40th Foot for the drum-major to punish even adult drummers for minor infractions by whipping them on the buttocks without recourse to courts-martial.⁶⁸

While historians have stressed the low status and raffish reputation of jobbing instrumentalists in the civilian sphere, martial musicians were generally esteemed by

⁶⁴ Crowe, *Eloquent Soldier*, p.241.

⁶⁵ Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, p.75.

⁶⁶ E. Ham, *Elizabeth Ham by Herself*, ed. E. Gillett (1945), p.118; *Peninsular Sketches*, ii, pp.173-74; Landmann, *Recollections*, i, p.104; *Standing Orders...for the 85th*, p.111; A.T.Q. Stewart, *The Summer Soldiers: The 1798 Rebellion in Antrim and Down Stewart* (Belfast, 1995), p.248.

⁶⁷ TNA, WO 27/116, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, RCMs. These figures include drum-majors.

⁶⁸ PRONI, T1169/27, Lt-Col Archdall GCM (40th Foot), 1813, pp.55, 97, 106.

the military and the wider public.⁶⁹ Militia clarinettists and volunteer tambourinists became minor celebrities, singled out by audiences for their talents and mourned at grandiose funerals attended by officers, ladies of fashion, and even royalty.⁷⁰ The 1823 interment of a French horn and bugle player of the Coldstream Guards, whose ‘fame had spread all over the kingdom’ according to widely-reprinted obituaries, reportedly attracted ten thousand spectators.⁷¹ Officers respected musicians more than the rank-and-file, according to Thomas Fisher, and repeatedly referred to them as ‘gentlemen’ in correspondence. Descriptions of musicians also suggest they were socially a cut above common soldiers, sometimes alluding to their ‘genteel’ manners and appearance.⁷² Furthermore, bandsmen were disproportionately literate: sixteen of eighteen musicians (89%) of the Royal Westminster Regiment, for example, were able to sign their names in 1814, compared to 32% of privates and drummers of the 28th Foot who fought at Waterloo.⁷³ Expert musicians hired as bandmasters were keen to put on airs, sometimes adopting officers’ dress, demanding to be ‘respected as an

⁶⁹ R. Gribble, ‘The Finances, Estates and Social Status of Musicians in the Late Eighteenth Century’, in Golding (ed), *Music Profession in Britain*, pp.12-31; Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.133, 179.

⁷⁰ J. Everett, *Wall’s End Miner*, 3rd edn (Manchester, 1850), pp.5-6; J.G. Rawstorne, *An Account of the Regiments of Royal Lancashire Militia* (Lancaster, 1874), pp.99-100; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 28 October 1793; *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 9 February 1805; *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 October 1818.

⁷¹ *Saunders’s News-Letter*, 23 September 1823.

⁷² WYAS (Kirklees), WYK1263/1/18, Thomas Fisher to Joseph Fisher, 22 August 1810; NYCRO, ZNKx2/2/190, Major Cradock to Lord Dundas, 16 February 1808; Anglesey, ‘Two Brothers in the Netherlands’, p.76; *The Sun*, 18 September 1802; *Dublin Journal*, 11 October 1806; *York Herald*, 22 February 1806.

⁷³ LMA, Clitherow Papers, Acc/1360/740/177, list of musicians receiving compensation in lieu of clothing, 21 July 1814; J.D. Ellis, ‘Promotion within the Ranks of the British Army’, *JSAHR*, 81/327 (2003), p.218. See also R.S. Schofield, ‘Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750-1850’, *Explorations in Economic History*, 10/4 (1973), p.450.

officer in the regiment', and even obtaining commissions themselves.⁷⁴ The master of the Royal Downshire Militia band, an alumnus of the University of Glasgow named Smollet Holden, expected to be treated as a 'professional man' rather than as a sergeant. Despised by the non-commissioned officers for his haughty refusal to associate with them, Holden was allowed to keep a soldier-servant and offered the regiment's adjutant an astonishing £700 to purchase his commission.⁷⁵

The status of a drum-major often rivalled that of a skilled musician. Although some drum-majors were mocked for their outsized self-regard, long-serving and charismatic incumbents commanded general respect.⁷⁶ The officers of the 16th Light Dragoons, for example, presented their veteran trumpet-major with a pipe worth twenty guineas in recognition of their 'esteem for his character as a man and as a soldier'.⁷⁷ Admiration for these musical figureheads was echoed by the monarch, who 'was notorious for invariably taking more notice of the drum-major's salutes' than those of actual officers at reviews.⁷⁸ Pipers were likewise held in high estimation by civilians and other soldiers, which only served to heighten their proverbial pride, while some fifers gained

⁷⁴ TNA, WO68/390/1, Armagh Militia General Orders, 5 January 1807; PRONI, D562/3608, Domenico Briscoli to Colonel Foster, [1804]; D607/F/147, Smollet Holden to Lord Downshire, 15 April 1798; *Government Gazette*, 2 April 1812.

⁷⁵ PRONI, D607/D/122, Holden to Major Matthews, 15 August 1796; D607/F/81, Adjutant Harrison to Downshire, 4 March 1798; D607/F/210, Matthews to Downshire, 8 June 1798; W.I. Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1913), p.94.

⁷⁶ According to a North Hants Militia officer, the regiment's new drum-major had 'some good qualities for that high situation [and] one that is very essential, I mean, impudence.' See HA, 44M69/G6/2/1/11/4, Major Andrews to Colonel Jervoise, 5 August 1802 and also [T. Fernyhough], *Military Memoirs of Four Brothers*, 3rd edn (1838), p.280; Jackson, *Narrative*, pp.10-11; *Chester Courant*, 9 January 1816.

⁷⁷ E.C. Cocks, *Intelligence Officer in the Peninsula*, ed. J.V. Page (Tunbridge Wells, 1986), p.171.

⁷⁸ Landmann, *Recollections*, ii, pp.319-21.

recognition for their individual proficiency by winning talent competitions against counterparts in other corps.⁷⁹

In general, however, drummers were distinguished by their low status. Officers and men employed the expression ‘from the general to the drummer’ or close analogues when referring to all ranks in the army, indicating that drummers occupied the bottom



Figure 5. A depiction of Drum-Major John Lyster leading the Staffordshire Militia band. Circle of Arthur William Devis, ‘The Staffordshire Militia on parade at Windsor Castle’, c.1804 (NAM, 1989-03-43-1).

⁷⁹ For pipers, see Greenhill Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment*, p.482; W. Gavin, *The Diary of William Gavin, Ensign and Quartermaster, 71st Highland Regiment*, ed. C. Oman (1921), p.xi; [D. Menzies], *The Bagpipe Preceptor* (Edinburgh, 1818), p.17; *Edinburgh Magazine* (November 1817), pp.399-400; Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, p.181; [Williamson], *Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner*, pp.192-6. For fifers, see T. Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1862), pp.133-4; G. Lipscomb, *Journey into South Wales* (1802), p.93.

rung of the military hierarchy.⁸⁰ According to the composer Charles Burney, drummers and fifers were 'often treated with marked odium' by other soldiers because of their responsibility for inflicting floggings.⁸¹ Drummers of all ages also appear to have been considered childish because of their youthful enlistment and passive role in combat. This negative stereotype may explain why several expressed eagerness to 'fight like a man, for my king and country', as one assured a playmate, by becoming private soldiers, or later erased the rank of drummer from their Waterloo medals.⁸² John Shipp so disliked the infantilising appellation of 'drum-boy' as an ambitious eighteen-year-old fifer and bugler that he begged to be removed to the ranks. Promptly promoted to corporal, he soon espoused the general disdain for his former comrades.⁸³ The desire of drummers to prove their manhood by exchanging instruments for muskets accords with recent scholarship emphasising the broader purchase of peer pressure, personal honour, and masculine ideals among the rank-and-file of ancien-regime armies.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ For example, BL, Add.MS.33766, A.F. Meuller letters, 17 March 1814; Patterson, *Adventures*, p.3. See also Douglas, *Douglas's Tale*, p.97.

⁸¹ *Cyclopædia*, xiv, 'fifer'. For Burney's authorship, see A.P. Woolrich, 'General Music Articles from Rees's Cyclopædia', Burney Centre, McGill University (2018), https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/rees_general_list_0.pdf (1 September 2021).

⁸² Ompteda, *Hanoverian-English Officer*, p.198; Morris, *Three Serjeants*, p.xxv; R. Waterfield, *The Memoirs of Private Waterfield*, eds., A. Swinson and D. Scott (1968), p.125; J.L.R. Samson, 'Did Waterloo Drummers Scrub their Medals?', *Journal of Orders and Medals Research Society*, 21/3 (1982), pp.174-5.

⁸³ Shipp, *Memoirs*, pp.80-81. For further evidence of the dislike of drummers and buglers, see *Military Register*, 14 December 1814 and NRS, Breadalbane papers, GD112/11/3/4/9, Campbell to Breadalbane, 28 April 1795.

⁸⁴ Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, pp.219-5; J. Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 8/2 (2015), pp.163-90.

Black military performers, with the significant possible exception of the West India regiments, appear to have been free rather than enslaved and received the same military pay and pension entitlements as their white counterparts. A few won promotions, including Trumpet-Major George Tombs of the 20th Light Dragoons, and others enjoyed the respect of officers and comrades.⁸⁵ Though presented as an exotic spectacle for the entertainment of white audiences, these performers probably enjoyed better lives and higher status than most other people of African descent in Britain and Ireland.⁸⁶ John Smith, an Antiguan who enlisted in 1814, informed family members eight years later that he was ‘viry comfortibel of[f]’ as a musician in the Coldstream Guards living in London with his wife and two sons: ‘I goe to the royal [palace] every day with a red jacket coverd with gold lace and gold tacels in my boots’.⁸⁷ Black people seem to have faced less racial discrimination in Georgian Britain and Ireland than in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet soldiers of colour still encountered – and resisted – prejudice within the military and from the wider public.⁸⁸ They were often, though not always, restricted to musical roles, being considered by their complexion unfit for service in the ranks.⁸⁹ The 29th Foot’s corps

⁸⁵ TNA, WO119/54/137, George Tombs discharge; Verner, *Reminiscences*, p.22; J.D. Ellis, ‘Drummers for the Devil?: The Black Soldiers of the 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot, 1759-1843’, *JSAHR*, 80/323 (2002), pp.189-91.

⁸⁶ P. Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1984), p.87.

⁸⁷ TNA, WO97/209/51, John Smith discharge; [T. Wentworth], *The West India Sketch Book* (2 vols, 1835), ii, pp.225-6.

⁸⁸ *Tyne Mercury*, 15 September 1807; K. Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade* (Manchester, 2009), p.130; P. King and J.C. Wood, ‘Black People and the Criminal Justice System’, *Historical Research*, 88/239 (2015), pp.100-24.

⁸⁹ For example, TNA, WO27/139, 2nd half-year 1816 inspection returns, 80th Foot.

of black drummers, a point of unit pride as early as 1757, became a liability among Scottish militiamen, who refused to volunteer for the regiment for fear of being flogged by men of colour.⁹⁰ Black soldiers could face particular hostility from the Caribbean slaveholders whose rule they helped underpin: a trumpeter of the 1st King's Dragoon Guards, on furlough in his native Barbados in 1817, was arrested as a Haitian insurrectionist in part because the magistrates mistook his elaborate band uniform as a subversive appropriation of officer's dress.⁹¹ Although full equality remained elusive, the verses accompanying a mezzotint portrait of Coldstream tambourinist James Fraser illustrate how military service could bolster assertions of black humanity in an age of ascendant abolitionism. 'Staunch to our good King and laws', the soldier commanded respect 'as a brother', which he duly received from the fellow Freemasons who attended his 1800 funeral.⁹²

Although civilian impressions of soldiers' devil-may-care debauchery were often well-founded, a fair proportion of musical warriors dedicated themselves to self-improvement and professional advancement within the military, often with the encouragement of their officers.⁹³ The fife-major of the Carmarthen Militia, for example, devoted his 'many leisure hours' to the study of Welsh poetry and

⁹⁰ *Pue's Occurrences*, 7-11 June 1757; Leslie, *Military Journal*, p.230.

⁹¹ TNA, CO28/86, Barbados Correspondence, Loveless Overton to Lt-Col Teesdale, 30 June 1817.

⁹² *London Chronicle* (10-12 April 1800), p.346; BM, 1902,1011.7175, portrait of [James] Fraser.

⁹³ W.T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs* (2 vols, 1830), i, p.318; NLI, Clements Papers, MS36058/7, David Browne to Lord Leitrim, 1 March 1813; Hurl-Eamon, 'Youth in the Devil's Service', pp.178-82; Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.32-3.

mathematics, paving the way for a post-war career as a schoolmaster, while William Weldon, a devout trumpet-major of the 13th Light Dragoons, recalled 'begging and petitioning' God for the appointment for over five years.⁹⁴ Compulsory attendance at regimental schools gave drummers literacy and numeracy skills conducive to merit-based promotion.⁹⁵ Officers contended that children raised in a regiment's musical 'nursery' had a 'natural affection and attachment' to military life and became trustworthy sergeants and corporals in adulthood, although a disillusioned artilleryman suggested that non-commissioned officers 'brought up as drum boys' were more obviously given a barrack-room education in 'deceit and chicanery, low wit, and concealed roguery'.⁹⁶ A small handful rose further in the military hierarchy. The absence of comprehensive data on officers' backgrounds prevents a complete accounting, but at least twenty-four veterans of the French Wars served as drummers or bandsmen before ultimately securing military commissions. Soldiers elevated for professional competence or battlefield bravery were often relegated to colonial regiments or assigned the administrative posts of adjutant or quartermaster, but erstwhile drummers of the 8th, 30th and 44th Foot became field officers in their own

⁹⁴ *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1 January 1831), pp.123-4; W. Weldon, *Jehovah-Nissi, The Lord My Banner*, Part II (1818), p.48.

⁹⁵ NRO, Meade Papers, MEA11/61, 663X3, 31st Foot regimental orders, 1799, p.3; *Standing Orders for the Third Royal Lincoln Militia*, p.17; T.A. Bowyer-Bower, 'Some Early Educational Influences in the British Army', *JSAHR*, 33/133 (1955), pp.11-12; *Standing Orders for the Seventy-First Highland and Glasgow Regiment of Light Infantry of the Line* (1809), pp.70-1; NRS, GD174/2315, 'Orders for the Assistance and Guidance of the Non-Commissioned Officers of the First Battalion 79th Regiment', c.1814, pp.9-11.

⁹⁶ Cuthbertson, *System*, pp.12-13; TNA, WO1/287, In-Letters from Gibraltar, p.113, memorial of 15 August 1788; J. Milne, *The Widow and Her Son...with the autobiography of the author*, 2nd edn (Aberdeen, 1851), pp.46-7.

corps.⁹⁷ A former bandmaster of the 90th Foot even commanded the Duke of Brunswick's forces at Waterloo.⁹⁸ Sometimes derided as parvenus, these ex-drummers were fiercely proud of their origins and social ascent, including Joseph Brome, a lieutenant-general in the Royal Artillery, and the charismatic Major Charles Thalmann of the King's German Legion, who frequently reminded the battalion he commanded of 'his first occupation, by beating some old marches of the time of his youth.'⁹⁹ While promotion from the ranks was much rarer in the British military than in the more egalitarian French army, soldiering undeniably facilitated social mobility for a fortunate cadre of talented and motivated musical warriors.¹⁰⁰

The remuneration of martial instrumentalists differed by role and regiment but was generally better than that of the rank-and-file. Successive pay hikes in the 1790s, intended to make military service more appealing, increased the daily salary of most trumpeters and drummers in the professional forces to 1s 7d and 1s 1¾d, respectively (£28 17s 11d and £20 18s 2¾d annually), compared to 1s 3d for cavalry troopers and a shilling for infantry privates. While these sums were lower than the wages of skilled

⁹⁷ R. Muir, *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune* (New Haven, CT, 2019), pp.255-6; T. Carter, *Historical Record of the Forty-Fourth...Foot* (1864), p.133; R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the King's Liverpool Regiment of Foot*, 2nd edn (1883), pp.152, 301; N. Bannatyne, *History of the Thirtieth Regiment* (Liverpool, 1923), pp.366-7.

⁹⁸ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vols, Leipzig, 1887), xxiv, pp.289-90; C. Shaw, *Personal Memoirs and Correspondence of Colonel Charles Shaw* (2 vols, 1837), i, p.48.

⁹⁹ Landmann, *Recollections*, i, pp.98-9; Maempel, *Adventures*, p.249.

¹⁰⁰ R. Blaufarb, *The French Army, 1750-1820: Careers, Talent, Merit* (Manchester, 2002), p.181; M. Glover, 'Purchase, Patronage and Promotion in the Army at the Time of the Peninsular War', *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*, 103/2 (1973), p.213.

civilian workers, regimental pay compared respectably with the earnings of agricultural labourers when soldiers' beer money, subsidised food, medical care, and free (albeit highly variable) accommodation are considered. The economic rationale for military service also stemmed from its promise of a steady income in a world of seasonal employment and wartime economic precarity, not to mention the offer of a substantial bounty on enlistment. Families of militiamen serving outside their counties were additionally granted weekly parish allowances, although this entitlement was never extended to the regulars.¹⁰¹ Non-commissioned officers received significantly higher compensation: drum-majors customarily collected drummer's wages plus twopence weekly from each of their subordinates until 1810, when they were awarded sergeant's pay (1s 10d daily or £33 9s 2d annually in the regular infantry).¹⁰²

Musicians' incomes depended on their talents as well as the largesse of regimental officers; most earned extra pay from the regimental band fund on top of their military salaries but the amounts varied widely and could be withdrawn if musicians misbehaved or were sent into the ranks on campaign.¹⁰³ Bandmasters and other elite

¹⁰¹ *Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions for the Army* (1807), pp.11-22, 66-8; Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, pp.67-74; Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers*, p.82; Cozens, 'Experience of Soldiering', pp.87-8, 117; I.F. Nelson, *The Irish Militia, 1793-1802* (Dublin, 2007), pp.142-4; K.J. Bartlett, 'The Development of the British Army during the Wars with France, 1793-1815' (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1997), pp.131-8.

¹⁰² NRO, MEA11/61, 663X3, 31st Foot regimental orders, 1799, p.1; NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1333, 20 October 1810 general order; *A Treatise on Military Finance*, 10th edn (2 vols, 1809), i, p.177.

¹⁰³ *Standing Orders...of the 55th Regiment*, pp.28-9; Mackay Scobie, *Old Highland Fencible Corps*, p.274; WYAS (Kirklees), WYK1263/1/18, Thomas Fisher to Joseph Fisher, 22 August 1810.

performers hired on bespoke contracts earned the largest sums. For example, three foreign bandsmen engaged by the 80th Foot in 1794 were each promised four shillings daily, or £73 annually, and bounties of twenty guineas as part of their two-year agreements.¹⁰⁴ Most musicians who entered musical service through ordinary enlistment received considerably less (see Table 3), yet even these modest incomes were comparable to the stipends of £20 to £50 collected by most church organists.¹⁰⁵ Although the pay of martial instrumentalists, like that of other soldiers, was reduced in practice by substantial deductions for rations and ‘necessaries’ such as shoes and shirts, they were not obliged to purchase elaborate dress and instruments – onerous expenses for non-military performers – as these were provided by the regiment.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, discharged soldiers were eligible for pensions based on injuries, infirmities, and long service. This benefit, which was unusual for the time, may have been particularly valued by musicians because of the widespread belief that playing wind instruments caused lung problems and the high incidence of destitution among elderly members of the civilian music profession.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ StaffsRO, D603/O/2/12, agreement with Joseph Hoeffelmayer, Ignatius Rehn and Augustin Rehn, 25 March 1794.

¹⁰⁵ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.91-2, 157. Musicians of the 1st Shropshire Militia, for example, earned extra pay of 2½d to 6¾d per diem in 1803-4, or £25 9s 5¾d to £32 6s 4¾d annually when their military salaries are included, in addition to allowances of one or 1½ guineas for instrument maintenance. See SA, 190/24, 1803-4 band accounts; TNA, WO13/1869, 1st Shropshire Militia pay-lists, 1804.

¹⁰⁶ S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.196-200.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, WO97/1254/30, John O’Brien discharge; H.H. Southey, *Observations on Pulmonary Consumption* (1814), p.68; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.538; Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.157-63. For pension regulations, see *Military Register*, 14 May 1817.

Table 3: Annual Wages of Regimental Bandsmen

Antrim Militia, 1812-13		Royal Westminster Regiment of Middlesex Militia, 1813-14	
Mr. A.M. Müller (civilian master)	£207 11s 10½d	Sgt. Charles Weyda	£91 5s
Sgt. Gilland	£46 14s 8¾d	Sgt. John Burton	£36 10s
Pte. Henry Ashton	£46 15s 6d	Pte. Samuel Cornish	£27 7s 6d
Pte. Charles O'Neill	£46 15s 6d	Pte. William Merriott	£21 13s 5¼d
Pte. John Leonard	£46 15s 6d	Pte. James Knight	£21 13s 5¼d
Pte. Daniel McCudden	£30 7s 6d	Pte. Matthew Jelley	£21 13s 5¼d
Pte. John Gore	£31 13s 5¼d	Pte. William Horn	£21 13s 5¼d
Pte. Adam Thompson	£21 13s 5¼d	Pte. Richard Potter	£21 13s 5¼d
Pte. Hugh Whyte	£23 9s	Pte. Charles Montague	£20 18s 2¾d
Pte. William Augustus	£20 5s	Sources: LMA, Clitherow Papers, Acc1360/740, accounts of extra pay for the band of the Royal Westminster Regiment, May-June 1813 and May-June 1814; PRONI, O'Neill Papers, D1470/3/36B, 1812-13 band accounts; TNA, WO13/2587, Antrim Militia pay-lists, 1812-13.	
Drummer William Howe	£23 3s 8¾d		

Compensation for performers in the part-time auxiliary forces also varied widely. The Belfast Yeomanry's bandmaster earned £40 in 1812 while seven apprentices serving as musicians each received a shilling per parade and one guinea a year to buy shirts and shoes.¹⁰⁸ The bandsmen of the genteel Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, however, derived their 'only emolument' from the proceeds of an annual benefit concert.¹⁰⁹ Depending on their terms of engagement, volunteer and local militia

¹⁰⁸ PRONI, D3221/1, Belfast Yeomanry OB, 1812 band expenses.

¹⁰⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 19 March 1795.

drummers might earn six pence to one shilling daily or 1s 6d per weekly parade.¹¹⁰

Although hardly a livelihood in and of itself, a son's earnings as a volunteer or local militia drummer often represented a welcome addition to the income of labouring families, not least when the corps also contributed towards the cost of the boy's apprenticeship or schooling. Robert Butler, who earned just seven pence daily as a young weaving apprentice in Roxburghshire, recalled that the extra money he received as a volunteer fifer made him feel like 'quite a gentleman'.¹¹¹

Although Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow have asserted that martial musicians outside London enjoyed few opportunities to earn extra income, musical warriors in all branches of the military in fact had considerable scope to supplement their regimental salaries.¹¹² Drummers serving with recruiting parties earned bonuses for every man enlisted while all soldiers engaged in successful campaigns were eligible for prize money based on the value of captured enemy matériel.¹¹³ These windfalls could be sizeable: the December 1813 actions along the Niagara frontier in Upper Canada netted trumpeters and drummers of four regiments £5 8s each in prize money,

¹¹⁰ BL, Hardwicke Papers, Add.MS.35678, ff.82, 91, Captain Buckley and J. Bugby to Hardwicke, 30 October and 17 November 1812; Butler, *Narrative* (1854), p.29; *The Soldier's Companion*, 60th edn (1803), p.4.

¹¹¹ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.26-9; D. Whitehead, *The Autobiography of David Whitehead of Rawtenstall*, ed. S. Chapman (Helmshore, 2001), pp.19-20; Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Marlborough Armed Association Papers, 361/6, payment to 'Mrs Stone for her son as drummer', 18 May 1799; 'The Loyal Stirling Volunteers, 1800-1804', in *The Stirling Antiquary*, ed. W.B. Cook (4 vols, Stirling, 1893-[1908]), iii, p.92.

¹¹² Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, p.202.

¹¹³ *General Regulations and Orders for the Conduct of His Majesty's Forces in Great Britain* (1799), p.117; Alexander, *Life*, i, p.76.

equivalent to more than three month's wages. Another drummer of the 75th Foot received a thousand rupees (£100) for 'a bag of cash, jewels and bullion' looted from Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore.¹¹⁴ Volunteer fifers and militia bandsmen learned or practised civilian trades such as shoemaking or interior decorating alongside their military responsibilities; Billy Purvis maintained his family in relative comfort by working as a joiner and local militia drum-major in Hexham.¹¹⁵ Moonlighting was often musical in nature. Bandsmen gained extra income by teaching civilian pupils, playing at concerts, and copying or publishing scores.¹¹⁶ Military musicians also regularly worked at metropolitan playhouses. Henry Tamplin of the Coldstream Guards, who leapt from the Drury Lane orchestra pit to tackle a would-be royal assassin in 1800, made £1 15s weekly playing in the theatre's band.¹¹⁷ Yet civilian engagements were lucrative and plentiful even for performers in the provinces and overseas colonies.¹¹⁸ Regimental musicians received 'a very great price' for attending genteel balls during Gibraltar's masquerade season, according to the bandmaster of the 1/26th Foot, while

¹¹⁴ TNA, WO164/555, Niagara, Black Rock and Buffalo prize records, 1813; BL, IOR/F/4/292/6615, further proceedings of the Seringapatam prize committee. The Niagara sum has been converted from Halifax currency to sterling.

¹¹⁵ J.P. Robson, *The Life and Adventures of the Far-famed Billy Purvis* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1849), pp.31-2; Bedfordshire Archives, PUBZ3/3/74, William Phillips settlement examination, 15 February 1813; *Leicester Chronicle*, 29 January 1814.

¹¹⁶ Royal Archives, GEO/MAIN/46642-46645, Prince Edward to M. Dobner, 4 October 1790; NLI, MS36058/7, David Browne to Lord Leitrim, 1 March 1813; A. Gillespie, *Gleanings and Remarks, Collected...at Buenos Ayres* (Leeds, 1818), p.110.

¹¹⁷ P.H. Highfill, K.A. Burnim, and E.A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (16 vols, Carbondale, IL, 1973-93), xiv, p.365; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 19 May 1800; TNA, WO97/212/17, Henry Tamplin discharge; *The Globe*, 25 January 1812.

¹¹⁸ The proceeds of external engagements tended to be divided equally between players, with the leader receiving a double share. Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.128-30; *Standing Orders...for His Majesty's Fourth Regiment of North British Militia*, pp.45-7.

a drum-major of the 12th Foot made as much as two or three pounds a week by performing a stick-juggling drumming routine at parties and dances in Jersey.¹¹⁹ Though generally expected to attend mess dinners, regimental ceremonies, and officers' balls as part of their military duties, regimental bands could nonetheless count on - and indeed often demanded - gratuities and free drink during or after these engagements.¹²⁰ An aristocratic visitor to the mess of the 2/47th Foot gave its musicians an enormous £36 tip in 1810, enabling a month-long drinking spree which badly affected their playing.¹²¹ Alcoholic refreshment also incentivised rehearsal attendance among part-time performers: the Amounderness Local Militia spent over £20 on 'liquor for the band on practising nights' between 1811 and 1813.¹²²

What did musical warriors make of military life? The picture is decidedly mixed. Court-martial records give voice to reluctant recruits like Drummer Hugh Caughey of the Royal Downshire Militia, who drunkenly swore that 'he did not care how many lashes the officers would give him' and 'wished to be drummed out'.¹²³ Professional soldiers resented separation from friends and family, the imperious behaviour of superiors, and restrictions on their personal freedoms, including the need to seek

¹¹⁹ BL, Add.MS.2468, Westcott journal, descriptive sketch of the Rock; A. Scott, *The Conversion, Experience and Labours of Willm. Butterworth* (Lees, 1807), pp.6-10.

¹²⁰ Bodleian Libraries, Russell Papers, MS.Eng.lett.c.153, Sir Henry Russell to Lady Russell, 26 February 1813; WYAS (Leeds), WYL639/388B, Ensign Carter journal, 11 January 1812. See also T.A. Ward, *Peeps into the Past*, eds. A.B. Bell and R.E. Leader (1909), p.23.

¹²¹ Harley, *The Veteran*, i, p.300.

¹²² TNA, WO79/2, Amounderness LM accounts.

¹²³ PRONI, D374/4, Royal Downshire Militia RCMs, Drummer Caughey, 30 April 1795.

permission before leaving camp or barracks.¹²⁴ Thomas Fisher, who considered himself 'intirely miserable' in the 51st Foot, complained to his parents about monotony when serving at home, 'unsufferable hardships' on campaign, and the unsettled, itinerant, and sinful nature of a soldier's existence more generally.¹²⁵ Barrack-room life was crowded and boisterous, characterised by brawling, teasing, and dangerous pranks.¹²⁶ Yet even pious men such as Robert Butler, who disdained the cursing and dissipation of his comrades while serving in the 2/1st Foot, could find kindred spirits in their regiments whose fellowship rendered military service more agreeable.¹²⁷ Conviviality and camaraderie were also central to the appeal of military life for James Clark, a musician of the Argyllshire Militia. When not performing regimental duties or playing violoncello in the Aberdeen theatre orchestra, he enjoyed exploring local watering holes, making the acquaintance of the town's 'social souls' and organising regimental celebrations of Burns Night.¹²⁸ Musical warriors repeatedly attested to their regimental pride and the pleasure they derived from soldiering: John Shipp relished swaggering about Colchester with his fife-major's cane 'like some great man of eminent consequence'.¹²⁹ Service in the volunteers likewise helped boys fascinated by

¹²⁴ *PP* (1807), iii (155), Cawthorne court-martial, p.179; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.536; Weldon, *Jehovah-Nissi...*, Part II, pp.66-8; TNA, WO71/208, Bugler Greth (5/60th Foot) GCM, 1806.

¹²⁵ WYAS (Kirklees), WYK1263/1/18 and 21, Thomas Fisher to parents, 22 August and 11 November 1810. See also W. Reed and J. Evans, *Remains of William Reed* (1815), p.44 for another musician who regretted enlisting.

¹²⁶ Shipp, *Memoirs*, pp.33-9.

¹²⁷ Butler, *Narrative* (1854) pp.54, 170-1.

¹²⁸ R. Tannahill, *The Poems and Songs and Correspondence of Robert Tannahill*, ed. D. Semple, (Paisley, 1876), pp.382, 403-5; University of Glasgow, MS Robertson, 1/15 and 33, Tannahill to Clark, 28 May 1808 and 17 December 1809; *Perthshire Courier*, 12 February 1810.

¹²⁹ Shipp, *Memoirs*, p.38. See also Innes, *Life*, pp.8-9; Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.58 and Shipp, *Military Bijou*, i, p.85.

stories of battles and sieges act out their martial fantasies: one teenaged volunteer fifer used his newly-issued sword to hack away at thistles and nettles, 'trying to imagine them Frenchmen.'¹³⁰ The reality of war was of course far less glamorous; one officer assessed that 'young recruits and drummers felt the hardship most' on campaign, while other soldiers' accounts describe the wives of musical warriors freezing to death, giving birth in sordid conditions, or falling into enemy hands.¹³¹ John Westcott, the bandmaster of the 1/26th Foot, fought no battles during eleven months in the Peninsula but was laid low by 'the excessive fatigue of marching through a mountainous country in such a hot climate and sleeping almost every night in the open air'. 'In the course of my existence', he declared, 'I never was so tired of life'.¹³²

Drummers and musicians in the regular army clearly shared in the privations of campaigning, yet their experience of combat was often very different to that of common soldiers.¹³³ Trumpeters and buglers played an important role as signallers, as argued in the previous chapter, but bandsmen and drummers did not usually perform patriotic music or direct infantrymen by drumbeat in close combat. Instead, they were routinely assigned to casualty evacuation: operating in teams of two or four,

¹³⁰ Cooper, *Rough Notes*, p.2.

¹³¹ Patterson, *Adventures*, p.65; H.C. Wylly, *XVth (the King's) Hussars, 1759 to 1913* (1914), p.157; [Morley], *Memoirs of a Serjeant*, pp.62-3; Scott, *Conversion, Experience and Labours of Willm. Butterworth*, p.18.

¹³² BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 11 August 1811.

¹³³ See also E. O'Keeffe, 'Fops under Fire: British Drum-Majors in Action during the Napoleonic Wars', *The Napoleon Series* (30 June 2016), <https://www.napoleon-series.org/military-info/organization/Britain/Infantry/DrumMajors/FopsunderFire.pdf> (8 Sept. 2022).

drummers and musicians carried wounded combatants (especially officers) to field hospitals in the rear using stretchers fashioned from cloth and poles.¹³⁴ Musical warriors could also administer first aid: a 1798 circular from the surgeon-general to the forces directed that the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and musicians of all regiments be trained to use tourniquets.¹³⁵ Significantly, these humanitarian assignments reduced the need for other soldiers to quit the firing line to help the injured, a practice that sapped a regiment's effective strength, facilitated shirking, and was consequently discouraged by peer pressure and military orders.¹³⁶ Musical warriors also freed up rank-and-file manpower when their regiments were expecting battle or actually engaged with the enemy by performing additional ancillary tasks alongside unfit or 'weakly' men: they guarded officers' horses or regimental baggage and distributed ammunition.¹³⁷ At Waterloo, the 32nd Foot's drum-major made himself useful in the rear by haranguing skulkers until they rejoined the regiment.¹³⁸ Yet drummers and musicians were also notorious for exploiting their unusual freedom of movement on the battlefield to seek shelter or plunder, sometimes to the detriment

¹³⁴ Crowe, *Eloquent Soldier*, p.124; Brett-James, *Life in Wellington's Army*, pp.250-2; T. Austin, *'Old Stick-Leg': Extracts from the Diaries of Major Thomas Austin*, ed. H.H. Austin (New York, NY, 1927), pp.145-6.

¹³⁵ *The Loyalist* (29 October 1803), pp.229-30; Ross-Lewin, *Life of a Soldier*, i, p.279; J. Hennen, *Principles of Military Surgery*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1820), pp.27-8.

¹³⁶ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 686, p.14, 11 October 1814, district GO; Costello, *Adventures*, p.96; Fergusson, *Notes and Recollections*, p.8; Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle*, pp.203-4.

¹³⁷ *Standing Orders...for use of the Light Division* (Corfu, [1812]), p.20; R.T. Wilson, *History of the British Expedition to Egypt* (1802), p.273; BL, Add.MS.33766, Meuller letters, 11 March 1814; [Cowell], *Leaves from the Diary*, p.288; LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 84, p.168, proceedings investigating losses suffered at the Battle of York, 18 May 1813.

¹³⁸ TNA, WO71/242, Brevet-Major Hames (32nd Foot) GCM, 1815, Pollard testimony.

of wounded men requiring assistance.¹³⁹ One drum-major and ‘all his little fry’ sought refuge behind a windmill at Vimeiro, while a bugler of the 95th Rifles, finding his signalling services were not required at Busaco, sat twenty paces behind the British line and sewed himself a shirt as the battle raged.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, if some Peninsular memoirists mentioned that musicians were not considered ‘fighting men’, a fair number of regiments did expect bandsmen and sometimes drummers to serve in the ranks on campaign, especially if the regiment was hard-pressed.¹⁴¹ ‘Band and drum boys...carried arms in the [1798] Rebellion’, according to one Londonderry Militia veteran, while seven drummers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment shouldered firelocks to defend York, the capital of Upper Canada, from American invaders in April 1813.¹⁴² Several musicians insisted on taking part in battle even when not obliged to do so. John McCraw, a hotblooded bandsman of the 71st Foot, battered opponents with muskets and stretcher poles until he was killed at Aire in 1814.¹⁴³ Individual drummers, trumpeters, and buglers were praised by officers for their coolness under fire: some took prisoners, hurled enemy shells out of harm’s way, or rushed ahead of

¹³⁹ Lawrence, *Autobiography*, p.146; Costello, *Adventures*, p.95; *Celtic Monthly* (May 1904), p.153; *USJ* (June 1841), pp.182, 190. See also *The Drummer, written & compos'd by Mr. Dibdin, etc* ([1792]), a song by Charles Dibdin which mocked drummers for battlefield absenteeism.

¹⁴⁰ Landmann, *Recollections*, ii, pp.207-8; Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, pp.90-1.

¹⁴¹ Gavin, *Diary*, p.xxiii; Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, p.99; TNA, WO27/133, 1st Half-Year 1815 inspections, 17th Foot; Rigaud, *Celer et Audax*, p.120.

¹⁴² NAM, 2011-07-3, Londonderry Militia digest, memoir of Rowley Millar; LAC, RG8 ‘C’ Series, vol. 84, p.171, proceedings investigating losses suffered at the Battle of York, 18 May 1813.

¹⁴³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, p.206; R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Fifth Regiment of Foot* ([1838]), p.79; *Vicissitudes in the Life of a Scottish Soldier*, pp.320-9; TNA, WO25/1994, 1/71st Foot casualty returns, March 1814.

their companies while sounding the advance.¹⁴⁴ An 1811 general order attributed battlefield losses among trumpeters and buglers to their conspicuous dress, stipulating that they should henceforth wear clothing of the same colour as the privates.¹⁴⁵ Yet overall casualty rates among musical warriors were in fact disproportionately low, no doubt because most were stationed behind the line or inside infantry squares and therefore enjoyed some protection from enemy fire.¹⁴⁶ Drummers, trumpeters, and buglers constituted 2.19% of Wellington's army on 15 July 1812 but suffered only 0.44% of the British casualties incurred a week later at Salamanca, implying a casualty rate of one-fifth the all-ranks average.¹⁴⁷ At Waterloo, a corporal or private in the eight British regiments of the Fifth Division was six times more likely to be killed or wounded than a drummer.¹⁴⁸ Comparably robust statistics for musicians are impossible to compile as bandsmen were seldom enumerated separately in strength and casualty returns, but it seems probable that losses were relatively infrequent unless musicians fought in the ranks.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Beamish, *History of the King's German Legion*, ii, p.512; F.A. Hayden, *Historical Record of the 76th 'Hindoostan' Regiment* (Lichfield, 1909), pp.70-1, 105; Austin, 'Old Stick-Leg', pp.128-9.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, WO123/135, 25 September and 8 October 1811, 1 July 1812 GOs.

¹⁴⁶ Reide, *Treatise*, p.175; Williamson, *Elements of Military Arrangement* (1791), i, p.54; J. Lowe, *Humble Address of J. Lowe, Late Sergeant of His Majesty's 2nd Battalion 95th...to...the Duke of Wellington* (1827), p.43.

¹⁴⁷ TNA, WO1/255, Salamanca casualty return and 15 July 1812 weekly state. Figures include the King's German Legion and artillery but not the Portuguese and Spanish contingents.

¹⁴⁸ Compiled from P.J. Haythornthwaite, *Picton's Division at Waterloo* (Barnsley, 2016), appendices.

¹⁴⁹ At the battle of Barrosa in 1811, for example, most of the band of the 2/67th Foot bore arms and two were wounded. See TNA, WO27/117, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns.

As this chapter has argued, drummers and bandsmen are best understood not as soldiers who happened to play music but as recognisably distinct cadres within the military. Differentiated by their special duties, command structures, and dress – not to mention their reputation for mischief – musical warriors received better pay, were often accorded higher status, and enjoyed more free time than their non-musical counterparts. Yet it is also important to recognise that martial instrumentalists were far from a homogenous group: the standing and responsibilities of a bandmaster or drum-major, for example, differed markedly from those of a juvenile drummer. Nor were the musical castes within a regiment impermeable. Martial instrumentalists could become common soldiers by request or in consequence of misbehaviour, the reorganisation of military bands, and the pressures of active service.¹⁵⁰ Though distinguished by their visibility and audibility on parade and their attendant importance to regimental prestige, musical warriors were not alone in possessing specialised skills vital to the smooth functioning of their corps. A substantial share of professional soldiers toiled as military tradesmen, earning additional income by drawing on pre-enlistment vocations such as tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry or applying expertise acquired while in uniform.¹⁵¹ In this world of skilled military workers, regimental bandsmen most closely resembled officers' servants, who also received preferential treatment, wore distinct attire, and were the subject of official

¹⁵⁰ For military instrumentalists being sent into the ranks as punishment for misconduct or because of band downsizing, see, for example, A.F. Barnard *et al.*, *Barnard Letters, 1778-1824*, ed. A. Powell (1928), p.182 and NRS, GD112/52/208/9, Breadalbane Fencibles RCMs, 19 February 1794, court of enquiry into the conduct of the master of the band.

¹⁵¹ Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers*, pp.70-154. See also Hagist, *Noble Volunteers*.

directives seeking to ensure that they were adequately drilled and capable of serving in the ranks.¹⁵² Attention to the experiences of martial instrumentalists, moreover, testifies to the development of soldiering as a profession and the social mobility it sometimes facilitated. For all its risks and hardships, military service could offer labouring men and their offspring viable careers coupled with opportunities for skills development and progression to the increasingly well-compensated and respected non-commissioned ranks.¹⁵³ As ensuing chapters will demonstrate, the military's effective provision of instrumental education not only encouraged interest in musical soldiering but enabled veterans to find work as professional musicians after discharge.

¹⁵² Haythornthwaite, *Armies of Wellington*, p.55; *Standing Orders...for the 85th*, pp.142-4; NLI, MS1330, 26 April 1800 general order.

¹⁵³ Cookson, 'Regimental Worlds', pp.32-3; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.124-5. See also J.H. Rumsby, 'Making Choices: Constructing a Career in the Ranks of the Early Victorian Army', in I.F.W. Beckett (ed), *Victorians at War: New Perspectives* (2007), pp.23-33.

3. Recruitment and Training

The French Wars required the recruitment and training of many thousands of martial instrumentalists for domestic defence and overseas operations. The military's ability to muster so many performers demands explanation, yet its massive campaign of musical mobilisation has hitherto received little attention from historians. Deborah Rohr dismissed regimental service as an insignificant and 'haphazard' form of musical education in a one-page discussion in her monograph on the music profession.¹ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow have offered a more measured overview, emphasising the military's absorption of 'an enormous number of raw and untutored bandsmen' during the French Wars. However, their neglect of interactions between the armed forces and civilian musical practices such as sacred music-making caused them to puzzle over the military's 'improbable' capacity to organise ensembles nationwide.² Detailed consideration of the backgrounds of drummers and musicians has been hitherto confined to narrow but illuminating case studies: Roz Southey notably argued that affiliation with the Newcastle Volunteer band was a commercial boon for local career musicians, helping them survive the lean war years by exploiting popular demand for patriotic concerts.³ Expanding on these piecemeal surveys, this chapter demonstrates that the military engaged not only seasoned musical professionals but also a

¹ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, p.73.

² Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.110-11, 126-36.

³ R. Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2006), p.12.

kaleidoscopic array of amateur and novice instrumentalists from a range of backgrounds. Incentivised by pay and governed by discipline, these musical warriors enjoyed extensive opportunities to perform and practise together. In an age of decentralised, pre-bureaucratic administration, musical training was largely organised by individual corps. Yet the war era also witnessed centrally directed attempts to systematise military music-making, from the codification of duty calls and teaching methods to the promulgation of uniform tempi. Decades before the creation of a military school of music at Kneller Hall, the military emerged as an important provider of practical musical education and was recognised as such by contemporaries.

The military's effective mobilisation of musical manpower might initially appear surprising given the modest scale of the civilian music profession in the 1790s. Although urban centres of all sizes had long retained small ensembles known as 'waits', usually comprised of two to six instrumentalists, many of these had disappeared by the French Wars.⁴ Most towns beyond London could only support a handful of full-time musical professionals, who pursued often precarious portfolio careers as teachers, concert organisers, music and instrument dealers, theatre musicians, and church organists.⁵ In an era before conservatories or training academies, rigorous musical tuition was not widely accessible. The church provided

⁴ S. Fleming, 'The Georgian Provincial Town Waits: A Reappraisal', *Musical Times* (Spring 2019), pp.29-42.

⁵ Ehrlich, *Music Profession in Britain*, pp.1-19, 31-2; I.M. Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music: 1780-1830* (Cork, 1966), pp.11-12.

valuable educational opportunities, training boys to sing as part of cathedral and chapel choirs, but most civilian professionals were the children of other musical practitioners. Although instructional texts were available to the aspiring autodidact, apprenticeship to or private lessons from established professionals, if any were present in the locality, required hefty fees beyond the reach of most labouring families.⁶

However, a narrow focus on the formal music profession risks obscuring the existence of thriving musical cultures across Britain and Ireland, animated primarily by amateur and part-time performers of all social ranks. Concert attendance and recreational music-making were popular pastimes among the upper and middle classes.⁷ Tradesmen also participated in amateur musical associations: the 1780 funeral of an Exeter tailor was attended not only by a militia band but also by the musical club of which he was a member.⁸ English church bands, typically comprised of two to six wind and string performers, had their heyday between 1780 and 1830. Dominated by artisan amateurs, some of whom were musically literate, these ensembles accompanied singing during services in an era when more than ninety percent of parish churches lacked working organs.⁹ Lively plebeian musical practices

⁶ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.23, 63-6, 70-1; D.J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon, 2004), pp.93-4, 112-13; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.183-4.

⁷ J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1997), pp.532-5, 560-1; P. Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.19-20.

⁸ *Exeter Flying Post*, 26 May 1780; P. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2000), p.123.

⁹ N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1979), i, pp.196-9;

such as ballad-singing also obtained in the secular sphere: fiddlers and dancers cavorted in public houses, weavers sang at their looms, and travellers in Ireland described the peasantry as ‘uncommonly attached to their ancient melodies’.¹⁰ Highland piping, though perceived by contemporaries to be in decline due to the erosion of the clan-based social order, remained an everyday feature of work, ritual, and recreation in Gaelic-speaking Scotland.¹¹

Nor was the military’s pre-existing musical infrastructure insignificant. Although the freshly established Irish and Scottish militia, not to mention a dizzying array of new regular, fencible, and auxiliary corps, were obliged to begin from first principles during the French Wars, existing army regiments already mustered drummers, trumpeters, and bandsmen in 1793. Regiments of the English militia had also retained drummers and musicians following the American War as part of their peacetime permanent staff. The Duke of Richmond, colonel of the Sussex Militia, hosted his state-subsidised regimental bandsmen at his country seat in the 1780s, where they performed as a string ensemble and occasionally laboured as stable grooms.¹²

Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, p.553; V. Gammon, “‘Babylonian Performances’: The Rise and Suppression of Popular Church Music, 1660-1870’, in E. and S. Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914* (Brighton, 1981), pp.65-6.

¹⁰ R. Elbourne, *Music and Tradition in Early Industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980); O. Cox Jensen, *The Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London* (Cambridge, 2021); J. Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland* (Philadelphia, PA, 1806), p.159.

¹¹ I.I. MacInnes, ‘The Highland Bagpipe: The Impact of the Highland Societies of London and Scotland, 1781-1844’ (MLitt thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1988), pp.15-16; J.G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945* (Montreal and Kingston, 1998), pp.107, 141-2.

¹² Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.405.

Britain and Ireland, in short, were hardly lands without music. Broad-based performance cultures provided a sound foundation for the wartime expansion of martial music-making, a process which will be explored in the three sections of this chapter. The first considers the backgrounds of the men and boys who joined the military in musical roles. The second conceptualises musical recruitment as a labour market, in which qualified players enjoyed considerable negotiating power and regiments competed and cooperated in their scramble to organise effective musical contingents. The third offers a novel interpretation of martial musical training as cogent and animated by shared principles. All three sections consider the recruitment criteria for different types of musical warriors, including prior knowledge and teaching ability but also physical characteristics such as age, race, handsomeness, and height.

The Backgrounds of Musical Warriors

The expansion of martial music-making during the French Wars depended on three overlapping categories of knowledgeable instructors and performers: foreign professionals, seasoned servicemen, and native-born civilian practitioners. The prominence of foreigners reflected their dominance of the eighteenth-century British musical scene and the superior performance standards associated with central European courts and state-supported musical academies.¹³ Although Germans,

¹³ F.A.M.R. Jarvis, 'German Musicians in London, c.1750-c.1850', in S. Manz, M.S. Beerbühl,

particularly esteemed as wind instrumentalists, had been recruited as military bandsmen for decades before the French Revolutionary War, dependence on continental talent to instruct or play in martial ensembles intensified from 1793.¹⁴ The quantity of non-native musicians engaged by the armed forces cannot be calculated precisely, particularly as some never formally enlisted and others anglicised their names. The overall figure, however, certainly numbered in the hundreds.¹⁵ The largest share hailed from Germany, not least George III's electorate of Hanover, but regular army bandmasters also came from Switzerland, Italy, and Poland.¹⁶ While sporadic attempts were made to exclude French musicians for political reasons, Gallic refugees fleeing revolutionary upheaval commonly served in martial musical roles.¹⁷ A French émigré who settled in Glasgow, for example, was admitted to a volunteer band because of his proficiency as a horn player.¹⁸ Another royalist fugitive, the apparently aristocratic flautist Louis Vogel, spoke of past service in Louis XVI's army and claimed

and J.R. Davis (eds), *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain, 1660 to 1914* (Munich, 2007) pp.37-47; Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, pp.14-15, 240-1.

¹⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 15 April 1749; W. Gardiner, *Music and Friends* (3 vols, 1838-53), iii, p.7; *Daily Universal Register*, 20 May 1785.

¹⁵ An 1813 parliamentary report on foreign-born regular soldiers stationed in the home islands identified 393 such men, described as 'chiefly persons employed in the bands', but many were percussionists of colour rather than continental professionals. See *PP* (1813), xiii (48), Return of the Number of Foreign Officers and Soldiers serving in British Regiments at Home, p.19.

¹⁶ 'L.B. Meurant', in *South African Music Encyclopedia* (4 vols, Cape Town, 1984), iii, pp.233-5; TNA, WO97/565/81, Joseph Reichenberg discharge and WO97/557/31, Ludvik Piasecky discharge; see also WO12/5258, 1/39th Foot pay-lists, 1813-5.

¹⁷ Royal Archives, GEO/ADD/7/202, Prince Edward to Charles Greenwood, 27 October 1795; TNA, HO50/10, f.441, Colonel Brownrigg to John King, 19 August 1800, and WO3/39, letter to General Norton, 8 April 1805; HantsRO, Bolton Papers, 11M49/236, pp.126-7, Lt-Col Serle to Bolton, 17 February 1804; NLI, Leslie Papers, MS49495/2/139, folder 3, f.77, mentioning clothing for 'Meugent a French musician' of the Monaghan Militia.

¹⁸ J. Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, 2nd edn (1857), p.479.

to have been wounded during the storming of the Tuileries Palace.¹⁹ Genteel and well-read, he travelled throughout Britain and Ireland giving concerts and performing conjuring tricks but also selling his expertise to auxiliary corps. Vogel led volunteer musicians in Perth and Dundee, composed regimental marches, and advised on the instruments required for fledgling military ensembles, at least until he was arrested as a 'suspected person' in 1799 and ordered to leave the country.²⁰

Foreign-born musicians were often recruited directly from overseas. Prince Edward, the fourth son of George III, commissioned agents in Strasbourg and Brunswick to headhunt musicians for his regiment, the 7th Foot or Royal Fusiliers, in his quest to form 'the very best band (without exception) in the King's service'. The 'remarkably good' band of Lord Dalkeith's militia regiment was 'composed of Germans whom he imported himself'.²¹ However, other units recruited from the significant contingent of continental performers already resident in Britain. Johann Bernhard Logier, the German-born scion of a family of Huguenot organists, was brought to England by a gentleman amateur but ultimately tired of performing privately for his

¹⁹ C.S. Roberts, 'Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2014), pp.131-2; O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork*, pp.42-3.

²⁰ University of St Andrews, Special Collections, msdep14/1B/2, Jessie Playfair diary, August-December 1797; PKA, Royal Perth Volunteers papers, PE66/Bundle3, Louis Vogel to committee, 7 February 1797; G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836), p.79; L. Vogel, *Collection of Quick Marches for the Use of the Royal Perth Volunteers Band of Music* (Edinburgh, [c1795]); HHC, C BRE/7/3/7, William Wickham to the mayor of Hull, 28 February 1799; *Aberdeen Journal*, 11 March 1799.

²¹ Royal Archives, GEO/MAIN/46642-46645, Prince Edward to M. Dobner, 4 October 1790 and GEO/ADD/7/202, Prince Edward to Charles Greenwood, 27 October 1795; Cotesbach Educational Trust Archive, Marriott papers, CEA/6/196/2/4928.3, John Marriott to the Rev. Robert Marriott, 2 August 1804.

patron and sought a wider stage as a bandsman in the Royal Tyrone Militia.²² Volunteer corps also benefited from the guidance of migrant musicians scattered in the provinces, including a Mr Dicker in Ledbury, the German-born master of a local academy who organised the town's auxiliary band.²³

The military's preference for continental professionals was not without drawbacks: non-native bandmasters expected steep salaries and special treatment and struggled to adjust to regimental life.²⁴ Prince Edward was obliged to discharge a German musician who flatly refused to don a military uniform in 1795, having spent £126 bringing him to Nova Scotia, while foreign musicians of the 1st Somerset Militia were repeatedly court-martialled for insubordination or impertinence on parade, which forgiving officers ascribed to their poor command of English.²⁵ However, if the process of cultural exchange was not always smooth, the vast majority of expatriate musicians seem to have been competent instructors. Domenico Briscoli, who flaunted his credentials as a doctor of music and master of a Neapolitan conservatory, struck a hard bargain with Colonel Foster on leaving the 89th Foot for the Louth Militia in 1804,

²² [J.S. Sainsbury], *A Dictionary of Musicians*, 2nd edn (2 vols, 1827), ii, pp.78-9; PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/147/17, George Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 13 May 1795.

²³ *Gloucester Journal*, 21 October 1805.

²⁴ PRONI, D623/A/149/36, Vallancey to Abercorn, 29 June 1797; BL, Hardwicke Papers, Add.MS.35667, f.31, Edward Nightingale to Lord Hardwicke, 5 August [1796]; Marsh, *Journals*, p.534. For evidence that officers preferred foreigners over native-born musicians, see *The Times*, 4 March 1801 and PRONI, D623/A/145/6, Vallancey to Abercorn, 27 April 1793.

²⁵ SHC, DD/SLI/7/1, 1st Somerset Militia RCMs, pp.33-9, 46-8, 110-11; Royal Archives, GEO/ADD/7/126, Prince Edward to Charles Greenwood, 4 July 1795.

demanding half a guinea per day, most Sundays off, and exemption from one parade daily.²⁶ Yet the exacting Italian was evidently worth the trouble and cost: the following summer another officer informed Foster that 'Briscoli has worked wonders on the band...in three months there will not be a better band in Europe, tho' a very expensive one to you.'²⁷

Besides imported expertise, the armed forces relied on long-serving musical warriors to disseminate instrumental skills. Several band trainers active during the French Wars had worked for the military before 1793. Smollet Holden, for example, who instructed the juvenile musicians of the Downshire and Armagh regiments, had supervised the pre-war band of the 28th Foot.²⁸ John Mahon, a celebrated concert clarinettist, led the Dorset Militia ensemble during the American War and accepted regimental employment for decades thereafter, professing in 1809 that he had 'occasionally taken charge of a great number of military bands...always succeeding in improving them.'²⁹ Non-commissioned officers and drummers of regular regiments were widely sought by the Irish militia to expedite training in the early years of the French Revolutionary War: bugler Robert Fellows, a twenty-five-year veteran of the

²⁶ PRONI, Massereene-Foster Papers, D562/3603-8, correspondence between Domenico Briscoli and Colonel Foster; *Monthly Magazine* (1 June 1807), p.482.

²⁷ PRONI, Massereene-Foster Papers, D207/11/18, A. Brabazon to Foster, 18 August 1805.

²⁸ PRONI, Gosford Papers, D1606/1/1/159B, Lt-Col Richardson to Lord Gosford, 17 April 1794; D607/D/122, Smollet Holden to Major Matthews, 15 August 1796; *The Sentimental and Masonic Magazine* (August 1794), p.192.

²⁹ NLI, Clements Papers, MS36058/7, John Mahon to Lord Leitrim, 23 May 1809; Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.180-1.

33rd Foot, was sent as a 'useful man' to the Royal Longford Militia in 1793, where he served alongside a drum-major obtained from another line regiment.³⁰ Experienced musical warriors were also tasked with teaching drummers and buglers in newly-raised regular and fencible battalions.³¹ John Bowell, an Englishman of the 3/95th Rifles, was sent to tutor twenty-one adult buglers of the 7/60th Foot, a multinational corps raised from prisoners of war in 1813. His efforts to instruct foreigners (a reversal of the usual pattern) are documented by periodic inspection reports. In June 1814 the buglers had 'not had sufficient practice' but showed improvement by November; the following June they were 'perfect in the different soundings.'³²

Newly formed volunteer, yeomanry, and local militia corps also depended on proficient veterans as performers and instructors. *The Soldier's Companion*, a widely-circulated treatise on the organisation and training of volunteer corps, counselled readers to procure 'some experienced drummers' to teach the drum and fife.³³ Virtually all drum-majors in the auxiliary forces whose origins can be traced boasted significant prior military service: the Birmingham Volunteers, for example, engaged a former drum-major of the 46th Foot while a Flintshire local militia regiment obtained

³⁰ TNA, WO13/3059, Royal Longford Militia pay-lists, 1793-8; WO97/298/40, John Line discharge; WO119/1/224, Robert Fellows discharge; NAI, M3482, Royal Longford Militia regulation book, Robert Fellows petition; NLI, MS1078, Charles Handfield to Lt-Col DePeyster, 30 May 1793; W. Watson, *Some Records of the Monaghan Regiment of Militia* (Monaghan, 1871), pp.1-4.

³¹ See for example O'Keeffe, 'Anatomy of a Drum Corps', p.42.

³² TNA, WO12/7088, 7/60th Foot pay-lists, 1813-1815; WO27/127-33, 1814-5 inspection returns, 7/60th Foot; WO97/725/86, John Bowell discharge.

³³ *The Soldier's Companion*, p.2.

an effective instructor who had 'served many years in the Merionethshire Militia'.³⁴ Discharged militia and fencible drummers, some of whom were considered too old and infirm for active service, often became musical mentors to part-time home defence corps in the same county.³⁵ Thomas Stuckey, an erstwhile drummer of the Somerset Militia, taught the rudiments to two members of the Pitminster Volunteers, repairing their instruments and supplying drumheads and sticks; a couple of his former comrades trained auxiliary drummers and fifers in Wells.³⁶ Volunteering may have been an exercise in amateur soldiering, but its drum-majors were seasoned military professionals.

Martial musical mobilisation also depended on the involvement of homegrown members of the civilian music profession. Provincial music masters and retailers taught fencible fifers and offered lessons on the trumpet or bugle, while a comic singer formerly employed by London's Royal Circus became a militia bassoonist.³⁷ Established civilian professionals participated most readily, however, in volunteer corps, which offered conspicuously patriotic part-time employment in their locality without the

³⁴ Birmingham Archives, MS3782/18/3, return of non-commissioned officers of the Loyal Birmingham Volunteers, [1803]; BUA, Mostyn Manuscripts, MOST/3488, Captain Smalley to Lt-Col Lloyd, 8 May 1809.

³⁵ *Hull Advertiser*, 10 January 1795; *Aberdeen Journal*, 19 March 1806.

³⁶ TNA, WO13/1892, 1st Somerset Militia pay-lists, 1793-7; WO97/1110/4, Going Teal discharge; WO121/49/164, Benjamin Lovelace discharge; SHC, DD/MT/18/8-9, Pitminster Volunteer papers, 1798-9 and DD/SAS/C795/SY/3, Wells City Volunteers minutes, September 1803.

³⁷ Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, p.26; *Chester Chronicle*, 30 September 1803; *Ipswich Journal*, 31 August 1811.

disagreeable discipline and itinerancy of service in regular or militia regiments. The glee composer John Wall Callcott, for example, organised and trained a band for the Kensington Volunteers, an exhausting endeavour that apparently ruined his health.³⁸ The leadership of church organists proved vital to military music-making in numerous British towns: in 1808 the volunteer bandsmen of Wisbech presented a silver cup to the organist George Guest, a former Chapel Royal chorister, to recognise his devotion to 'their instruction, pleasure, and improvement' for upwards of five years.³⁹ Organists also offered occasional tuition to other musical warriors posted in their parishes, including the future Royal Artillery bandmaster George McKenzie, who received free lessons from a Brecon incumbent while serving with a recruiting party as a fifer.⁴⁰

The profound importance of civilian professionals to musical mobilisation is readily apparent from a survey of Edinburgh. The Scottish capital's small cadre of instrumentalists, who had previously maintained themselves by playing at the theatre and at concerts of the declining civic musical society, were quick to take advantage of unparalleled wartime demand for their instructional services. One member of the Theatre Royal orchestra took charge of an Edinburgh volunteer band, another 'procured instruments and music' for the Stirling Volunteers, and a third decamped to Dumfries in 1793 to train a band for the Breadalbane Fencibles, where he charmed

³⁸ *QMMR* (1824), p.93.

³⁹ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 30 November 1808. See also [Sainsbury], *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, p.131; *Ipswich Journal*, 18 February 1804.

⁴⁰ J.A. Browne, *England's Artillerymen* (1865), p.311.

Robert Burns with his expressive playing.⁴¹ The brothers William and Alexander Napier, prominent brass players and royal trumpeters who accompanied the High Court of Justiciary on its circuits across Scotland, served as music instructors and trumpeters for the Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons and tutored military ensembles as far afield as Aberdeen.⁴² Wartime opportunities to lead auxiliary bands appealed not only to wind performers but a remarkably broad range of musicians, including the cellist J.G.C. Schetky and a dancing master who taught a Perth volunteer ensemble.⁴³

Volunteer and yeomanry bands in other cities and large towns like Chichester, Manchester, and Dublin owed much to pre-existing local musical networks, incorporating professional and amateur players who otherwise performed in assembly rooms, theatres, and purpose-built music venues.⁴⁴ Amateurs of the Bold Street music hall in Liverpool, for example, offered to raise a volunteer band in 1803, while seven of the twelve members of the Bristol Volunteer ensemble can be identified as local

⁴¹ J.L. Cranmer, 'Concert Life and the Music Trade in Edinburgh, c.1780-c.1830' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991), pp.57, 184-6, 301, 485; *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June 1802; PKA, PE/66/Bundle6, John Clarkson to Perth Volunteers, 3 October 1795; A. Cunningham, *The Works of Robert Burns* (1840), pp.460, 521; R. Chambers (ed), *Life and Works of Robert Burns*, rev. W. Wallace (4 vols, 1896), iv, p.14.

⁴² NLS, MS.872, Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons correspondence, f.28, William Napier to Captain Maitland, 3 August 1797, and Adv.MS.22.2.21, Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons committee minutes, 27 March 1797 to 17 May 1798, and f.274v, membership list; *Aberdeen Magazine* (January 1797), p.49.

⁴³ L.O. Schetky, *The Schetky Family* (Portland, OR, 1942), p.161; PKA, PE/66/Bundle3, John Clarkson to Ramsay, 17 March 1796, and PE/66/Bundle6, Clarkson to Perth Volunteers, 3 October 1795; D. Baptie, *Musical Scotland, Past and Present: A Dictionary of Scottish Musicians from about 1400* (Paisley, 1894), p.31.

⁴⁴ Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.578; J. Harland (ed), *Collectanea Relating to Manchester* (2 vols, Manchester, 1866-7), ii, p.86; J.W. Croker, *Familiar Epistles...on the Present State of the Irish Stage*, 5th edn (Dublin, 1806), p.82.

professionals, including five of thirteen music teachers and performers listed in the city's directory.⁴⁵ The Oxford Loyal Volunteer band, which incorporated professional linchpins of the city's Holywell music room, was likewise comprised of men already familiar with their respective instruments.⁴⁶ But auxiliary corps raised in smaller towns and villages also benefited from the involvement of established performers. The Monaghan Yeomanry's ensemble, for instance, was comprised of existing 'amateurs in music' while the bandmaster of a Northumberland local militia regiment, a musician active in Hexham from the 1790s, was later described as a celebrated though impoverished fiddler.⁴⁷ Correspondence of the Frampton-on-Severn Volunteers illustrates the extent of prior musical engagement even in rural Gloucestershire. The band was organised in 1798 by John Pearce, a carver specialising in church memorials, whose knowledge of London instrument suppliers may have been gleaned from his brother, an accountant and music teacher.⁴⁸ Pearce advised his captain that 'no time be lost in procuring the performers' as some of his preferred players had already been engaged by other corps, revealing not only wartime competition for talent but also the

⁴⁵ T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool* (1852), p.517; Lomas, 'Militia and Volunteer Wind Bands', pp.159-61; *Matthews's Complete Bristol Directory for the Years 1799 & 1800* (Bristol, [1800]); *Monthly Magazine* (1 May 1813), p.375; Bristol Archives, EP/J/4/7, vol. 7, f.77, 1811 will of Andrew Waite, musician.

⁴⁶ Bodleian Libraries, MS.Mus.d.32, John Malchair tune book, pp.48-9 and MS.Top.Oxon.e.241, Oxford Loyal Volunteers minutes, ff.14-17; Philp, 'Music and Politics, 1793-1815', p.192.

⁴⁷ *Belfast News-Letter*, 4 February 1834; Robson, *Billy Purvis*, p.31; R. Southey, 'Commercial Music-Making in Eighteenth Century North-East England' (2 vols, PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, 2001), ii, p.4; *Newcastle Guardian*, 8 May 1847.

⁴⁸ GA, Clifford Papers, D149/X17, Frampton on Severn Volunteers, list of members; Samuel and James Pearce memorial in St Mary's Church, Frampton-on-Severn.

existence of a finite number of competent local instrumentalists who might form the basis of an ensemble.⁴⁹

It bears emphasising that military music-making involved mentors and performers from across the social spectrum. Several volunteer bands included gentleman amateurs, while other propertied musical enthusiasts mentored aspiring regimental instrumentalists.⁵⁰ William Lloyd, a neglectful Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum but an attentive harpist, taught the fifers of both Oxford volunteer corps.⁵¹ Amateurs from affluent backgrounds also monetised their musical skills after falling on hard times by joining military bands in the professional forces. Musician Thomas Fisher enlisted in the 51st Foot after his profligate behaviour caused a rift with his father, a substantial Yorkshire farmer and businessman with a stake in a textile mill, while a trumpet player of the Royal Tyrone Militia was described as ‘a sort of gentleman who had spent his little all’.⁵² The appeal of military music-making for down-on-their-luck gentlemen was recognised by William McLaurin, a debt-ridden illegitimate son of the deputy governor of the Bank of Scotland. Provided with a polite education by his father but denied

⁴⁹ GA, D149/X21/15, John Pearce to Captain Winchcombe, August[?] 1798.

⁵⁰ *The Courier*, 9 May 1804; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.578.

⁵¹ G.V. Cox, *Recollections of Oxford* (1868), p.77; Bodleian Libraries, MS.Mus.d.32, John Malchair tune book, p.49.

⁵² PRONI, D623/A/147/17, George Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 13 May 1795; WYAS (Kirklees), Fisher letters, WYK1263/1/6-22, especially Thomas Fisher to parents, 17 July 1810, in which Fisher mentions receiving his fiddle from his parents. See also I. Sargen, ‘Wool, War and the Indies: The Fisher Letters’, in S. Wade (ed), *Aspects of Huddersfield: Discovering Local History 2* (Barnsley, 2002), chapter 4 [unpaginated EPUB] and R. Jordan, ‘Music and the Military in New South Wales’, p.11.

ongoing financial support, McLaurin considered employment as a militia bandsman: 'It is the second offer of the same kind that I have had. I refused the first because I thought it below me, but now poverty has overcome pride...I will not starve while His Majesty offers me ten guineas [bounty], an easy life and good pay'.⁵³

The great majority of musicians and drummers, however, were drawn from the labouring classes. The bandsmen of the Birmingham Loyal Association, for example, described themselves as manual labourers whose availability for military duty was constrained by obligations to their employers.⁵⁴ Tradesmen, retailers, and skilled workers commonly assumed musical roles in the volunteers and local militia, while the regular army appears to have relied more heavily on weavers and unskilled labourers, mirroring the social composition of the respective forces (see Table 4).⁵⁵ A sizeable number had cultivated music either as a pastime or a secondary occupation before donning a uniform, reflecting robust interest in recreational music-making and self-improvement among artisans and other labouring men and boys.⁵⁶ A Lancashire weaver who played bassoon in a regimental band, for example, had previously taken lessons on the instrument from a local schoolmaster, while a musician of the Hitchin

⁵³ NRS, Innes Papers, GD113/5/319a/15, William McLaurin to Jane Burnet, 9 October 1798.

⁵⁴ Birmingham Archives, Boulton Papers, MS3782/18/3, petition of 5 October 1803.

⁵⁵ *The Cambrian*, 13 December 1806; J.L. Saywell, *History and Annals of Northallerton* (Northallerton, 1885), p.144; Gee, *British Volunteer Movement*, pp.7-8; Smith, 'Loyalty and Opposition in the Napoleonic Wars', p.153; Coss, *All for the King's Shilling*, pp.67-70, 255-6.

⁵⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1818), p.324; *The Baptist Magazine* (April 1809), pp.147-9; O. Moore [pseudonym], *The Staff Officer; or, The Soldier of Fortune* (3 vols, 1831), i, p.174; W. Butterworth, *Three Years Adventures, of a Minor...* (Leeds, 1823), pp.490-1; J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT, 2001), p.196.

Volunteers appears to have been a local leatherworker who maintained a sideline as a freelance performer.⁵⁷ No fewer than seven accounts of young musical recruits from working-class backgrounds describe their subjects learning to play on second-hand fifes or improvised imitations before joining the military.⁵⁸ John Ramson, for example, the son of a Topsham basket maker, grew up in a musical household enlivened by family sing-alongs and taught himself ‘several popular airs’ on a homemade fife; he later performed for the volunteers and sea fencibles.⁵⁹

Table 4: Occupations of Musical Warriors

Band	Occupations
Oswestry Volunteer band, 1803-4	3 shoemakers, 2 painters, 1 innkeeper, 1 hatter, 1 bricklayer, 1 slater, 1 cooper
Central Staffordshire Local Militia band, 1810-13	4 hatters, 1 bricklayer, 1 lath cleaver, 1 labourer, 1 no occupation listed
Central Staffordshire Local Militia drummers, 1810-13	7 cordwainers (shoemakers), 3 no occupation listed, 2 bricklayers, 1 brick maker, 1 potter, 1 hatter, 1 painter, 1 breeches maker, 1 baker, 1 tinman and brazier, 1 wheelwright
23rd Foot drummers, June 1815	13 labourers, 2 cordwainers, 2 weavers, 1 fustian cutter, 1 glassmaker, 1 horse jockey, 1 hatter
99th Foot band, June 1815	5 labourers, 2 weavers, 1 tailor, 1 shoemaker, 1 gardener, 1 carpenter
Sources: <i>Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties</i> (January-March 1886), pp.2-3; Stafford, William Salt Library, M608, Central Staffordshire Local Militia enrolment book; E.L. Kirby and N. Holme, <i>Medal Rolls, 23rd Foot, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Napoleonic Period</i> (Caernarfon, 1978), pp.81-4; TNA, WO12/9788, 99th Foot pay-lists, March-September 1815; WO25/548, 99th Foot description book.	

The enterprise of multi-talented artisans like John Pearce of Frampton-on-Severn could be as important as elite investment in the formation and maintenance of

⁵⁷ W. Millington, *Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies* (Pendlebury, 1884), p.12; HALS, Acc13, Volunteer and LM Papers, box 1, B[enjamin] Mugliston to Captain Wilshire, 7 August 1799; *The Universal British Directory*, 3rd edn (5 vols, [1793-4]), iii, p.379.

⁵⁸ [Sainsbury], *Dictionary of Musicians*, i, p.257, ii, p.265; *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 November 1867; [J. Turnbull], *Sketches from Real Life* (Edinburgh, 1842), p.24; Butler, *Narrative* (1854), p.20; R. Cobbold, *Mary Anne Wellington* (1853), p.54.

⁵⁹ W. Cotton and J. Dallas (eds), *Notes and Gleanings: A Monthly Magazine Devoted Chiefly to...Devon and Cornwall* (5 vols, Exeter, 1889), ii, p.133.

auxiliary ensembles. William Kell of Woodbridge, an energetic eccentric who sired some thirty children over five marriages, also found time to master sundry vocations from coach-making and conjuring to gravestone cutting. A 'musical man', Kell was a respected violin instructor, dancing master, and church chorister, but also vigorously 'served his country's cause' by variously acting as the drum and fife-major of the Woodbridge Volunteers, a yeomanry cavalry trumpeter, a sea fencibles drummer, and a horn player in a local militia band.⁶⁰ A comparable provincial polymath, William Sarsfield, whet his musical appetite as a fifer in the Irish volunteers in 1782 and accompanied village oratorios and church psalm-singing as a flautist. He eventually led the Monaghan Yeomanry band, manufacturing woodwind and brass instruments alongside other endeavours including painting, plumbing, and glazing.⁶¹

Church bands and choirs comprised a particularly important source of musically initiated plebeian players. Myriad examples could be cited of fifers and bandsmen who had participated in sacred music-making in some capacity as children or adolescents, often taking after their fathers.⁶² John Parry, the son of a Welsh stonemason, was taught to read music and play the clarinet by a dancing master to accompany church

⁶⁰ *Suffolk Chronicle*, 16 February 1839; *The East Anglian: A Magazine of Literary and Miscellaneous Information* (Ipswich, [1814]), p.149.

⁶¹ *Belfast News-Letter*, 4 February 1834; TNA, WO97/1177/45, William Sarsfield discharge.

⁶² [Turnbull], *Sketches from Real Life*, pp.24-8; S. Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (Boston, MA, 1861), p.176; J. Bradbury, *Saddleworth Sketches* (Oldham, 1871), pp.60, 83; *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 November 1867; P.A. Ramsay, *The Works of Robert Tannahill, with a Life of the Author, and a Memoir of Robert A. Smith* (1838), xliv.

singers; he was recruited for the Denbighshire Militia band in 1793.⁶³ Parish clerks, who typically managed the music played during services, commonly joined military bands in their locality, including John Warren of Royston in Hertfordshire, who spent his Sundays playing the bass-viol in church and leading volunteer musicians as they marched to drill.⁶⁴ Sacred music-making substantially increased the supply of performers available for military service, albeit only on certain instruments. John Marsh, a well informed and widely travelled commentator on English music, noted that clarinettists and bassoonists had been readily obtainable for a Chichester volunteer band because both ‘abounded in every country choir’. But as trumpets and horns were seldom used for worship, amateur brass players were altogether more scarce. The Chichester performers remedied the deficiency by asking an alumnus of the city’s cathedral choir to learn the French horn, although weak lungs forced him to trade places with the band’s second clarinettist (another cathedral chorister).⁶⁵

If church music was much to the fore, the military also derived trained players from other national and regional musical traditions. The Northumberland Militia engaged performers of the bellows-blown Northumbrian smallpipes while the Glamorgan regiment enlisted a Welsh harpist in 1794.⁶⁶ Other corps recruited Irish (uilleann)

⁶³ Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, p.265.

⁶⁴ A. Kingston, *Fragments of Two Centuries: Glimpses of Country Life when George III was King* (Royston, 1893), pp.68, 129; G. Herbert, *Shoemaker’s Window: Recollections of Banbury before the Railway Age*, ed. C.S. Cheney and B.S. Trinder, 2nd edn (1971), p.2.

⁶⁵ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.408, 431, 578, 587 and ii, p.27; [J. Marsh], *Sketch of the Life of the Late Mr. James Targett, Organist of Chichester Cathedral* (Chichester, 1803), pp.13-14.

⁶⁶ J. Sykes, *Local Records, or Historical Register of Remarkable Events* (2 vols, Newcastle,

pipers.⁶⁷ Town drummers, who customarily beat for civic events and public announcements in Scottish burghs, offered their services to the fencibles and volunteers.⁶⁸ But no national musical practice was more resoundingly embraced by the military than Highland piping. The annual piping contests organised by the Highland Society of London from 1781 were frequented by officers seeking qualified players.⁶⁹ Regiments clearly benefited from the instrument's continued popularity in Scotland, yet spiralling wartime demand drained the pool of willing recruits, obliging officers to search far and wide for these 'very essential persons' and offer bounties of up to thirty guineas.⁷⁰ In 1794 the colonel of the Fraser Fencibles, a regiment principally raised around Inverness, urged a contact in the west coast village of Arisaig to 'use his utmost endeavours to enlist a good piper', having been informed 'there are several to be had in that part of the Highlands.'⁷¹ Nonetheless, while some corps struggled to obtain skilled performers, the military's recruiting drive appears to have been on the whole

1833), ii, p.26; *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*, ed. J. Collingwood Bruce and J. Stokoe, (Newcastle, 1882; repr. Hatboro, PA, 1965), p.xvii; NLW, Bute Estate Records, L98/30, Captain Tyndale to Henry Hollier, 1 June 1794.

⁶⁷ The Rifle Corps, later the 95th Rifles, secured a 'famous Irish bagpiper' as a serpent player. See NRS 1209, Argyll Papers, bundle 1885, Hamlet Wade to Lt-Col Callander, 28 July 1802 and also *Saunders's News-Letter*, 14 September 1793.

⁶⁸ NRS, Seafield Papers, GD248/683/2/6, Andrew Waddell to Sir James Grant, 23 February 1793; *The False Alarm: A Narrative of the Lighting of the Border Beacons in 1804* (Jedburgh, 1869), pp.5-36.

⁶⁹ J.G. Dalyell, *Musical Memoirs of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1849), p.114; NRS, GD248/687/1/3, Alexander Grant to Sir James Grant, 24 June 1794 and GD248/687/2/3, Alexander Grant to Sir James Grant, 29 July 1794.

⁷⁰ J. Macdonald, *Autobiographical Journal of John Macdonald*, ed. A. Mackay (Edinburgh, 1906), p.29; Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp.113-14; R.P. Dunn-Pattison, *The History of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders* (Edinburgh, 1910), p.5; Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, p.17.

⁷¹ NRS, Warrant of Bught Papers, GD23/6/320, Captain Fraser to James Grant, 1 December 1794.

successful, so much so that the Highland Society fretted that their 1813 contest would be 'hardly equal' to previous occasions, with numerous distinguished pipers serving outside Scotland in regular and militia regiments.⁷² The integration of Highland piping into the Hanoverian military also depended on the cooperation of hereditary piping families. Although the patriarch of the MacGregors of Fortingall had fought for Bonnie Prince Charlie, his eldest son reportedly instructed 'above 50 military pipers' by 1784 and his grandchildren piped during the French Wars for fencible and local militia regiments.⁷³ The academy for regimental pipers proposed by the Highland Society to the Duke of York in 1808 was to be led by the scion of another piping dynasty, an infantry officer who was also approached to teach the instrument to 'young Highland lads' of the 1st Foot or Royal Scots in 1813.⁷⁴

Mobilisation of musical manpower was thus expedited by interactions with established modes of instrumental music-making, from concert orchestras and church bands to Highland piping. Yet the sheer scale of military demand necessitated the training of large numbers of performers from scratch. Volunteer corps sought out novices from the locality to play the drum and fife, preferring candidates who seemed clever and eager to learn, while regular regiments tasked common soldiers with

⁷² *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 July 1813.

⁷³ MacInnes, 'The Highland Bagpipe', pp.131-3, 323.

⁷⁴ J. Fairney, 'The Cultivation and Preservation of the Martial Music of the Highlands by the Highland Society of London', *Scottish Studies*, 38 (2018), pp.64-5; NRS, Sinclair Papers, GD136/514, Duke of Kent to Sir John Sinclair, 12 August 1813.

mastering the bugle to replace casualties suffered on campaign.⁷⁵ Most regimental bands included at least a proportion of neophytes drawn from the privates and drummers: officers of the Breadalbane Fencibles in 1793 expected their Hessian bandmaster not only to 'pick up some old experienced hands' but also to instruct 'young lads' on various instruments and 'learn them to read musick.'⁷⁶ The reformed band of the Isle of Ely Local Militia was comprised of 'young beginners' while the drummers of the Morley Local Militia were 'chiefly new hands' drawn from the boys of the town.⁷⁷ The autobiography of John Shipp, a poorhouse boy from rural Suffolk, memorably illustrates the military's capacity to transform musical neophytes into full-time performers. On joining the 22nd Foot, the twelve-year-old was selected for the band and spent six months as a musician, playing the triangle and becoming a 'tolerable flute-player', before transferring to the drums and attaining the appointment of fife-major.⁷⁸

In an era when boys often commenced paid work before the age of ten, the recruitment of children and adolescents, especially soldiers' sons, for martial musical

⁷⁵ Bedfordshire Archives, Rugeley Papers, X202/99, draft letter, [1803], and X202/108, George Pedley to Matthew Rugeley, 7 November 1803; *Iron in the Making: Dowlais Iron Company Letters, 1782-1860*, ed. M. Elsas (Glamorgan, 1960), p.208; Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, pp.85-86; TNA, WO7/86, p.213, Colonel Mosheim to Lt-Col Williams, 28 January 1811.

⁷⁶ NRS, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/52/127/11, c.1793 memo; PRONI, D623/A/145/11, George Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 6 July 1793; Watson, *Records of the Monaghan Regiment*, pp.3-4; *Kentish Gazette*, 30 June 1789.

⁷⁷ BL, Add.MS.35678, ff.147-8, Captain Buckley to Lord Hardwicke, 14 February 1813; TNA, HO50/254, Lt-Col Hardy to Lord Fitzwilliam, 9 July 1810.

⁷⁸ Shipp, *Memoirs*, pp.7-38.

roles was pervasive and officially encouraged.⁷⁹ The bands of the 2/21st and 80th Foot, numbering fifteen and seventeen members respectively, each included six boys in 1813, while an East York Militia officer was advised to avoid recruiting boys as drummers because the children of the regiment afforded a sufficient supply.⁸⁰ Regiments customarily exceeded the authorised numbers of drummers and bandsmen by claiming privates' wages for youths undergoing musical training, a practice that was by turns condoned and censured by military authorities.⁸¹ From 1805, however, the Horse Guards began officially allowing regular infantry regiments to enlist additional boys on reduced pay (10d per diem) for instruction on the drum and fife.⁸² Teaching music to children was considered 'much less trouble' than instructing adult novices because the likelihood of mastering an instrument was believed to decrease with age.⁸³ Many of these youngsters rose through the musical ranks of their regiments as they matured, comprising an endogenous caste of military instructors and reducing the need to hire expensive external talent.⁸⁴ Besides fostering future non-

⁷⁹ *QMMR* (1822), p.525; NAM, 1993-03-218, standing orders for Minorca, 1800, pp.65-6; Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour*, pp.366-7.

⁸⁰ TNA, WO27/116, 1st Half-Year 1813 inspection returns, 2/21st Foot and WO27/122, 2nd Half-Year 1813 inspection returns, 80th Foot; HHC, C DMI/2/20, Major Brooke to Captain Maister, 25 February 1796.

⁸¹ Stanley, *Correspondence*, p.22; Lady Stanley *et al.*, *The Early Married Life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley*, ed. J.H. Adeane (1899), pp.116-22; NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1330, 26 April 1800 general order.

⁸² *Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions* (1807), pp.29, 303; LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 30, p.162, 6 October 1813 circular.

⁸³ A 33-year-old militia bugler was considered 'too old to learn' the fife or drum in 1812. See Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/Y/16/419/b-c, Colonel Cooke to Adjutant-General, 31 March 1812, and also NYCRO, Zetland Papers, ZNKx2/2/169, Captain Strode to Lord Dundas, 4 December 1807; Cuthbertson, *System*, p.12.

⁸⁴ John White, born to a private of the 14th Foot, was bandmaster of his regiment by age twenty-five. See East Sussex Record Office, PAR511/32/4/151, John White settlement

commissioned officers, the enlistment of band boys and drummers functioned as a form of regimental paternalism, enabling officers to reward deserving military families by employing their offspring and provide for youngsters after the deaths of their parents.⁸⁵

Although the War Office published recruitment guidelines on age and height, no minimum enlistment age for drummers and bandsmen was definitively established.⁸⁶ Individual commanders set their own standards, insisting on varying degrees of stamina and maturity: the 22nd Foot advertised for boys aged twelve to fourteen to act as drummers or musicians while the Birmingham Volunteers sought drummers aged fourteen to seventeen.⁸⁷ Bennett Cuthbertson, in an influential treatise on regimental administration first published in 1768, believed that drummers ‘much under fourteen’ would prove ‘an incumbrance’ to their regiment as they were ‘unable to bear fatigue’ or carry their bulky instruments on the march, but suggested that younger boys could be trained as fifers.⁸⁸ While the seven-year-old James Wade has been frequently described as the youngest recruit of the period, plenty of more junior

examination, 15 May 1804, and, for another example, R. Holden, *Historical Record of the Third and Fourth Battalions of the Worcestershire Regiment* (London, 1887), pp.114, 305.

⁸⁵ Cuthbertson, *System*, pp.12-13; TNA, WO1/287, Gibraltar In-Letters, p.113, memorial of 15 August 1788; C. Divall, *Redcoats against Napoleon* (Barnsley, 2009), p.33; M.M. Sherwood, *Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, ed. S. Kelly (1857), p.510.

⁸⁶ *Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions* (1807), p.293.

⁸⁷ Barnsley Archives, Spencer Stanhope Muniments, SpSt/60565, f.26, Charles Bowns to Walter Stanhope, 4 April 1799; NAI, M3475, Royal Longford Militia LB, p.185, 4 March 1801; *Ipswich Journal*, 17 December 1796; Birmingham Archives, MS3782/18/3, Lt-Col Breynton to Major Boulton, 21 September 1803.

⁸⁸ Cuthbertson, *System*, p.12.

musical warriors can be identified, including William Mann, who began a forty-year career as a Guards bandsman in 1799 aged five, and John Murray of the 50th Foot, who enlisted as a drummer in 1786 or 1787 aged either four or six.⁸⁹ But these examples of extreme youth were not representative: demographic data for seventy-four drummers serving in the 23rd, 45th, 64th and 100th Regiments of Foot in June 1815 suggests that only four had joined their corps before the age of ten. Median enlistment ages ranged from twelve to eighteen depending on the regiment.⁹⁰

As the preference for soldiers' sons suggests, the military's recruitment criteria encompassed more than strictly musical considerations. Physical attributes were valued for aesthetic as well as practical reasons. Drumming demanded not only supple wrists to beat the rudiments but ideally good looks too, as slightly and diminutive drummers had long been considered one of 'the ornaments in the shew of a battalion'.⁹¹ Although bodily shortcomings did not always bar qualified candidates from prominent musical posts, martial performers were generally expected to impress visually as well as aurally.⁹² Officers searched for pipers who were 'handsome' or of

⁸⁹ Holmes, *Soldiers*, p.277; TNA, WO97/190/84, Mann discharge; WO12/6103, 50th Foot pay-lists; WO25/991, service periods of non-commissioned officers and men of the 2/50th Foot, 1806. For another five-year-old drummer, see SHC, Somerset Militia LBs, DD/SLI/12/2/3, Darch to Cork, 22 March 1793.

⁹⁰ TNA, pay-lists and description books, viz. WO12/5730 and WO25/389-90 (45th Foot); WO12/7325 and WO25/449 (64th Foot); WO12/9852 and WO25/550 (100th Foot); E.L. Kirby and N. Holme, *Medal Rolls, 23rd Foot, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Napoleonic Period* (1978), pp.81-4.

⁹¹ *Cyclopædia*, xii, 'drum' entry; Cuthbertson, *System*, pp.12-13.

⁹² The one-eyed drum-major of the Workop Loyal Volunteers was cruelly teased for his 'cycloptic vigilance'. See TNA, HO42/62/19, ff.43-4, petition to Captain Champion, 12 May

‘genteel appearance’ as well as skilled and dependable: the colonel of the Reay Fencibles purportedly rejected an accomplished hopeful as too ugly to occupy such a conspicuous position in the regiment.⁹³ While shorter recruits unsuited to the ranks were trained as drummers, band percussionists, whose work demanded tambourine-twirling and stick-juggling showmanship more than musical erudition, were often selected for their height and build.⁹⁴ Lord Dynevor, commanding a Carmarthenshire volunteer corps, endorsed the desire of the battalion’s ‘immense’ fogleman to beat the bass drum as he ‘would look that part very well’. Dynevor also sought ‘remarkable fine young’ men for the tambourine and cymbals, explaining that ‘beauty and make have more to do with those instruments, than much knowledge of musick, only they must have good ears’.⁹⁵

The military’s preoccupation with appearances is further demonstrated by the extensive employment of black cavalry trumpeters and band percussionists, who were extravagantly attired in ‘demi-oriental’ costumes in emulation of Ottoman janissary ensembles.⁹⁶ Monarchs and the landed gentry had employed musicians of colour as symbols of sophistication for centuries, a practice intertwined with the European belief

1801.

⁹³ Dunn-Pattison, *History of the 91st*, p.5; *Saunders’s News-Letter*, 14 September 1793; Scobie, *Old Highland Fencible Corps*, p.39.

⁹⁴ Innes, *Life*, p.8; J. Crook, *The Very Thing: The Memoirs of Drummer Richard Bentinck* (2011), p.4; LAC, RG8, ‘C’ Series, vol. 1207, p.311, Brevet Major Green to Lt-Col de Longueuil, 20 May 1799; Keep, *In Service of the King*, p.58; Everett, *Wall’s End Miner*, pp.5-15.

⁹⁵ NRS, Erskine Papers, GD123/378, Lord Dynevor to Major Williams, 14 May 1805.

⁹⁶ [Ainslie], *Reminiscences*, p.28; *Morning Post*, 1 January 1807.

in the innate musicality of their race.⁹⁷ Yet there is scant evidence, significantly, that performers of African descent recruited during the French Wars had prior instrumental experience. Rather, they were selected for their skin tone and learned to play after enlistment: the Royal Westminster Regiment of Middlesex Militia, for example, paid a man £2 10s ‘for teaching the blacks the cymbals’ in 1793.⁹⁸ Officers seeking ‘men of colour’ for regimental bands emphasised physical attributes rather than prior musical experience, expressing a desire for ‘stout’ and ‘handsome’ candidates; the Grenadier Guards ostensibly discharged a bandsman in 1823 because he did not possess ‘a sufficiently black complexion’.⁹⁹ Regiments posted overseas enlisted black men in India, North America, and the Caribbean, but the military recruited largely from the black population of Britain and Ireland, which was predominantly male, concentrated in London and the major ports, and possibly numbered above ten thousand by the later eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ A considerable proportion had been brought to the United Kingdom as domestic servants, including cymbalists of the Wexford Militia and the Coldstream Guards.¹⁰¹ Other black men arrived through service aboard warships and

⁹⁷ J. Walvin, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (1992), pp.115-16, 157-62.

⁹⁸ *PP* (1807), iii (155), Cawthorne court-martial, p.202. See also NRS, Register of Acts and Decrees, CS22/774/2, William Napier against Sir John Scott, 1 February 1800; J. Ellis, “‘An Incumbrance on the Regiment’: The Black Soldiers of the 78th Foot”, *JSAHR*, 81/328 (2003), pp.381-2.

⁹⁹ *Morning Advertiser*, 1 January 1807 and 11 March 1808; NRAS 1209, bundle 1885, Hamlet Wade to Lt-Col Callander, 28 July 1802; *Fourteenth Report of the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity* (1832), pp.41-2.

¹⁰⁰ Innes, *Life*, p.169; Ellis, ‘Drummers for the Devil?’, p.188. The 20th (Jamaica) Light Dragoons enlisted black trumpeters from St. Domingo (Hispaniola) in 1798. See WO25/284-8, 20th Light Dragoons description books. For population estimates, see Chater, *Untold Histories*, pp.29-30; W.A. Hart, ‘Africans in Eighteenth-Century Ireland’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 33/129, (May 2002), p.21.

¹⁰¹ TNA, WO97/1091/138, Daniel Atkins discharge; T.A. Ogle, *The Irish Militia Officer* (Dublin,

merchantmen, enlisting when seafaring employment proved scarce; several joined the military after escaping enslavement.¹⁰² Rather than relying on transient sailors, urban volunteer units recruited black men settled locally, including William Fifefield of Newcastle, a native of Saint Kitts who beat the bass drum for a succession of auxiliary corps when not plying the Tyne as a boatman.¹⁰³ Far from being consciously excluded from Georgian military spectacle as Gillian Russell has claimed, black men were in fact sought after and conspicuous participants in regimental display during the French Wars.¹⁰⁴

Martial music-making was characterised by social, geographical, and ethnic diversity. Viewed as a whole, the military's recruitment drive cut across musical practices of varying functions and status, incorporating elite concert performers and artisan autodidacts, foreign professionals, and Highland pipers. Regiments could not have mobilised musical manpower on such an ambitious scale without the support of experienced instrumentalists already working in the military, the cooperation of large swathes of the music profession, and popular participation in sacred and amateur

1873), pp.31-2; *Gentleman's Magazine* (November 1850), p.481.

¹⁰² *Morning Chronicle*, 10 February 1819; TNA, WO97/202/2, Thomas Rackett discharge and WO97/559/117, Perry Brookings discharge; Anglesey, 'Two Brothers in the Netherlands', p.76; [Wentworth], *West India Sketch Book*, ii, pp.225-6; *Fifth Report of the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity* (1823), pp.39-40; P. Mackenzie, *Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* (3 vols, Glasgow, 1866), ii, pp.553-4; A. Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832* (New York, NY, 2013), pp.344-5

¹⁰³ S. Mack, 'Black Voices and Absences in the Commemorations of Abolition in North East England', *Slavery and Abolition*, 30/2 (2009), p.254.

¹⁰⁴ Russell, *Theatres of War*, p.178.

music-making. Although the proportions are impossible to calculate with any precision, it is clear that the military absorbed large numbers of performers with existing musical knowledge while also instructing thousands of novice players.

The Musical Marketplace

Mostly decentralised and improvisational, musical recruitment during the French Wars was characteristic of contemporary public administration and military mobilisation in its reliance on the enterprise of individual corps and the cooperation of local elites.¹⁰⁵ Although in some respects a poor means of managing manpower, the prevailing system of largely autonomous regiments produced strong unit identities and a spirit of competitive emulation.¹⁰⁶ As has been argued, officers vied to assemble, outfit and train superlative musical contingents, or at least field a respectable showing, for reasons of public prestige and social amenity as much as military efficiency. They were therefore broadly willing to devote considerable time and money to securing performers, hiring high-priced bandmasters but also drawing on plebeian and captive manpower. The wartime dearth of competent instructors prompted officers to share

¹⁰⁵ J.R. Western, 'The Recruitment of the Land Forces in Great Britain, 1793-99', (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1953), pp.125, 330; D. Eastwood "'Amplifying the Province of the Legislature": The Flow of Information and the English State in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Historical Research*, 62/149 (1989), pp.276-94.

¹⁰⁶ Houlding, *Fit for Service*, p.312, n.77; Bamford, *Sickness, Suffering, and the Sword*, pp.287-97.

musical expertise, largely on the basis of local affinity and social obligation. Professional musicians and labouring-class players, for their part, were drawn to military service for a variety of reasons, chief among them being the prospect of earning income and honing their instrumental skills. This section conceptualises musical recruitment as a labour market, defined by negotiation, competition, and cooperation between officers and performers and among military corps. While the recruitment of volunteer and local militia bands was often a distinctly local affair, the overall market for musical labour was notable for its integration and transnational character, involving not only foreign-born manpower but the exchange of expertise across all branches of the military and throughout the four nations.

Commerce in trained performers, like the trade in armaments or victualling contracts, was defined by enormous fluctuations of supply and demand caused by the onset and conclusion of hostilities and the expansion or demobilisation of military forces. In 1793, for example, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Irish militia recognised that the rapid formation of new regiments had caused a dearth of qualified drum-majors and placed 'great demands' on the island's stock of musicians, requiring recourse to London in search of qualified foreigners.¹⁰⁷ Drummers remained in short supply in 1805, when a Whitehall memorandum instructed the Shropshire Militia not to retain surplus performers from its disbanded supplementary regiment as their

¹⁰⁷ TNA, WO68/221, Donegal Militia LB, Quartermaster-Sergeant Goddard to Lt-Col Maxwell, 24 September 1793; PRONI, D623/A/145/6, Major Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 27 April 1793.

services were sorely needed by the regulars and volunteers.¹⁰⁸ Conversely, Major Andrews of the North Hants Militia reckoned in 1802 that clarinettists could easily be found as so many had been demobilised following peace with France.¹⁰⁹ Expert wind performers capitalised on the seller's market that prevailed in wartime, negotiating with multiple corps or cutting short their agreements when offered better terms elsewhere.¹¹⁰ A London intermediary tasked with engaging a trumpeter for the East Riding Yeomanry reported that a prospective performer had spurned a salary of fifty guineas as insufficient in 1794, lamenting: 'These people being now very much in request are therefore thus exorbitant in their demands'.¹¹¹ Bandmasters' salaries varied widely but were recognised as comfortable and often excessive by contemporaries.¹¹² A good German bandmaster could command eight to ten Irish shillings per diem in 1797, comparable to the pay of regimental captains, while the Frenchman Joseph Jouve received a hefty £1 daily for supervising the North York Militia musicians in 1811.¹¹³ The prospect of assured wages and multi-year employment in the armed forces clearly proved attractive to freelance instrumentalists and music retailers, whose customary financial insecurity was exacerbated in wartime by

¹⁰⁸ SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/192, Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Powis, 12 July 1805.

¹⁰⁹ HA, Jervoise Papers, 44M69/G6/2/1/11/4, Major Andrews to Colonel Jervoise, 5 August 1802.

¹¹⁰ BL, Add.MS.35667, f.31, Edward Nightingale to Lord Hardwicke, 5 August [1796]; PRONI, D562/3607, Lord Blayney to Colonel Foster, 21 September 1804; Penny, *Traditions of Perth*, p.79; NLI, MS36058/7, John Mahon to Lord Leitrim, 23 May 1809.

¹¹¹ ERA, DDGR/43/14/24, John Belson to Thomas Grimston, 8 December 1794.

¹¹² SHC, Tynte Papers, DD/S/WH/343, Colonel Strode to Colonel Tynte, 26 January 1800; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 14 November 1810.

¹¹³ PRONI, D623/A/149/36, George Vallancey to [the Marquess of Abercorn], 29 June 1797; Nelson, *Irish Militia*, p.143; NYCRO, ZNKx2/3/324, bill of 10 February 1812; Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, i, p.197.

economic instability, inflation, and the attendant dwindling of civilian concert life.¹¹⁴ A German-born double bass player facing seasonal unemployment in Chichester, for example, agreed to instruct a novice military band in 1798, reckoning that separation from his wife and service in turbulent Ireland was amply recompensed by the weekly salary of two guineas. Indeed, several former regimental musicians who took up civilian work were lured back into the military sphere by their 'love of money', as training martial ensembles proved 'so much more profitable' than piano teaching.¹¹⁵

Enlisted performers from labouring-class backgrounds were drawn to military music-making in large part because it offered better pay and conditions than service in the ranks, although their expectations were far more modest than those of professional music-masters.¹¹⁶ The adjutant of the 3rd Royal Flintshire Local Militia considered 1s 6d a 'liberal' sum to pay each bandsman per day of practice, but added, in a nod to their negotiating power, that the musicians would 'not be satisfied with less'.¹¹⁷ Even fifiers had some scope to bargain over terms: Robert Butler, a Scottish weaver and ex-volunteer performer, secured an exemption from administering floggings on joining the Army of Reserve and held out for sergeant's pay before transferring to the 2/1st Foot as a fife-major.¹¹⁸ While soldiers in general had a sense

¹¹⁴ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, p.154; Philp, 'Music and Politics', p.183; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.67-8.

¹¹⁵ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.468, 538, 560, 595, 676; [Sainsbury], *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, p.79.

¹¹⁶ Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, p.86; W.B. Lighton, *Memoirs of the Life of William Beebey Lighton* (Wells River, VT, 1835), pp.102-5.

¹¹⁷ BUA, MOST/3479, Adjutant Clingan to Lt-Col Lloyd, 13 May 1809.

¹¹⁸ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.31, 38-41.

of their customary labour rights, musical warriors were especially cognisant of the value of their skills, collectively petitioning officers, vandalising instruments, or refusing to perform if they felt mistreated or underpaid.¹¹⁹ The availability of remunerative work in the wider musical labour market could make regimental performers dissatisfied with their lot: bandsmen of the North York Militia had ‘earned so much money...fidling [*sic*] about the country’ at balls and other engagements in 1807, according to one officer, that ‘their impertinence is scarcely to be borne’. Pay hikes offered to encourage greater diligence were rejected as inadequate by four performers, prompting a disciplinary crackdown.¹²⁰ Officers’ resort to the stick rather than the carrot, however, carried risks of its own. Although colonels of regular and militia regiments were reluctant to discharge restless bandsmen and buglers to avoid undermining the musical efficiency of their corps, discontented performers, like other soldiers, were prone to desert in response to harsh punishments and poor conditions or to pursue more lucrative employment.¹²¹ Four bandsmen of the Royal Fusiliers, for example, absconded to the United States ‘under promise of uncommon wages by one

¹¹⁹ Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers*, pp.155-209; Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, pp.96-7; Royal Institution of Cornwall, HH/13/131, M. Roberts to Sir Christopher Hawkins, 21 April 1801; NLI, MS36058/7, petition to Viscount Clements, postmarked 19 November 1802; TNA, WO27/116, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, 1/30th Foot, Drummer Dixon RCM, 29 November 1812; BL, Add.MS.35670, f.202, court of enquiry, 10 July 1798.

¹²⁰ NYCRO, ZNKx2/2/189-190, Captain Strode and Major Cradock to Lord Dundas, 5 and 16 February 1808.

¹²¹ WYAS Kirklees, WYK1263/1/20, Thomas Fisher to parents, 30 October 1810; NYCRO, ZNKx2/2/169, Captain Strode to Lord Dundas, 4 December 1807; NRS, GD136/468/170, Robert Mackay to William Sinclair, 29 June 1810; F. Lindau, *Erinnerungen eines Soldaten aus den Feldzügen der Königlich-deutschen Legion* (Hameln, 1846), p.49; Morris, *Recollections*, pp.294-6; J. Cozens, “‘The Blackest Perjury’: Desertion, Military Justice, and Popular Politics in England, 1803-1805’, *Labour History Review*, 79/3 (2014), pp.270-279.

of their comrades', a 'showman', in 1795, ruining Prince Edward's cherished regimental ensemble.¹²²

Money was not the only motive for military service. The explanations for enlistment given by musical warriors in their memoirs mirror those of regimental recruits more generally, including economic deprivation but also drunken impulse, wanderlust, and the perceived glamour of soldiering.¹²³ Several took the King's shilling to escape from cruel or neglectful foster parents.¹²⁴ Direct and indirect compulsion also played a role, with some militia and local militia musicians having been conscripted rather than enlisting of their own accord.¹²⁵ A Lancashire weaver who joined the part-time local militia to avoid being balloted for the militia proper convinced the officers to make him a drummer on account of his fondness for music, exemplifying the efforts of labouring men to make their military obligations as light and agreeable as possible in the face of a demanding wartime state.¹²⁶ Overt patriotism, by contrast, was not a commonly cited cause of enlistment; in the Highlands and the English shires, obligation to local landowners could be more important in rallying musicians to the colours than loyalty

¹²² Royal Archives, GEO/ADD/7/202, Prince Edward to Charles Greenwood, 27 October 1795.

¹²³ Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, pp.90-4; Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, p.43; D. Haggart, *The Life of David Haggart*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1821), pp.5-6; Innes, *Life*, pp.5-7; Macdonald, *Autobiographical Journal*, pp.87-8.

¹²⁴ Shipp, *Memoirs*, pp.17-32; Cobbold, *Mary Anne Wellington*, pp.38-49. For the enlistment of eleven-year-old Angus McDonald as a drummer in the 41st Foot, see LAC, RG8, 'C' Series, vol. 910, pp.15-19, 23-24, especially Maj-Gen Drummond to Lt-Col Thornton, 20 September 1809, and TNA, WO12/5415-16, 41st Foot pay-lists.

¹²⁵ William Salt Library, M608, Central Staffordshire LM enrolment book; NYCRO, ZNKx2/2/169, Captain Strode to Lord Dundas, 4 December 1807; Gee, *British Volunteer Movement*, pp.151-2.

¹²⁶ Whitehead, *Autobiography*, pp.19-20.

to the British state.¹²⁷ Most striking, however, is the extent of plebeian excitement at the opportunity to make a living from music and acquire instrumental skills in uniform. The formation of volunteer bands or local militia drum corps prompted flurries of enthusiasm and offers of service, not only from knowledgeable players but also apparent neophytes such as the sixteen-year-old Robert Wright, who was recommended by his uncle to the Royal Perth Volunteers as a performer on ‘any instrument’ required.¹²⁸ Youthful zeal for music repeatedly overrode parental mistrust of the military, as in the case of Newcastle boy Billy Purvis, who skipped school to shadow recruiting parties and regimental bands before seeking instruction as a volunteer drummer.¹²⁹ Plenty of adults were also lured into military service by a desire to realise their instrumental ambitions. Robert Butler entered the Army of Reserve to ‘get proper instructions in my favourite music’, while John Howell, who chafed at the monotony of weaving work, satisfied his ‘taste for music’ by joining the Carmarthen Militia band.¹³⁰ The popularity of musical soldiering was exploited by wily recruiters for

¹²⁷ NRS, GD248/687/1/1, James Munro to Sir James Grant, 9 June 1794 and GD112/74/855/26, John Cameron to Lord Breadalbane, 8 December 1798; GA, D149/X21/36, William Hooper to Captain Winchcombe, 2 March 1799; Gee, *British Volunteer Movement*, p.167.

¹²⁸ PKA, Perth Volunteers Papers, PE/66/Bundle6, Robert Wright to William Wood, 14 September 1795; Barnsley Archives, SpSt/60565, f.84, J.H. Lees to Colonel [Stanhope], 27 June 180[4]; NLS, MS.1502, Royal Perthshire LM (Central Battalion) papers, f.81, Quartermaster Bisset to Colonel Mackenzie, 3 August 1811; *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (November 1827), p.721; *USJ* (July 1838), p.337.

¹²⁹ Robson, *Billy Purvis*, pp.9-10.

¹³⁰ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.30-1; *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1 January 1831), pp.123-4.

the regulars, prompting military authorities to prohibit unauthorised assurances that 'lads and boys' would be selected for the band or drums after enlistment.¹³¹

Driven by a variety of motives, including a desire for steady employment or skills development, aspiring musical warriors participated in a multifaceted marketplace for instrumental labour. Besides relying on recruiting parties, regiments routinely employed newspaper advertisements and public notices to identify potential players, promising liberal bounties or sergeant's pay to skilled clarinettists and appealing for 'smart boys' to learn the drum, fife, and triangle.¹³² Prospective band instructors also publicised their availability in the press.¹³³ London music dealers not only provided officers with complete sets of band instruments but recommended reliable bandmasters and matched 'musicians out of employ' with regimental situations.¹³⁴ Moreover, colonels relied on military bandsmen to spread news about vacancies through their social and professional networks.¹³⁵ Personal interventions by former officers were instrumental in pairing seasoned instructors with suitable openings: Billy

¹³¹ *Collection of Orders, Regulations, and Instructions* (1807), p.279; NRO, MC766/1, 795X5, Hemmingway autobiography, p.124.

¹³² *Belfast News-Letter*, 24 November 1807; *Morning Advertiser*, 18 August 1810; G.O. Rickword, 'The Loyal Surrey Rangers', *JSAHR*, 42/171 (1964), p.165; StaffsRO, Aqualate Papers, D(W)1788/P1/B5, notice of Loyal Pottery Volunteers resolutions, April 1798.

¹³³ *Dublin Evening Post*, 21 January 1806; *Morning Post*, 2 September 1808.

¹³⁴ *The Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 14 October 1796; *The Times*, 12 June 1798.

¹³⁵ Kent Archives, U42/C/1, Duke of Kent to Lt-Col Jones, 22 August 1806; SA, 190/216, Thomas Whittaker to Lord Bradford, 17 February 1806.

Purvis and Robert Butler were both placed as local militia drum-majors by erstwhile superiors with knowledge of their abilities.¹³⁶

Regimental recruiting was resourceful and pragmatic. While premiums were placed on the foreignness of bandmasters and the physical appearance of pipers and percussionists, musical experience itself was vigorously sought and auditions even held for prospective players.¹³⁷ Intent on expediting the training process, officers and instructors remained vigilant for qualified recruits, enlisting or recommending youths who could already play an instrument, knew ‘something’ of music or at least had ‘an excellent ear [*sic*]’.¹³⁸ The Royal Tyrone Militia was typical in its opportunistic efforts to enrol the musically initiated. The bandmaster engaged ‘a good hand’ to replace a sickly performer as the regiment marched through Cavan in 1794 while a recruiting officer enlisted a former regular army drummer ‘who can beat his duty very well’. The following year, another captain ‘picked up’ a young man who already played the fiddle, harpsichord, organ, and dulcimer to join the band as a bassoonist.¹³⁹ Although many musical warriors were enlisted specifically because of their prior knowledge, the

¹³⁶ Robson, *Billy Purvis*, pp.31-2; Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.282-3.

¹³⁷ Barnsley Archives, SpSt/60565, f.25, Charles Bowns to Walter Stanhope, 24 March 1799.

¹³⁸ Royal Archives, GEO/MAIN/44913-14, Duke of Clarence to the Prince of Wales, September[?] 1803; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B7, Lt-Col Boughey to Mr Tilstone, 8 June 1813; J.M. Bulloch, *Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland during 1759-1814* (Aberdeen, 1914), p.133; B.E. Sargeaunt, *The Royal Manx Fencibles* (Aldershot, 1947), p.70; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.405.

¹³⁹ PRONI, D623/A/146/9, Captain Stewart to the Marquess of Abercorn, 31 January 1794; D623/A/146/35, George Vallancey to Abercorn, 23 March 1794; D623/A/147/17, Vallancey to Abercorn, 13 May 1795.

military also engaged in extensive internal recruitment, leveraging the skills of men already in uniform just as they identified and made use of enlisted tradesmen.¹⁴⁰ A fifteen-year-old Scot, for example, was recognised as ‘a tolerable proficient in music’ after enlisting in a fencible regiment and consequently assigned to the band.¹⁴¹ Officers acted as talent spotters, recommending common soldiers for musical service after discovering their accomplishments, in one case by hearing an artilleryman sing in the barrack square.¹⁴² More systematic methods were also used: the 26th Foot quizzed newly-arrived recruits on their fife skills, thereby identifying Robert Butler as an able ex-volunteer player, while the Somerset Militia ordered its drum-major to compile a list of soldiers ‘used to church singing’ so their vocal talents could be employed at regimental divine service.¹⁴³

The fortunes of war gave rise to additional recruitment opportunities, which were keenly exploited by regiments engaged in the endless musical arms race. The newly-raised 2/78th Foot, for example, scoured a prison hulk for captured Germans willing to form a band, while other corps combed prisoner-of-war camps in their vicinity for black men to act as trumpeters or janissary performers.¹⁴⁴ Having repeatedly released

¹⁴⁰ Mansfield, *Soldiers as Workers*, pp.80-86.

¹⁴¹ *New Monthly Magazine* (1826, Part II), p.468.

¹⁴² Browne, *England's Artillerymen*, p.314; TNA, WO97/1257/193, John Sims Reeves discharge; Harley, *The Veteran*, ii, pp.246-249.

¹⁴³ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), p.31; Kerr, *Records of the 1st Somerset Militia*, p.34.

¹⁴⁴ TNA, WO3/38, W.W. to Maj-Gen Fraser, 28 September 1804; Sheffield Archives, WWM/Y/32/11, Adjutant Butterfield to Lord Fitzwilliam, 14 November 1807; *Blackburn Standard*, 8 February 1837; TNA, HO42/35/103, Sir George Thomas to [the Duke of Portland], 22 July 1795; B. Cunliffe et al., *Excavations at Portchester Castle* (5 vols, 1975-94), v, p.157.

captives of colour at the behest of aristocratic militia colonels, the Transport Board facilitated further requests in 1804 by compiling a list of black inmates at Norman Cross prison who were amenable to musical service and 'above the ordinary size', reflecting the military's aesthetic preference for band percussionists of imposing stature.¹⁴⁵ Acquisitive officers also engaged in what might be termed 'band salvage' whenever military restructuring led to the demise or drafting of other corps.¹⁴⁶ In 1799 Lord Henry Murray, the colonel of the 2nd Royal Manx Fencibles, sailed for Glasgow to procure musicians from another fencible battalion scheduled for disbandment, while the officers of the West Somerset Militia acquired the entire band of the late East Somerset regiment, complete with the musicians' instruments and clothing, purchased at a discount.¹⁴⁷ Finally, musical manpower was obtained on active service, with regiments incorporating deserting enemy performers into their own ensembles.¹⁴⁸ The Walcheren expedition of 1809, though a military fiasco, was a boon for the musical capabilities of multiple corps. Regiments plundered instruments and players from the surrendered garrison of Flushing, while the 50th Foot secured William Klopel, the son of a German organ builder, to lead their ensemble.¹⁴⁹ According to a memoir written

¹⁴⁵ TNA, ADM98/234, Transport Board to Captain Woodriff, 5 March, 7 April, and 16 August 1800; ADM98/171, A.M.L. to Captain Pressland, 30 April 1804.

¹⁴⁶ H.B. Mackintosh, *The Inverness-Shire Highlanders or 97th Regiment of Foot, 1794-1796* (Elgin, 1926), p.32; Royal Archives, GEO/ADD/7/348 and 375, Prince Edward to General Prescott, 19 June 1797 and 13 August 1798.

¹⁴⁷ SHC, DD/S/WH/343, Colonel Wheat to Colonel Tynte, 25 and 29 December 1799 and Colonel Strode to Tynte, 26 January 1800.

¹⁴⁸ L'Estrange, *Recollections*, p.117; Napier, *Life and Opinions of Sir Charles James Napier*, i, pp.79-80.

¹⁴⁹ St. Clair, *Soldier's Recollections*, ii, p.346; R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Eleventh, or the North Devon Regiment of Foot* (1845), p.55; Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.55.

by his son, Klopheľ's recruitment was a remarkably spontaneous affair. He was teaching piano to a woman in Middelburg when Major Hill called at the house and mentioned his unit's pressing need for a bandmaster: 'The lady thereupon recommended my father at once, and the two of them never ceased urging my father until they got him to consent to join the reg[imen]t.'¹⁵⁰

Despite these expedient recruitment strategies, officers still faced considerable difficulty securing qualified players: newspaper advertisements went unanswered and hired performers proved incompetent.¹⁵¹ Units mitigated this scarcity by pooling manpower and expertise. The Cardiff Volunteers, for example, negotiated with counterparts in a neighbouring parish for the transfer of four musicians to complete their ensemble.¹⁵² Bandmasters, drum-majors, and other performers were routinely seconded to mentor musical warriors of other corps. The Royal Manx Fencibles, for example, paid £50 to the bandmaster of the Aberdeenshire Fencibles to tutor their musicians in 1800.¹⁵³ Ten years later, the Royal Pembroke Militia, as a newly-converted light infantry corps, sought men from the King's German Legion to teach their drummers the bugle.¹⁵⁴ Militia and volunteer officers packed off pupils to take lessons

¹⁵⁰ PRONI, T3911, memoir of William John Klopheľ, pp.1-3.

¹⁵¹ BUA, Plas Newydd Papers, PN/II/560, William Evans to Lord Uxbridge, 17 February 1793 and TNA, WO17/167, 2/52nd Foot monthly returns, 25 August 1810, which mentions the discharge of an 'incompetent' musician.

¹⁵² J. Bird, *The Diaries of John Bird*, ed. H.M. Thomas (Cardiff, 1987), p.98.

¹⁵³ Sargeaunt, *Royal Manx Fencibles*, pp.73-4.

¹⁵⁴ W.R. Williams (ed), *Old Wales: A Monthly Magazine of Antiquities* (3 vols, Talybont, 1905), i, p.182. See also *Bath Chronicle*, 19 February 1795; LMA, E/MW/C/1951, Blackheath Regiment of West Kent LM roster book, 1811 and 1813 trainings; SA, 190/643, Shropshire

from drum- and fife-majors of regular regiments in garrison towns; others hired drummers attached to nearby recruiting parties to accompany their musters and instruct local boys.¹⁵⁵ Enterprising volunteer corps even profited from musical cooperation, subsidising the salaries of their drum-majors by hiring them out to neighbouring units.¹⁵⁶

Although ministers and colonial commanders encouraged or authorised the loan and transfer of drummers to aid instruction, most exchanges were initiated and negotiated by the officers of individual corps.¹⁵⁷ The sharing of musical resources was often facilitated by county affinity. Home defence units expected the senior militia or fencible regiment of the shire to provide drum instructors and assist with band formation, even when the latter was stationed far afield.¹⁵⁸ Such requests were framed in the most urgent terms, with the petitioning officers claiming that the cession of qualified performers was 'absolutely necessary' for training or essential to the 'credit and efficiency' of their corps.¹⁵⁹ Regular and militia officers also importuned friends,

Militia accounts, 1809-10; NRS, GD112/52/549, Lt-Col McDowal to Lord Adam Gordon, 2 July 1793.

¹⁵⁵ TNA, WO68/221, Donegal Militia LB, 31 July 1793; ERO, L/U 3/3, Nicholas Toke to George Gepp, 16 October 1803; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B5, William Bent to Major Fletcher, 19 September 1800; Bedfordshire Archives, X202/108, George Pedley to Matthew Rugeley, 7 November 1803; TNA, WO12/8952, 87th Foot pay-lists.

¹⁵⁶ SHC, DD/SAS/C795/SY/3, Wells City Volunteers committee minutes, 16 May 1804.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, WO27/118, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, 1st Ceylon Regiment; University of Nottingham, Portland (Welbeck) collection, PwH601, Henry Dundas to the Marquess of Titchfield, 20 May 1798; R.H. Wallace, 'Royal Downshire Militia: Extracts from Order Books', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 12/4 (1906), pp.147-8.

¹⁵⁸ Buckinghamshire Archives, L/V/5/2, Captain Clarke to Acton Chaplin, 18 February 1799; TNA, WO13/180, Bucks Militia pay-lists, 1799.

¹⁵⁹ SA, Attingham Militia Papers, 112/3/223, 285, Colonel Lyster to Lord Berwick, 16 July and

family, and erstwhile regimental comrades for assistance in securing and equipping bandmasters and players.¹⁶⁰ The process of musical knowledge exchange was typical of contemporary military administration in its reliance on patronage and connections.¹⁶¹ The Marquess of Abercorn, commanding the Royal Tyrone Militia, balked at requesting a drummer from the 41st Foot as he did not know the colonel first-hand and therefore could not expect a favour, explaining: 'I really do not see the probability of any colonels parting with a good drummer for nothing'.¹⁶² Moreover, appeals to kith and kin were sometimes unavailing in the face of dearth. Colonel Maister of the East York Militia, desperate for a drum-major in 1798, twice enquired with Viscount Downe commanding the 2nd West York regiment about a drummer who had caught his eye. However, Downe declined to part with the lad despite their friendship as his own corps was tight on trained performers.¹⁶³ Maister next turned to his nephew, an officer in the 20th Foot, who explained that the shortage of competent drum-majors was equally acute in the regular army, 'or our present one would not long remain as such.'¹⁶⁴

24 August 1803, and 190/582, Lord Powis to Lord Bradford, 12 July 1810; Sheffield Archives, WWM/Y/16/7, Colonel Cooke to Lord Fitzwilliam, 4 March 1798.

¹⁶⁰ PRONI, Castlereagh Papers, D3030/T/4, Lord Castlereagh to Lady Castlereagh, 12 August 1800; Dunn-Pattison, *History of the 91st*, pp.26, 413.

¹⁶¹ Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, p.10; Western, 'Recruitment of the Land Forces', p.33.

¹⁶² PRONI, D623/A/79/31, Marquess of Abercorn to Major Vallancey, 20 December [1794].

¹⁶³ HHC, C DMI/1/231-2, Lord Downe to Colonel Maister, 13 and 18 April 1798.

¹⁶⁴ HHC, C DMI/1/243, Captain Maister to Colonel Maister, 21 May 1798.

Indeed, the importance and scarcity of qualified musical warriors periodically engendered conflict between regiments. Officers often jealously guarded their own drummers and bandsmen and coveted those of other corps, declining to countenance personnel exchanges or secondments that jeopardised their own instrumental capabilities.¹⁶⁵ Regimental self-interest sometimes prevailed even when transfers were agreed: the 97th Foot received an invariably inebriated drum-major from the Strathspey Fencibles whom the latter corps may well have been glad to discharge.¹⁶⁶ Tempers also flared when yeomanry and volunteer commanders waylaid militiamen to teach their own pupils the fife or attempted to retain a borrowed bandmaster for longer than agreed, causing the lender's ensemble to suffer in his absence.¹⁶⁷ During the French Revolutionary War, volunteer officers from Devon to Inverness-shire were exasperated by the propensity of drummers and fifers, whom they had trained at 'very considerable expence', to enlist in regular or militia regiments, prompting Parliament to legislate against the practice in 1803.¹⁶⁸ Militia musicians and drummers, considered 'certainly requisite to every regiment' alongside clerks and armourers, were also barred from volunteering for overseas service without their colonel's consent.¹⁶⁹ This

¹⁶⁵ Crowe, *Eloquent Soldier*, p.196; NRO, Hamond of Westacre Collection, HMN4/221, 737X7, John Hales to Anthony Hamond, 17 January 1804.

¹⁶⁶ R.M. Sunter, 'Raising the 97th (Inverness-shire) Highland Regiment of Foot', *JSAHR*, 76/306 (1998), p.106; NRS, GD248/686/3/2, Captain Stuart to Sir James Grant, 8 May 1794.

¹⁶⁷ PRONI, D374/2, South Down Militia LB, p.27, Lt-Col McCorry to Captain Beers, 24 November 1809, and Beers to McCorry, 5 December 1809; NRS, GD112/52/61/23, Lt-Col MacLean to Major Sharp, 26 August 1796.

¹⁶⁸ TNA, WO4/175, M. Lewis to Captain Bowles, 31 July 1799; HO50/44, Lord Fortescue to Henry Dundas, 27 and 31 December 1798; HO50/46, Sir James Grant to Dundas, 8 November 1799. See also 43 Geo. III, c.121, §8.

¹⁶⁹ Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, p.78; *Royal Military Panorama* (January 1814), p.366.

veto was regularly invoked. The Shropshire Militia prevented their only good bugler from leaving to become a bugle-major in the regulars, much to the man's frustration, while Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes of the Royal Longford Regiment menaced his drummers and musicians with confinement if they applied to volunteer for the line, flogging one who defied him.¹⁷⁰ Such hoarding of instrumental talent was hardly helpful to the short-handed regular army. It mirrored the rivalry for rank-and-file recruits between fencible, militia, and line regiments that hindered manpower management by tying up trained soldiers in units that were understrength or confined to home service.¹⁷¹ Yet central government, dependent on the continued cooperation of militia and auxiliary commanders in the counties, felt obliged to respect the sanctity of their musical investments.¹⁷²

The devolved structure of recruitment and training might retrospectively appear to be a rather inefficient means of mobilising musical labour. Yet it dovetailed with the decentralised nature of regimental and local administration and was on the whole conducive to the formation of effective instrumental contingents. Preoccupied with the public image of their corps, officers of all branches of the armed forces displayed flexibility and resourcefulness in the procurement and training of musical

¹⁷⁰ SA, 190/813 Lt-Col Whitmore to Lord Bradford, 3 April 1812; NAI, M3483, Royal Longford Militia RCMs, p.32.

¹⁷¹ Bamford, *Sickness, Suffering and the Sword*, pp.84-7; R. Glover, *Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army, 1795-1809* (Cambridge, 1963), pp.217-8.

¹⁷² Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.7, 117.

manpower.¹⁷³ They sought out seasoned instructors and promising players from a variety of backgrounds in a competitive marketplace, extemporising cooperative mechanisms of knowledge exchange and even resorting to band ‘recycling’ to make good use of available musical resources.

Martial Musical Instruction

Past scholarship on martial musical training has been unduly dismissive and imprecise. Deborah Rohr, relying on the testimony of a single regimental bandsman, described instrumental tuition in the army prior to the 1857 foundation of Kneller Hall as ‘unprofessional’ and ‘too unstructured to offer any kind of systematic training for musical careers’.¹⁷⁴ Herbert and Barlow characterised the military’s approach to instruction as effective but ‘unscientific’, concluding that musical training was achieved by ‘a diversity of processes’ that defied generalisation.¹⁷⁵ By contrast, a comprehensive analysis of musical tuition in the military during the French Wars demonstrates the importance of qualified instructors, the active involvement of officers, and the broad coherence of the training programme. Regimental training efforts were distinguished and facilitated by an insistence on regular rehearsals, discipline, musical literacy, and performance precision, particularly regarding tempo. Scrutiny of military regulations

¹⁷³ Linch, *Britain and Wellington’s Army*, p.79; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.73, 229.

¹⁷⁴ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, p.73.

¹⁷⁵ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.131-6.

and administrative records also reveals significant efforts to promote standardised instructional programmes and uniform sounds and beats for the drum, fife, bugle, and trumpet.

The process of musical instruction was not dissimilar to a private's initial training: individually or in small groups, the recruit was progressively taught a series of skills, each lesson building on the last, and after a time he achieved sufficient competence to serve in the ranks.¹⁷⁶ Drummers, for instance, were taught how to hold their sticks and rehearsed rudiments including flams and drags, beating slowly at first and then speeding up as they gained proficiency. The onomatopoeia 'daddy mammy' was employed to exemplify the rhythm of a roll: drummers performed alternating double taps corresponding with its syllables until they could roll with 'incredible celerity and evenness.'¹⁷⁷ Beyond learning their instruments, musical warriors were required to master foot drill, including facings and counter-marches; those in the cavalry also needed to acquire the equestrian skills necessary to play on horseback.¹⁷⁸ Billy Purvis's account of his service as a local militia drum-major provides valuable insight into the tenacity required to coach novices. Although training beginners on any instrument, in his telling, demanded 'considerable time', Purvis managed 'by dint of constant

¹⁷⁶ Houlding, *Fit for Service*, pp.257-9.

¹⁷⁷ Rees, *Cyclopædia*, 'drum' entry; *The Young Drummers Assistant* ([c.1779-84]), p.1; S. Potter, *The Art of Beating the Drum* (1817), pp.2-4.

¹⁷⁸ NRS, Eglington Papers, GD3/9/10/1/3/1, West Lowland Fencibles OB, 8 May 1793; BUA, Nannau Manuscripts, MS687, Royal Merioneth Militia OB, 10 February 1799; *Standing Orders for the Third, or King's Own Regiment of Dragoons*, pp.43-5; PRONI, D3030/T/4, Lord Castlereagh to Lady Castlereagh, 12 August 1800.

application, and mild, though steady drilling' to teach the duty calls and beats to ten drummers in three weeks and ten fifers in six.¹⁷⁹ This timeframe was characterised as unusually ambitious, but an abundance of evidence suggests that basic competence on the drum or bugle could, with persistent practice by willing pupils, be attained in one to three months.¹⁸⁰ The length of time required to train musicians was more indeterminate, no doubt varying according to the expectations of officers and bandmasters. Alexander Napier Junior reportedly rendered the band of the Lanarkshire Militia 'fit for duty in ten weeks' and promised officers of newly-raised regiments similarly rapid results, while a Mr Orsato, who taught at least fourteen British bands and others in foreign armies, pledged to perfect novice ensembles within six months.¹⁸¹ Although such promotional claims should be treated cautiously, many ensembles do appear to have achieved passable prowess relatively quickly, likely aided by the prior musical experience of some members and a focus on a limited, elementary roster of tunes.¹⁸²

The best musical contingents were, however, years in the making. Just as battalions required two to three years to master advanced manoeuvring and firing procedures,

¹⁷⁹ Robson, *Billy Purvis*, pp.33-4.

¹⁸⁰ Bedfordshire Archives, X202/108, George Pedley to Matthew Rugeley, 7 November 1803; Haggart, *Life of David Haggart*, p.6; Green, *Where Duty Calls Me*, p.86. See also SHC, DD/MT/18/9/2, Pitminster Volunteers pay-list, July-December 1798, which records that learning to beat had occupied the 'whole time' of the drummers 'for some weeks'.

¹⁸¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 March 1799; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 28 December 1803; *Ipswich Journal*, 16 February 1805.

¹⁸² For example, *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 27 May 1809; A. Jones, 'The Hartlepool Campaign', in *Poetical and Prose Remains of Edward Marsh Heavisides*, p.69.

the attainment of superior technical competence demanded prolonged application and low turnover.¹⁸³ Officers recognised that good bands were delicate articles, liable to be hamstrung by deaths, discharges, or desertions. A subaltern of the 18th Hussars, for example, thought it reckless to bring the regimental musicians to the Peninsula, considering the cost of 'bringing the band to the perfection it achieved'.¹⁸⁴ Regular regiments posted overseas, particularly those in unhealthy locales such as India and the West Indies, struggled to induct new musicians quickly enough to keep pace with the attrition of experienced performers.¹⁸⁵ Either at home or abroad, however, training was not an event so much as a continuous process, in which skills were refreshed and consolidated and new players taught to replace the old. Instructors were obliged to manage players with a range of abilities, as an extant list of the 1/24th Foot band, dated *circa* 1812 during the battalion's time in India, reveals. The nineteen musicians included five learners, one of whom was 'not likely ever to play', alongside a declining brass player and a 'very lame' clarinettist.¹⁸⁶

Officers and civilian observers strongly believed that the quality of musical contingents was a product of the talent and attentiveness of their leaders.¹⁸⁷ Great

¹⁸³ Houlding, *Fit for Service*, pp.294-6; Muir, *Tactics and the Experience of Battle*, p.74.

¹⁸⁴ Woodberry, *With Wellington's Hussars*, p.149. See also Le Couteur, *Merry Hearts Make Light Days*, p.118; TNA, WO27/137, 1st half-year 1816 inspection returns, 2/43rd Foot.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, WO27/107, 1st half-year 1812 inspection returns, 54th Foot, and WO27/138, 2nd half-year 1816 inspection returns, 14th Foot; Patterson, *Camp and Quarters*, ii, p.335; F.B. Doveton, *Reminiscences of the Burmese War* (Taunton, 1852) pp.222-3.

¹⁸⁶ RMRW, list of musicians of the 1/24th Foot, c.1812. See also BL, Add.MS.35664, Drum-Major Fernsly to Lord Hardwicke, 6 December 1793.

¹⁸⁷ TNA, WO27/139, 2nd half-year 1816 inspection returns, 2/73rd Foot; Anglesey, 'Two

importance was therefore placed on procuring teachers with appropriate skills, including the capacity to instruct every instrument in the band; enough paternal firmness to manage younger players; and (where necessary) proficiency in Scottish Gaelic and Welsh.¹⁸⁸ Although officers desired instructors of good character who would set an example for subordinates, they were at times obliged to prioritise ability due to the scarcity of qualified candidates. Thus the Strathspey Fencibles tolerated Andrew Waddell, 'a worthless drunken fellow though a most excellent drummer', while the 99th Foot repeatedly reinstated their drum-major, a reprobate who had received corporal punishment, because no-one could be found to replace him.¹⁸⁹ Some regiments cultivated more reliable musical leaders by investing in promising internal candidates; the Monaghan Militia and Royal Artillery had soldiers study under respected London musicians before appointing them as masters of their respective bands.¹⁹⁰ Drum-majors and their equivalents were also given ample incentive to attend to teaching, with numerous corps awarding them a bonus of up to one guinea for every boy trained to the satisfaction of the officers.¹⁹¹ Nonetheless, it is clear that the quality of instruction varied drastically between corps. If Christopher Frederick Eley turned the

Brothers in the Netherlands', p.103; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.537.

¹⁸⁸ *The Times*, 4 March 1801; NAI, CSO/OPMA/441, Henry Gieseler to Lord Castlereagh, c.1797; NLI, O'Hara Papers, MS20311/2, P. Hall to Major O'Hara, 10 April 1811; PRONI, D1606/1/1/159C, Lt-Col Richardson to Lord Gosford, 27 April 1794; Barnard, *Letters*, p.178; NRS, GD112/52/71/8, Captain Campbell to Adjutant Maclean, 29 June 1797; *The Cambrian*, 21 January 1809.

¹⁸⁹ Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, p.98; TNA, WO27/112, 2nd half-year 1812 inspection returns, 99th Foot.

¹⁹⁰ Watson, *Records of the Monaghan Regiment*, p.10; Farmer, *History of the Royal Artillery Band*, p.93.

¹⁹¹ For example, *Standing Orders for the Second Battalion of the Fifty-Sixth Regiment of the Line*, pp.22-3.

Royal East India Company Volunteer band into a 'renowned practical school for juvenile aspirants', several military musicians complained of lacklustre bandmasters, ascribing their improvement largely to personal perseverance and even self-financed lessons from external tutors.¹⁹²

Although drum-majors and bandmasters were the linchpins of the military's training regime, rank-and-file performers, didactic texts, and officers all played important supporting roles. Teenaged volunteer drummers, for example, taught the rudiments to other boys, while a horn player in the Donegal Militia instructed junior performers on his instrument and led the regimental choir.¹⁹³ Two bandsmen recalled reading textbooks on music theory.¹⁹⁴ Plenty of corps, moreover, purchased printed instructions for the drum, bugle, or fife, often as a supplement to rather than a replacement for practical tuition.¹⁹⁵ Many seem to have been reprints of decades-old manuals, including the *Drummer's Instructor*, first published in 1767 by Drum-Major Spencer of the Foot Guards.¹⁹⁶ Yet other instrumental handbooks were new works

¹⁹² *The Olio; or, Museum of Entertainment*, ii, p.395; M. Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.128; NLI, MS36058/7, David Browne to Lord Leitrim, 1 March 1813; [Sainsbury], *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, p.266; 'Kerry Militia Courts Martial: Proceeding of Regimental Courts Martial of the Kerry Militia 1808-1811', ed. J. Spring and V.M. Bary, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 2/1 (1998), pp.104-8. See also Donaldson, *Recollections*, pp.317-19.

¹⁹³ *Morning Post*, 7 January 1802; NLI, MS36058/7, David Browne to Lord Leitrim, 1 March 1813.

¹⁹⁴ Farmer, *History of the Royal Artillery Band*, p.93; University of Glasgow, MS Euing R.d.85/76, Edward Frost to J.D. Sainsbury, 3 January 1824.

¹⁹⁵ StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B6, receipt of James Smith, 9 January 1804; HALS, Acc13, box 9, receipt for a bugle instruction book, 12 November 1812; Mackintosh, *First Highland Fencible Regiment*, p.26.

¹⁹⁶ M. Byrne, 'The English March and Early Drum Notation', *Galpin Society Journal*, 50 (1997),

explicitly aimed at the expanded military market, including the earliest English-language method book for the bugle and trumpet, published in 1799, and J.B. Logier's 1813 tutor for the keyed bugle.¹⁹⁷ Contrary to the assertions of Herbert and Barlow that officers were aloof and musically inept, a considerable number were keen amateur musicians who closely superintended their regimental bands to ensure high performance standards.¹⁹⁸ A lifelong music enthusiast, Lord Castlereagh hosted the Londonderry Militia band at his family estate and playfully apprised his wife that he was 'quite as anxious' to improve their playing 'as I was about the Union' between Britain and Ireland, referring to the most significant achievement of his political career to that point.¹⁹⁹ Castlereagh invited Lady Emily to join his musical enterprise and in so doing she would not have been alone among officers' wives: Lady Louisa Lennox, the spouse of the colonel of the 25th Foot, took such pride in managing the regimental musicians that the diarist John Marsh referred to the ensemble as '*her band*'.²⁰⁰ More junior officers also took considerable interest in the progress of their regimental fifers and musicians, sometimes giving lessons, supervising practices, and directing the band at concerts.²⁰¹ Regimental correspondence and order books, moreover, routinely

p.59. Compare for example *The Compleat Tutor for the Fife* (Thompson, [1765]) and *Button and Whitaker's New Instructions for the Fife* ([c.1810]).

¹⁹⁷ F. Anzenberger, 'Method Books for Natural Trumpet in the 19th Century: An Annotated Bibliography', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 5 (1993), p.10; J.B. Logier, *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Royal Kent Bugle* (Dublin, [1813]), p.5.

¹⁹⁸ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, p.133; *Records of the 54th West Norfolk Regiment* (Roorkee, 1881), pp.45-6.

¹⁹⁹ Kent Archives, Pratt Papers, U840/C500/1, Lord Castlereagh to [Lady Castlereagh], c.1800. See also PRONI, D3030/Q2/1, p.23, Lt-Col Stewart to Lady Pratt, autumn[?] 1793.

²⁰⁰ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.591-2, 601, 736. Emphasis added.

²⁰¹ Browne, *Napoleonic War Journal*, p.67; Farmer, *History of the Royal Artillery Band*, pp.74, 97-8; Scobie, *Old Highland Fencible Corps*, p.149; *The Cambrian*, 14 September 1805.

suggest that officers of all musical abilities and none treated instrumental instruction as a priority; their palpable impatience likely expedited the learning process by fostering a sense of urgency.²⁰²

Officers' concern for musical education went hand in hand with their insistence on continual practice, an ambition made possible by the full-time nature of service in the professional forces. Standing orders stipulated that musical warriors attend rehearsals regularly and, in most cases, daily, with additional practices scheduled for beginners.²⁰³ Ample evidence suggests that these assiduous rehearsal schedules were widely observed. The wife of a militia captain, for example, was dismayed to discover that the field behind her lodgings was the drummers' designated practice ground: 'with the exception of Sunday, they stunned me, unceasingly, every morning till eleven o'clock.'²⁰⁴ Drummers or musicians tended to rehearse together for two hours or more under the direction of their respective instructors, who corrected errors and assisted individual performers.²⁰⁵ Practices did not cease once musical warriors attained an adequate level of proficiency but appear to have continued indefinitely, including in

²⁰² See, for example, NRS, GD1/395/13/1-2, 1st Argyll LM LBs, letters from Lt-Col Riddell, 14 August 1809 and 27 March 1810 and GD3/9/10/1/3/1, West Lowland Fencibles OB, 10 December 1793.

²⁰³ *Standing Orders for the First Wiltshire Regiment of Militia* (Newport, Isle of Wight, 1803), p.17.

²⁰⁴ Howard, *Reminiscences for my Children*, iii, pp.45-6.

²⁰⁵ *Regimental Standing Orders...[of the]...Westmeath...Militia*, pp.27-8; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.736; NLS, Acc.7253, 2nd North British Militia OB, 16 September 1800; HA, 44M69/G6/2/1/11/3, Adjutant Goater to Colonel Jervoise, 22 August 1802; Spring and Bary, 'Kerry Militia Courts Martial', pp.104-8.

some cases on campaign. An officer of the 52nd Foot, for example, struggled to write home from Portugal in 1811 as ‘the band is practising in the room adjoining on one side and the bugles in the orange grove on the other’.²⁰⁶ The part-time auxiliaries could not aspire to daily rehearsals year-round but still strove to practise regularly. The Loyal Chelmsford Volunteer musicians, for example, were expected to play together every Thursday evening in the Shire Hall.²⁰⁷ The volunteers and local militia placed great demands on their performers during initial training, subjecting aspiring drummers to four or six hours of practice daily, and generally sought to maximise opportunities for musical warriors to mentor each other and play together.²⁰⁸ Local militia commanders took pains to ensure that performers had sufficient time to maintain or refresh their skills, paying musicians and non-permanent drummers to attend extra practices before the entire corps assembled for annual exercises.²⁰⁹ The military emphasis on recurrent rehearsals was notable for the era. Although some theatre orchestras and church choirs practised regularly, civilian concerts and musical festivals were frequently preceded by only one rehearsal due to pressures of time and cost.²¹⁰ Ample practice

²⁰⁶ C. Kinloch, *A Hellish Business...the Letters of Captain Charles Kinloch, 52nd Foot, 1806-16*, ed. G. Glover (Godmanchester, 2007), p.63.

²⁰⁷ ERO, L/U 3/1, Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers minute book, 5 November 1798.

²⁰⁸ Birmingham Archives, MS3782/18/3, Lt-Col Breynton to Major Boulton, 21 September 1803; NAM, 1969-06-10, 5th North York LM OB, 28 July 1809; NRS, GD123/378, Lord Dynevor to Major Williams, 14 May 1805; *Heber Letters*, p.150; WYAS (Bradford), 29D93/1, Bingley Township Book, Bingley Volunteer Corps minutes, 25 September 1803.

²⁰⁹ TNA, WO79/2, Amounderness LM contingent fund, 1810-11; NLS, MS.10895, East Stirlingshire LM correspondence, ff.34-5, D. Macdougall to Major Stirling, 20 April 1810.

²¹⁰ McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.219; M. Kilbey, *Music-Making in the Hertfordshire Parish, 1760-1870* (Hatfield, 2020), pp.5-55, 100; Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.120, 144-5; B.W. Pritchard, ‘The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England’ (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), pp.300, 495.

time was critical to the military's dissemination of musical skills, as contemporaries fully understood. Recalling his past membership in a sacred music society, a contributor to *The Atlas* contrasted the easy-going ineptitude of the civilian amateurs with the simultaneous progress made by a militia band rehearsing in a neighbour's garden. Although the dozen raw performers initially made the 'most insufferable brattling and belching with their horns and trombones', they became a polished ensemble through 'regular practice' under a capable instructor.²¹¹

Unsurprisingly, the armed forces valued subordination as much as application. The organisation of martial music-making was explicitly autocratic, with immense authority invested in the instructors: cavalry trumpeters were expected to 'pay implicit obedience' to their trumpet-major and observe his directions with 'the utmost exactness'.²¹² If musical warriors possessed a reputation for boisterous behaviour, it nonetheless seems clear that the military's disciplinary regime – unimaginable to clergymen vexed by notoriously refractory church musicians – facilitated training by encouraging obedience and checking absenteeism and turnover.²¹³ Musicians were flogged or placed in solitary confinement for skipping or disrupting rehearsals, while drum-majors were demoted for neglecting to practise their drummers with sufficient attentiveness or frequency.²¹⁴ Regiments commonly invoked the twin refrains of

²¹¹ *The Atlas*, 6 December 1829.

²¹² *Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry*, p.35.

²¹³ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, i, pp.156-58, 162.

²¹⁴ TNA, WO27/112, 2nd half-year 1812 inspection returns, 98th Foot, John Mann RCM, 31 October 1811; WO27/116, 1813 inspection returns, 2/21st Foot, Lewis Grant, George Marlin

rehearsal and subordination in response to indiscipline. Dismayed by the band's failure to behave and improve in 1807, the colonel of the Royal Bucks Militia instructed the master to assert his authority over the musicians, who were ordered to 'attend constant and unremitting practice until they play better'.²¹⁵ The part-time forces emulated the army's hierarchical model of musical authority but was less successful in enforcing regularity: drummers of the Oldham Volunteers, for instance, routinely resigned following reproofs from the drum-major, necessitating the costly training of replacements.²¹⁶ Yet the volunteers nevertheless placed great stock in discipline and strenuously sought to maintain it by awarding performers adequate pay and threatening them with fines, dismissal, or imprisonment for absences and misbehaviour.²¹⁷

Besides insisting on discipline and regular rehearsals, the armed forces propagated knowledge of musical notation. Vic and Sheila Gammon have surmised, perhaps with undue pessimism, that most British instrumentalists in the first third of the nineteenth century were 'ear-players' who learned to perform without reading scores.²¹⁸ A mass

and John Newberry RCMs, 5 January 1813; WO27/138, 1816 inspection returns, 1/27th Foot, John Dunlop RCM; Spring and Bary, 'Kerry Militia Courts Martial', p.124.

²¹⁵ Huntington Library, Stowe MSS, ST 144(35), Royal Bucks Militia OB, 16 September 1807. See also Sargeant, *Royal Manx Fencibles*, p.88.

²¹⁶ TNA, HO50/137, Lt-Col Lees to Lt-Col Baillie, 31 May 1805.

²¹⁷ Sheffield Archives, WWM/Y/16/14, Colonel Lloyd to Lord Fitzwilliam, 14 March 1798; NRO, AYL570-588, Aylsham Volunteers regulations, pp.6-7; GA, D149/X21/35/57, dismissal of [Richard] Rider, 1 November 1799; DCRO, D/DLI 3/1/1, Darlington Volunteers OB, 18 April 1804; NLS, MS.10688, Montrose Loyal Volunteers OB, 24 August 1801.

²¹⁸ Gammon and Gammon, 'Musical Revolution of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.135.

of musical manuscripts and contemporary references suggest, however, that a very high proportion of military performers – not only bandmasters but also rank-and-file musicians and fifers – were musically literate. A Hertfordshire local militia drum-major, for example, compiled part-books for nine instruments, implying knowledge of notation among the recipients, while an extant fife of the Cinque Ports Volunteers is engraved with revealing instructional aids: a musical scale, the letter names of notes, and their corresponding fingerings.²¹⁹ Mastery of sight-reading and music theory among regimental musicians varied in practice, but bandmasters were widely expected to familiarise wind players with musical notation.²²⁰ The Duke of Kent, as colonel of the 1st Foot, hoped the bandmaster of its 4th battalion would not ‘lose sight of that very important branch of musical instruction’, namely ‘teaching his young hands to copy music well and correctly’.²²¹ Highland pipers in regimental service during the French Wars were also early adopters of staff notation, in contrast to country players who relied on traditional aural methods.²²² On the other hand, despite the circulation of printed manuals with rudiments in notated form, most drummers were apparently taught to beat ‘by the ear, according to the old practice’, at least until 1816.²²³ Band percussionists were also not necessarily required to read music.²²⁴

²¹⁹ HALS, Acc13, box 9, receipt for Drum-Major Tinggey, 24 March 1810; Seaford Town Council, fife of the Seaford company of the Cinque Ports Volunteers, 1800.

²²⁰ E. Miller, *The New Flute Instructor, or the Art of Playing the German-Flute* ([1799]), p.ii.

²²¹ Barnard, *Letters*, p.178.

²²² NLS, Highland Society of London Papers, Dep.268/2, Charles Gordon to John Wedderburn, 16 November 1825.

²²³ *Hereford Journal*, 6 December 1815; W. Tans’ur, *The Elements of Musick Display’d* (1772), p.115.

²²⁴ Everett, *Wall’s End Miner*, p.6.

Martial music-making was further characterised by attention to performance accuracy, particularly regarding tempo. Sloppy playing or extemporised embellishments undermined the intelligibility of sounds and calls, threatening military efficiency. Regimental standing orders therefore stipulated that drummers and trumpeters ‘must be exact in all their beatings’ and ‘never deviate a single note’ from the prescribed sounds.²²⁵ ‘Such is the established precision in which the drum-majors take great pride’, proclaimed an 1809 entry in *Rees’ Cyclopædia*, ‘that if all the drummers of the British service were assembled together, they would be found to beat perfectly alike throughout what is called “the duty”’.²²⁶ This was surely an exaggeration, not least because of the retention of distinct calls and beats in Scottish regiments, but the emphasis on uniformity is indicative.²²⁷ Officers and bandmasters likewise strove to inculcate ‘good time and precision’ and rectify ‘careless’ playing among musicians, believing that a model instructor should ‘suffer no fault...to escape without correction’.²²⁸ The French Wars also coincided with a concerted effort to

²²⁵ Drummers and trumpeters were also expected to be sober, for ‘if they are the least in liquor it is discovered in a moment by their beating’. See *Standing Orders for the Norwich or 106th Regiment* (Waterford, 1795), pp.22-3; *General Standing Orders for [the] Third, or, Prince of Wales’s Dragoon Guards* (Edinburgh, 1803), p.54.

²²⁶ *Cyclopædia*, ‘drum’ entry. For dating, see N. Cossons (ed), *Rees’s Manufacturing Industry (1819-20)* (5 vols, Newton Abbot, 1972), i, p.xi.

²²⁷ See also *Standing Orders and Regulations for the Army in Ireland*, p.121; *A Manual for Volunteer Corps of Infantry* (1803), p.29; NLS, MS.15341, manuscript regimental standing orders, c.1794-1815[?], pp.59-60. For Scottish beats, see James, *Regimental Companion*, ii, p.481; H.G. Farmer, ‘Scots Duty: The Old Drum and Fife Calls of Scottish Regiments’, *JSAHR*, 24/98 (1946), pp.65-70.

²²⁸ Barnard, *Letters*, pp.178-9; *Chester Chronicle*, 27 January 1809; Kent Archives, U840/C500/1, Lord Castlereagh to [Lady Castlereagh], c.1800.

achieve temporal precision in music and marching. No longer permitted to trust their ‘own ear or apprehension’, drum-majors and bandmasters were ordered to refer to a plummet – a primitive metronome comprising a musket ball tied to lengths of string – to maintain 75 steps and beats a minute for ordinary time and 108 steps and beats a minute for quick time when performing on the march.²²⁹ By 1811 the adherence of regular and militia bands to the prescribed cadences was scrutinised as part of twice-yearly inspections and even fostered inter-unit rivalries, with Perthshire local militia officers placing bets on whose band hewed closest to the regulation times.²³⁰ The military’s adoption of clearly defined tempi was remarkable for the period. Although the use of pendulums was not unknown, musicians generally worked from loose descriptors such as *allegro* or *andante*, prompting an Oxford professor to fret that performance speeds had increased significantly over the eighteenth century in the absence of more precise standards of measuring musical time.²³¹ A Methodist composer, decrying inconsistent pacing among congregational singers in 1801, attributed the ‘very animating’ nature of martial music to its insistent observance of tempo.²³²

²²⁹ J. Williamson, *The Elements of Military Arrangement* (1781), pp.45-6; *Rules and Regulations* (1815) pp.15, 384; *Standing Orders for the Use of the Shropshire Militia* (Stonehouse, 1813), pp.21-2; *Standing Orders...for...[the] Newton and Failsworth Regiment*, pp.27-8; Farmer, *History of the Royal Artillery Band*, pp.56-7.

²³⁰ *General Regulations and Orders for the Army* (1811), pp.93, 281; TNA, WO27/117, 1st half-year 1813 inspection returns, 64th Foot; WO27/126, 1st half-year 1814 inspection returns, 17th Foot; D. Macara, *Crieff: Its Traditions and Characters* (Edinburgh, 1881), pp.229-30. See also NLW, MS3377, West Denbigh LM OB, Montresor to Forbes, 12 June 1810.

²³¹ E. Rubin, ‘New Light on Late Eighteenth-Century Tempo’, *Performance Practice Review*, 2/1 (1989), pp.34-57.

²³² J. Beaumont, *The New Harmonic Magazine* (1801), p.8, quoted in S. Drage, ‘The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody c.1690-c.1840’, (PhD thesis, University of Leeds,

Besides promoting uniform speeds of marching and playing, military authorities homogenised the musical signals and calls being taught, as well as the process of instrumental training itself, through officially sanctioned publications.²³³ While trumpet and bugle sounds had been employed by the cavalry for decades, variations between regiments imperilled effective command; the military's brutal response to the Tranent anti-militia protest of 1797 was exacerbated by the Pembroke Fencible Cavalry's inability to understand bugle signals employed by another corps.²³⁴ The following year the Duke of York hired John Hyde, a London concert trumpeter and volunteer trumpet-major, to revise the existing cavalry soundings and 'reduce them to an uniformity'; his arrangements, which included the earliest printing of the now iconic 'Last Post', were the first to be officially endorsed and ordered 'to be used exclusively of all others'.²³⁵ Also in 1798, the War Office printed a separate set of sixteen bugle signals for field manoeuvres as part of Francis de Rottenburg's influential *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry*.²³⁶ These attempts to achieve consistency were hampered by printing and compositional errors as well as the

2009), p.221.

²³³ Houlding, *Fit for Service*, pp.241-52.

²³⁴ Hinde, *Discipline of the Light-Horse*, pp.206-7, 556-7; TNA, HO102/15, f.321, Trumpeter Rawlins declaration; *Instructions and Regulations for...the Cavalry*, p.368.

²³⁵ TNA, WO3/19, Adjutant-General Fawcett to [John] Hyde, 19 and 31 December 1798, and Adjutant-General Calvert to Colonel Hugonin, 2 April 1799; *The Sounds for Duty and Exercise for the Trumpet and Bugle Horns of His Majesty's Regiments and Corps of Cavalry* ([1798]); D. Lasocki, 'New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle, Part 2', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 22 (2010), pp.23-6.

²³⁶ [F. de Rottenburg], *Regulations for the Exercise of Riflemen and Light Infantry* (1798), plates 7-8.

reluctance of some regiments to abandon their traditional, idiosyncratic sounds.²³⁷ There was also a widespread propensity to modify and expand on the prescribed set: T.H. Cooper's *Practical Guide for the Light Infantry Officer* (1806) insisted that bugle sounds be 'few and simple' yet included no fewer than fifty-one.²³⁸ But the publication of approved signals clearly succeeded in more closely aligning trumpet and bugle commands across the military. Writing in 1803, Major-General John Moore suggested that de Rottenburg's signals were employed by light infantry regiments and companies 'most generally', and archival research confirms their adoption by volunteer corps and regular battalions overseas.²³⁹ The Horse Guards initiated a more ambitious attempt at musical standardisation in 1815, trialling manuals authored by Drum-Major Samuel Potter of the Coldstream Guards with the aim of assimilating the infantry duty calls and beats and establishing a 'general principle or system of instruction' for the drum and fife. *The Art of Beating the Drum* and *The Art of Playing the Fife* contained step-by-step instructional guidance and were accompanied by a treatise on music theory which was integrated into the curriculum of regimental schools; novice drummers and fifers were expected to copy its lessons onto their slates.²⁴⁰ Following positive feedback from several regiments, the army ordered the general adoption of Potter's authoritative

²³⁷ Campbell, *Instructions for Light Infantry and Riflemen*, p.99; *USJ* (June 1837), pp.248-51; H.G. Farmer, 'The Earliest British Trumpet and Bugle Sounds', *JSAHR*, 29/117 (1951), pp.18-19.

²³⁸ Cooper, *Practical Guide for the Light Infantry Officer*, p.97, plates 1-4.

²³⁹ Moore, 'Two Private Letters', p.163; NAM, 1968-07-176, pp.89-92, Rifle Exercise for the 85th Foot, 1 October 1803; NRO, AYL578, Aylsham Volunteers, manuscript bugle signals.

²⁴⁰ J.F.G. Ross-of-Bladensburg, *A History of the Coldstream Guards, from 1815 to 1895* (1896), pp.424-5; M. Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall* (Aldershot, 2004), p.686; Potter, *Art of Beating the Drum*, p.10.

arrangements and ‘mode of instruction’ in December 1816. His publications remained central to martial musical training throughout the nineteenth century, although there is evidence to suggest that some mid-Victorian army drummers continued to learn by ear.²⁴¹

The endorsement of Potter’s manuals was one of several initiatives pointing towards a more institutionalised and systematic approach to musical tuition. Army authorities did not sponsor schools for military musicians comparable to the Paris Conservatory, founded in 1795, and failed to act on Highland Society proposals to establish an academy for regimental pipers. Yet it is significant that the Royal Military Asylum in London and the Royal Hibernian Military School in Dublin retained drummers to teach soldiers’ sons in their care, sending a portion of their intake to serve in the army in musical capacities.²⁴² The Royal Military Asylum also organised a boy’s band in 1816, anticipating the Victorian military’s reliance on musical ensembles in workhouse schools and children’s homes to prepare youngsters for careers as regimental bandsmen.²⁴³ Equally noteworthy was the Irish executive’s creation of a centrally-coordinated certification programme for yeomanry drummers. Expanding on

²⁴¹ *Military Register*, 22 January 1817; S. Potter and J.J. Renwick, *Drum, Flute, and Bugle Duty Tutor* (1886); V.A. Chaine, *The Side Drum: A New and Complete Method* ([1879]), p.4.

²⁴² *Regulations for the Establishment and Government of the Royal Military Asylum* (1805), pp.51-2; *Regulations for the Establishment and Government of the Royal Hibernian Military School* (Dublin, 1813), p.47; *The Star* (London), 4 April 1812; TNA, WO3/154, W.W. to Francis Moore, 18 April 1806; WO27/142, 2nd half-year 1817 inspection returns, 51st Foot.

²⁴³ LMA, A/FH/A/6/20/8, ‘Letter to the Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital on the Expediency of Forming an Instrumental Band’ by J. Brownlow, 1847, p.6; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 2 June 1817; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.138-9.

an identical scheme for yeomanry sergeants, Sir Edward Littlehales, the military under-secretary at Dublin Castle, directed the permanent drummers, trumpeters, and buglers of yeomanry corps to 'forthwith proceed to the nearest garrison town' in January 1811 for a month's instruction under drum-, trumpet-, and bugle-majors of regular and militia regiments. Instructors' fees and pupils' lodging expenses were covered by central government rather than individual units.²⁴⁴ Yeomen deemed proficient were awarded certificates and required to present them at future inspections on pain of dismissal. The certification programme continued for the duration of hostilities and was still running in 1831, shortly before the dissolution of the force.²⁴⁵ Though in marked contrast to the largely decentralised and improvisational methods of procuring musical instruction in Britain, this systematic scheme was typical of the interventionist approach of the early-nineteenth-century Irish administration, characterised by proactive administrative reforms intended to promote uniformity and central control.²⁴⁶ Encompassing tuition, assessment, and mandatory certification, Dublin Castle's yeomanry training scheme, though limited in scope, had no contemporary

²⁴⁴ PRONI, D374/2, South Down Militia LB, pp.312-3, 361, 1 January and 9 May 1811; D1854/8/4, Castlewellan Yeomanry LB, 23 February and 22 April 1811; Maynooth University Library, Littlehales Papers, PP12 Box 31P, Sir Edward Littlehales to William Wellesley-Pole, 30 December 1810.

²⁴⁵ NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1218, pp.168-71, 11 February and 26 August 1814 and MS1334, pp.211, 224-5, 26 May and 16 June 1813; NAI, CSO/RP/1831/3975, certificates of yeomanry drummers and buglers, 1831.

²⁴⁶ V. Crossman, 'The Growth of the State in the Nineteenth Century', in Kelly *et al.* (eds), *Cambridge History of Ireland*, iii, pp.542-51.

parallel in the civilian music profession, which despite various proposals had not developed standardised courses of instruction or licensing mechanisms.²⁴⁷

Neither haphazard nor insubstantial, the military's mode of musical instruction during the French Wars can be characterised by its adherence to broadly shared principles. Officers across the armed forces placed great stock in the acquisition of skilled instructors, incessant rehearsal, and the enforcement of discipline, believing all three to be essential to instructing and maintaining effective musical contingents. Considerable attention was devoted to precise timekeeping and the study of musical notation, not least because they facilitated conformity with established cadences and printed duty beatings and calls. While many corps fell short of the ideal standards, the overall agenda appears to have been effective in inculcating instrumental skills on an impressive scale. At a time when no musical training colleges existed in Britain and Ireland, the military provided men and boys with practical knowledge of at least one and frequently multiple instruments, an understanding of musical notation, and extensive experience of ensemble performance. Combining regular rehearsals and performances with scope for independent study and freelance engagements, army life proved a conducive learning environment for zealous performers like Robert Butler, who 'found pleasure in nothing but music and musicians' while serving in Dublin as a fifer.²⁴⁸ Although the quality of education obtained depended substantially on the

²⁴⁷ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.62-8, 168-9; T. Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room* (1816), p.236.

²⁴⁸ Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.36-7.

variable conscientiousness and abilities of military instructors, this was equally true of civilian musical apprenticeships, alumni of which frequently complained about mistreatment and inadequate tuition.²⁴⁹ Even ex-military musicians who lamented the absence of a good bandmaster during their formative years acknowledged that their time in uniform had afforded valuable opportunities to practice composing and arranging while developing a 'knowledge of the various instruments', laying an indispensable foundation for subsequent civilian musical careers.²⁵⁰ Contemporaries certainly had no illusions about the military's significance as a provider of musical education. According to the composer A.F.C. Kollmann, writing in 1812, the wartime expansion of military bands had furnished England with 'a great number of excellent performers on the different wind instruments'.²⁵¹

Conclusion

In the musical realm as much as any other, the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars involved an unprecedented mobilisation of manpower and resources. Although the scale of demand caused a scarcity of trained instructors and performers, the recruitment drive ultimately succeeded because the armed forces

²⁴⁹ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.70-1; Golby, *Instrumental Teaching*, pp.89-90.

²⁵⁰ University of Glasgow, MS Euing R.d.85/76, Edward Frost to J.D. Sainsbury, 3 January 1824; Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, pp.265-7.

²⁵¹ *Quarterly Musical Register* (January 1812), p.23, reprinted in Kassler, *A.F.C. Kollmann's Quarterly Musical Register*.

offered relatively attractive terms, providing stable and remunerative work to professional musicians facing wartime underemployment and giving plebeian performers the chance to develop and monetise their instrumental skills. The expansion of military music-making also mirrored the wider war effort in its dependence on foreign manpower and a burgeoning array of private contractors – music teachers, instrument makers, and band trainers, in this case – to furnish specialist services and expertise.²⁵² Musical mobilisation, moreover, could not have occurred without the enthusiastic sponsorship and enterprise of regimental officers and the local notables who led the auxiliary forces. Commanders maximised the available musical resources through a range of expedient strategies, from recruiting prisoners of war to sharing instructors, and took a keen interest in the training process. Though largely organised at the unit level, the military's approach to musical instruction was more coherent and effective than previously recognised and was rendered increasingly systematic through a series of centrally directed initiatives. These developments bear comparison with the wartime military's other educational innovations, including efforts to regularise regimental schools and the foundation of the Royal Military College in 1801-2 to instruct novice and staff officers.²⁵³ At the same time, examination of instrumental recruitment and tuition corroborates the prevailing view of state administration during these conflicts, which was characterised not by

²⁵² K.B. Lynch, 'The Recruitment of the British Army, 1807-1815', (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001), pp.133-4; R. Knight and M. Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.1-13, 210-14.

²⁵³ H.R. Clarke, *Redcoats in the Classroom* (Warwick, 2021), pp.78-86; Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, pp.187-210.

revolutionary reorganisation as in France but the pragmatic adaptation of inherited structures to cope with the demands of prolonged mass warfare.²⁵⁴ While martial music-making, as with soldiering more generally, commanded widespread participation from across the social spectrum, consideration of individual motivations and the dynamics of the musical labour market underscores the impression that service in uniform was a product of negotiation and self-interest rather than a straightforward expression of armed nationalism.²⁵⁵

In contrast to previous scholarship, which has assumed that professional musicians were unavailable to the military outside London, this chapter demonstrates that regiments engaged large numbers of knowledgeable performers in the provinces.²⁵⁶ Notwithstanding the protective attitudes of many officers towards their instrumentalists, the martial musical labour market was remarkably integrated and transnational, involving performers from heterogeneous backgrounds and a variety of musical traditions. Although the military clearly benefited from broad-based civilian interest in music-making, it also trained a mass of performers from scratch through an instructional approach that was effective and distinctive. An innovator rather than a laggard in music pedagogy, the military standardised musical timekeeping,

²⁵⁴ Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.261-2; Linch, *Britain and Wellington's Army*, pp.126, 148-53; D. Eastwood, 'Patriotism and the English State in the 1790s', in M. Philp (ed), *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.167-8; Bamford, *Sickness, Suffering, and the Sword*, p.286; Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, pp.111-42.

²⁵⁵ Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.9; Cozens, 'Experience of Soldiering', p.10.

²⁵⁶ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.110-11.

implemented uniform curricula, and even experimented with educational certification, all in advance of comparable developments in the civilian profession. The mid-century army's foundation of Kneller Hall, the most successful of the Victorian music colleges, should therefore be viewed not as a sharp break with the past but as the continuation of a longstanding trend.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p.97.

4. Regimental Repertoires

What did musical warriors play? The question initially seems daunting. Performances before the advent of sound recording were inherently ephemeral, while memoirs and press reports provide limited information on the tunes heard, often referring only to 'favourite' or 'appropriate airs'.¹ Living historians have made impressive efforts to recover period music for military re-enactments, yet published appraisals of regimental repertoires during the French Wars, in contrast to extensive scholarly investigations of civilian concerts and song cultures, remain superficial and incomplete.² Lewis Winstock made a spirited attempt to consider 'war music' as a genre but deliberately ignored duty calls and supposedly 'unmilitary' melodies played by regimental ensembles including dance tunes, thereby drawing artificial distinctions which were not necessarily recognised by contemporaries.³ Indeed, such an approach provides a distorted view of martial music, which cannot be understood without due appreciation of its prominence in civilian settings and its breadth and malleability as a musical category. Musicologists now recognise that regimental ensembles played a wide range of pieces, many of them originating outside the military, but existing work relies heavily on published scores and the musical archive of a non-military royal

¹ *Dublin Evening Post*, 2 November 1809; [Hope], *Military Memoirs*, p.252.

² G.R. Vorwald and E. Lichack, *Military Music of the American Revolution*, ed. P.R. Ackermann (2007); D. Bourassa, 'T. Herbert and H. Barlow, Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century (review)', *Notes*, 71/4 (2015), p.708.

³ Winstock, *Songs & Music*, pp.i-ii, 84-5.

band.⁴ This chapter provides a fuller picture by drawing on the contents of more than twenty musical manuscripts, produced by a diverse array of regimental performers. Such documents present interpretative challenges: it is impossible to determine how often specific tunes in these compilations were heard and sometimes difficult to ascertain the settings in which they were played. Yet evidence from manuscript tune-books, considered collectively alongside information from other sources, provides privileged insight into the actual musical interests, performance practices, and collecting habits of martial performers. The chapter outlines salient characteristics of military marches before emphasising the broader variety of regimental repertoires, which reflected the fluidity of Georgian musical culture as well as the military's mobility and multinational character. Investigation of the music performed by fifers, drummers, and trumpeters, who have tended to be dismissed as mere signallers with an 'entirely functional' repertoire, reveals their considerable abilities and creative ambition.⁵ Finally this chapter draws attention to patterns of musical transmission. It contends that military service facilitated musical dissemination and exchange, with soldiers borrowing melodies from other regiments, armies, and peoples, and documents the interpenetration of civilian and military repertoires.

⁴ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.94-7; Lomas, 'Sounds of Concord and Harmony', pp.115-34; R. Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington, IN, 2006), p.122. But see also S.W.J. Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)' (PhD thesis, University of York, 2012), pp.166-263, which analyses a manuscript tune book likely owned by a regimental bandsman.

⁵ T. Herbert, 'Public Military Music and the Promotion of Patriotism in the British Provinces', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 17/3 (2020), pp.435-6.

What made music *military*? Partly it was a matter of setting and instrumentation, according to contemporary commentators. Military music was most often played outdoors, of necessity tended to be loud, and was chiefly performed by wind and percussion instruments without strings.⁶ Fifes, drums, janissary percussion and Highland pipes were especially associated with the military in the public mind.⁷ As Dominique Bourassa has argued, martial music also encompassed several broad compositional styles, all with a strong rhythm suitable for marching.⁸ Marches, also called grand or slow marches, were characterised by ‘boldness’ and splendour. Written in common (4/4) or cut (2/2) time, their melodies featured dotted rhythms, repeated note patterns, and sometimes incorporated arpeggios.⁹ Quick steps, by contrast, were written in 2/4 or 6/8 time. Their lively, lilting melodies were relatively simple, facilitating performance at a faster pace, and primarily featured even rather than dotted rhythms.¹⁰ Soldiers took two steps per bar for marches and quick steps alike. Moreover, both styles frequently began with anacruses (unstressed pickups or upbeats), giving energy to the ensuing theme, and generally comprised two to four

⁶ A.F.C. Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (1799), p.94 and 2nd edn (1812), p.59; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.592; *Freeman’s Journal*, 17 October 1809; though see *USM* (June 1845), pp.189-90 for the limited audibility of *al fresco* bands.

⁷ Marsh, *Journals*, i, p. 551; Nicholson, *British Encyclopedia*, iv, ‘drum’ and ‘fife’ within the ‘musical instruments’ entry; T. Busby, *A Complete Dictionary of Music*, 3rd edn (1811), ‘march’ and ‘side-drum’ entries; *The Athenæum* (4 June 1828), p.506; Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, p.181.

⁸ Bourassa, ‘Contribution des Bandes Militaires Britanniques’, pp.75-136.

⁹ Kollmann, *Essay* (1799), p.95; Bourassa, ‘Contribution des Bandes Militaires Britanniques’, pp.100-12; C. Moloney, *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting* (Dublin, 2000), p.142.

¹⁰ Kollmann, *Essay* (1799), p.95; P.E.H. Norton, ‘March Music in Nineteenth-Century America’ (PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1983), p.172.

phrases of eight, twelve, or sixteen bars each. The Oxford Loyal Volunteers rejected a march and quick march with sections indivisible by four as incompatible with the standard four-measure beatings employed by their drummers.¹¹ Another form of march music, known as the troop, was played by musicians as they strode back and forth before the regiment on parade. Troops commonly began with grandiloquent introductions in common time featuring fanfares and drum rolls, intended to demonstrate the varied timbres and playing styles of the band, followed by a contrasting main piece, often in triple metre with a waltz-like 'one-in-a-bar' feel.¹²

The French Wars inspired an abundance of consciously military compositions dedicated to specific corps, some of which were printed by London music publishers. A complete accounting of the printed corpus is impossible as the majority were never registered at Stationers' Hall. Nevertheless, more than 135 wartime editions of regimental marches and troops, many containing multiple pieces, survive in British and Irish copyright libraries as full band scores or keyboard reductions.¹³ Composers included officers and rank-and-file volunteers as well as bandmasters: the Earl of Westmeath, for example, penned slow and quick marches for the militia regiment he commanded.¹⁴ A range of civilian amateurs wrote military pieces, including the blind

¹¹ Bodleian Libraries, MS.Mus.d.32, Malchair tune book, pp.48-9.

¹² Kollmann, *Essay* (1799), pp.95-6; Lomas, 'Sounds of Concord and Harmony', pp.118-19. See, for example, G. Guest, *A Second Troop...for the Wisbech Volunteer Band* ([1805]).

¹³ Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall*, pp.xvi-xviii.

¹⁴ *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion* (2 vols, Dublin, 1801-2), ii, n.p.; *Morning Post*, 14 October 1803.

nine-year-old son of a Gateshead volunteer commandant and at least half a dozen propertied women, for whom composition represented a socially acceptable means of contributing to national defence.¹⁵ Within the music profession, dancing masters, cathedral singers, and a host of church organists wrote marches for local regiments, thereby demonstrating their patriotism and profiting from the sale of scores to a captive market of corps members. The Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers, for example, purchased sixty sets of marches dedicated to the unit by a local composer, priced at a shilling apiece, while the Hertford organist Charles Bridgeman published eighteen fife and band marches for the volunteer corps of his county, posting scores to their respective commanders.¹⁶

However, specially composed marches comprised only one element of varied regimental repertoires. Although bandmasters were expected to choose music suited to the prescribed cadences when marching in step with the regiment, at other times they were allowed to vary the tempo and perform 'any good tunes'.¹⁷ A.F.C. Kollmann wrote in 1799 that military bands played music 'of any sort and form' to fill time on

¹⁵ D.S. Hawks, *Marches for a Military Band* ([c.1805]) and for example Carr, *Stranger in Ireland*, p.229; *Collection of Celebrated Marches & Quick Steps ...by the...Countess of Balcarras, Mrs Major Tytler, Muschett, Watlen, &c* (Edinburgh, [c.1795]).

¹⁶ ERO, L/U 3/1, Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers minute book, 10 April and 8 May 1799; HALS, DE/Hx/F9, Bridgeman Papers, draft letter from Charles Bridgeman to — Calvert, April 1800 and DE/Yo/1/44, Hitchin Loyal Volunteers papers, Bridgeman to Captain Wilshire, 2 May 1800.

¹⁷ NRS, Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers, GD174/2315, 'Orders for the Assistance and Guidance of the Non-Commissioned Officers of the First Battalion 79th Regiment', pp.6-7; *Rules and Regulations* (1815) p.384.

parade, including works originally composed ‘for the stage, for dances, or as songs.’¹⁸ English militia regiments in Cork, for example, performed ‘theatrical songs such as “The Flitch of Bacon,” “Michael Wiggins,” and such trashy tunes as were then the order of the day’, while other military ensembles played familiar ballads whose lyrics were known to and even sung by civilian listeners.¹⁹ Country dances and cotillions, with their unmistakable rhythms and brisk melodies, were routinely repurposed as quick steps or played by regimental bands at balls in stately homes; the musicians of the 23rd Light Dragoons ‘were in great request at all the parties’ in Weymouth owing to their knowledge of fashionable dances.²⁰ Military ensembles also learned sacred music. A list of twenty-eight pieces arranged for the North York Militia musicians in 1812 features five psalm tunes and hymns, including ‘Adeste Fideles’ (better known today as ‘O Come, All Ye Faithful’), which was certainly performed by other regimental ensembles during worship.²¹ Moreover, the best military bands skilfully executed works by continental composers like Mozart, Beethoven, Haydn, and Cherubini.²² The perceived partiality of regimental musicians for ‘every kind of music but the *British*’ provoked some criticism from affluent loyalists, who contended that homegrown patriotic melodies would appeal more to ordinary soldiers and civilians than new-

¹⁸ Kollmann, *Essay* (1799), p.96.

¹⁹ *Cork Standard and Evening Herald*, 18 March 1840; W. Gibney, *Eighty Years Ago, or the Recollections of an Old Army Doctor*, ed. R.D. Gibney (1896), p.130; [Parkhill], *Life and Opinions*, pp.38-9.

²⁰ Kollmann, *Essay* (1799), p.95; BL, Morley Papers, Add.MS.48233, f.185, Fanny Morley to Theresa Villiers, 14 October 1810; NAM, 1978-05-74-1, Grove autobiography, p.177.

²¹ NYCRO, ZNKx2/3/324, list of arrangements by J. Jouve, c.1811-12; Marsh, *Journals*, ii, p.231.

²² *Freeman’s Journal*, 11 June 1818; Western, *English Militia*, p.371; T.L. Peacock, *Letters of Thomas Love Peacock*, ed. N.A. Joukovsky (2 vols, Oxford, 2001), i, p.134.

fangled foreign pieces.²³ Yet the cosmopolitanism of military repertoires conformed with the prevailing penchant for musical miscellany. Although there was no shortage of contemporary debate over the merits of different pieces and composers, firm distinctions between ‘classical’ and ‘popular’ music, as William Weber has argued, emerged only gradually in the nineteenth century. Old and new pieces from multiple genres coexisted in Georgian concert programmes, while individual tunes achieved popularity both in elite social spaces and streetscapes populated by ballad singers.²⁴

Military repertoires also reflected the contemporary vogue for ‘national’ music. Motivated by cultural patriotism, late Georgian song collectors and composers collated and eulogised the traditional songs of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland while rewriting them to suit fashionable tastes.²⁵ The adoption of such national music allowed regiments to express distinct identities within the British military. For example, the colonel of the Denbighshire Militia invariably ordered his band to strike up ‘Men of Harlech’, first published in the 1794 edition of *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*, to mark the martial prowess of his countrymen at grand reviews

²³ W. Dickson, *Hints to the People of the United Kingdom, in General, and of North Britain, in Particular, on the Present Important Crisis, and Some Interesting Collateral Subjects* (Edinburgh, 1803), pp.50-2; Jackson, *Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies*, pp.224-6.

²⁴ W. Weber, *Great Transformation of Musical Taste* (Cambridge, 2008); Cox Jensen, *Ballad-Singer in Georgian and Victorian London*, pp.190-228; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, p.113-14, 226-9; Blayney, *Narrative*, i, p.427.

²⁵ M. Hughes, ‘Edward Jones, “Bard to the King”: The Crown, Welsh National Music, and Identity in Late Georgian Britain’, in Rodmell (ed), *Music and Institutions*, pp.267-84; R. Burns, *The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, ed. M. Pittock et al., (4 vols, Oxford, 2014-21), ii, pp.1-40; M. Gelbart, *The Invention of Folk Music and Art Music* (Cambridge, 2007).

outside Wales.²⁶ Yet national songs were routinely played by regiments unaffiliated with their country of origin: wartime visitors to Killarney in County Kerry not only heard the Londonderry Militia band performing music by Turlough O'Carolan, a celebrated Irish harper, but Scottish melodies played by musicians of the Carlow and 17th (Leicestershire) Regiments.²⁷ The Scottish commander of the 1/57th Foot, notwithstanding the regiment's nominal association with West Middlesex, made a Caledonian tune 'so much the march of that regiment as to be the sure sign of its presence or signal of its approach, wherever it was heard in the Peninsula or the south of France.'²⁸

Extant musical manuscripts underscore the breadth of military repertoires and testify to the musical literacy of their compilers. Four large leather-bound music books of the Galway Militia, one signed by the regiment's Scottish bandmaster in 1806, are labelled for 2nd clarinet, 1st and 2nd bassoon, and horn but also include parts for oboe, bass horn, and bass drum.²⁹ Arranged in ten to fourteen hand-drawn staves per page, the contents comprise a potpourri of marches, waltzes, overtures, symphonies, and partitas, including works by the Irish composer John Andrew Stevenson, the

²⁶ W. Cathrall, *The History of North Wales* (2 vols, Manchester, 1828), i, p.378; P. Kinney, *Welsh Traditional Music* (Cardiff, 2011), p.63.

²⁷ Carr, *Stranger in Ireland*, p.229; Hall, *Tour through Ireland*, i, pp.230-1; *Journal of a Tour in Ireland...in August 1804* (1806), p.29; P-N. Chantreau, *Voyage dans les Trois Royaumes* (3 vols, Paris, 1792), iii, p.16.

²⁸ Campbell, *Treatise on the Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans*, p.225.

²⁹ TCD, MS5890-3.

Austro-Frenchman Ignaz Pleyel, and the Bohemian Georg Druschetzky.³⁰ The Galway band part-books incorporate instrumental arrangements of recent hits from the London and Dublin stage, such as John Davy's 'Just like Love is Yonder Rose', a 'favorite rondo' sung at Covent Garden, and Thomas Simpson Cooke's ballad 'Henry and Jem', performed by his wife at Dublin's Crow Street Theatre in 1806.³¹ A vocal part in the 1st bassoon book for Benjamin Cooke's 'Hark the Lark', a glee performed at London's Vauxhall Gardens, was likely sung by the musicians in the mess-room or during suppers organised for local society by regimental officers.³² Another pair of manuscript part-books of the Argyllshire Militia for flute and clarinet, dated 1802 to 1808, feature 108 and 130 marches, songs, strathspeys, and other pieces respectively, numbered to correspond with parts in the other compilation.³³ Several of the Argyllshire pieces feature flute or brass solos, mirroring written accounts which state that military bandsmen not only played *tutti* as part of large ensembles but sometimes impressed listeners with virtuosic individual performances.³⁴ Both sets of books were obviously compiled by men who were well versed in music theory and the Italian terminology employed in the music profession, including dynamic markings and abbreviations such

³⁰ P. O'Connell, 'Four Part-Books of the Galway Regiment of Militia', in K. Houston, M. McHale and M. Murphy (eds), *Documents of Irish Music History in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2019), pp.107-20; J.A. Stevenson, *Lord Cathcart's March for the Piano-Forte* (Dublin, c.1802-10).

³¹ J. Davy, *Just like Love is Yonder Rose, the favorite rondo sung by Mr. Braham...at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden* ([1801?]); T. Cooke, *Henry and Jem...sung at the Theatre Royal...by Mrs. T. Cooke* (Dublin, [c.1810]); J.C. Greene, *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820* (6 vols, Bethlehem, PA, 2011), v, p.3511.

³² B. Cooke, *Hark the Lark at Heav'n's Gate Sings: A Favorite Glee for Four Voices* (1805); Howard, *Reminiscences*, iii, pp.94-5; Browne, *Napoleonic War Journal*, p.67.

³³ NLS, MSS.9601-2. Both books appear to be missing some pages.

³⁴ *Cork Standard and Evening Herald*, 18 March 1840; *Journal of a Tour in Ireland*, p.7.

as '*8va*', instructing the performer to play the notes an octave higher than written. The direction *volti subito*, meaning 'turn the page quickly', appears in both sets of books, suggesting that bandsmen played from the written parts during rehearsals or stationary performances, likely using the music stands regularly listed in regimental band accounts.³⁵ The extant Galway and Argyllshire manuscripts clearly comprised only a fraction of the total music collections available to each ensemble, which judging by the records of other militia and regular corps were prodigious and always evolving.³⁶ In 1814 the Shropshire Militia owned 113 part books in 13 printed and manuscript sets; the assortment, which included not only 'Military Pieces' but 'Waltzes and Songs', 'Waltzes and Quicksteps', 'Old Music', and 'Irish Melodies', was stored and transported, as was typical, in a designated music chest.³⁷

The repertoires of fifers, drummers, buglers, and trumpeters could also be diverse in origin and musically demanding. Cavalry duty sounds were not limited to brief flurries of notes but extended for up to forty bars and were occasionally performed in parts. Moreover, trumpeters played ornamental duets which, according to the trumpet-major of the West Riding Yeomanry, could not be learned by rote but required some 'knowledge of music'. A set of fifteen marches for three trumpets,

³⁵ For example, PRONI, Massereene-Foster Papers, D207/11/39A, Louth Militia band expenses, 1807-8.

³⁶ Both Argyllshire books include pieces labelled as 'in the cabinet', implying the existence of a larger music archive.

³⁷ SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 586/5, Shropshire Militia band inventory, 13 October 1814. See also *Montreal Herald*, 12 June 1813.

published by John Hyde in 1799, includes the Turkish quick march from Frantisek Kotzwara's keyboard sonata *The Battle of Prague* (c1788) and 'Non più andrai', a military-themed aria from Mozart's 1786 opera *The Marriage of Figaro*.³⁸ The major infantry duty beatings, meanwhile, were effectively quotidian concerts; the reveille lasted for fifteen minutes every morning at Gibraltar, according to one drummer, and like the evening tattoo comprised a 'medley of airs and beats'.³⁹ Fifers performed pieces in up to three parts; duty calls on their instruments were simple but memorable and often originated outside the army.⁴⁰ 'The Roast Beef of Old England', a well-known patriotic ballad dating from 1735, was generally adopted as the Dinner Call, although the 2/62nd Foot went its own way by employing another food-related melody, 'Lumps of Pudding', which had first been published as a country dance in 1701 and featured as the finale in John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728).⁴¹ Drum beatings were assembled from rudiments including rolls, paradiddles, and flams, sometimes enlivened by stick clicks, dynamic changes and the use of muffled snares. Stock beatings learned by drummers, each of which could accompany a multitude of marches and quick steps, ranged from undemanding sequences of taps and rests to the more involved double

³⁸ Nicholson, *British Encyclopedia*, iv, 'trumpet' within the 'musical instruments' entry; Barnsley Archives, Spencer Stanhope Muniments, SpSt/60565, f.25, Charles Bowns to Walter Stanhope, 24 March 1799, enclosing a letter from Trumpet-Major Clegg; J. Hyde, *New and Compleat Preceptor for the Trumpet and Bugle Horn* (1799).

³⁹ J. Guidney, *Some Particulars of the Life and Adventures of James Guidney*, 3rd edn (Birmingham, 1862), p.10; *Cyclopædia*, 'drum' entry; *Quebec Mercury*, 14 July 1818.

⁴⁰ For fife tunes in three parts, see, for example, NRS, Leslie Papers, GD26/9/140/C, John Strachan to Messrs Gow & Shepherd, 20 February 1800.

⁴¹ O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, '250 Years of Roast Beef', *Musical Times*, 126/1706 (1985), pp.203-7; *Standing Orders of the Second Battalion of the 62nd...Foot*, p.73; J. Barlow, 'The Dances in The Beggar's Opera' in D. Parsons (ed), *Dance in Drama, Drama in Dance* (2005), pp.8-9.

drag used for 6/8 tunes, in which rapidly alternating double bounces and strokes combined to create a heavily accented torrent of sound. A contributor to Rees' *Cyclopædia* derided the side drum for its monotonous rattling, which was generally 'not over-well executed', but in the same breath acknowledged the relentless creativity of drum-majors, who devised 'infinite variations' for beatings and rehearsed a bevy of ornamental drum solos.⁴²

The broad assortment of music performed by military fifers is evident in the tune book of John Miller, who according to notes in the manuscript served in Ulster between 1799 and 1801, possibly with a Scottish fencible regiment.⁴³ The 115 tunes include twenty-six melodies described as quick steps, twenty hymns, sixteen marches, ten hornpipes and two strathspeys. Popular Scottish songs were labelled as quick steps, including 'Gilderoy', 'MacPherson's Lament' and 'Up and Waur Them A', Willie.' The repurposing of melodies for regimental duty is also evident in the manuscripts of fifers serving in auxiliary corps. The tune book of David Hillocks, fife-major in the Centre Forfarshire Local Militia, contains nearly 250 pieces for fife and flute, including a waltz 'for tatoo' and a Dutch minuet doubling as a retreat.⁴⁴ 'The Lakes of Killarney', an Irish song designated by Hillocks as an 'after tatto[o]' piece, had been sung in James

⁴² *Cyclopædia*, 'drum' entry; J. Parry, *The British Fifer* (2 vols, c.1803); King, *British March*; University of Birmingham, Shaw-Hellier Collection, No. 287, Drum Beatings MS, [1780?]; Toronto Museums, John Buttrey MS, #555; Potter, *Art of Beating the Drum*.

⁴³ PKA, Atholl Collection, John Miller MS, 1799-1801.

⁴⁴ Angus Archives, MS124, David Hillocks tune book; TNA, WO13/3487 Centre Forfarshire LM pay-lists, 1808-16.

Hook's 1784 comic opera *The Double Disguise*.⁴⁵ Another music book signed by Edward Russell (1812) and James Horwood (1814), fifiers of the West Monmouth Local Militia, contains a rather uninspired array of 33 marches, dances, and airs, including troops for the fife and bugle and a piece honouring the birthday of their colonel.⁴⁶ Once again, popular tunes were appropriated for military ends: this Welsh fifiers' manuscript features 'A Scotch Strappery [Strathspey] for a Troop' and the melancholy 'Farewell to Lochaber' as a retreat.

Further insight into the varied repertoires of auxiliary corps can be found in six manuscripts owned by fifiers of the 3rd Argyllshire Local Militia, headquartered in Oban.⁴⁷ All include between fourteen and thirty-four tunes; a dozen appear in every volume, each of which begins with 'God Save the King' and 'Rule, Britannia!' Although one book is signed by multiple individuals, several possessive inscriptions (for instance, 'Archibald Clark's music book and know [sic] other but himself') suggest that the pocket-sized manuscripts were drafted and retained by fifiers as personal practise books. The compilers' grasp of music theory is noticeably weaker than that of the Argyllshire and Galway bandsmen. One fifer's attempt to transcribe the dance

⁴⁵ J. Hook, *The Double Disguise: A Comic Opera, as performed...at the Theatre Royal, in Drury Lane* (1784), pp.24-5.

⁴⁶ NAM, 1962-08-97, Russell-Horwood tune book; TNA, WO13/3558, West Monmouth LM pay-lists, 1808-16.

⁴⁷ NLS, MSS.21739-44, six tune books for the fife; TNA, WO13/3402, 3rd Argyllshire LM pay-lists, 1813-14. See also, notwithstanding the erroneous unit identification, J. Campin, 'The Fifiers of the Black Watch, 1813',

<http://www.campin.me.uk/Flute/Webrelease/Flute/08Black/08Black.htm> (8 Sept. 2022).

'Morgiana in Ireland' as a 6/8 quick step failed to ensure the correct number of beats per bar, while minor discrepancies between versions of tunes in different books mean that any attempt to play the melodies exactly as written would have resulted in somewhat untidy performances. Notwithstanding their provincial, predominantly part-time service, these local militia fifers were intent on emulating the repertoires of prestigious regular regiments. All the fifers copied out 'The Garb of Old Gaul', the march of the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment, with two taking care to note that the tune had been 'performed before His Majesty'. The books also feature 'The Duke of York's March' and 'The Duke of York's New March', both widely-performed pieces published by Christopher Frederick Eley, the former bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards; the 'New March' was in fact another arrangement of Mozart's 'Non più andrai'.⁴⁸ Other tunes in the Argyllshire fifers' compilations were remarkably topical, considering that four of the manuscripts are dated 1813: every book includes 'General Blucher's Waltz', referring to the celebrated Prussian general, and 'Buonaparte's Gallop from Leipzig', commemorating the decisive Allied victory in October of that year. If the Argyllshire performers took some cues from continental events and composers, the repertoires of other auxiliary fifers were more firmly tethered to their localities. The 1808 manuscript tune book of James Oldfield, a fifer in the Belper Local Militia in Derbyshire, mirrored those of his Oban counterparts by including 'St. Patrick's Day in the Morning' and several Scottish reels, but also featured pieces

⁴⁸ C.F. Eley, *Twelve Select Military Pieces* (c.1793); C.F. Eley, *The Duke of York's New March...* ([1792]).

named after surrounding towns and villages, including 'Nottingham Hornpipe', 'Chesterfield Bugle Horn Quick Step' and 'Lichfield Taptoo'.⁴⁹

Nearly all the available military manuscripts display evidence of fifers and bandsmen incorporating pieces from other corps into their own repertoires. The Galway Militia part books contain three 'military symphonies' attributed to the 82nd Foot, while David Hillocks' compilation includes Highland reels 'from [the] 92[nd] Regiment'.⁵⁰ The twin tune books of Ensign Thomas Molyneux of the 6th Foot, which were inscribed with the date of 1788 during the compiler's service at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, offer further evidence of inter-regimental musical dissemination.⁵¹ Besides dances, duty calls for the fife, and a song performed 'by Mr Fowler on the Fred[e]ricton [New Brunswick] stage', Molyneux's manuscripts, which were evidently compiled in aid of a flute hobby, include what appears to be the earliest extant iteration of 'The Downfall of Paris'. Composed as the quick march for the 7th Foot or Royal Fusiliers by one of its musicians, the Frenchman Joseph Jouve, 'The Downfall of Paris' gained subsequent popularity across the army as a rejoinder to the French revolutionary anthem 'Ça Ira', with which it shared a main motif.⁵² Furthermore, Molyneux's

⁴⁹ Private collection of Howard Mitchell, James Oldfield tune book; TNA, WO13/3450, Belper LM pay-lists, 1808-12.

⁵⁰ TCD, MS5893, ff.34v-35r, 41v-42r; Angus Archives, MS124, Hillocks tune book, Nos. 86-7, 89.

⁵¹ University of Birmingham, Shaw-Hellier Collection, No. 645, Thomas Molyneux tune books, 1788.

⁵² Several contemporaries mistakenly believed that 'Downfall' and 'Ça Ira' were identical; whether the resemblance was intentional, coincidental, or the consequence of a shared source tune remains unclear. Wilson, *Companion to the Ball Room*, p.124; NAM, 1968-07-209-

collection encompasses a march attributed to the bandmaster of the 20th Foot, which was also stationed in Nova Scotia from 1789, and seventeen pieces composed or arranged by Barnstorf Rackeman, including marches, allemandes, and variations on two Irish airs, 'Gramachree Molly' and 'Blarney Castle'.⁵³ A career military musician, the Hanoverian-born Rackeman spent twenty-four years in the regular army, including four as bandmaster in the 32nd Foot, and later held the same post in the Denbighshire Militia. The appearance of his compositions, none of which seem to have been published, in the tune books of an officer in another regiment on the other side of the Atlantic illustrates the potential for musical exchange across the armed forces.⁵⁴

Music was imparted through published scores, periodicals, and interpersonal interactions. Printed collections of regimental tunes and pleasure garden songs for bands, or waltzes and marches for fife and bugle, could be purchased from London publishers or provincial music shops.⁵⁵ In 1804, for example, a Leicester Square music retailer advertised selections performed by metropolitan volunteer formations, adding that the arrangements required no more than eight instruments and were thus well-

1, Macready journal, ch.16; Blakeney, *Boy in the Peninsular War*, p.339; Knight, *Passages*, i, p.139; *The Fall of Paris or the New Ça Ira* (1795); *The Downfal[l] of Paris: a favorite quick step...composed by J. Jouve* ([1797?]). For Jouve, see J. Bourassa-Trépanier and L. Poirer, *Répertoire des Données Musicales de la Presse Québécoise* (2 vols, 1990-2003), i, pp.16, 106, 184-5.

⁵³ R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Twentieth, or the East Devonshire Regiment of Foot* (1848), p.26.

⁵⁴ TNA, WO121/36/191, Rackeman discharge.

⁵⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 4 April 1800; S. Potter, *A Sett of New Slow Marches, Waltzes and Quick Steps for Fifes and Bugle Horns* (1804); *Monthly Magazine* (January 1804), p.562. DCRO, D/DLI 3/4/492, inventory of Stockton Volunteer band, [1813], mentions five printed part-books of 'grand military pieces.'

suited to 'country corps' with smaller ensembles.⁵⁶ Magazines also furnished new tunes. Two wartime periodicals aimed at military officers inserted newly-composed marches into their monthly issues, while musicians of the Queen's Rangers, serving in Upper Canada in 1794, learned 'The Sicilian Mariner's Hymn to the Virgin', which they had encountered in a November 1792 issue of *The European Magazine*.⁵⁷ Joseph Jouve devised a more exclusive periodical scheme in 1809, offering to compose twenty-four manuscript pieces annually for the military bands of eight or nine colonels, including the Prince of Wales and three of his brothers. The serialised music service ran for five years, with Lord Dundas of the North York Militia paying 18 guineas for Jouve's final instalment in 1814.⁵⁸ Moreover, military performers obtained new music through their dealings with local musicians and involvement in civilian concerts; officers and bandmasters also visited counterparts in units stationed nearby to gift regimental marches and copy unfamiliar scores.⁵⁹ The Prince of Wales, keen to collect superlative music for the band of his regiment, the 10th Light Dragoons, asked an officer for a bugle march at a 1797 military review in Sussex and requested a composition which impressed him at Covent Garden theatre the following year.⁶⁰ The difficulty of

⁵⁶ *Gloucester Journal*, 30 January 1804.

⁵⁷ *Ancell's Monthly Military Companion*, *passim*; M. Stoneham, J.A. Gillaspie and D.L. Clark, *Wind Ensemble Sourcebook and Biographical Guide* (Westport, CT, 1997), pp.26, 356; *The European Magazine* (November 1792), pp.342, 385-6; E. Simcoe, *The Diary of Mrs. J.G. Simcoe*, ed. M.Q. Innis (Toronto, 1965), p.117.

⁵⁸ StaffsRO, Paget Papers, D603/O/2/52, Lt-Col Disbrowe to Lord Uxbridge, 26 September 1809; NYCRO, Zetland Papers, ZNKX2/3/348, receipt of 15 July 1814.

⁵⁹ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.516-17, 537, 633 and ii, pp.3-5, 100; BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 21 August and 5 October 1811.

⁶⁰ Lomas, 'Amateur Brass and Wind Bands', p.53; J. Farington, *The Farington Diary*, ed. J. Greig (8 vols, 1922-8), i, p.243.

preventing the spread of sought-after music was appreciated by the scientist Charles Francis Greville, who successfully importuned Joseph Haydn to compose two marches for his nephew Sir Henry Harpur, an officer of the Derbyshire Volunteer Cavalry, in 1794. Advising Harpur to have the music published, Greville believed it would be ‘quite impossible’ to keep the marches for his troop alone as the famous composer’s melodies would be imperfectly transcribed by listeners and circulated regardless.⁶¹

The dissemination of military music overseas is best exemplified by the astonishing collection of 1,012 tunes and 49 harmonies owned by John Buttrey, a fifer of the 34th Foot, which was principally compiled *circa* 1801-6 during his service at the Cape Colony and in India.⁶² Having enlisted as a drummer in 1797, aged approximately 13, Buttrey returned to his home county of Lincolnshire after discharge in 1814 and emigrated to Canada in 1849; his music book also made the voyage and remained in the possession of descendants for another 170 years.⁶³ Replete with watercolours of warships, flags, soldiers and sailors, Buttrey’s indexed compilation constituted a project of considerable ambition. It encompassed 44 tunes designated as troops, 77 as retreats

⁶¹ Derbyshire Record Office, Harpur Crewe Papers, D2375/F/H/1/6/23/23, Lady Frances Harpur to Sir Henry Harpur, 22 December 1794.

⁶² Toronto Museums, Buttrey MS. See also S. Cameron, ‘Buttrey Military/Social Tunes 1790-1840’, <https://buttremilitarysocialtunes1800.wordpress.com> (14 Aug. 2022). The rear of the manuscript also includes a gamut ‘for the fiddles’ and forty-seven unnumbered tunes, squeezed in between watercolours as if to fill all available space. These may have been added later in pursuit of a violin hobby.

⁶³ TNA, WO12/4867-81, 1/34th Foot pay-lists, 1797-1812; WO22/44, Lincoln military pensioners returns, April 1849; WO23/27, Royal Hospital Chelsea, out-pensioners registers, 1st Veteran Battalion, 1845-54; WO97/1113/151, Buttrey discharge.

and 226 as quick steps alongside assorted duty calls, regimental marches, country dances, songs, strathspeys, reels, and jigs. All the tunes are in D and G, the keys best suited to the fife, and two-part, sixteen-bar melodies predominate.⁶⁴ Each of the three kingdoms is represented: of the 961 numbered pieces, more than 60 are described as Scottish or reference Scottish places in their titles, 36 are similarly identified as Irish, and 32 as English.⁶⁵ While the tunes appear to have been drafted by a single hand, Buttrey and at least four other members of the 34th Foot contributed melodies. Drummer Thomas Gittings, for example, composed a quick step, a retreat, and a hornpipe. Adjutant Samuel Quinton, a former drummer himself, was credited with three pieces including '10th of June [17]96 A Quick Step', which commemorated the regiment's attack on a Carib camp in the West Indies.⁶⁶ Once again, numerous non-military melodies found regimental applications. A sailor's ballad by Charles Dibdin was repurposed as a troop while 'A Favrou Irish Jig', the country dance Roger de Coverley, and the theatrical song 'Crazy Jane', composed by celebrity soprano Harriett Abrams, were designated as retreats.⁶⁷ The tune book also features a subversively

⁶⁴ Potter, *Art of Playing the Fife*, p.1.

⁶⁵ However, no melodies were identified as Welsh or were named after Welsh places, barring two titles referencing the Prince of Wales.

⁶⁶ TNA, WO12/4867-75, 1/34th Foot pay-lists, 1788-1806; Toronto Museums, Buttrey MS, #95, 232, 236, 523-5. Former drummer Nicholas Dorman was credited with a hornpipe, a country dance and a quickstep (#576, 580, 700). Walter Tilby contributed a quickstep (#715b); #601 was credited to an unidentified 'T.R.' and #616 was evidently written by John Buttrey. The name of another drummer, Thomas Muxlow, appears on p.[38] of the Buttrey MS (TNA, WO97/519/49, Muxlow discharge).

⁶⁷ Toronto Museums, Buttrey MS, #35, 38, 137, 883; C. Dibdin, *The Lucky Escape* ([1791]); H. Abrams and M. Lewis, *Crazy Jane: A Favorite Song* ([1798?]).



Figure 6. Music and watercolours from the John Buttrey Manuscript, including (far right) a depiction of a 34th Foot drum-major in 1804-5 (courtesy of Sandra Cameron and Ross Flowers)

sentimental ballad about the leader of the 1797 Nore naval mutiny, a rondo from William Reeve's ballet-phantomime *Oscar and Malvina*, and the grand march from Elfort's 1790 harpsichord sonata *The Bastile*, the finale of which features in the Galway Militia books.⁶⁸ Although periodic notational errors and mangled titles suggest that some tunes were transcribed by ear, the compiler certainly had access to printed

⁶⁸ Toronto Museums, Buttrey MS, #649, 861, 944; Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, p.140; W. Reeve, *Overture to Oscar and Malvina with the Highland March and Battle Pieces* ([1791?]), p.4; Elfort, *The Bastile: A Favorite Sonata for the Harpsichord* ([1790]).

works or derivatives thereof.⁶⁹ One page features five melodies from *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1794*, published by the Cahusac family of music-sellers in London, copied in the same order as they appear in print. The compiler also relied heavily on James Aird's *Selections of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*: all but one of the melodies numbered 698 to 712 appear in the Glasgow publisher's posthumous sixth volume with almost identical settings.⁷⁰ A military fifer's access to this printed compendium in South Africa or India soon after its 1801 publication underscores the potential speed of transoceanic musical transmission.

The French Wars are often cast as a period of cultural isolation from the continent, as wealthy tourists were barred from enemy-controlled territories and blockades hindered international trade in music and much else.⁷¹ Yet these conflicts also facilitated mass travel for men in uniform, as Gavin Daly has argued, with attendant opportunities for cross-cultural exchange.⁷² British officers taught Iberian women reels and country dances to the music of their regimental bands, learning fandangos and boleros in turn; Lieutenant Woodberry of the 18th Hussars summoned his trumpeter

⁶⁹ For example, it seems unlikely that 'What A Beau My Granny Was' would have been recorded in the Buttrey MS as 'What My Bomey Graney Was' (#375) if the compiler had copied the title directly from a printed work.

⁷⁰ J. McFadyen, *Aird's 6th and Last Volume of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs* (Glasgow, [1801]).

⁷¹ R. Cowgill, 'The Papers of C.I. Latrobe: New Light on Musicians, Music and the Christian Family in Late Eighteenth-Century England', in Wyn Jones (ed), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp.247-8; D. Rowland, 'European Music Publishing during the Napoleonic Wars', in É. Jardin (ed), *Music and War in Europe* (Turnhout, 2016), pp.223-32.

⁷² G. Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War* (Basingstoke, 2013), p.9; C. Page, *The Guitar in Georgian England: A Social and Musical History* (New Haven, CT, 2020), pp.111-29.

to play fashionable English dances for the French marquis in whose chateau he was billeted.⁷³ Military ensembles serving in the Peninsula collected and played Spanish music, turning boleros into quick marches, while officers passed Iberian tunes to relatives and even wrote home in search of the latest pieces for their regimental musicians.⁷⁴ Writing from Portugal in 1813, Lieutenant Robert Garrett of the 7th Foot implored his sweetheart Charlotte Bentinck to post ‘any new music such as suits your taste’, explaining that the band had not received fresh scores from home since their commanding officer had returned with overtures and other pieces seven months earlier. In exchange, Garrett pledged to send ‘very pretty Spanish airs’ copied out by the bandmaster: ‘[t]hey will be uncommon in England which I know you will like, & it will astonish the natives as they will not know where you get them.’⁷⁵ John Westcott, the bandmaster of the 1/26th Foot, also widened his musical horizons through overseas service, documenting the instrumentation, repertoire, and abilities of Portuguese military and theatre bands in his journal. Westcott even looted scores for a string quartet from a ruined nunnery but ultimately abandoned them to lighten his load on campaign: ‘if we had been on our march for England’, Westcott lamented, ‘I could have selected a fine collection of concert music out of those convents.’⁷⁶ Finally,

⁷³ *Royal Military Panorama* (October 1813), pp.61-2; BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 3 March 1812; Woodberry, *With Wellington’s Hussars*, p.273.

⁷⁴ J.H. Cooke, *A Narrative of Events in the South of France, and of the Attack on New Orleans* (1835), p.318; Leach, *Rough Sketches*, p.329; Barnard, *Letters*, pp.215-19; J.P. Gairdner, *The American Sharpe: The Adventures of an American Officer of the 95th Rifles*, ed. G. Glover (Barnsley, 2016), pp.97-8.

⁷⁵ Kent Archives, Garrett Papers, R/U888/C11/48, Robert Garrett to Charlotte Bentinck, 10 May 1813.

⁷⁶ BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 19 July 1811.

the music of hostile armies was heard, judged, and even adopted by British troops, in one case with the guidance of deserting French musicians.⁷⁷ The bands of opposing forces engaged in what one soldier described as ‘a sort of conversation’ when stationed in close proximity in Spain or southern France, while rival buglers fought a spirited musical duel across the Niagara River in 1813, rattling through ‘the whole catalogue of calls and marches’ until even American auditors acknowledged the Briton’s superior skill.⁷⁸

Besides bringing foreign compositions to domestic audiences, British battalions exported European music overseas. As one officer recalled of the Cape Colony: ‘Whenever a regiment came out, bringing a new supply of music, in two or three days you would hear the slaves whistling all the airs.’⁷⁹ Local musicians appropriated European pieces and practices, sometimes with the direct assistance of regimental performers. A large troupe of Indian pan-pipers at Trichinopoly played ‘both native and English airs, which they learn[ed] from the bands of the regiments’ in garrison, while South Asian rulers replicated British military music as part of wider efforts to adopt Western military technology and drill.⁸⁰ A Waterloo veteran even encountered

⁷⁷ A. Duncan, *Miscellaneous Essays, Naval, Moral, Political, and Divine* (1799), p.31; L’Estrange, *Recollections*, p.117.

⁷⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, p.208; Keep, *In Service of the King*, p.185; *Military and Naval Magazine of the United States* (May 1833), p.161.

⁷⁹ *USJ* (June 1836), p.193.

⁸⁰ H. Bevan, *Thirty Years in India* (2 vols, 1839), ii, p.58; Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt* (3 vols, 1809), i, pp.144, 360-61; Butler, *Narrative* (1854), pp.257-8; Shipp, *Memoirs*, p.209.

Kurdish fifiers and drummers playing ‘Rule, Britannia!’ and English country dances at Kermanshah in Iran in 1824.⁸¹ This process of extra-European cultural dissemination was asymmetrical, with British military music influencing or displacing indigenous practices and absorbing little from colonised peoples in return. The Buttrey manuscript contains German, French, and Iberian melodies but scant signs of music from outside western Europe, notwithstanding one unremarkable fife tune probably associated with an African corps in British service at the Cape.⁸² Yet some military instrumentalists did express esteem for and even performed Indian and Javanese music, reflecting fledgling European interest in collecting ‘Hindostannic airs’.⁸³ The Coldstream Guards band, for example, played ‘favorite Indostan airs’ at an ‘Oriental Gala’ in Vauxhall Gardens in 1800 while the bandmaster of the 33rd Foot harmonised the theme tune of a celebrated Hyderabad dancer to suit European tastes, later publishing the score for a full wind ensemble in London.⁸⁴ Military engagement with local musical practices was additionally evident in British North America by the 1820s, as regimental bands adopted the canoeing songs of francophone voyageurs to the delight of Canadian listeners.⁸⁵

⁸¹ G. Keppel, *Fifty Years of My Life* (New York, NY, 1876), p.199.

⁸² Toronto Museums, Buttrey MS, #395, ‘Hottentots Troop A Quick Step’. For praise of the ‘Hottentot’ or Cape Regiment’s fifes and drums, see SLNSW, SAFE/C/126, Elizabeth Macquarie 1809 journal, p.63.

⁸³ Innes, *Life*, pp.229-31; I. Woodfield, ‘The “Hindostannic Air”’: English Attempts to Understand Indian Music in the Late Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 119/2 (1994), pp.189-211.

⁸⁴ *The Times*, 24 July 1800; Blakiston, *Twelve Years’ Military Adventure*, i, p.257; J.A. Gillaspie, M. Stoneham, and D.L. Clark, *The Wind Ensemble Catalog* (Westport, CT, 1998), p.340.

⁸⁵ J. MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada* (2 vols, 1829), i, pp.254-5.

Globetrotting musical warriors broadcast tunes widely, yet their message and reception depended on place and context. British bands played 'The Downfall of Paris' to great acclaim during domestic peace celebrations and Peninsular marches but were reprimanded for performing the piece in the post-war French capital given the risk of causing offence. Instead, they reportedly struck up the divisive Irish song 'Croppies Lie Down' and 'The Sixth of May', the electioneering anthem of the Chester 'Independent' interest; both pieces had provoked rioting at home but were emotionally inert to Parisian ears.⁸⁶ Multiple uses and titles could be ascribed to the same tune, with the humiliating 'Rogue's March' being performed satirically at soldiers' weddings in a kind of military charivari.⁸⁷ 'Yankee Doodle', an initially pejorative ditty embraced by Americans as a patriotic song, was played by British bands both to ridicule prisoners captured at Detroit in 1812 and to compliment American officers bringing news of peace three years later.⁸⁸ Although Irish sectarian and republican tunes provoked violent responses and official reproach, Jacobite songs had become politically innocuous by the French Wars, signifying sentimentalised Scottishness rather than sedition and featuring regularly in military repertoires.⁸⁹ Thus fifers and pipers of

⁸⁶ J. Gunn, 'The Memoirs of Private James Gunn', ed. R.H. Roy, *JSAHR*, 49/198 (1971), p.117; *The Sun*, 2 August 1815; H. Ward, *Recollections of an Old Soldier: A Biographical Sketch of the late Colonel Tidy* (1849), p.109; [Sainsbury], *Dictionary of Musicians*, ii, p.471; *Chester Courant*, 6 February 1810.

⁸⁷ *Journal Kept in the British Army*, p.49.

⁸⁸ I. McKenna, 'La Culture Musicale Militaire au Canada au Temps de la Guerre de 1812', *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique*, 25/2 (2017), pp.93-6.

⁸⁹ W. Donaldson, *Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen, 1988). See also *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 25 October 1797.

Caledonian regiments marched off to fight for George III while playing 'Hey, Johnnie Cope', a song which revelled in the rout of his grandfather's forces at Prestonpans.⁹⁰ However, the tenor of the lyrics was not entirely lost on Scottish soldiers otherwise reconciled to Hanoverian rule. Marching through England on their return from Waterloo, James Gunn and his comrades in the 42nd Foot received a rapturous reception in every town but one, whose inhabitants recalled its sack by Jacobite forces during the 1745 rebellion. 'We only laughed and said they had long memories', remembered Gunn, but the band made a point of goading their reluctant hosts by playing 'Hey, Johnnie Cope' on their departure.⁹¹

Consideration of the variety, transmission, and meaning of military music raises the question of who chose the pieces performed. Officers told their bandmasters what to play on the march and often shaped regimental repertoires according to their preferences; a Welsh captain of the 1st Royal Lancashire Militia, for example, ensured its fifiers excelled in the music of his homeland.⁹² Divergent tastes could even cause mess-room friction. Lord Castlereagh complained that the musical interests of his regimental major were 'limited to 5 tunes', which he obliged the demoralised band to

⁹⁰ St. Clair, *Recollections*, ii, p.266; NRS, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/74/23, A. Campbell to Lord Breadalbane, 2 December 1811, and Cameron of Fassifern Papers, GD1/736/122-3, Lt-Col Cameron to Ewen Cameron, 2-5 November 1811.

⁹¹ Gunn, 'Memoirs', p.118.

⁹² TNA, WO71/219, Lt-Col Sutherland (Royal Newfoundland Regiment) GCM, 1808, p.40; DHC, 6855L/1/4/9, 1st Devon Militia LB, 23 January 1805; Rawstorne, *Account of the Regiments of Royal Lancashire Militia*, pp.99-100.

play for hours 'whilst he is getting drunk'.⁹³ Musical warriors also honoured audience requests: a Calcutta newspaper praised the 'most scientific' ensemble of the 72nd Foot for playing 'any tune called for' on the parade on crowded 'music nights'.⁹⁴ Yet bandmasters and drum or fife-majors nonetheless enjoyed considerable freedom to select and compose their own repertoires.⁹⁵ Their choices reflected not only aesthetic preferences but also the capabilities of their players and different approaches to pedagogy and performance. During a heated dispute over a piece played at tattoo in 1797, the fife-major of the 1st Devon Militia complained that the drum-major's reluctance to countenance new tunes for fear of performance errors on the part of his drummers was hindering the fifers' musical development.⁹⁶

Just as the repertoire of musical warriors clearly owed much to wider musical culture, tunes originating in or inspired by the military also gained popularity in the civilian sphere. Pieces composed for specific regiments were performed by non-military ensembles. Balls at Ranelagh Gardens in 1799 featured the City of London Corporation band playing 'military pieces composed expressly for the different volunteer corps', while a party of musical amateurs regularly met in the Suffolk village of Boxford to perform 'small pieces adapted for military bands', including a published

⁹³ Kent Archives, Pratt Papers, U840/C500/1, Lord Castlereagh to [Lady Castlereagh], c.1800.

⁹⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 6 April 1816; Shipp, *Memoirs*, p.38.

⁹⁵ Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.601; [Butler], *Narrative* (1823), p.159.

⁹⁶ DHC, 6855L/1/3/1, 1st Devon Militia courts-martial, pp.44-6, Fife-Major Tapper RCM, 31 July 1797.

funeral march dedicated to the Ipswich Volunteers.⁹⁷ Quick steps became dances just as dances were repurposed as quick steps: the quick march of the 2nd Roxburghshire Local Militia, for example, was published as one of 'six favorite tunes, much danced in the counties of Roxburgh, Berwick & Northumberland.'⁹⁸ Other tunes first played by regimental bands enjoyed considerable local staying power, including a comic song about the 'fisher lasses' of Hartlepool, composed by a bassoonist in the Stockton Volunteers, which was reportedly still sung by sailors in the County Durham port in 1850.⁹⁹ The extensive music collections accumulated by military bands were also lent for use at civilian concerts and copied for the benefit of musicians outside the regiment: George McKenzie, the master of the Royal Artillery band, gifted a manuscript compilation of fifty-eight dances to a Scottish lady in 1816, which featured three waltzes written by McKenzie himself.¹⁰⁰ Keyboard reductions of regimental marches appealed to a burgeoning cohort of amateur pianists, including unmarried young ladies for whom knowledge of the instrument was considered an indispensable accomplishment.¹⁰¹ *The Monthly Magazine* routinely assessed published military pieces for their drawing-room utility, describing individual marches as 'agreeable' keyboard exercises or likely to delight 'the young piano-forte student'.¹⁰² How many

⁹⁷ *The Times*, 20 March and 30 May 1799; *The Sun*, 12 March 1804; *Suffolk Chronicle*, 9 June 1810.

⁹⁸ A. Given, *Mrs. Elliot's (Tiviotbank) Reel, and Mr. Douglas of Springwood Park's Strathspey...* (Edinburgh, [1811?]).

⁹⁹ Jones, 'Hartlepool Campaign', p.72.

¹⁰⁰ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.599-600; University of Glasgow, MS Farmer 658.

¹⁰¹ For example, W. Shield, *South Shields Loyal Volunteers March, Troop, & Quick Step* (c.1800), with a simplified piano bass part for 'juvenile performers.'

¹⁰² *Monthly Magazine* (May 1798), p.376 and (February 1804), p.74.

copies of military works were actually bought by civilians is impossible to gauge, yet it is noteworthy that women comprised one-quarter of the 239 subscribers to a collection of marches arranged for piano and violin by Smollet Holden, the master of the Royal Downshire Militia band.¹⁰³ Well-heeled pianists could also bring the sounds of war into their homes by playing battle pieces: modelled on Kotzwara's critically derided but ubiquitous *Battle of Prague*, these works commemorated significant land and sea engagements through marches, patriotic airs, and passages imitating gunfire, bugle calls, and the cries of the wounded.¹⁰⁴ Military fare proved popular with the concert and theatre-going public during and even after the conflicts, prompting London theatre critics in the 1820s to decry 'the national adoption of the congregation of noises, called *Battle Sinfonias*' and 'the modern mania for introducing military bands on the stage'.¹⁰⁵

The capacity of martial melodies to permeate civilian music-making is strikingly demonstrated by the dissemination of 'The Downfall of Paris'. Well-established as 'a favorite dance' in respectable circles by 1816, the quick step became a mainstay of street musicians in post-war London alongside other much-requested 'war tunes' such

¹⁰³ S. Holden, *A Collection of Quick and Slow Marches, Troops &c.* (Dublin, [1795]).

¹⁰⁴ P. Cave, 'Praise and Patriotism at the Piano' (unpublished paper, delivered 6 January 2021, British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Conference); J.B. Logier, *Wellington's Victory or Battle of Vittoria* (Dublin, 1813).

¹⁰⁵ A.P. Brown, *First Golden Age of the Viennese Symphony* (Bloomington, IN, 2002), p.282; J. Carnelley, *George Smart and Nineteenth-Century London Concert Life* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp.128-30; *QMMR* (1820), p.389; *New Monthly Magazine* (1825), part iii, p.345; Shaw, 'Cannon-Fever', pp.255-65.

as ‘The Duke of York’s March.’¹⁰⁶ The Bohemian piano virtuoso Ignaz Moscheles also cashed in on the melody’s popularity, delighting English concert audiences in the 1820s with his acclaimed variations on ‘The Downfall of Paris’.¹⁰⁷ Even those less enamoured with the tune’s ‘tormenting strum, strum, strum’ could not deny that it was ‘known to every-body.’¹⁰⁸ A music critic writing in 1827 lamented the continued neglect of the piano music of Bach and Mozart in favour of the undeserving ‘Fall of Paris’, which every instructor ‘young or old, good or bad, metropolitan or provincial *must* be able to *play*, and moreover to *teach*’.¹⁰⁹

Recourse to manuscript tune books demonstrates that instrumentalists with no background of military service collected regimental marches and dances named after battles or military leaders.¹¹⁰ Of the 516 pieces in the music book of a Westmorland curate, the Rev. Robert Harrison, assembled *circa* 1815 for the violin or flute, about one-fifth have military-themed titles, including seventy-seven marches and quick steps as well as ‘The Waterloo Dance’ and ‘The Cumberland Rangers’ Troop.’¹¹¹ Sundry other late Georgian musical manuscripts confirm the assimilation of martial tunes into

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, *Companion to the Ball Room*, p.124; *Morning Chronicle*, 30 May 1850.

¹⁰⁷ I. Moscheles, *Grand Variations, on the Fall of Paris* ([1822?]); *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, &c.* (July 1823), pp.50-1.

¹⁰⁸ Patterson, *Camp and Quarters*, i, p.120; *The Harmonicon* (September 1823), p.131.

¹⁰⁹ *QMMR* (1827), p.382.

¹¹⁰ M. Philp, *Radical Conduct: Politics, Sociability and Equality in London 1789-1815* (Cambridge, 2020), pp.226-9.

¹¹¹ VWML, QM18473, Robert Harrison manuscript; C. Partington, ‘Rev. Robert Harrison MS’, <http://www.cpartington.plus.com/Links/HarrisonRev/Rev%20Harrison%20Info.html> (14 February 2020).

civilian repertoires. The compilations of Lincolnshire papermaker Joshua Gibbons and the Yorkshire miller and farmer Joshua Jackson, for instance, both incorporate military marches including Eley's 'Duke of York's March', a piece which was also transcribed by Jane Austen into her music books.¹¹² Even unpublished compositions by military performers circulated among non-regimental musicians in their localities and beyond. A manuscript tune book signed by a Dundee resident in 1800 and a shoemaker in Fraserburgh, Aberdeenshire, in 1862 contains a reel and a jig by David Hillocks, the Forfarshire Local Militia fife-major mentioned previously, alongside an 1813 quick step ascribed to his regiment.¹¹³ The extent of musical cross-fertilisation was such that it is often difficult to distinguish between the music collections of military and non-military instrumentalists based on their contents alone. Robert Sendall of East Tuddenham in Norfolk is not known to have joined the military, but his two manuscript tune books, inscribed with dates ranging from 1800 to 1820, contain not only hymns and dances but cavalry bugle sounds, marches published in John Hyde's *Preceptor for the Trumpet and Bugle Horn*, and volunteer marches from as far afield as Oxford and Dundee.¹¹⁴

As Celia Pendlebury has suggested, the military played an active but under-appreciated role in shaping contemporary musical repertoires and tastes by exposing

¹¹² J. Gibbons, *The Joshua Gibbons Manuscript*, ed. P.D. Sumner (Grimsby, 1997); J. Jackson, *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson*, ed. G. Bowen *et al.* (2 vols, Yorkshire, 1998-2011); University of Southampton Special Collections, Austen MSS, CHWJA/19/2, 'Juvenile Songs and Lessons', manuscript of keyboard music, c.1790-1810, p.41.

¹¹³ University of Aberdeen Special Collections, MS3904, #66, 134, 137.

¹¹⁴ NRO, MC794/1-2, 795X7, Robert Sendall music manuscripts.

listeners to new music.¹¹⁵ The Oxford music professor William Crotch, for example, noted down Irish and Austrian tunes played by musicians of the county militia in 1800, while officers posted in Weymouth introduced local ladies to previously unknown dances from the continent, including the initially controversial waltz.¹¹⁶ Recalling his childhood in wartime Peebles, William Chambers described how militia officers not only brought good books and cricket but also performed unfamiliar tunes on the flute, which he ‘listened to with ravished ears’.¹¹⁷ The Paisley weaver-songwriter Robert Tannahill equally recognised the military as a source of musical inspiration: he encountered ‘pretty Irish airs’ as regimental retreats and requested unpublished tunes from his associate James Clark, a musician in the Argyllshire Militia who habitually sent music and lent printed song collections to civilian friends.¹¹⁸ Through their performances, compositions, and personal networks, therefore, regimental instrumentalists contributed to a vibrant and increasingly shared musical culture, in which tunes and musical idioms from across the United Kingdom and beyond were played and heard far from their places of origin.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ C. Pendlebury, ‘Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of “Traditional” Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland’ (MPhil thesis, University of Sheffield, 2015), pp.158-9.

¹¹⁶ VWML, QM3619, John Malchair’s Third Collection of Tunes, pp.119-20. The handwriting is that of Crotch rather than Malchair. Ham, *Elizabeth Ham*, p.55; NAM, NAM, 1978-05-74-1, Grove autobiography, p.175. See also W.S. Darter, *Reminiscences of Reading by an Octogenarian* (Reading, 1889), pp.81-2.

¹¹⁷ W. Chambers, *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers*, 12th edn (1883), p.60.

¹¹⁸ University of Glasgow, MS Robertson, 1/6, 15, 30, 33, 35, Robert Tannahill to James Clark, 7 March 1807, 28 May 1808, 22 November and 17 December 1809, 20 January 1810; Tannahill, *The Poems and Songs and Correspondence of Robert Tannahill*, pp.367-8, 427-8.

¹¹⁹ D. Taylor, *From Mummies to Madness: A Social History of Popular Music in England, c.1770s to c.1970s* (Huddersfield, 2021), pp.34, 47; S.C. Pelkey, ‘Music, Memory, and the People in Selected British Periodicals’, in J.H. Jackson and S.C. Pelkey (eds), *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines* (Jackson, MS, 2005), p.74.

Military marches and quick steps certainly had recognisable attributes, including strong rhythms and stately or lively strains, and were expected by listeners to be 'spirit-stirring' and 'animating'.¹²⁰ Slow marches in particular could be predictably formulaic in style, yet military music, taken as a whole, was characterised by eclectic pluralism rather than uniformity. Regimental musicians played not only marches but also theatrical songs, Jacobite ballads, country dances, hornpipes, and operatic excerpts, switching readily between 'slow and solemn' and 'light and airy' tunes on parade.¹²¹ Drummers, trumpeters, and especially fifers, though not generally the equals of bandsmen, also amassed repertoires which were frequently extensive, aesthetically pleasing rather than simply utilitarian, and demanded appreciable musical knowledge and skill. The impressive variety of martial music reflected the status of regular and even militia regiments as melting pots of different peoples and cultures: hence the 20th (East Devon) Regiment and Canadian Fencibles mustered Scottish pipers while the Northamptonshire Militia appears to have maintained a Welsh harpist.¹²² This ebullient blending of musical traditions was accompanied by the coalescence of a shared canon of patriotic military music which was avowedly British and loyal but never

¹²⁰ *Monthly Magazine* (October 1798), p.295 and (April 1804), p.280; Derbyshire Record Office, D2375/F/H/1/6/23/25, Lord Warwick to Sir Henry Harpur, 2 April 1795.

¹²¹ Rutland, *Journal of a Tour Round the Southern Coasts of England*, pp.33-4; *New Monthly Magazine* (1823), vol. vi, p.277.

¹²² P. Sumner, 'Stock Purse Accounts, Northampton Militia, 1804 to 1814', *JSAHR*, 20/79 (1941), p.128; C. Steevens, *Reminiscences of my Military Life* (Winchester, 1878), p.102; O'Keeffe, 'Anatomy of a Drum Corps', p.52. See also B.E. Sargeaunt, *The Royal Monmouthshire Militia* (1910), p.96; Conway, *War, State, and Society*, p.207.

insular, featuring tunes by foreign-born composers like Eley and Jouve and older songs such as 'Rule, Britannia!' and 'Heart of Oak' which had first been performed on stage. The diffuse origins and transnational character of military music also mirrored late Georgian musical culture more generally. This was a world in which public concerts featured heterogenous programmes, melodies were readily borrowed and repurposed, and tunes travelled between places and classes with relative ease. Scholars have variously attributed the transmission and social mobility of melodies and styles to ballad-singers, theatres, pleasure gardens, and the circulation of printed song sheets and scores.¹²³ However, as this chapter has argued, the military also played an integral role in mediating contemporary repertoires by dint of its itinerancy and audibility. Martin Rempe has termed regimental bandsmen 'cultural brokers in uniform', arguing that European military music began to spread globally from the late 1860s, but this process of cultural imperialism was already evident during the French Wars, as British musical warriors exported tunes and musical practices worldwide.¹²⁴ Martial music, moreover, was not solely written or performed by men in uniform: regimental marches were produced by a wide range of composers, including women, and tunes originating in the military were adopted by civilian dancers, street musicians, and amateur pianists. Examination of regimental repertoires reveals that martial music was not a discrete and marginal musical category but rather a dynamic and relatively

¹²³ Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp.447-53; Taylor, *From Mummers to Madness*, p.26; Cox Jensen, *Ballad-Singer*, pp.211, 223.

¹²⁴ M. Rempe, 'Cultural Brokers in Uniform: The Global Rise of Military Musicians and Their Music', *Itinerario*, 41/2 (2017), p.336.

fluid cultural form: a product of sustained and reciprocal interactions between the military and wider society.

5. Music and Society

Relatively little fighting took place in Britain and Ireland during the French Wars. While civilians faced significant material costs, they engaged with the brutal business of armed conflict in many respects ‘through the imagination’, following developments second-hand through press reports, literature, and dramatic performances, letters from friends and relatives serving overseas, and colourful military displays.¹ The domestic public experienced war as a kind of theatre, as Gillian Russell has argued, acted out at manifold public events, celebrations, and protests, but also encountered and made sense of war through music and sound.² Valuable work has been done on song as a vehicle of wartime propaganda and political dissent, yet the performances of regimental instrumentalists have been comparatively neglected by historians.³ What published research exists on military music during this period, while rightly highlighting its significance as a recreational amenity and a symbol of state authority, has offered assessments of impact which appear crude and unconvincing. Patrick O’Connell has contended that militia musicians in Ireland were important in ‘forging and solidifying a sense of identity and loyalty’ among ‘competing political factions’, but what this identity may have been and how broadly it was shared is not specified, nor is much proof provided of military music’s ostensible capacity to shape civilian

¹ Kennedy, *Narratives*, pp.160-1.

² Russell, *Theatres of War*, p.17.

³ Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*; F.M. Jones, *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution 1793-1815* (Cardiff, 2012); J. Davey, ‘Singing for the Nation’, *Mariner’s Mirror*, 103/1 (2017), pp.43-66.

attitudes.⁴ Trevor Herbert has been more forthright in arguing that regimental bands inculcated feelings of Britishness among the rural poor. However, his case rests entirely on a handful of accounts written by well-heeled observers and military veterans, who testified to the allure of martial music and spectacle but made no mention of its effect on their sense of national consciousness. Having made sweeping assumptions about the response of labouring people in the English provinces to regimental music-making, Herbert has asserted along with Helen Barlow that military display only became a central and deliberate feature of state and royal ceremonial in the later nineteenth century.⁵

This chapter provides a more thorough and nuanced investigation of interactions between military instrumentalists and civilians. Rather than simply assuming that martial music was an invariable crowd-pleaser, it aims to document and interrogate its reach and significance by drawing on an extensive body of primary sources, including dozens of published and manuscript accounts by listeners who reflected on the performances of musical warriors. As is the case with song and printed propaganda, discerning the impact of military music on collective mentalities, not to mention the limits of that impact and its importance relative to other factors, is not a straightforward task. Reception is not something that can be counted, and public responses to military music, far from being monolithic, depended substantially on the

⁴ P. O'Connell, 'Military Music and Rebellion', in Jardin (ed), *Music and War in Europe*, p.121.

⁵ T. Herbert, 'Public Military Music and the Promotion of Patriotism in the British Provinces', pp.427-44; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.215-25.

context and listener. Nonetheless, by undertaking a detailed and critical review of the available evidence, this chapter affords a deeper understanding of the place of military music in wartime society and the spectrum of reactions it elicited.

Martial music was an intrusive symptom of large-scale military mobilisation and central to the civilian experience of war. Regimental bands provided sought-after musical entertainment in provincial towns, playing not only at military parades but at myriad public events including balls and dinners, civic processions, concerts, and church services. Military music-making, moreover, was regarded as a potent means of inculcating patriotism, intimidating political dissenters, and asserting the sonic supremacy of the established order in a revolutionary age. The performances of drummers and regimental bandsmen enjoyed considerable popularity across society and evoked a variety of affective responses, including national pride and fond feelings towards the military. Yet musical warriors also provoked irritation, controversy, and distress, not least by generating noise complaints and exacerbating sectarianism in Ireland through the performance of so-called party tunes. The chapter concludes by considering the role of military music in overseas colonies and foreign theatres, arguing that it functioned as a form of soft power, helping to legitimise imperial authority, easing relations with local inhabitants, and aiding diplomacy.

A pervasive part of the wartime soundscape, military music reminded civilians of the ongoing conflict and the military's presence in their midst. 'Nothing but drumming and

fifing is going on here', reported a woman from Doncaster in 1803.⁶ Fifers and drummers were likewise 'heard almost in every street' as recruiting parties competed for attention in Glasgow.⁷ Although the intensity of this martial clamour varied over the course of the wars and was far more sporadic in the countryside than in towns, the expansion of the armed forces unquestionably spread military pomp far and wide, causing many English villages, according to the American traveller Benjamin Silliman, to resound with French horns and trumpets.⁸ Music was also a harbinger of overseas colonisation: Elizabeth Simcoe, the wife of Upper Canada's first lieutenant-governor, mentioned 'the beat of drums and crash of falling trees' at York in her diaries and described how the music of a regimental band at Queenston along the Niagara river added 'cheerfulness to this retired spot.'⁹ Overheard duty beatings and sounds helped civilians quantify the passing hours and influenced their daily routines. A lodger in Edinburgh's Grassmarket was rudely awakened at six o'clock by buglers in the nearby castle, while trial witnesses described events as 'early in the morning...just after the drums beat' or recalled going to bed at 'drum beat' at Sydney in New South Wales.¹⁰

⁶ Stanley, *Early Married Life*, p.261.

⁷ J. Macfarlane, 'Peninsular Private', ed. E. Robson, *JSAHR*, 32/129 (1954), p.4.

⁸ B. Silliman, *Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland* (2 vols, New York, NY, 1810), ii, p.102. See also *USJ* (July 1838), pp.337-9 and (May 1845), pp.101-2. For the diminution of volunteer music-making later in the Napoleonic War, see *Morning Advertiser*, 26 October 1809 and LMA, CLC/W/LA/15/MS9957/2, Portsoken Ward Armed Association minute book, 28 April 1807.

⁹ Simcoe, *Diary*, pp.91-2, 104.

¹⁰ NLS, MS.735, Edward Kerr diary, 6 May 1804; Jordan, 'Music and the Military in New South Wales', pp.2-3.

The ordinary course of military duties occasioned many opportunities for public encounters with martial music. Soldiers paraded with instrumental accompaniment not only in camps and barracks but in streets and marketplaces and on town greens.¹¹ The Troop, Retreat, and the Tattoo were performed through the main thoroughfares of garrison communities: fife-major John Shipp, for example, recalled playing through Colchester twice daily, 'followed by all the girls and boys in the town'.¹² Military custom also demanded that regimental instrumentalists strike up whenever they entered and left a sizeable settlement.¹³ The thirty bugles and 'most excellent band' of the 1/95th Rifles played 'Over the Hills and Far Away' through 'every country village' on an 1809 march to Dover, while three troops of the 23rd Light Dragoons 'kicked up an awful row' during their progress from Chichester to Weymouth seven years later, repeatedly gathering inhabitants with bugle calls and favouring them with a fifteen-verse song about their Waterloo exploits.¹⁴ Drummers also drew public attention to official announcements, including the imposition of curfews in Ireland during the 1798 rebellion.¹⁵ On taking up new quarters, regiments invariably sent a sergeant and a drummer through town to warn residents that the officers were not liable for debts incurred by their men, a practice known as 'crying down the credit'.¹⁶

¹¹ Silliman, *Journal*, i, p.40; Duke of Rutland, *Journal of a Tour Round the Southern Coasts of England* (1805), p.155; D. Herbert, *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert*, ed. G. Mandeville (2 vols, 1930), ii, pp.373-4, 393.

¹² Shipp, *Memoirs*, p.38; Williamson, *Elements of Military Arrangement* (1791), ii, p.59, 90.

¹³ Reide, *Treatise*, p.78.

¹⁴ Simmons, *British Rifle Man*, p.5; NAM, 1978-05-74-1, Henry Grove autobiography, pp.170-71, 242.

¹⁵ McKerlie, *Two Sons of Galloway*, pp.58-9.

¹⁶ *Standing Orders for Prince William's [115th] Regiment* (Gloucester, 1795), p.64.



Figure 7: A volunteer parade headed by a trumpeter (far left) and enlivened by a military band (centre). 'Interior View of Dudley Castle with the Loyal Association of the Town and Neighbourhood as assembled on the 9th of Aug[ust] 1798', 1799 (A.S.K. Brown Collection).

Music was an essential ingredient of the military spectacles that proved tremendously popular with the wartime public, from local field days and sham battles to the colossal Hyde Park reviews of 1803, which saw 27,000 volunteers assemble before hundreds of thousands of onlookers over two days.¹⁷ Drummers, trumpeters, and musicians saluted generals and royalty with 'God Save the King', struck up during inspections and the march-past, and played as their corps paraded to and from the ground.¹⁸ The Sarum Association band performed 'at intervals' during four hours of military exercises near Salisbury before a 'great concourse' of people in 1799, while two military ensembles played alternately throughout a volunteer review at London's Foundling

¹⁷ *Manks Advertiser*, 17 December 1808; *Annual Register* (1803), Chronicle, pp.446-53.

¹⁸ NAM, 1982-07-9, West Suffolk Militia OB, 2 August 1798; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 June 1811.

Hospital amidst immense crowds.¹⁹ Interest in martial music transcended gender, age, and class. An eighteen-year-old factory hand visited the militia encampment on Kersal Moor near Manchester every Sunday in 1812, explaining that ‘the bands playing made it a pleasant out[ing]’, while a widow in Ballina, County Mayo, whose lodgings overlooked the parade ground, made a habit of inviting guests round for tea to listen to the martial music.²⁰ The elite bands of the Foot Guards proved leading metropolitan attractions for visitors and locals alike, reliably drawing throngs of ‘boys and grown men, gentlemen, vagabonds [and] maid-servants’ to the changing of the guard in St. James’s Park.²¹ Even routine parades in market towns like Lewes and Cromer attracted throngs on account of the music, sometimes resulting in scuffles as soldiers struggled to hold back the crush of listeners.²² The significance of music for public military displays was amply appreciated by volunteer and yeomanry officers, who sedulously choreographed instrumental accompaniment for the ceremonial presentation of their colours or standards and borrowed drummers and bandsmen from other corps to increase the splendour of the day.²³ The commander of the Dunfermline Volunteers even changed the date of the ceremony to permit the attendance of musicians from

¹⁹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 15 July 1799; J. Jones, ‘Letters from John Jones, 1791-1822’, ed. S. Harrison, p.158, <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.11360> (18 Feb. 2022).

²⁰ Chetham’s Library, Manuscripts/1/371, ‘Recollections...by James Weatherley’, p.12; Ham, *Elizabeth Ham*, p.107.

²¹ W. MacRitchie, *Diary of a Tour Through Great Britain in 1795*, ed. D. MacRitchie (1897), pp.79-96; L. Hunt, *The Town: Its Memorable Characters and Events* (1889), pp.438-40.

²² *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 26 May 1794; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 13 July 1805.

²³ Barnsley Archives, Spencer Stanhope Muniments, SpSt/60565, West Riding Yeomanry, 6 November 1794 orders; ERO, L/U 3/1, Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers minute book, 5 July 1798.

the Breadalbane Fencibles, whom he hoped would linger long enough to play the violin at the ensuing evening ball.²⁴

As this request for military fiddlers suggests, the social functions of regimental bands were as valued as their contributions to martial pageantry. Officers of the Royal Tyrone Militia were keen to fund a band because they believed it would enhance genteel gatherings of county society, while aristocratic colonels routinely employed their regimental musicians for dinners and fêtes at their country houses.²⁵ Military men made inroads with local notables as they moved from posting to posting by organising social occasions enlivened by their bands, demonstrating their gallantry and refined manners through dance.²⁶ Encamped at Danbury in Essex in 1808, for example, the 87th and 88th Regiments held a supper and ball for 250 officers and local ‘fashionables’ as their musicians played ‘sweet airs’ throughout the night.²⁷ Bands helped officers court women, who were considered especially receptive to military music’s charm.²⁸ The regimental ensemble of the 28th Foot ‘enticed the lasses of

²⁴ NRS, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/52/78/1, Major Moodie to Lt-Col Campbell, 6 January 1798.

²⁵ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/136/33, Thomas Knox to the Marquess of Abercorn, 24 June [1793] and D623/A/145/11, George Vallancey to Abercorn, 6 July 1793; BL, Morley Papers, Add.MS.48233, Fanny Morley to Theresa Villiers, 7 September 1809; G.F. Prosser, *Select Illustrations of the County of Surrey* (1828), ‘Surbiton Place’. See also NLNZ, MS-Papers-8670-020-1, Fanny Chapman diaries, 1808-10 for the summertime activities of the 2nd Somerset Militia band at Weymouth.

²⁶ M. McCormack, ‘Dance and Drill: Polite Accomplishments and Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, 9/3 (2011), p.323.

²⁷ *Hibernian Journal*, 22 August 1808.

²⁸ Herbert, *Retrospections*, ii, pp.339-40, 363, 381-92. For a satirical poem on women’s partiality to military music, see *Belfast News-Letter*, 19 March 1811.

Brixham' for a night of 'frolics' at Berry Head barracks in 1812, while a lieutenant of the 6/60th Foot even claimed that the battalion's band had been formed expressly 'to please the Jamaica ladies'.²⁹ The attendance of military musicians also dramatically augmented the accompaniment available for provincial dances. A visitor to the Bodmin assembly in 1797 noted that the usual blind fiddler had been superseded by the band of the Somerset Militia, who 'not only occupied half the room, but stunned us with the noise of their drums [and] clarionettes'.³⁰

Military musicians attended a remarkable array of public amusements and commercial entertainments, from horse races and fairs to hot air balloon demonstrations.³¹ The musicians of the Coldstream Guards, dubbed the Duke of York's band after their long-time colonel, not only became a mainstay of London balls but regularly appeared 'in full uniform' at Vauxhall Gardens; other regimental bands enlivened pleasure gardens in Birmingham, Bermondsey, and Margate.³² Volunteer ensembles performed for astronomical lectures in York and attracted crowds to Nottinghamshire village feasts, while musicians of the 60th Foot were paid half a crown daily to play for a travelling

²⁹ Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.92; G. Bent, 'A "Royal American"', ed. M. Bent, *JSAHR*, 1/1 (1921), p.16.

³⁰ BL, Add.MS.28793, cited in A.K.H. Jenkin, *Cornwall and Its People* (1945), p.151.

³¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 11 September 1811; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 21 April 1810; *Morning Chronicle*, 5 November 1813.

³² *Morning Post*, 22 June 1801; *Critical Review* (July 1812), p.51; S.H. Spiker, *Travels Through England, Wales, & Scotland, in the Year 1816* (2 vols, 1820), i, pp.60-1; *The Times*, 20 July 1799; C. Le Bas, 'Invitation to public breakfast at Dandelion gardens' (Margate, 1800), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0105350582/ECCO?u=oxford&sid=primo&xid=6df55272&pg=1 (31 Mar. 2022).

circus in Montreal.³³ Uniformed ensembles were also difficult to miss at provincial theatres, where they contributed musical interludes or filled the orchestra pit on nights patronised by their officers.³⁴ In 1805, the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* congratulated a Falmouth theatre manager on securing the regular attendance of musicians from the North Devon Militia, whose 'masterly skill and execution' would no doubt enhance the 'amusement of the audience.'³⁵ Such thespian outings did not prevent regimental bands from performing in sacred settings. Military musicians were most important as church singers and instrumentalists in overseas colonies, where there were few alternative sources of accompaniment, but militia bands were also engaged in Irish garrison towns to increase the appeal of both Protestant and Catholic charity sermons.³⁶ The goodwill generated by these public-facing military performances is apparent from press reports and diary entries praising both regimental musicians and the officers who underwrote them. A Clonmel letter-writer thanked the colonel of the Royal Tyrone Militia for permitting its 'admirable band' to play during the intervals of a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, describing the gesture as proof of his 'obliging attentions to promote the gaiety and amusements of this town'.³⁷

³³ *York Herald*, 30 May 1801; W. Harrod, *The History of Mansfield and its Environs* (Mansfield, 1801), p.42; Durang, *Memoir*, p.68.

³⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 26 November 1796.

³⁵ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 2 February 1805.

³⁶ Sherwood, *Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, p.397; *Sydney Gazette*, 30 April 1814; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 2 December 1797; O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork*, p.97.

³⁷ *Morning Post*, 10 October 1806. See also C. Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, ed. E.J. Climensson (1899), pp.304-5.

Musical warriors attended a range of communal rituals and ceremonies before and during the French Wars, contributing to the eighteenth-century growth and elaboration of performative street processions.³⁸ By attending the town banquets and cavalcades which perpetuated civic traditions and marked the installation of new magistrates, military bands helped reinforce social ties among urban elites and publicly emphasised their authority to assembled crowds.³⁹ The Leicestershire Militia ensemble was typical in contributing ‘very materially to the harmony’ of an 1813 mayoral dinner in Liverpool, at which four hundred gentlemen listened to an ‘ode to victory’ and gave dozens of toasts to royalty, continental allies, and local dignitaries.⁴⁰ Moreover, military bands routinely solemnised ship launches, colliery openings, and the laying of foundation stones for public buildings, symbolically tying local enterprise to national or imperial authority.⁴¹ A Manchester volunteer ensemble, for example, accompanied the proprietors of the Rochdale Canal on an inaugural cruise of their investment, playing ‘loyal and patriotic tunes’ for large crowds ashore.⁴² The music of military bands and recruiting drummers conspicuously figured in the deferential receptions accorded to prominent visitors including war heroes and royalty, combining

³⁸ Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, pp.225-6; Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p.267.

³⁹ *Carmarthen Journal*, 21 September 1811; J. Oakes, *The Oakes Diaries*, ed. J. Fiske (2 vols, Woodbridge, 1990-1), i, p.392; P. Borsay, “‘All the Town’s a Stage’: Urban Ritual and Ceremony, 1660-1800”, in P. Clark (ed), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (1984), pp.240-5.

⁴⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 December 1813.

⁴¹ *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 11 July 1814; *Morning Advertiser*, 1 May 1810; E. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle...* (2 vols, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1827), i, p.225.

⁴² *Chester Courant*, 1 January 1805.

with cheers, cannon fire, and the ringing of church bells to create an impression of joyous approbation from the community as a whole.⁴³ Militia bandsmen led members of Monmouth's corporation, clad in their customary regalia, to welcome Lord Nelson with the tune of 'See, the Conquering Hero Comes!' in 1802, while musicians of the Cheshire Legion, sent down salt mines near Northwich to await George Canning's descent into the shaft, regaled the parliamentarian with a subterranean rendition of 'God Save the King'.⁴⁴ Regimental bands were equally audible at the elaborate and well-attended funerals of fallen generals, statesmen, and volunteer soldiers: the burial procession of the poet Robert Burns, formerly of the Royal Dumfries Volunteers, featured musicians of the Cinque Ports Fencible Cavalry playing Handel's 'Dead March in Saul' in slow time before the bier.⁴⁵ Landed families hoping to impress tenants and neighbours with their largesse relied on military bands to enhance extravagant revels honouring important rites of passage.⁴⁶ In 1799, an agent of the Duke of Rutland hired the sixteen-strong Sheffield Volunteer band for celebrations of the aristocrat's coming of age at Haddon Hall which reportedly drew more than ten thousand people; 'the whole business would have been very flat without music', he explained.⁴⁷ Besides

⁴³ *Reading Mercury*, 29 December 1800; A. Gawthorn, *The Diary of Abigail Gawthorn of Nottingham, 1751-1810*, ed. A. Henstock (Nottingham, 1980), p.66; Tullett, 'Political Engines', p.565.

⁴⁴ C. Heath, *Descriptive Account of the Kymin Pavilion, and the Beaulieu Grove...* (Monmouth, [1809]), n.p.; *Morning Post*, 27 January 1814.

⁴⁵ *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* (June 1801), pp.444-6; W. Grierson, *Apostle to Burns: The Diaries of William Grierson*, ed. J. Davies (Edinburgh, 1981), pp.7-9.

⁴⁶ F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963), pp.76-8.

⁴⁷ *Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland...preserved at Belvoir Castle* (4 vols, 1888-1905), iv, pp.257-8.

catering to the great and the good, regimental bands were widely employed by masonic lodges and friendly societies (mutual insurance clubs for craftsmen and labourers) to attend feast-day meals and announce the progress of processions, helping members celebrate their solidarity and advertise their fraternities to outsiders.⁴⁸

Despite contemporary misgivings about mixing party politics and soldiering, military musicians also participated in election-time rituals and other partisan displays.⁴⁹ Two Warwickshire Local Militia bands, 'in full uniform', led an 1812 cavalcade organised by Birmingham artisans to commemorate the successful agitation against the Orders in Council, government decrees on neutral trading rights which harmed commerce with the United States.⁵⁰ Lord Milton, a Whig candidate contesting Yorkshire in 1807, was welcomed into Halifax for the hustings by 'a *double* band of music and the drummers and fifers of the volunteer corps', according to the *Leeds Intelligencer*; other volunteer and militia performers saluted triumphant parliamentary candidates in Bristol, North Shields, and County Mayo.⁵¹ Even regular army musicians occasionally participated in the 'chairing' celebrations of newly-elected MPs: the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards band 'added much to the splendor' of the victory procession of one of their officers, elected

⁴⁸ *Carmarthen Journal*, 3 November 1810; *Manks Advertiser*, 23 May 1807; Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp.266-9, 327.

⁴⁹ Gee, *British Volunteer Movement*, pp.210-4; L.G. Schworer, *No Standing Armies!: The Anti-Army Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore, MD, 1974), pp.188-95.

⁵⁰ *A Report of the Proceedings of the Artizans of Birmingham...* (Birmingham, 1812), p.35.

⁵¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 May 1807; *Bristol Mirror*, 18 July 1812; *Newcastle Courant*, 23 May 1807; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 10 March 1814.

to represent Coventry in 1802, but outraged supporters of the losing candidates, who attempted to unhorse a bandsman and decried the military's electoral interference in song.⁵² There are, however, few indications of official efforts to curtail such performances, barring an investigation of the Knightsbridge Volunteers for reportedly cheering, presenting arms, and playing a musical salute for Sir Francis Burdett during the 1804 Middlesex by-election. Burdett's radical credentials undoubtedly heightened ministerial alarm, but the Home Secretary's condemnation of the incident as 'destructive' to military discipline and 'the freedom of election' appeared to censure politicised military displays irrespective of party stripe.⁵³

Thus far military music has been considered as a component of public ceremonies and military display, but regimental ensembles also appeared at concerts, where music itself was the main event. Bandsmen of both auxiliary and professional regiments routinely gave public concerts, which were often followed by balls, and used the profits from ticket sales to supplement their military wages. The ensemble of the 2nd Dragoon Guards of the King's German Legion, for example, organised a musical evening in Ipswich's assembly room in May 1809, featuring symphonies, string and brass concertos, and an operatic overture.⁵⁴ Military bands also attended charitable

⁵² *Morning Post*, 27 July 1802; Bodleian Libraries, G.A.Warw.b.2, 'Scrap-Book: a chronicle of the times, a series of controversial election papers, and other articles connected with the city of Coventry, collected by W. Reader', ff.175-9. See also O'Keeffe, 'Anatomy of a Drum Corps', p.54 for an 1808 example in Lower Canada.

⁵³ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/12/12/16, Lord Hawkesbury to the Marquess of Titchfield, 27 July 1804; *Kentish Gazette*, 27 July 1804.

⁵⁴ *Ipswich Journal*, 6 May 1809.

concerts to raise funds for the prosecution of the war and to alleviate its effects, with volunteer musicians in Grantham, Bristol, and Newark-on-Trent performing in aid of the widows and orphans of sailors killed at the battles of Camperdown and the Nile.⁵⁵ Keen to profit from wartime patriotism, civilian concert organisers seasoned their programmes with loyalist and military-inspired pieces, taking care to publicise the involvement of regimental ensembles.⁵⁶ Handbills for an 1812 Sheffield concert noted that the town's local militia band would appear 'in full regimentals' and play 'favourite pieces' such as 'Lord Wellington's New Troop' between performances by non-military vocalists.⁵⁷ Military bandsmen and musically-talented officers collaborated with civilian performers wherever they were posted, providing 'a strong reinforcement to the orchestra' at provincial concerts from Framlingham to Montrose.⁵⁸ The composer John Marsh, for instance, relied heavily on martial musicians stationed in Chichester for his winter concert series, and consequently lamented the redeployment of regiments with particularly good bands as 'a great loss' to his line-up.⁵⁹ Military cooperation was even more imperative to colonial concerts, with the Dutch musical amateurs of Cape Town, like their Chichester counterparts, depending on regimental performers to play the wind and brass instruments that remained unfashionable

⁵⁵ *Stamford Mercury*, 24 November 1797; *Bath Chronicle*, 14 December 1797; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 November 1798; Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.661.

⁵⁶ R. Southey, 'Commercial Music-Making in Eighteenth-Century North-East England', i, pp.319-30; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, pp.112-18.

⁵⁷ Sheffield Archives, JC/26/2, handbill for S. Mather's 6 January 1812 concert.

⁵⁸ Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.608; J.S. Buckingham, *Autobiography of James Silk Buckingham* (2 vols, 1855), i, p.166; *Suffolk Chronicle*, 18 August 1810; *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 April 1793.

⁵⁹ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.542-3, 586, 596, ii, pp.7, 137; Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp.443-4.

among gentlemen.⁶⁰ The number of military musicians concentrated in wartime Cork and Dublin facilitated concerts on an unexampled scale: orchestras of seventy to 150 instrumentalists, incorporating the combined bands of each garrison, played descriptive battle pieces before audiences of thousands, enabling listeners to 'imagine' themselves, according to a newspaper review, amidst 'scenes of danger and awful confusion' at Alexandria, Trafalgar, and elsewhere.⁶¹

Most indoor concerts were exclusive occasions, with ticket prices of three shillings and upwards limiting attendance to the relatively affluent.⁶² But military musicians also reached wider audiences through free outdoor performances. Bands not only played during parades but lingered afterwards to oblige onlookers; the band of the Sheffield Volunteers, during fifteen days of duty in Doncaster, would sometimes remain for 'half an hour after parade to amuse themselves and the inhabitants'.⁶³ Officers routinely authorised open-air concerts of up to two hours; the 77th Foot, for example, allowed their musicians to perform in the evenings outside Winchester Cathedral 'for the entertainment of the townspeople' when not required in the mess.⁶⁴ An 1801 Portsmouth guidebook listed military band performances on public promenades as

⁶⁰ W.J. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (2 vols, 1822), i, p.21; J. Lambert, *Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of North America* (3 vols, 1810), ii, p.74.

⁶¹ Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music*, pp.45-6; O'Regan, *Music and Society in Cork*, pp.105-12; *Freeman's Journal*, 17 October 1809; *Saunders's News-Letter*, 22 July 1813.

⁶² See for example *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 March 1799.

⁶³ Ward, *Peeps into the Past*, p.23; Walrond, *Historical Records of the 1st Devon Militia*, pp.288-9.

⁶⁴ Keep, *In the Service of the King*, p.20; Bird, *Diaries*, p.124; NRS, Innes Papers, GD113/5/459/1, Captain Stenhouse to James Innes, 29 May 1800.

one of the town's principal visitor attractions, while 'all ranks and denominations', as the Presbyterian minister John Scott Porter recalled, gathered in 'large numbers' to hear regimental musicians playing along the walls of Derry on Sunday afternoons.⁶⁵ General orders for the garrison of Valetta in Malta even institutionalised a rota for open-air concerts, with the bands of the 27th, 44th and Sicilian Regiments each instructed to perform for two evenings weekly outside the governor's palace between half-past six and eight o'clock.⁶⁶

Military ensembles drew audiences not only due to the wartime vogue for military ceremonial but because they impressed listeners with their large size, generally high performance standards, and novel sights and sounds. In 1793, for example, a dazzled village innkeeper described the seventeen-strong ensemble of the West Middlesex Militia as the best band he had ever heard, singling out the 'real blackamoor' playing the cymbals and two 'mulatto' tambourinists.⁶⁷ Music enthusiasts who flocked to public band performances paid close attention to the merits of different military ensembles and evaluated the skills of individual performers.⁶⁸ A Cork newspaper contributor, writing in 1840, credited Irish militia bands with honing 'the musical taste

⁶⁵ *The History of Portsmouth, Containing its Origin, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of its Public Buildings* (Portsmouth, 1801), p.74; J.S. Porter, *Christ's Dominion over the Sabbath Asserted* (Belfast, 1856), p.15.

⁶⁶ NAM, 1972-04-18-1, 2/27th Foot OB, 31 May 1808.

⁶⁷ Letter from W.J. Mattham, 2 July 1793, published by G. Blencowe in *Notes and Queries* (18 August 1855), p.121. See also *Account of the Presentation of Colours to the Monmouth Volunteers* (Monmouth, 1799), p.[42]; P.A. de Gaspé, *Mémoires* (Ottawa, 1866), p.13.

⁶⁸ Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.668, 695; *Sydney Gazette*, 6 April 1816.

of our citizens for which they are still proverbial'; a '*posse*' of perennial 'band listeners' developed their appreciation of fugues, dynamics, and assorted aspects of music theory by attending guard mountings and parades in wartime, and 'from amateurs became performers themselves'.⁶⁹ Several other nineteenth-century observers echoed the view that the proliferation of regimental ensembles had increased popular interest in music-making, although not all welcomed the development. An 1801 correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* fretted that 'the number of military bands established in the kingdom', in tandem with a 'musical *mania*' among the propertied classes, had 'so much extended a degree of knowledge in musick' that 'some discarded soldier, servant, or player, scrapes the fiddle in every parish, and promotes drunkenness, lewdness, and idleness, by bringing the lads and girls together to dance, and by teaching other loitering fellows to fiddle also'.⁷⁰

The public evinced its fascination with martial music-making through widespread imitation. A Londoner complained in 1811 about groups of strolling performers who had acquired bass drums and were playing 'the loudest species of military music' through the city's streets.⁷¹ The Turkish percussion instruments introduced to the Coldstream Guards by the Duke of York became a fashionable novelty in elite drawing-rooms in the late 1790s, prompting wealthy ladies to hire black musicians of the

⁶⁹ *Cork Standard and Evening Herald*, 18 March 1840.

⁷⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* (June 1801), p.492.

⁷¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 24 January 1811.

regiment as instructors on the cymbals and tambourine.⁷² The vogue for these clamorous instruments, which were praised for promoting feminine agility and graceful movement, spread beyond the capital; the daughter of a Perthshire minister mentioned taking tambourine lessons from a military bandsman in Dundee.⁷³ Boys and girls, caught up in the wartime enthusiasm for volunteering, also sought to reproduce martial music in pervasive games of military make-believe. Youngsters in Anderston near Glasgow drilled with tin swords and paper caps and repurposed pans and whistles as drums and fifes.⁷⁴ Catholic schoolboys in Shropshire even acquired an ex-volunteer drum and formed a small band to accompany their imitation regiment.⁷⁵ Juvenile interest in military music was recognised and exploited by toymakers: some of the earliest sheets printed by the London publisher William West, who produced paper cut-outs of theatrical characters for children from 1811, depict the celebrated bands of the 1st and 3rd Foot Guards.⁷⁶ Finally, audiences listening to military bands were widely known to tap along and move in time to the music, miming military deportments and physically emulating marching rhythms.⁷⁷ 'Military manners prevail [in Montreal] as at Quebec', an American visitor reported in 1817: 'The rabble flock, in

⁷² *Stamford Mercury*, 11 January 1799; Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, ii, p.242; S. Girling, 'Clementi and the Tambourine', in L.K. Sala and R.H. Stewart-Macdonald (eds), *Muzio Clementi and British Musical Culture* (Abingdon, 2019), pp.164-84.

⁷³ University of St Andrews, Special Collections, msdep14/1B/2, Jessie Playfair diary, April 1800.

⁷⁴ GCA, TD743, John Mackinnon autobiography, pp.13-14. See also Gleadle, 'Playing at Soldiers', pp.335-48.

⁷⁵ F.C. Husenbeth, *The History of Sedgley Park School, Staffordshire* (1856), pp.109-12.

⁷⁶ G. Speaight, 'The Toy Theatre', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 19/3 (1971), p.312.

⁷⁷ Patterson, *Camp and Quarters*, ii, p.269.

crowds, to regimental parades; and even women, of any appearance, make a point of stepping to a march.'⁷⁸

Besides providing popular leisure, musical warriors shaped domestic perceptions of war, nationhood, and the armed forces. Most obviously, their performances fed the contemporary 'pleasure culture of war', encouraging civilians far removed from the battlefield carnage to conceptualise military display as romantic and compelling.⁷⁹ The forms and functions of martial music became sufficiently familiar to the domestic



Figure 8. This satirical print draws on longstanding chauvinistic stereotypes but adds a musical twist, depicting a ragged and emaciated French drummer outmatched by a stocky Briton beating a far louder bass drum. A caption references 'Britons, Strike Home!', a patriotic song written by Henry Purcell in 1695. 'Contrasted Drummers', 1793 (Bodleian Libraries, Curzon b.2[62]).

⁷⁸ J. Sansom, *Sketches of Lower Canada, Historical and Descriptive* (New York, NY, 1817), p.233.

⁷⁹ Kennedy, *Narratives*, p.172; Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp.25-6.

public to warrant inclusion in a host of satirical caricatures (see Figure 8). Ignominious defeats and dismissals were dramatised as ‘drumming out’ ceremonies, while the Whig politician Charles James Fox and the journalist William Cobbett were mockingly portrayed as recruiting drummers for political radicalism.⁸⁰ Press reports characterised drummers as innocent youths possessed of innate British pluck and highlighted their deaths at the hands of Irish rebels and Indian princes as evidence of enemy depravity.⁸¹ Just as Jack Tar the everyman sailor symbolised masculine stoicism, the Highland piper became an emblem of Scotland’s nationhood and military prowess.⁸² A satirical print of 1803, which celebrated British victory in Egypt by portraying a kilted soldier of the 42nd Highlanders playing Napoleon like a set of bagpipes, was popular enough to merit reproduction by multiple manufacturers on commemorative ceramics.⁸³ George Clark, a piper of the 71st Foot who continued playing for his comrades at the 1808 battle of Vimeiro after being wounded in the groin, became one of the most vaunted British common soldiers or sailors of the period.⁸⁴ The Highland Societies of Scotland and London recognised Clark’s valour with trophy pipes and medals while artists captured

⁸⁰ BM, 1868,0808.6697, ‘Drumming out of the regiment!!’, 1798; 1851,0901.535, ‘Alecto and her train, at the gate of Pandaemonium’, 1791; 1851,0901.1220, ‘Posting to the election, a scene on the road to Brentford, Novr. 1806’, 1806; NAM, 1975-12-114, ‘Winging a Shy Cock’, 1808.

⁸¹ *Faulkner’s Journal*, 16 June 1798; *Gentleman’s Magazine* (June 1800), p.574; *Lancaster Gazette*, 7 April 1804.

⁸² R. McGregor, ‘The Popular Press and the Creation of Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain’, in P. Higate (ed), *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, CT, 2003), p.146.

⁸³ Bodleian Libraries, Curzon b.22(60), ‘An Old Performer Playing on a New Instrument’, 1803; D. Drakard, *Printed English Pottery* (1992), pp.199-200.

⁸⁴ TNA, WO97/831/53, Clark discharge; P. Watt, ‘The Highland Society of London, Material Culture and the Development of Scottish Military Identity, 1798-1817’, *Historical Research*, 94/264 (May 2021), pp.351-79.

his likeness in paintings and engravings; newspapers even updated their readers on the soldier-celebrity's later deployments and combat performances.⁸⁵ The publicity around Clark set a trend for the celebration of battlefield piping, buttressing the romanticised conception of Highlanders as an ancient martial race moved to impetuous bravery by their national music.⁸⁶ By 1813 the Caithness magnate Sir John Sinclair felt justified in asserting that 'there is no sound which the immortal Wellington hears *with more delight*, or the marshals of France *with more dismay*' than the notes of a Highland pibroch.⁸⁷



Figure 9. 'The Highland Piper, George Clarke', 1816 (A.S.K. Brown Collection, left); 'Anecdote of the Bravery of the Scotch Piper...at the Battle of Vimiera', 1816 (NAM, 1971-02-33-533-12, top); J.B. MacDonald, 'Piper George Clark at Vimiera', 1808 (NMS, M.N1977.100, bottom).

⁸⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 29 June 1809 and 31 July 1815; *Morning Herald*, 19 September 1810; *Hereford Journal*, 11 December 1811.

⁸⁶ TNA, WO1/199, Sir Thomas Graham to Lord Bathurst, 15 January 1814; *Edinburgh Magazine* (November 1817), pp.399-400; D. Macdonald, *A Collection of the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia* (Edinburgh, 1822[?]), pp.4-5. See also H. Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester, 2004).

⁸⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 July 1813.

As the renown of Caledonian pipers suggests, the variety of martial instruments, repertoires, and performances made the military's multinational character manifest to domestic audiences. The Scots Greys left the inhabitants of Ipswich in no doubt of their origins by parading through town with their musicians on St Andrew's Day in 1805. Soldiers of the King's German Legion, stationed in Winchester the following year, spent Sunday evenings dancing and singing the music of their homeland on the parade ground, drawing 'a vast concourse of spectators' who were delighted by the excellent band and the 'novelty of the scene'.⁸⁸ Yet exposure to unfamiliar music could also strengthen feelings of discordant difference rather than harmonious cooperation between peoples, with disdainful English listeners interpreting the 'barbarous' racket of the Highland pipes as evidence of Scottish backwardness.⁸⁹

In an age when loyalists often conceptualised allegiance to king and country as a personal, affective attachment, and music was widely known to shape emotions and identity, it is unsurprising that military music gained recognition as a potent form of propaganda.⁹⁰ Successive invasion threats and the revival of popular radicalism following the French Revolution obliged the British state and the propertied classes,

⁸⁸ *Ipswich Journal*, 7 December 1805; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 8 September 1806.

⁸⁹ Panter, 'Early Life of a Civil Servant', p.152; Carr, *Caledonian Sketches*, pp.176-81; Gawthorn, *Diary*, p.146; Gibney, *Eighty Years Ago*, p.131.

⁹⁰ M. McCormack, 'Rethinking "Loyalty" in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35/3 (2012), pp.417-8; K. Barclay, 'Sounds of Sedition: Music and Emotion in Ireland, 1780-1845', *Cultural History*, 3/1 (2014), pp.54-80.

notwithstanding their disdain for democracy, to make unprecedented appeals for mass support.⁹¹ The battle of ideas between radicalism and loyalism was waged in newspapers, sermons, and public meetings but also through an outpouring of music and song. The French émigré Noël Desenfans and the singer-songwriter Charles Dibdin acknowledged the ability of music to excite republican passions in France and argued it could also stir counter-revolutionary sentiment; a correspondent of the loyalist activist John Reeves, writing on the eve of war in December 1792, was not alone in believing that ‘any thing written...to an old English tune...made a more fixed impression on the minds of the younger and lower class of people, than any written in prose.’⁹² What is more, the political agency of music was recognised and intentionally cultivated by military officers. Posted at Manchester in 1793, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Thornton of the West York Militia organised a regimental band to draw larger crowds to his parades and impress ‘sentiments of loyalty on the minds of the populace, by continually amusing them with airs adapted to that purpose; or engaging them in a *chorus*, which never fails to raise the smallest spark of British loyalty into a flame.’ Thornton could not think of a ‘more effectual exorcism...against the demon of sedition’ than ‘a full chorus of “God Save the King.”’⁹³ Indeed, regimental bands regularly played the patriotic odes of ‘Rule, Britannia!’ and ‘Britons, strike home’ and generally

⁹¹ Eastwood, ‘Patriotism and the English State in the 1790s’, p.150.

⁹² Quoted in Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, p.1; N.J. Desenfans, *Descriptive Catalogue...of Some Pictures*, 3rd edn (2 vols, 1802), i, pp.28-9; DHC, Sidmouth Papers, 152M/C1803/OZ/343, Charles Dibdin to Henry Addington, 4 July 1803; Philp, *Reforming Ideas in Britain*, pp.233-4.

⁹³ T. Thornton, *An Elucidation of a Mutinous Conspiracy entered into by the Officers of the West York Regiment of Militia* (1800), pp.78-9.

concluded concerts and military reviews with renditions of 'God Save the King'.⁹⁴ The popularity of this last tune, which was praised by one Peninsular veteran as a 'strong bulwark of the throne', reflected the monarch's apotheosis as a focus for patriotic feeling; by the closing years of the Napoleonic conflict, 'God Save the King' was increasingly described not simply as a national air but as *the* national anthem.⁹⁵

Music was a vital feature of the patriotic and regal celebrations which increased in frequency and scale during the final decades of George III's reign.⁹⁶ The garrison of Roscrea, County Tipperary, in common with all the troops in Ireland, marked the monarch's birthday on 4 June 1810 by mustering near the market-house and firing the customary three volleys, interspersed by yeomanry trumpet fanfares, drum rolls, and renditions of 'God Save the King' from the Royal Longford Militia band.⁹⁷ Officers across the United Kingdom recognised the importance of dignifying celebratory dinners, military reviews, and public carousing with appropriate music on 4 June: a regimental musician in Ulverston, Lancashire cancelled an engagement in another town in 1805 because his colonel had 'given strict orders that not one of the band must be absent on that day it being the King's birthday'.⁹⁸ Military bands were equally

⁹⁴ Marsh, *Journals*, i, p.577; *Morning Post*, 28 June 1815; SHC, DD/MT/18/3, Pitminster Volunteers, review programme, c.1798-9.

⁹⁵ *Kentish Gazette*, 19 August 1808; *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 18 June 1814; Colley, *Britons*, pp.44, 209; [Maginn], *Military Sketch-Book*, ii, pp.107-9.

⁹⁶ Harrison, *Crowds and History*, pp.234-45; P. Jupp and E. Magennis, 'Introduction' in Jupp and Magennis (eds.), *Crowds in Ireland, c.1720-1920* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp.17-18.

⁹⁷ NAI, M3098, Roscrea Yeomanry Papers, 28 May and 2 June 1810.

⁹⁸ Cumbria Archive Centre, catalogue transcript of WPR83/6/3, Stamper to Rooks, 1 June 1805 (original missing).

imperative to celebrations of George III's golden jubilee in 1809, helping foster a joyous atmosphere and accompanying crowds as they sang along to national tunes.⁹⁹ A dearth of music, conversely, jeopardised the emotional impact: a Liverpool resident believed that civic festivities had been ruined by 'a woful [*sic*] want of music', complaining that the two ensembles present were unable to enliven the full length of the jubilee procession.¹⁰⁰ Regimental performers helped villages and port towns celebrate news of peace and victory, accompanying open-air dinners or cavalcades of enemy booty and serenading tens of thousands of spectators at effigy-burnings of Napoleon.¹⁰¹ Few denizens of Berkshire, for example, could have remained ignorant of Nelson's success at the Nile in 1798, as church bells rang and crowded marketplaces resounded with the music and musketry of volunteer corps in Reading, Henley, Wantage, Wokingham, and Basingstoke.¹⁰² Local patriotic displays relied on the initiative of the landed gentry and urban elites, who rewarded military bands for their efforts with meals and extra pay, but the festivities had undeniable popular appeal.¹⁰³ The journalist Charles Knight recalled how reports of the Battle of Salamanca prompted immediate nocturnal exultation in Windsor: 'the great mass of our

⁹⁹ *An Account of the Celebration of the Jubilee, on the 25th October, 1809* (Birmingham, 1809), p.29.

¹⁰⁰ N. Weeton, *Miss Weeton: Journal of a Governess, 1807-1811*, ed. E. Hall (1936), p.194.

¹⁰¹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 4 November 1799; *Ipswich Journal*, 17 October 1801; *Narrative of the Grand Festival, at Yarmouth* (Great Yarmouth, 1814), pp.14-20, 71.

¹⁰² *Reading Mercury*, 8 October 1798.

¹⁰³ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 4 December 1813; University of St Andrews, Special Collections, St Andrews burgh records, B65/22/30/5/94, payment to local militia band and firing party, 7 June 1809.

population' joined the 29th Foot on a triumphant march through the streets as its band performed the 'inspiring' strains of 'The Downfall of Paris'.¹⁰⁴

Far from being an insignificant element of pre-Victorian state pageantry, military music played a prominent part in lavish national spectacles intended as counter-revolutionary ripostes to the large-scale festivals staged by republican and imperial France.¹⁰⁵ The public thanksgiving for naval victories in December 1797, championed by ministers as a way of buoying national resolve after years of economic hardship and mutinies in the fleet, was attended by up to two hundred thousand people. The proceedings featured bands of the Royal Marines, brought in from Portsmouth and Chatham, and the musicians of manifold volunteer corps, who played 'loyal and military tunes' at 'an interval of every five minutes in the procession' through London. John Newbolt, a Chancery official present on the occasion, described how soldiers presented arms and 'three or four bands of martial music' struck up 'God Save the King' on the monarch's arrival at St. Paul's Cathedral. The 'applauses and huzzas of the ill-dressed mob without and well-dressed mob within' and the splendid architectural surroundings combined with the music to create an unforgettable impression.¹⁰⁶ The bands or fifes and drums of the Foot Guards also appeared at London court levées and attended the magnificent installation of Garter knights on St. George's Day 1805 at

¹⁰⁴ C. Knight, *Passages of a Working Life during Half a Century* (3 vols, 1864-5), i, pp.138-9.

¹⁰⁵ Colley, *Britons*, pp.215-7.

¹⁰⁶ Hooch, *Empires of the Imagination*, pp.138-40; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.215; *Hereford Journal*, 27 December 1797; M. Frampton, *The Journal of Mary Frampton*, ed. H.G. Mundy (1885), pp.96-8.

Windsor Castle, which was immediately preceded by the public presentation of silver kettle-drums to the Royal Horse Guards.¹⁰⁷ Some twenty-eight thousand regular and auxiliary troops turned out for Lord Nelson's grandiose funeral the following year, with their bands playing dead marches and drummers rolling on muffled instruments before silent crowds. Volunteer musicians encouraged mourning beyond the capital by performing dirges at locally organised memorials to the fallen admiral in towns such as Darlington and Carmarthen.¹⁰⁸

Documenting the reach of military music is of course far easier than determining its affective impact on individual listeners. A wealth of evidence drawn from memoirs, diaries, and correspondence does, however, suggest that military music could elicit strong emotions including awe, joy, sorrow, and national pride.¹⁰⁹ James Silk Buckingham, who witnessed an 1812 review at Gibraltar on the king's birthday while working as a merchant captain, remembered how 'overpoweringly grand' salutes of artillery and musketry, followed by a rendition of 'God Save the King' by all the military bands present, prompted feelings of 'patriotism, loyalty' and 'pride in British

¹⁰⁷ *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, 1 May 1805; *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 14 April 1805; *Morning Post*, 9 June 1815.

¹⁰⁸ Lord Granville, *Lord Granville Leveson Gower...Private Correspondence, 1781 to 1821*, ed. C. Countess Granville (2 vols, 1916), ii, p.155; L. Brockliss, J. Cardwell, and M. Moss, 'Nelson's Grand National Obsequies', *English Historical Review*, 121/490 (2006), p.173; DCRO, D/DLI 3/1/1, Darlington Volunteers OB, 3 January 1806; *The Cambrian*, 16 November 1805.

¹⁰⁹ Lord Minto, *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto, from 1751 to 1806*, ed. Countess of Minto (3 vols, 1874), ii, p.291; J.B. Trotter, *Walks Through Ireland* (1819), pp.124-6.

supremacy'.¹¹⁰ Music could also foster positive views of the military among the labouring poor: the farmhand Joseph Mayett was 'much delighted' to encounter a militia band in Buckingham in 1802, and later enlisted as a soldier himself.¹¹¹ Yet responses to martial performances were diverse and often deeply personal, depending on the instruments, repertoire, and context. A visitor to an Irish military encampment in 1795 claimed he 'panted for military glory on hearing the shrill fife and drum' but an officer's wife could not avoid crying when listening to Caledonian tunes played by a fife-major because they evoked nostalgic memories of her Scottish home and father.¹¹² Disorderly and unaccomplished regimental performers could leave a bad impression, as is clear from the diaries of the Nottinghamshire stocking-maker Joseph Woolley: he ridiculed the band of the Bunny Volunteers as a preposterous set of gluttons 'laughfd at by all that hard [*sic*] them'.¹¹³ In most cases, however, the collective attitudes of crowds are impossible to reconstruct with confidence. Although the 'lower ranks of people' paid 'profound attention' to military bands playing outside St. James's Palace, according to a Franco-American traveller, and were sometimes moved to tears by the music, it is not clear how far their listening experience reflected or shaped their views of the monarchy, war, and the state.¹¹⁴ Auditors could certainly

¹¹⁰ Buckingham, *Autobiography*, ii, pp.30-2.

¹¹¹ Mayett, *Autobiography*, p.23.

¹¹² J. Ferrar, *A View of Ancient and Modern Dublin* (Dublin, 1796), p.132; Sibbald, *Memoirs*, p.294.

¹¹³ Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/311/3, Joseph Woolley diaries, pp.146-50, 10 and 25 September 1804.

¹¹⁴ [L. Simond], *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1815), p.159.

listen with ambivalence, hearing and enjoying martial music while remaining resistant to its political implications or disdainful of individuals honoured by its strains.¹¹⁵ This potential for subversive listening was recognised by John Gamble, an Ulster Presbyterian physician and former military surgeon; noting that regimental bands ended their performances at a Dublin pleasure garden with 'God Save the King' and the Irish national air 'St Patrick's Day in the Morning', he described the first tune as 'a draught which must be swallowed' and 'Patrick's Day' as 'the sweetener to it.'¹¹⁶

Although listeners did not necessarily embrace its intended resonance, military music deserves consideration as a formidable type of symbolic authority. Regimental performances encouraged popular participation in colourful and cacophonous rituals that projected cross-class support for the monarch, military, and established social hierarchy. Music helped the governing elite assert greater control over public spaces and soundscapes, creating what William Tullett has termed 'emotional atmospheres conducive to loyalty'.¹¹⁷ The immolation of effigies of the radical firebrand Thomas Paine across England in 1792 and 1793, often accompanied by the sounds of recruiting drummers and regimental bandsmen, was taken by a Cheshire clergyman as evidence of an overpowering anti-radical consensus: 'Loyalty triumphs in every corner of the

¹¹⁵ J. Evans, *The Juvenile Tourist: or, Excursions Through Various Parts of the Island of Great Britain*, 3rd edn (1810), pp.53, 458-9; D. Paine, *The Journal of Daniel Paine, 1794-1797*, ed. R.J.B. Knight and A. Frost (Sydney, 1983), p.23.

¹¹⁶ J. Gamble, *Society and Manners in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. B. Mac Suibhne (Dublin, 2011), pp.472-3.

¹¹⁷ Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism*, pp.93-4; Tullett, 'Political Engines', p.580.

kingdom', crowed the Reverend Reginald Heber, and musicians 'pervaded every street playing and singing "God save Great George Our King"'.¹¹⁸ Military music aimed to intimidate the discontented by broadcasting the presence of the forces of order, not least through targeted 'Church and King' displays outside the residences of leading radicals.¹¹⁹ A veteran of a Glaswegian volunteer corps raised to counter post-war disaffection in 1819 believed its band and bugles not only heartened loyal listeners but 'conveyed notes of warning' to would-be insurrectionists, instructing them to 'continue still in peace and quietness.'¹²⁰

The acoustic dominance of loyalism likely encouraged a predisposition for the status quo in an era of intensified political controversy, as Mark Philp has argued, but was nonetheless frequently contested, for example through the dissemination of oppositional song and altercations over the playing of 'God Save the King' in provincial theatres.¹²¹ Detractors of the Duke of York publicised their contempt for the scandal-plagued royal in the wake of his resignation as commander-in-chief by jeering a military band as it performed the march named in his honour at Vauxhall Gardens in 1809.¹²² Even French prisoners of war sought to continue the ideological conflict of the

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Libraries, Heber Papers, MS.Eng.lett.c.204, Rev. Reginald Heber to Richard Heber, 5 January 1793. See more generally F. O'Gorman, 'The Paine Burnings of 1792-1793', *Past & Present*, 193 (2006), p.129.

¹¹⁹ Navickas, *Protest and the Politics of Space and Place*, p.42; S. Poole and N. Rogers, *Bristol from Below* (Woodbridge, 2017), p.213.

¹²⁰ Mackenzie, *Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland*, i, pp.228-32.

¹²¹ Philp, 'Music and Movement in Britain, 1793-1815', pp.403-15; Cox Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song*, p.73; Russell, *Theatres of War*, pp.108-13.

¹²² BL, J.H. Burn's Vauxhall Gardens scrapbook, Cup.401.k.7, p.382.

1790s through song, disrupting celebrations of the king's birthday from their prison hulks and countering the performance of regimental bands with renditions of 'La Marseillaise'.¹²³ Moreover, it must be stressed that the popular patriotism which military music appears to have encouraged and amplified was volatile and conditional, tending to coalesce during invasion scares and dissipate amidst disenchantment with war and its effects.¹²⁴ The plebeian inhabitants who listened to a military ensemble outside Cardiff Castle with evident gratification in 1800 may well have joined a demonstration against high food prices the following year. On that occasion, the performance of the Cardigan Militia musicians, who turned out with their comrades to police the protest and played 'at intervals amidst the noise of men, women and children vociferating', surely had an altogether more threatening resonance.¹²⁵

Music was essential for mobilising the military to counter civil disturbances, but the audibility of drums sometimes had counterproductive consequences, attracting additional onlookers instead of dispersing disorderly crowds and drawing out intoxicated off-duty soldiers who proceeded to take part in street affrays.¹²⁶ Policing duties made soldiers unpopular in turbulent manufacturing towns: a yeomanry trumpet-major's attempt to sound the assembly during a Sheffield riot was reputedly

¹²³ Anglesey, 'Two Brothers in the Netherlands', pp.76-7; *Chester Chronicle*, 28 September 1798.

¹²⁴ N. Rogers, *Crowds, Culture, and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998), pp.209-13; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.232-3.

¹²⁵ Bird, *Diaries*, pp.124, 131-2.

¹²⁶ J. Rose, *An Impartial History of the Late Disturbances in Bristol* (Bristol, 1793), p.12; PRONI, D623/A/114/28, James Galbraith to the Marquess of Abercorn, 17 August [1809].

curtailed by a well-aimed potato, which knocked out two of his teeth.¹²⁷ Musical warriors were scorned, mutilated, and even murdered because of their association with official repression, not least in Ireland where trumpeters and drummers were tasked with flogging civilians and executing insurgents during the 1798 rebellion in an extension of their ordinary punishment duties.¹²⁸ Indeed, the public performances of military musicians provided a focus for popular dissension. The commandant of the Wakefield Local Militia reported in 1810 that the town's watermen had long made a sport of striking his drummers and hurling rocks or dead fowl as they beat the tattoo, requiring the deployment of armed escorts; he added that the band of another regiment had recently suffered a similar battering in Leeds.¹²⁹ These hostile receptions reflected not only political disaffection but national prejudices and antipathy towards particular regiments. Drummers of the Leitrim Militia were 'most wantonly attacked by the mob' in Bristol and cursed as 'damned Irish rebels' during the tattoo after an officer of the corps knocked a local boy unconscious for taunting him with an offensive song.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ *Reminiscences of Old Sheffield*, ed. R.E. Leader (Sheffield, 1875), p.214.

¹²⁸ E. Hay, *History of Insurrection in the County of Wexford* (Dublin, 1803), p.261; University of Southampton, Special Collections, Wellington Papers, WP1/175/35/3, Surgeon Woods to Lt-Col Kemmis, 16 October 1807; Emsley, 'The Military and Popular Disorder in England', p.105; Watson, *Some Records of the Monaghan Regiment*, pp.14-16; NAI, Rebellion Papers, 620/9/96/18, correspondence of 5 November to 9 December 1800.

¹²⁹ TNA, HO42/107, ff.256-8, Lt-Col Wroughton to Richard Ryder, 7 June 1810.

¹³⁰ Poole and Rogers, *Bristol from Below*, p.75.

Nowhere was military music more contentious than in Ireland, where the performance of so-called 'party tunes' provoked civil unrest and violence in an atmosphere of heightened confessional division. The most recognisable of these sectarian anthems were 'Boyne Water' and 'Protestant Boys' (also called 'Lilliburlero'), which eulogised the victories of William of Orange that confirmed Protestant domination in Ireland, and 'Croppies Lie Down', which glorified the brutal suppression of the 1798 rebellion. Although many Catholics were prepared to attend celebrations of battlefield successes and frequent band performances in public squares, they expressed disgust on hearing party tunes performed by military fifers and bandsmen, regarding the melodies as provocations which insinuated Catholic treachery and revelled in their subjugation.¹³¹ In August 1810, the Tipperary Militia avenged the acquittal of individuals accused of the killing of one of their comrades by marching through Galway twice nightly to 'Croppies Lie Down', prompting a local newspaper to beg them to desist for the sake of the tranquillity of the town.¹³² Military musicians also appeared in Twelfth of July processions organised in Ulster by the Orange Order, a fledgling fraternity dedicated to upholding Protestant ascendancy, to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne. The commander of the Kildare Militia claimed his mostly Catholic musicians had no qualms performing 'all the tunes commonly called party...but which

¹³¹ NAI, SOC/4175/1-2, Luke Brien to William Taylor, 21 and 30 May 1807; Carr, *Stranger in Ireland*, p.338; D. O'Connell *et al.*, *The Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, ed. M.R. O'Connell (8 vols, Dublin, 1972-80), i, pp.285, 373; G. Calladine, *The Diary of Colour-Serjeant George Calladine*, ed. M.L. Ferrar (1922), p.137.

¹³² *Freeman's Journal*, 29 August 1810.

they and the regiment call loyal' for Orange parades in Antrim.¹³³ Having initially condoned Orangeism as a loyalist adjunct to state authority during the febrile 1790s, government officials and general officers in Ireland later discouraged military displays of sectarianism and celebrations of Williamite anniversaries to avoid antagonising the island's Catholic majority.¹³⁴ Drummers, fifers, and bandsmen of regular and militia regiments were directed to refrain from attending processions liable to excite 'party feeling among the lower orders' on the eve of the Twelfth in 1813.¹³⁵ Yet efforts to moderate the repertoire of the Orange-aligned yeomanry were notably less successful, causing the exasperated chief secretary for Ireland Robert Peel to lament, in the wake of a deadly 1816 riot triggered by a yeomanry fifer in Roscrea, that there was 'enough bad blood in Tipperary without those blockheads aggravating it with their party tunes'.¹³⁶ Militia instrumentalists also irked Ulster Protestants by accompanying soldiers to Sunday mass, providing an unwelcome aural reminder that their security now depended on predominantly Catholic regiments.¹³⁷ Military music more generally emerged as a leitmotif in the protracted debate among Irish Protestants over the extension of political rights to Catholic countrymen. While supporters of conciliation

¹³³ TNA, HO100/148, ff.196-202, Lt-Col Bagot to Sir Edward Littlehales, 22 August 1808.

¹³⁴ BL, Peel Papers, Add.MS.40284, ff.31-6, Sir Robert Peel to Sir Edward Littlehales, 30 June 1813, and Add.MS.40287, ff.35-7, Peel to Lord Whitworth, 16 June 1814; Blackstock, *Ascendancy Army*, pp.284-9; J. Hill, 'National Festivals, the State and "Protestant Ascendancy" in Ireland, 1790-1829', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24/93 (1984), pp.30-51. See also A. Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland, 1789-1829* (Woodbridge, 2007), especially Chapter 5.

¹³⁵ NLI, Kilmainham Papers, MS1334, pp.235-6, 8 July 1813.

¹³⁶ *Belfast Monthly Magazine* (November 1813), p.428 and (May 1814), p.433; BL, Add.MS.40290, ff.208-9, Sir Robert Peel to Sir Edward Littlehales, 9 April 1816; *Freeman's Journal*, 29 and 30 August 1816.

¹³⁷ PRONI, Downshire Papers, D607/D/39, Thomas Lane to Lord Downshire, 3 March 1796; NAI, Rebellion Papers, 620/24/112, G.F. Hill to Edward Cooke, 13 August 1796.

criticised party tunes as inflammatory, opponents cited reports of priests preventing Catholic bandsmen from performing at Anglican services and regimental musicians being pelted for playing 'God Save the King' as evidence of deep-rooted 'papist' intolerance and disloyalty.¹³⁸

Religion also engendered public criticism of military music for violating the sanctity of the Sabbath, a misgiving which was in fact shared by several devout musical warriors.¹³⁹ In 1802 a Durham resident complained that volunteer drums and fifes were 'almost incessantly heard in some part or other of this town on a Sunday from nine of the morning till nine at night', drowning out church bells and encouraging 'incredible' numbers of youths to indulge in indecent dancing and singing.¹⁴⁰ A Sabbatarian preacher in Hull fulminated against Sunday martial spectacles in 1807 and believed that silencing the regimental music, which he considered the principal attraction, would discourage the masses from indulging in such irreverent recreations.¹⁴¹ Military performances in or near churches were also scrutinised for appropriate solemnity.¹⁴² A *Bristol Mirror* correspondent complained that a 'merry and heart-cheering quick-step' played by fifers and drummers as soldiers left Sunday

¹³⁸ *Belfast News-Letter*, 1 July 1803; HA, Agar Papers, 21M57/C31/38, Sir Richard Musgrave to Charles Agar, 20 April 1797; L. Dillwyn, 'Lewis Dillwyn's Visit to Kerry, 1809', ed. G.J. Lyne, *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 15-16 (1982-3), pp.96-101.

¹³⁹ *A Churchman's Second Epistle by the author of Religio Clerici* (1819), pp.62-3; [R. Butler], *Narrative of the Life and Travels of Serjeant B——* (Edinburgh, 1823), pp.157-9.

¹⁴⁰ TNA, HO50/54, [Anonymous] to the Bishop of Durham, 22 March 1802.

¹⁴¹ J. Scott, *The Importance of the Sabbath: a sermon preached in the Holy Trinity Church at Kingston-upon-Hull* (Hull, 1807), pp.34-5.

¹⁴² C.I. Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa* (New York, NY, 1818), pp.291-2.

worship in the city's cathedral was more suited to 'a vulgar hop' at a fair, and comparable qualms surely lay behind a regimental order banning music while parading in a Canterbury churchyard during Lent.¹⁴³ Yet remonstrances against Sunday band concerts in public squares, unlike later in the century, were generally laughed off by army officers and attracted limited support even among the ordained. In 1793 Parson James Woodforde chanced on the Montgomeryshire Militia band performing in another clergyman's grove while on a Sunday amble in rural Somerset and clearly had no reservations about their performance, lingering until late in the evening and contributing 2s 6d to a collection for the men.¹⁴⁴

Military music drew ire not only on account of religion and politics but also because it disrupted daily life. The 'beating of drums and blowing of horns to call [soldiers] to parade or disperse them to their quarters at night', according to an Exeter watchmaker, proved 'no small nuisance' to peaceable inhabitants.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the din of recruiting drummers and regimental bands distracted letter-writers, discomfited the sick, and generated a litany of noise complaints.¹⁴⁶ A budding Folkestone artillery

¹⁴³ *Bristol Mirror*, 17 November 1810; Kerr, *Records of the 1st Somerset Militia*, p.35.

¹⁴⁴ J. Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester, 1980), pp.26-30, 70; *Military Register*, 13 May and 22 July 1818; J. Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson*, ed. J. Beresford (5 vols, 1924-31), iv, p.45.

¹⁴⁵ DHC, Henry Ellis Memoirs, 76/20/9, annotations to J. Cooke, *Flights of Fancy, by the Poet and the Saddler* (Exeter, 1809).

¹⁴⁶ NRS, Innes Papers, GD113/5/446, Mrs Stewart to Mrs Innes, 5 April 1798; F. Higgins, *Revolutionary Dublin, 1795-1801: The Letters of Francis Higgins to Dublin Castle*, ed. T. Bartlett (Dublin, 2004), pp.241-2; Farmer, *History of the Royal Artillery Band*, pp.77-8; Jones, 'Letters from John Jones', p.189.

bugler alleged that a local baker threatened to 'break every bone' in his body if he dared to play again, while a Scottish tenant farmer claimed that the 'constant clamour' of sixteen fencible drummers practising near his home had traumatised his wife and caused the death of a cow.¹⁴⁷ The military inclination to parade through garrison towns with bands playing at ungodly hours, sometimes simply for a lark, cannot have been well-received by sleepless inhabitants; militiamen passing through Salisbury in 1796 kept up 'an incessant drumming in the middle of the night for two hours', according to Lord Cathcart, who was reticent 'to forbid the noise because they seem to enjoy it'.¹⁴⁸ Martial music also frightened horses.¹⁴⁹ Experienced riders recognised the need to give soldiers a wide berth as their mounts 'did not much relish...military noise', but at least five civilians were killed and many more injured between 1792 and 1816 by being trampled or thrown from carriages and saddles after horses were spooked by drumming.¹⁵⁰ Concern over skittish draught animals clearly lay behind Dublin garrison orders preventing drummers from practising near roads and canals.¹⁵¹ A visitor to Edinburgh from rural Wigtownshire was however amazed by the steadiness of cart

¹⁴⁷ Kent Archives, Fo/JQ4/15, complaint of Thomas Rigden, 18 October 1810; NRS, Seafeld Papers, GD248/690/1/3, Simon Fraser to Sir James Grant, 6 February 1795.

¹⁴⁸ H. Everard, *History of...the 29th (Worcestershire) Foot*, (Worcester, 1891), p.182; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 9 March 1795; *Morning Post*, 30 January 1801; NAM, 1978-05-74-1, Henry Grove autobiography, p.58.

¹⁴⁹ Cavalry horses were deliberately exposed to gunfire until they grew accustomed to loud noises. See *Instructions for the Southern Regiment of the West-Riding Yeomanry Cavalry* (Doncaster, 1803), p.27.

¹⁵⁰ W. Holland, *Paupers and Pig Killers: The Diary of William Holland, a Somerset Parson 1799-1818*, ed. J. Ayres (Gloucester, 1984), p.179; HertsRO, SBR/435/7-10, St Alban's Quarter Sessions, 1792, investigation into Thomas Humbley's death; PRONI, D623/A/100/3, James Hamilton to the Marquess of Abercorn, 7 February 1809; *The Diary, or Woodfall's Register*, 26 June 1793; *The Statesman*, 20 November 1812; *Annual Register* (1816), Chronicle, p.6.

¹⁵¹ NLI, MS9475, Dublin garrison OB, pp.39, 65.

and carriage horses when passing 'regiment after regiment with drums and fifes' in the streets, which he attributed to their prolonged exposure to soldiers and 'warlike instruments' in the Scottish capital.¹⁵² Finally, the distinctive drum and trumpet signals performed in response to rumoured French landings or Irish insurrections sparked periodic panic both in urban centres and large swathes of the countryside. A Northumberland farmer recorded the reaction of villagers to one false alarm in 1804: 'The drums beat *to arms*, the trumpets *sounded*, the old women *fainted*, the young women *wept and howled* for the loss of their *sweethearts*, [and] *husbands*...the dogs *barked*, and in short poor Wooler was never in such a state before!'¹⁵³

Martial music has so far been explored primarily as an aspect of British and Irish wartime culture, but regimental ensembles were also mainstays of social and public life in the expanding colonial empire.¹⁵⁴ By attending theatre performances, tiger hunts, and dances or performing on promenades, military bandsmen provided European cultural amenities in overseas settings and facilitated social interactions among colonial elites.¹⁵⁵ According to Elizabeth Simcoe, the balls and concerts given

¹⁵² NLS, MS.735, Edward Kerr diary, 18 May 1804.

¹⁵³ M. and G. Culley, *Matthew and George Culley: Farming Letters, 1798-1804*, ed. A. Orde (Woodbridge, 2006), p.583. See also PRONI, D623/A/89/58, James Hamilton to the Marquess of Abercorn, 19 December 1797.

¹⁵⁴ H. Kallmann, 'Historical Background,' in E. MacMillan (ed), *Music in Canada* (Toronto, 1955), p.14; B. Shope, 'Orchestras and Musical Intersections with Regimental Bands, Blackface Minstrel Troupes, and Jazz in India, 1830s-1940s', in T.K. Ramnarine (ed), *Global Perspectives on Orchestras: Collective Creativity and Social Agency* (New York, NY, 2018), pp.226-42.

¹⁵⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, 20 October 1810; 'Canadian Letters', *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, 3/9 (1912), p.106; LAC, Upper Canada Sundries, RG5, A1, vol. 27, pp.12403-12408, Kingston Amateur Theatre accounts, March 1816; Butler, *Narrative* (1854),

by the 7th Foot or Royal Fusiliers, invariably featuring the ‘fine performers’ of their band, made its officers ‘very popular’ at Quebec, ‘where dancing is so favourite an amusement’.¹⁵⁶ By playing for thanksgiving services celebrating news of peace and accompanying processions and balls on St. George’s Day or royal birthdays, military bandsmen reinforced links with the metropole and fostered a sense of imperial unity.¹⁵⁷ Regimental musicians played ‘God Save the King’ to mark the disembarkation and departure of colonial governors or to announce their entrance into the ballroom, publicly underscoring their status as royal representatives.¹⁵⁸ The new governor of the Cape Colony ‘had the band of the 81[st Foot] playing at his door’ at Government House and ‘every time he appeared in view, “God Save the King” seemed to be struck up, at least I heard it five times’, reported Lady Anne Barnard in 1800, who could not help but snicker at Sir George Yonge’s rapid transformation from fugitive debtor to exalted proconsul.¹⁵⁹ In the colonies as in the United Kingdom, outdoor performances by military bands drew reliably large crowds, yet the dearth of accounts from auditors of colour inhibits the recovery of attitudes towards military music beyond those of white settlers and colonial elites.¹⁶⁰ The reports of British officials and travel-writers,

pp.128-31.

¹⁵⁶ Simcoe, *Diary*, pp.39, 50-2.

¹⁵⁷ *Barbados Mercury*, 27 April 1811; J. Cordiner, *A Voyage to India* (Aberdeen, 1820), p.257; E.C. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1933), p.325.

¹⁵⁸ *Quebec Mercury*, 16 September 1811; [Ainslie], *Reminiscences*, pp.173-4.

¹⁵⁹ A. Barnard, *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard, 1799-1800*, ed. M. Lenta and B.A. Le Cordeur (2 vols, Cape Town, 1999), ii, pp.9-10.

¹⁶⁰ J.A. Waller, *A Voyage in the West Indies* (1820), p.52; [Wallace], *Fifteen Years in India*, pp.67-8. For a recent attempt to overcome these archival silences, see M.T.N. Ryan, ‘Hearing Power, Sounding Freedom: Black Practices of Listening, Ear-Training, and Music-Making in the British Colonial Caribbean’ (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2021).

however, suggest that regimental instrumentalists not only entertained colonial listeners, from Buddhist prelates to enslaved people, but could impress and intimidate as a kind of sonic demonstration of imperial might.¹⁶¹ The British army which welcomed Lord Minto, the Governor-General of Bengal, to Malacca in 1811, according to Malayan writer Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, generated an awesome avalanche of music and noise comparable to ‘the sound of the Last Trumpet’ on Judgement Day before an audience of ‘thousands of all races’.¹⁶²

Music functioned as a form of soft power overseas: its aural appeal often seems to have improved relations between British soldiers and foreign populations.¹⁶³ One officer stationed in Demerara, invited to attend the wedding anniversary of plantation owners in the captured Dutch colony, recalled how the arrival of regimental musicians ‘operated like magic on the household’, rapidly bringing ‘fraus and frauleins’ to every window.¹⁶⁴ Recognising the popularity of military instrumentalists with French and Iberian civilians during the Peninsular War, officers routinely ordered bands to perform publicly to thank inhabitants for food and hospitality or to entice Spanish *señoras* to share a dance after parade.¹⁶⁵ Military musicians participated in local

¹⁶¹ L. de Bussche, *Letters on Ceylon* (1817), pp.49-50; Stewart, *Account of Jamaica and its Inhabitants*, p.251; S. Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (1830), pp.349-50.

¹⁶² A. bin Abdul Kadir, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, trans. A.H. Hill (Oxford, 1970), pp.90-1.

¹⁶³ See J. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York, NY, 2004).

¹⁶⁴ St. Clair, *Soldier's Recollections*, ii, p.214.

¹⁶⁵ NLS, MSS.23629-31, James Stirling memoirs, MS.23629, p.52 and MS.23630, pp.28-9, 129-30; Kent Archives, U771/C25, John Maxwell Tylden to William Bland, 14 January 1810; F.P. Robinson, ‘A Peninsular Brigadier: Letters of Major-General Sir F.P. Robinson’, ed. C.T.

Catholic processions, played at balls hosted by officers to gain favour with Portuguese elites, and frequented nightly musical parties attended by enthusiastic local amateurs. A cavalry sergeant billeted in Abrantes secured the firm friendship of his host family by procuring regimental bandsmen to enliven their suppers and dances.¹⁶⁶ On Wellington's triumphant 1812 entry into Salamanca, military ensembles of the Sixth Division whipped the crowds into a state of exultation: the 'electric effect' of the music, according to an officer present, was 'impossible to describe'.¹⁶⁷ Military men clearly considered music to be useful in securing civilian goodwill and cooperation overseas, yet regimental performances obviously did not preclude tensions with local people and could even cause offence.¹⁶⁸ The determination of British battalions to march through Calais with drums beating, bands playing, and colours flying after Waterloo caused repeated standoffs with the civic authorities, who balked at what they deemed hostile triumphalism.¹⁶⁹

Music was considered an essential element of the rituals of diplomacy.¹⁷⁰ Regimental bands played for balls organised by British consuls and took part in audiences with

Atkinson, *JSAHR*, 34/140 (1956), p.163; Cooke, *Memoirs*, ii, pp.88-9, 97.

¹⁶⁶ Brett-James, *Life in Wellington's Army*, pp.167-72; BL, Add.MS.32468, Westcott journal, 2 March 1812; [N. Lansheit and G.R. Gleig], *The Hussar* (2 vols, 1837), i, p.284; Ross-Lewin, *Life of a Soldier*, i, p.351.

¹⁶⁷ A. Leith Hay, *A Narrative of the Peninsular War* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1831), ii, p.10.

¹⁶⁸ *Journal of an Officer in the King's German Legion*, p.89; Daly, *British Soldier in the Peninsular War*, pp.207-8.

¹⁶⁹ J.H. Slessor et al., *The Backbone: Diaries of a Military Family in the Napoleonic Wars*, ed. A. Hayter (Edinburgh, 1993), p.325; [Hope], *Military Memoirs*, p.465; *Kentish Gazette*, 9 January 1816.

¹⁷⁰ D. Mahiet, 'The Diplomat's Music Test', in F. Ramel and C. Prévost-Thomas (eds), *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy* (Cham, Switzerland, 2018), pp.115-39; D.R.M.

foreign dignitaries or indigenous chiefs.¹⁷¹ The bands of the 28th and 58th Regiments, for example, were ordered to attend the commander-in-chief's tent for the visit of the Ottoman grand vizier in Egypt in July 1801.¹⁷² Military music aurally evoked the anti-Napoleonic coalition, both in the aftermath of Waterloo, when Prussian bands favoured British forces with 'God Save the King' on the battlefield, and during reviews before allied officers and royalty in London and Paris.¹⁷³ Regimental bands, as with grandiose architecture, were intended to impress Indian rulers with British power and cultural hegemony; their performances routinely interspersed negotiations with native princes.¹⁷⁴ Lord Wellesley, who championed ostentatious spectacle as governor-general of Bengal, 'never rested until he got every man' of the 10th Foot's superlative ensemble to join his viceregal entourage.¹⁷⁵ The perceived importance of music in representing British interests abroad is amply illustrated by the inclusion of military bands in the Macartney and Amherst diplomatic missions to China: the first ensemble, formed in 1792, featured performers released from the Coldstream Guards, while the second, assembled in 1815, included a black bass drummer and played scores specially chosen by the Duke of Kent.¹⁷⁶ In the event the Chinese court seemed

Irving, 'Lully in Siam: Music and diplomacy in French-Siamese cultural exchanges, 1680-1690', *Early Music*, 40/3 (2012), p.413.

¹⁷¹ E. Bent, *Judge Advocate Ellis Bent: Letters and Diaries 1809-1811*, ed. P.J. Byrne (Annandale, NSW, 2012), p.82; *Military Register*, 20 July 1814.

¹⁷² NLS, MS.3640, Egyptian campaign OB, 5-6 July 1801.

¹⁷³ W.D. Fellowes, *Paris, During the Interesting Month of July, 1815* (1815), pp.122-4; *Morning Post*, 27 December 1815; H.T. Siborne, ed., *Waterloo Letters* (1891), pp.245, 298; R.H.R. Smythies, *Historical Records of the 40th...Regiment* (Devonport, 1894), p.188.

¹⁷⁴ Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*, pp.278-82; J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences* (2 vols, 1830), i, pp.198-200.

¹⁷⁵ W. Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, ed. A. Spencer (4 vols, 1913-25), iv, p.252.

¹⁷⁶ J. Lindorff, 'Burney, Macartney and the Qianlong Emperor', *Early Music*, 40/3, (2012),

indifferent to European music, but it is telling that Lord Amherst insisted on bringing the musicians over the emperor's objections because he considered the band an 'essential part of the splendour required'.¹⁷⁷ Music itself even became a bargaining chip in international negotiations: British authorities agreed to train a European-style military ensemble for King Radama of Madagascar as part of an 1820 treaty forbidding the slave trade, transporting eight Malagasy boys to Mauritius to study under the bandmaster of the 82nd Foot.¹⁷⁸

Military music was a valued source of entertainment and pageantry, a pervasive medium of cultural propaganda, and a conspicuous aural reminder of war and its far-reaching effects. Although existing scholarship on these conflicts tends to stress an increasing separation between professional soldiers and wider society due to the widespread construction of barracks, attention to martial music highlights the remarkable degree to which the military made its presence felt – and heard – in British and Irish streets.¹⁷⁹ Historians of popular music have asserted that early wind ensembles were relegated to providing an aural backdrop to public events, with their performances only becoming the centre of attention with the advent of brass band

pp.441-53; C.M. Stevenson, *Britain's Second Embassy to China* (Canberra, 2021), pp.89, 341-2; G.T. Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences During the British Embassy to Peking in 1816* (Havant, 1824), p.83.

¹⁷⁷ H. Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China* (1817), p.111.

¹⁷⁸ *PP* (1826), xxvii (352), Papers relative to Slave Trade at Mauritius, Bourbon and Seychelles, 1818-25, p.150; *Instructions for the Guidance of Her Majesty's Naval Officers Employed in the Suppression of the Slave Trade* (1844), pp.645-6.

¹⁷⁹ Russell, *Theatres of War*, p.48; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.184.

contests in the later nineteenth century.¹⁸⁰ However, as this chapter has shown, military bands were already staging accessible open-air public concerts of a generally high standard for large and socially diverse audiences during the French Wars. In so doing, regimental bands appear to have increased popular interest in music-making, becoming, as Paul Martell suggested in the case of colonial Nova Scotia, a supply which helped foster its own demand.¹⁸¹ The prominence of martial music and patriotic song in royal and civic pageantry, far from being a Victorian 'invented tradition' as David Cannadine and Robert Giddings have implied, was a well-established Georgian practice; in a time before television or radio, military ensembles performed widely at local celebrations to cultivate allegiances to king, country, and empire.¹⁸² Plenty of evidence suggests that individual listeners enjoyed and felt deeply moved by these military performances. Wider claims, however, about the impact of all this music on collective mentalities are more difficult to substantiate. As this chapter has shown, audience responses were neither uniform nor consistently receptive: a melody or drum beat which was aesthetically pleasing or reassuring to one ear could be irritating, sacrilegious, or alarming to another. Debates over party tunes in Ireland, in particular, demonstrate the importance of context and repertoire in determining public

¹⁸⁰ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.194-5; Gammon and Gammon, 'Musical Revolution of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', p.144.

¹⁸¹ P. Martell, *Music in Nova Scotia - The Written Tradition: 1752-1893*, ed. J. Lambert (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1998), p.10.

¹⁸² D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.110-14; R. Giddings, 'Delusive Seduction: Pride, Pomp, Circumstance and Military Music', in J.M. MacKenzie (ed), *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950* (Manchester, 1992), pp.32-3.

responses. How often military music changed hearts and minds, as opposed to simply affirming pre-existing sentiments, is ultimately unknowable. Yet it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that regimental instrumentalists had a powerful capacity to promote and affirm more favourable feelings towards the British state and its institutions. By and large, musical warriors helped bridge divisions between professional soldiers and civilians, improving the military's image through extensive public performances in an era when the presence of redcoats was often resented due to their disorderly behaviour and policing responsibilities.¹⁸³ Military officers and loyalists were convinced of the importance of martial music to patriotic ceremonial, believing it gave succour and confidence to their friends and demoralised political detractors. Collectively, regimental performers comprised a cultural force which radicalism could not match in terms of its public prominence, scale, and national distribution. Military music, through its aesthetic and emotional appeal, helped the governing classes assert acoustic dominance over public spaces and soundscapes and mobilise crowds to create an impression of mass support for the war and the prevailing social order.¹⁸⁴ As such, it was an important weapon in the arsenal of the British state in an era when the loyalties of the people could not be taken for granted but instead needed to be constantly cultivated and reconstituted.

¹⁸³ Herbert and Barlow, 'The British Military as a Musical Institution', p.260; Emsley, 'The Military and Popular Disorder', pp.11, 108-12.

¹⁸⁴ Harrison, *Crowds and History*, pp.169, 245.

6. Musical Legacies

In April 1834, agents of the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland placed advertisements in the Scottish press for a new musical post in the Highland village of Golspie:

WANTED...a retired leader of a regimental band of music, or a person fully qualified to organize, instruct and lead a village band of music, to consist of the wind instruments that usually form a military band...A person qualified as above, who is also capable of teaching sacred music, will receive additional remuneration.¹

Although several offers were received, the agents endorsed the application of Eusebius Hull, a Dublin-born watch and clock-maker who had joined the Royal Downshire Militia as an eighteen-year-old novice clarinettist in 1796.² Hull had subsequently spent thirty-five years in the 4th Dragoon Guards, teaching woodwind and brass instruments 'over and over' and arranging and composing music as master of the band. Claiming to be 'equally acquainted with sacred music', the old soldier offered to work as a band trainer and church conductor for £40 a year, over and above his army pension, which amounted to nearly £42 annually.³ Whether Hull took up the

¹ *Inverness Courier*, 16 April 1834.

² PRONI, Downshire Papers, D607/D/367, Smollet Holden to Lord Downshire, 3 December 1796.

³ NRS, GD271/158, G.S. Taylor to J. Hunter, 17 May 1834; TNA, WO97/69/95, Hull discharge, and WO23/33, Royal Hospital Chelsea out-pensioners registers, 4th Dragoon Guards, 1845-

Golspie job is unclear, but the newspaper advertisement and Hull's application neatly exemplify several key themes of this thesis: the military's transformation of uninitiated recruits into capable musicians; the entry of veterans into the wider music profession; and the civilian emulation of regimental bands in the post-war decades.

The participation of ex-military instrumentalists in civilian musical life has been largely neglected by historians of British and Irish music. Cyril Ehrlich identified a 'huge increase' in the size of the British music profession during the nineteenth century but did not consider the military's role in expanding the pool of trained performers, at least prior to the foundation of Kneller Hall in 1857.⁴ Deborah Rohr subsequently argued that the armed forces made only a marginal contribution to the music profession between 1750 and 1850. She noted that just nine individuals from her database of nearly 6,600 British musicians were known to have been trained in the military and only 84 were members of regimental bands. Yet Rohr acknowledged that the representativeness of her sample was difficult to assess; it was heavily weighted towards London, made no use of military records, and partly relied on files of the Royal Society of Musicians, which like most mutual insurance associations excluded soldiers from 1804 owing to the actuarial risks inherent in their occupation.⁵ Trevor Herbert

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⁴ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp.51, 96-7.

⁵ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.73, 131; D.A. Rohr, 'A Profession of Artisans: The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians' (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1983), pp.124, 395-405; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, p.128; Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p.376.

and Helen Barlow questioned Rohr's conclusions on these grounds, providing examples of men who had joined the music profession through military service and positing that such career trajectories were 'probably commonplace.'⁶ In a different vein, historians have often made a connection between wartime military bands and the amateur wind and brass ensembles which emerged after 1815.⁷ Brian Boydell, for example, asserted that martial music-making gave a significant impetus to the formation of amateur ensembles in Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century, while Arthur Taylor, writing in 1979, speculated that regimental bands catalysed the development of the brass band movement in Britain.⁸ Neither of these authors, however, nor any other, supplied convincing proof for this hypothesis. More recently, historians such as Herbert, Barlow, and Dave Russell have downplayed the military's impact on the brass band tradition before the volunteer movement of 1859. Brass ensembles, they have argued, were not formed in direct imitation of regimental ones but comprised a new musical species – a product of industrialisation pioneered by some combination of working-class performers and middle-class sponsors.⁹

⁶ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.73-6.

⁷ Farmer, *Rise & Development of Military Music*, p.123; J.F. Russell and J.H. Elliot, *The Brass Band Movement* (1936), pp.4, 27; D. Russell, 'The Popular Musical Societies of the Yorkshire Textile District, 1850-1914' (PhD thesis, University of York, 1979), pp.36-7; J.L. Scott, 'The Evolution of the Brass Band and its Repertoire in Northern England' (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1970), pp.8-9.

⁸ B. Boydell, 'Music, 1700-1850', in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds), *A New History of Ireland: Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford, 1986), p.610; A.R. Taylor, *Brass Bands* (1979), pp.14-18.

⁹ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.194-7, 212, 238-9; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.159-60; H. Barlow, 'The British Army and the Music Profession', p.81; T. Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands: Making a Movement', in Herbert (ed), *British Brass Band*, pp.36-43, 64.

A closer investigation of the impact of wartime mobilisation on the music profession, and musical culture more generally, is clearly merited. Yet the problems inherent in adjudicating influence must be acknowledged from the outset. As Cyril Ehrlich recognised, quantitative approaches like that adopted by Deborah Rohr risk providing a misleading impression because the partial and incomplete sources available, such as newspaper obituaries and biographical dictionaries, do not encompass the careers of all musicians, or even a typical sub-section, and frequently provide scant information on the backgrounds and training of specific performers.¹⁰ Even when significant evidence is available, it is frequently impossible to judge how formative an individual's military experiences may have been for his musical education and career when compared to other musical activities - such as involvement in a church band - that he may have undertaken before, during, or after his time in uniform. Moreover, it must be stressed that the musical ramifications of military mobilisation can only be understood in relation to other currents in nineteenth-century musical life, including the expansion of earning opportunities for musicians and heightened appetite for music lessons, bands, and concerts in a society undergoing rapid urbanisation, economic development, and demographic change. Assessing the respective importance of these intertwined factors is far from straightforward, not least because the prominence of regimental bands may have been partly responsible

¹⁰ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, pp.2-3.

for the increased public demand for music, as several contemporaries emphatically claimed.

While bearing in mind these significant methodological challenges, this chapter assesses the military's impact on wider musical life through a number of approaches and lines of enquiry. Employing the investigative technique of prosopography (collective biography), it charts common trends in the lives of musical warriors after leaving the military. Although large numbers of former regimental instrumentalists pursued non-musical work, a considerable share continued to draw on the musical skills honed in uniform to commemorate their military service or earn livelihoods as music teachers, performers, and retailers. Evidence of individual musical careers, impressionistic in nature though compelling in its cumulative weight, is complemented by observations from nineteenth-century commentators, who recognised the significance of onetime military performers in the musical lives of localities and the music profession more generally. The chapter also draws attention to the multi-generational legacy of martial music-making in cases where the children of regimental instrumentalists took up their vocation. Besides considering the activities of individual performers, it analyses other means through which the military's influence was felt and heard in post-war musical culture. Not only did musicians of the regular army and yeomanry continue performing widely in the post-war public sphere, but a multitude of militia, local militia, and volunteer bands remained active long after the demobilisation of their respective corps. The military, moreover, provided an

important stimulus to the music trade, generated large supplies of second-hand instruments, and sponsored improved instrument designs. This chapter further argues that the wartime expansion of military music-making facilitated the subsequent spread of civilian amateur ensembles, which were in fact explicitly modelled on their regimental counterparts. The British brass band, far from being a civilian creation, first appeared in a military guise. A closer analysis of music-making in southern Lancashire, though restricted in scope and subject to the same limitations as other quantitative surveys, also suggests that the military was far more important as a sponsor of musical activity than Rohr's conclusions allowed. The chapter's final section extends the remit beyond Britain and Ireland, revealing that the legacies of martial music-making were keenly felt in British colonies and beyond. Overall, it argues that the influence of wartime military mobilisation on musical culture after 1815 was palpable and significant, and manifested itself through a multiplicity of means and settings.

Musical warriors were not spared from demobilisation following the return of peace: one officer reckoned in 1814 that the disembodiment of the militia would make job-seeking musicians as plentiful as haymakers in a Staffordshire summer.¹¹ Discharged drummers and bandsmen often pursued non-musical vocations, learning and returning to civilian trades or cultivating Canadian land grants.¹² William Afflick of

¹¹ StaffsRO, Aqualate Papers, D(W)1788/P1/B7, Adjutant Cooper to Lt-Col Boughey, 12 July 1814.

¹² *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (January 1826), pp.1-8; G.R. Clarke, *The History & Description of the Town and Borough of Ipswich* (Ipswich, 1830), p.459; O'Keeffe, 'Anatomy of a Drum Corps', pp.54-5.

the 10th Hussars, a black Waterloo veteran whose career as a trumpeter was curtailed by the loss of his front teeth, settled in Kensington with his family and supplemented his 9d daily pension by working as a barber.¹³ Several former musical warriors resorted to crime in hard times, including a bugler who drilled a poaching gang in light infantry tactics, but others found work in newly-raised police forces organised on quasi-military lines.¹⁴ Irish militia drummers, for example, sought employment with the County Constabulary, explaining that soldiering from a young age had left them unaccustomed to manual labour or civilian trades.¹⁵ The 'strict disciplinarian habits' of former drummers made them suitable gaolers and colonial lawmen, as did their experience of administering punishments; a warder in London's Millbank Prison manufactured cat-o'-nine-tails by drawing on his experience as a drum-major.¹⁶ School teaching was another popular career choice. A former bandmaster of a West India regiment ran a one-room schoolhouse in Upper Canada and played for his students daily on a variety of instruments: 'if we did not learn a great deal', recalled one of his former charges, 'many of the pupils, at least, acquired a decided taste for music.'¹⁷

¹³ J.D. Ellis, 'A Revolutionary Activist in his own Cause', *Westminster History Review*, 5 (2007), pp.24-9.

¹⁴ Haggart, *Life*, pp.24-5; *New Monthly Magazine* (1834), part iii, p.421.

¹⁵ J. Core, *Historical Record of the...Royal Tyrone...Militia* (Omagh, 1872), p.72; NAI, CSO/RP/1829/1561, Thomas Mahon to Hugh Percy, 9 November 1829 and CSO/RP/1829/1786, John Walsh to Hugh Percy, 2 December 1829.

¹⁶ M. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (New York, NY, 1978), pp.189-92; *The Daily News* (London), 2 October 1851; TNA, WO97/485/68 and WO97/783/43, William and James Colquhoun discharges; H. Scadding, *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1878), pp.42, 176; *PP* (1847), xxx (768), Millbank Prison Minutes of Evidence, pp.148-9.

¹⁷ J.G. Hodgins (ed), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (28 vols, Toronto, 1894-1910), iv, p.148.

As this example suggests, former musical warriors commonly drew on their instrumental skills after discharge, often out of a sense of nostalgia or a desire to gain public recognition for their military service. A retired drum-major surprised the Duke of Wellington with a bugle salute during the prime minister's visit to Manchester in 1830, earning praise from the newspapers and a handshake from his old commander, while James Wild, a former Life Guards trumpeter, retained a French trumpet captured at Waterloo and 'often played upon it...making music wherever he went'.¹⁸ Ex-servicemen dined together and paraded publicly with music on special occasions: about fifty pensioners marched through Carmarthen with medals and colours for Queen Victoria's coronation, headed by a discharged drum-major of the 55th Foot in his uniform.¹⁹ Another veteran called the Waterloo men of Rochdale to arms every year on 18 June using the drumsticks he had carried during the great battle.²⁰ Even some volunteer corps held formal reunions, joining in commemorative songs and marching behind their old drummers and bandsmen to celebrate their part in warding off invasion and political radicalism.²¹

¹⁸ *Loyal Ancient Shepherd's Quarterly Magazine* (October 1847), pp.15-16; *Bristol Mirror*, 25 September 1830; J. and D. Bromley, *Wellington's Men Remembered* (2 vols, Barnsley, 2012-15), ii, p.432; W. Robertson, *Old and New Rochdale and its People* (Rochdale, 1881), pp.195-7. See also Jones, 'Stockton Volunteers', p.73; [Turnbull], *Sketches from Real Life*, pp.37-56.

¹⁹ P. Molloy, *Four Cheers for Carmarthen* (Llandysul, 1981), p.149; TNA, WO97/681/19, Richard Evans discharge; *Leamington Spa Courier*, 29 June 1829.

²⁰ Crook, *The Very Thing: The Memoirs of Drummer Richard Bentinck*, p.168.

²¹ Cheshire Archives, DGR/3810/3, Loyal Warrington Volunteers song; *Manchester Courier*, 6 June 1829.

Retired military instrumentalists used their musical skills not only to relive past glories but to support themselves in civil society. A brief survey illustrates the remarkable breadth of their musical activities. One redundant German bandmaster was heard playing a church organ (badly) in Hythe in 1817 while a number of regimental pipers found subsequent employment with Scottish aristocrats and Highland societies.²² Other ex-military instrumentalists were engaged for the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts or joined theatre and music festival orchestras elsewhere.²³ A visiting American musician criticised the wind performers of London's Drury Lane Theatre for overpowering the string section in 1836, noting: 'They play as if they were blasting in the streets as many of them do in military bands of which a large portion of them are members. Those that are not now have been almost to a man attached formerly to some military musical corps.'²⁴ Most such instrumentalists laboured in obscurity, but several onetime regimental bandsmen became musical celebrities, including the trumpeter Thomas Harper, who had learned music in the band of the Royal East India Volunteers, and the clarinettist Thomas Willman, who began his career playing in the Royal Tyrone Militia band with his German father and

²² Marsh, *Journals*, ii, pp.250, 298; J. Logan, *The Scottish Gael; or, Celtic Manners, as Preserved Among the Highlanders* (2 vols, 1831), ii, p.273; *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 July 1820. On John Buchanan, piper to the Marquis of Huntly, see *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 July 1802; NRS, High Court of Justiciary Papers, JC26/1822/204, Margaret Grant trial, 1822; *Argyll: An Inventory of the Monuments* (7 vols, [Edinburgh], 1971-92), vii, p.143; TNA, WO97/576/76, Buchanan discharge.

²³ Harland (ed), *Collectanea Relating to Manchester*, ii, p.86; *Manchester Courier*, 2 February 1828; Millington, *Sketches*, p.111; Cobbold, *Mary Anne Wellington*, pp.290-1; G.E. Evans, 'Carmarthen Eisteddfod', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 7/21-2 (1911-12), p.87.

²⁴ New York Philharmonic Archives, Box 500-01-01, Ureli Corelli Hill diary, 1835-7, p.74. I owe this reference to Barbara Haws.

brother. Lauded as the best contemporary performers on their respective instruments, the pair were principals in the King's Theatre orchestra, professors at the Royal Academy of Music, and in perennial demand on the national music festival circuit.²⁵ Musicians with military experience not only excelled as wind instrumentalists but made their mark in every branch of the music profession, working as violinists, pleasure garden composers, and cathedral singers.²⁶ Two notable religious composers from humble backgrounds - John Fawcett, a Methodist shoemaker, and Robert Archibald Smith, the son of a Scottish weaver - had performed in and written music for volunteer or local militia bands during their formative years.²⁷ John Sinclair, a tradesman's son recruited for the Argyllshire Militia band, subsequently pursued a spectacular career as a vocalist on the London stage.²⁸ Another musician of the same regiment, Charles Mackay, later gained renown by acting in theatrical adaptations of Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*, having developed his talents as a comic singer in the officers' mess.²⁹

²⁵ S. Sorenson and J. Webb, 'The Harpers and the Trumpet', *Galpin Society Journal*, 39 (1986), pp.35-57; PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/145/11 and D623/A/149/36, George Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 6 July 1793 and 29 June 1797; *Limerick Chronicle*, 2 December 1840; P. Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (1971), pp.101-13.

²⁶ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 23 December 1835; [Sainsbury], *Dictionary*, ii, p.266; NAI, CSO/RP/1825/988, Patrick Ready to the Marquess Wellesley, 10 August 1825.

²⁷ Ramsay, *Works of Robert Tannahill, with...a Memoir of Robert A. Smith*, xlv-xlvii; *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 November 1867.

²⁸ *Theatrical Inquisitor* (February 1814), pp.67-9.

²⁹ J. Morris, *Recollections of Ayr Theatricals from 1809* (Ayr, 1872), pp.14-15.

The prominence of retired regimental performers in the civilian music profession was repeatedly recognised by nineteenth-century commentators. A London reviewer writing in 1829 assessed that ‘many of our present fine instrumental players’ had been schooled in volunteer bands raised in the wartime capital.³⁰ Thirteen years later, *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* listed fourteen distinguished musicians who had served in the military during the French Wars, adding, ‘[n]umerous other vocalists, from the militia regiments, have risen owing to their superior singing.’³¹ While the Napoleonic generation began fading from the musical scene by the late 1840s, their influence as teachers and performers was sufficiently lasting for a contributor to *The Musical World* in 1876 to salute ‘that capital school of military musicians which was developed in the British army at the commencement of the present century’.³²

Indeed, an assessment of the impact of old soldiers on the music profession must look beyond their own lifespans, for musicians trained in or employed by the military instructed their sons and sometimes also their daughters in their vocation, establishing noteworthy musical dynasties.³³ Charles Godfrey, for example, rose from militia drummer to bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards; his progeny led the bands of all three regiments of Foot Guards simultaneously, founded the influential Bournemouth

³⁰ *The Olio; or, Museum of Entertainment*, ii, p.395.

³¹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 6 June 1842.

³² *The Musical World* (29 April 1876), p.314.

³³ For the training of musicians’ children, see for example PRONI, T3911, Klophele memoir, pp.1, 26; J.S. Reeves, *My Jubilee, or Fifty Years of Artistic Life* ([1889]), pp.4-5.

Municipal Orchestra, and conducted the London Wireless Orchestra for the BBC.³⁴ The leading operatic composer William Vincent Wallace, the Scottish composer Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, and the prominent singers John Sims Reeves, John Orlando Parry, and Edward Lloyd were all descended from regimental bandmen.³⁵ Sir Arthur Seymour Sullivan, the musical half of the Victorian comic opera duo Gilbert and Sullivan, was the son of another military bandmaster, who had learned to play at the Royal Military Asylum from 1814 while his own father was serving as a private soldier overseas.³⁶ Even Gilbert and Sullivan's promoter Richard D'Oyly Carte, a wealthy theatre impresario who founded the Savoy Hotel, was the offspring of a musician and notable flute-maker initially trained in the Royal Horse Guards.³⁷

Far more ex-military instrumentalists, though never famous, became significant figures in the cultural lives of their localities. David James improved his musical skills under a militia fife-major before returning to his native village in Pembrokeshire, where he gave lessons on music theory and formed a choir, while George Philip Klitz

³⁴ E.D. Mackerness, 'Godfrey family', Grove Music Online (Oxford, 2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11340> (31 May 2022); TNA, WO97/172/82, Charles Godfrey discharge; *Aldershot Military Gazette*, 19 December 1863.

³⁵ D. Grant, 'Wallace, William Vincent (1812-1865)', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2009), <https://www.dib.ie/biography/wallace-william-vincent-a8860> (31 May 2022); *The Musical Times* (1 June 1898), p.369; H.G. Farmer, *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band* (1904), pp.74-6; G.C. Boase, rev. D.J. Golby, 'Parry, John Orlando (1810-1879)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21425> (31 May 2022); E. Lloyd in *In The Days of My Youth*, ed. T.P. O'Connor (1901), pp.119-20; TNA, WO97/179/51, Edward Hopkins discharge, and WO97/1257/193, John Sims Reeves discharge.

³⁶ M. Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography* (Oxford, 2002).

³⁷ P. Seeley, *Richard D'Oyly Carte* (Abingdon, 2019); R. Bigio, *Rudall, Rose & Carte: The Art of the Flute in Britain* (2011), pp.33-5.

of the Royal Flintshire Militia settled in Lymington and was described by a visitor in 1827 as 'the Clementi of the place'.³⁸ Klitz performed at concerts with his six sons, organised assemblies, and founded a music shop which traded until 1981.³⁹ David Hillocks of Forfar, whose music book was discussed previously, joined a volunteer band as a child and led local militia fifers before becoming a civilian music teacher and training parish bands. According to his 1857 newspaper obituary: 'The numbers of our young men that, from time to time, have availed themselves of Hillocks' tuition, it would be difficult to enumerate...our town even now abounds with fluters in all classes of society, old and young, who have at some time or other got instruction from him.'⁴⁰ Old soldiers who established themselves as provincial music retailers and teachers often struggled to make ends meet through music alone: some faced insolvency or doubled as schoolmasters, stationers, and publicans to support themselves.⁴¹ Yet growing middle-class demand for piano lessons clearly enabled a number of ex-military musicians to make a respectable living from their preferred profession. The retired bandmaster Christian William Klophe, who brought in £1 5s weekly as a music teacher in Omagh in 1844 in addition to his 10d daily pension, was the highest earning of 515 military pensioners in the district.⁴²

³⁸ M.O. Jones, *Bywgraffiaeth Cerddorion Cymreig* (Cardiff, 1890), p.42; P. Hawker, *The Diary of Colonel Peter Hawker* (2 vols, 1893), i, p.310.

³⁹ TNA, WO97/1106/9, Klitz discharge; *Hampshire Advertiser*, 9 April 1827 and 18 December 1830; HA, 116M99, Klitz of Lymington Papers.

⁴⁰ *Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review*, 29 May 1857.

⁴¹ Banfield, *Music in the West Country*, pp.192-6; University of Glasgow, MS Euing R.d.85/76, Edward Frost to J.D. Sainsbury, 3 January 1824; *Suffolk Chronicle*, 31 October 1812, 26 October 1833; *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1 January 1831), pp.123-4.

⁴² *Newry Commercial Telegraph*, 25 September 1845; TNA, WO22/192 Omagh district pension

Besides catering to London theatre-goers and amateur pianists, discharged military musicians participated in a thriving leisure culture of fairs, circuses, and travelling shows.⁴³ The local militia drum-major Billy Purvis launched a storied career as an itinerant entertainer in 1816 by borrowing the regimental bass drum and thundering away for an equestrian act at a Northumberland fair.⁴⁴ The eccentric Birmingham street salesman James Guidney, previously the drum-major of a veteran battalion, advertised his services as a drummer for 'any public parties of pleasure', while James Hinchcliffe, who had joined the Sheffield Volunteers as a teenaged drummer in 1794, delighted crowds with his 'vocal and instrumental powers' at wakes, races, and fairs long after the wars.⁴⁵ Several onetime fifiers subsisted precariously as roving ballad-singers and buskers, including William Simons, a black man from South Carolina and a former fife-major in the 27th Foot who became 'well known in the streets [of London] by playing the clarionet'.⁴⁶ Homecoming musical warriors performed for traditional parish festivities including Lancashire rushbearings but also found employment in a growing array of commercial amusements.⁴⁷ Proprietors of a panorama of the battle

returns, 1842-1852, especially half-yearly return of earnings, 21 August 1844; Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, pp.135-9.

⁴³ Cunningham, *Time, Work and Leisure*, pp.81-2.

⁴⁴ Robson, *Billy Purvis*, pp.39-40. See also W. Wise, *Richmond, Yorkshire in the 1830s*, ed. L.P. Wenham (Loughborough, 1977), p.53.

⁴⁵ Guidney, *Life and Adventures*, p.16; *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 16 January 1864; *Sheffield Independent*, 1 June 1876.

⁴⁶ *Leicester Chronicle*, 16 March 1816; *Leeds Patriot*, 21 February 1829; *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser*, 3 April 1822; *Morning Advertiser*, 6 April 1822; TNA, WO97/467/36, Simons discharge.

⁴⁷ G. Shaw, 'Rush Bearings in the Olden Time' in Bradbury, *Saddleworth Sketches*, p.255; Millington, *Sketches*, pp.46-7.

of Waterloo, displayed at Norwich in 1821, boasted that their exhibit was enlivened by 'experienced musicians' who had previously served as 'masters of military bands in the army', while a onetime militia bandsman was engaged to entertain Liverpudlian leisure travellers aboard a coastal steam packet.⁴⁸ A retired bugler of the Kerry Militia deftly tapped the growing tourist trade to the Lakes of Killarney, offering himself as a guide to prosperous sightseers and performing 'plaintive passages' to 'elicit the magical effect of the echoes' from surrounding mountains.⁴⁹

Ex-military musicians benefited from wider social and economic developments in the post-war decades, notably the transport improvements that facilitated musical touring and the expansion of domestic music-making and concerts.⁵⁰ Yet they also displayed an entrepreneurial ability to create new markets and opportunities for themselves. Joseph Greenhill, a former militia bugle-major, persuaded coach guards to exchange their unsophisticated post horns for keyed bugles, enabling them to entertain travellers with lively melodies on tedious journeys and so secure greater gratuities.⁵¹ Greenhill carried on a roaring trade as a keyed bugle manufacturer until his death in 1836 while many guards achieved considerable renown as soloists along

⁴⁸ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 15 September 1821; *Stamford Mercury*, 26 August 1831.

⁴⁹ TNA, WO97/1109/37, Timothy Spillane discharge; G.N. Smith, *Killarney, and the Surrounding Scenery* (Dublin, 1822), p.125; T.C.J. West, *A Summer Visit to Ireland in 1846* (1847), pp.99-112; N.W. Senior, *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland* (2 vols, 1868), i, 329.

⁵⁰ Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*; McVeigh, 'Industrial and Consumer Revolutions in Instrumental Music'. pp.3-34.

⁵¹ *Morning Post*, 27 September 1825; *Bell's Life in London*, 31 January 1836.

their cross-country routes, including a former Grenadier Guards musician who ‘always attracted much attention’ on arriving with his coach in Manchester.⁵² The best known and most controversial ex-military entrepreneur was surely the veteran band trainer Johann Bernhard Logier, who developed a system of class teaching for the piano and invented a device known as the chiroplast to position the hands of beginners on the keyboard. Attracting fervent disciples and detractors in equal measure, Logier’s breathlessly marketed group lessons broadened his potential clientele through reduced student fees while maximising profits. More than eighty ‘Logerian’ piano schools were operating across Britain and Ireland by 1820, each paying an initial franchise fee of 100 guineas, while Logier’s music theory textbooks, which remained internationally influential long after the decline of his academies, reportedly sold more than 50,000 copies by 1824.⁵³

The legacies of military music-making have so far been explored mainly through the careers of individuals, but numerous wartime militia and volunteer bands also remained active long after the demobilisation of their corps. Colonels of militia regiments managed to preserve ensembles of as many as nineteen musicians as part of the permanent cadres retained to facilitate occasional peacetime training

⁵² *Morning Advertiser*, 16 August 1827, 2 April 1836; J.T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (Manchester, 1881), pp.212-3; H.E. Malet, *Annals of the Road, or Notes on Mail and Stage Coaching in Great Britain* (1876), pp.41-6.

⁵³ N.M. Hart, ‘Logier, Johann Bernhard (1777-1846)’, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), <https://www.dib.ie/biography/logier-johann-bernhard-a4874> (3 June 2022); *Gentlemen’s Magazine* (October 1846), pp.434-7; G. Hogarth, *The Philharmonic Society of London* (1862), p.19.

exercises.⁵⁴ These bands performed widely in their home counties, enlivening both aristocratic parties and popular festivities: in 1819 one veteran accused Irish militia bandsmen of behaving more like ‘strolling vagrants’ than soldiers by hiring themselves out to ‘mountibanks, puppet show-men and such like’ at Dublin-area fairs.⁵⁵ Sunday church parades of the militia staff drew continued public interest in a constellation of county towns. Recalling his youth in Richmond, North Yorkshire in the 1820s and 1830s, Matthew Bell described the expert militia band as a ‘very popular’ source of free entertainment among the poorer classes and claimed it aroused ‘a slumbering talent for music in some of those who heard its martial and inspiring strains.’⁵⁶ Regimental ensembles in Leicester, Derry, Limerick, Cardiff, and Inverness, among other localities, even survived government cutbacks to the militia establishment in 1835 owing to generous colonels or local demand for their services, continuing to play together during the lean years preceding the militia’s 1850s revival.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ D. Anderson, *The English Militia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1982); SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/1014, return of the Shropshire Militia band, 1 January 1819; *PP* (1835), xxxviii (201), Disembodied Militia Staff Reports, pp.88, 100 and *passim*.

⁵⁵ [Hansard], *Parliamentary Debates*, 2nd ser., xix, col. 1452 (20 June 1828, Army Estimates); NAI, CSO/RP/1819/118, Randle McDonald to Sir George Beckwith, 9 August 1819.

⁵⁶ Wise, *Richmond, Yorkshire in the 1830s*, pp.19-20, 59-63; Darter, *Reminiscences of Reading*, pp.81-2.

⁵⁷ A. Johnson, *Glimpses of Ancient Leicester*, 2nd edn (1906), pp.368-9; *Limerick Chronicle*, 29 August 1840; *Inverness Courier*, 9 August 1843; *Coleraine Chronicle*, 1 June 1850; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 23 December 1848; *South Wales Daily News*, 1 August 1889. See also N. McAllister, ‘Contradiction and Diversity: The Musical Life of Derry in the 1830 Decade’, in G. O’Brien (ed), *Derry and Londonderry: History & Society* (Dublin, 1999), pp.487-9.

Scrutiny of contemporary newspapers and other sources also reveals that at least twenty volunteer and local militia ensembles performed together after the demise of their units.⁵⁸ A 'late volunteer band' participated in a Lincoln procession marking George IV's accession to the throne in 1820, for example, while musicians of the otherwise defunct East Cornwall Local Militia performed during the inaugural journey of the Bodmin and Wadebridge Railway fourteen years later.⁵⁹ Although several auxiliary bands benefited from the continued sponsorship of their former officers, others capitalised on the connections and reputations established during their military service to become self-sustaining, commercially-orientated musical troupes. '[H]aving for so many years been the master and leader of the Local Militia band', advertised Thomas Foster, a Sheffield inkstand manufacturer, in 1827, he could 'furnish a quadrille band for the ball room, as well as a military field band, upon the shortest notice, and on reasonable terms.'⁶⁰ The Sheffield Local Militia band-for-hire was still performing for promenades at the town's botanical gardens in 1851, thirty-six years after the return of peace.⁶¹ The bands of two of Warwickshire's five local militia regiments also survived for decades following demobilisation by catering to demand for instrumental entertainment in and around the burgeoning manufacturing town of

⁵⁸ Examples not cited elsewhere in this paragraph or the next are: *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 October 1809, 18 March 1820, 16 March 1826, 5 July 1832; *The Times*, 21 November 1820, 15 February 1823; *Durham Chronicle*, 25 November 1820, 24 April 1824; *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 16 May 1818; *York Herald*, 11 November 1820; Heavisides, *Annals of Stockton-on-Tees*, p.21; L. Jewitt, *A History of Plymouth* (1873), p.386.

⁵⁹ *Stamford Mercury*, 11 February 1820; *Western Times*, 4 October 1834.

⁶⁰ *Sheffield Independent*, 24 February 1827; E. Baines, *History, Directory & Gazetteer, of the County of York* (2 vols, Leeds, 1822-3), i, p.317.

⁶¹ *Sheffield Independent*, 10 and 17 May 1851.

Birmingham.⁶² Further north, the Bolton Local Militia musicians continued playing together for some years after the death of their former colonel in 1832, being much in demand at 'public processions, club feasts' and 'country concerts'. The Bolton ensemble's 'good influence' on the local musical scene, according to a historian writing in 1884, was 'felt even unto the present time'.⁶³

Instruments provide another trail to follow when assessing the legacies of military music-making, for the survival of auxiliary ensembles depended not only on the perseverance of practised performers but also on continued access to the instruments purchased in wartime. Although drums and bugles issued by the Board of Ordnance were supposed to be returned to public stores on demobilisation and band instruments generally belonged to regimental officers, musical warriors were often manifestly unwilling to surrender the tools of their trade. Seven musicians of a Herefordshire local militia regiment petitioned their colonel in April 1816 'to make us a present' of the regimental instruments, noting that performers in other disbanded units had been permitted to 'keep their instruments as a perquisite'. The ensemble promised to continue their weekly practices if the request was granted, pledging that 'a band will be always ready in the town of Leominster for any occasion'.⁶⁴ Although

⁶² See, for example, *An Account of the Second Commemoration of Shak[e]speare, celebrated at Stratford-upon-Avon* (Leamington, [1830]), p.8; *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 5 October 1829, 4 October 1841.

⁶³ Millington, *Sketches*, pp.46-7, 107-18.

⁶⁴ Herefordshire Archives, Cotterell papers, W69/IV/18, George Dennis to Sir John Geers Cotterell, 21 April and 1 May 1816, and W69/IV/20, Samuel Ford *et al.* to Cotterell, 18 April 1816. For drummers and fifers retaining instruments and books after their service, see ERO,

the outcome of this particular request is unclear, some volunteer officers certainly did gift instruments and music books to their bandsmen upon dissolution, enabling them to continue playing for 'public dinners, and other parties'.⁶⁵ Other corps repossessed such musical materiel solely with the objective of stewarding a peacetime ensemble. Subscribers of the Doncaster Volunteers, for example, presented the instruments to the town corporation in 1814, depositing them in the Mansion House 'as an encouragement for the continuance of a military band'.⁶⁶ The availability of old regimental instruments also facilitated the revival of long-dormant auxiliary ensembles and the formation of new bands in the post-war years by reducing the need for prohibitive capital outlays. A Salisbury volunteer corps raised in response to the 1831 Swing Riots equipped their musicians with twenty-three instruments and eighteen music books borrowed from the defunct 3rd Wiltshire Local Militia.⁶⁷ Seven years later, the *Western Times* described the 'resurrection' of a Devon volunteer ensemble for Queen Victoria's coronation celebrations, reporting that the 'resuscitated veterans', having dusted off their instruments and rebranded themselves as the Powderham band, would henceforth be giving weekly open-air concerts.⁶⁸

L/U 3/16, Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers, memo regarding W. Kemp, 4 June 1808; StaffsRO, D(W)1788/P1/B7, Adjutant Cooper to Lt-Col Boughey, 22 May 1813 and 7 June 1817.

⁶⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June 1802.

⁶⁶ C.W. Hatfield, *Historical Notices of Doncaster* (3 vols, Doncaster, 1866-70), iii, p.257. See also *Stamford Mercury*, 16 April 1813.

⁶⁷ SHC, Wyndham Papers, DD/WY/7/19/12, list of borrowed instruments, 26 January 1831; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 31 January 1831.

⁶⁸ Banfield, *Music in the West Country*, p.94.

Even when martial musicians did not continue performing together, their instruments were often audible long after demobilisation. William Jackson of Masham, a miller's son who grew up to become a leading Yorkshire choirmaster, reportedly 'commenced his musical career' by learning to play his father's old volunteer fife.⁶⁹ Erstwhile regimental bass drums were pressed into service by village and town bands at local feasts and public celebrations, while an antique Sea Fencibles drum was beat in the Gloucestershire village of Oldbury-on-Severn to mark Queen Victoria's 1897 Diamond Jubilee.⁷⁰ Bass drums likely sourced from the military, many still sporting the Royal Arms, were widely adopted by nineteenth-century street musicians and twinned with pan pipes, enabling Punch and Judy performers 'to call the people together' before beginning their puppet shows.⁷¹ A bassoon previously owned by the Royal East India Volunteers, by contrast, was used in a Hertfordshire parish church. Repurposing regimental instruments in this manner had been anticipated by a Gloucestershire volunteer bandmaster, who advised his captain in 1798 to order bassoons equipped not only with the flared 'trumpet tops' that improved their outdoor audibility but also standard wooden bells to 'render them fit for concerts or church music when wanted'.⁷² Moreover, the decision by some officers to auction the instruments of their

⁶⁹ *Eliza Cook's Journal* (23 March 1850), p.325.

⁷⁰ Sotheby's, 'Two British Regimental Bass Drums' (auctioned 28 June 2019), <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2019/inspired-by-chatsworth-n10201/lot.81.html> (6 June 2022); *Grantham Journal*, 19 October 1945; 'Diamond Jubilee of HM Queen Victoria', *The Society of Thornbury Folk Bulletin*, 3/14 (1969), pp.7-8.

⁷¹ H. Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (4 vols, 1861), iii, pp.44, 189-90; W. Hone, *The Every-day Book* (1825), pp.1114-5.

⁷² Kilbey, *Music-Making in the Hertfordshire Parish*, pp.107-9; GA, Clifford Papers, D149/X21/15, John Pearce to Captain Winchcombe, August[?] 1798.

disbanded corps made large volumes of musical hardware available at reduced prices.⁷³ Indeed, the regular army remained an important source of second-hand instruments for amateur players and civilian bands in the post-war decades, as the memoirs of Dover shoemaker George Herbert strikingly demonstrate.⁷⁴ Having purchased the old instruments of a Rifle Brigade battalion for the bargain price of £3 7s 6d in the late 1830s, Herbert bartered or sold parts of the assemblage to other working-class players and took lessons on the trombone from a regimental musician, playing it at nightly musical parties and joining a Conservative election band.⁷⁵

Wartime investment in martial music-making had placed enormous demands on instrument makers, flooding them with orders during periods of military expansion and generating an ongoing need for instrument replacements and repairs.⁷⁶ The resulting opportunities nurtured the commercial infrastructure of the music trade nationwide, encouraging instrument manufacturing in Edinburgh and drawing provincial booksellers and metalworkers into the business.⁷⁷ The pewterer James Power, for example, began repairing regimental bugles and trumpets in his native

⁷³ See, for example, DCRO, D/DLI 3/4/492, Stockton Volunteer band inventory, c.1813; *Suffolk Chronicle*, 27 April 1816; *Le Spectateur Canadien*, 8 July 1816.

⁷⁴ *Dublin Evening Packet*, 12 June 1830; *Stamford Mercury*, 6 June 1834; A. Myers (ed) *The Glen Account Book, 1838-1853* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp.34-41, 47, 56, 74.

⁷⁵ Herbert, *Shoemaker's Window*, pp.24-7.

⁷⁶ ERA, Grimston Papers, DDGR/43/15/27, Richard Legard to Thomas Grimston, 28 April 1795; Birmingham Archives, Boulton Papers, MS3782/18/3, Captain Moore to Major Boulton, 28 September 1803; J.S. Nex, 'The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London' (PhD thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2013), pp.77-9.

⁷⁷ *Bury and Norwich Post*, 18 January 1804; Cranmer, 'Concert Life and the Music Trade', pp.301-6; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.101-3, 155.

Galway, then became a military instrument maker in Dublin, and ultimately established a lucrative music publishing house on the Strand, releasing Thomas Moore's hugely popular collections of Irish drawing-room songs.⁷⁸ Military demand also spurred innovations in organology: wartime manufacturers promoted the newly-invented bass horn as an improvement on the serpent, developed more durable clarinets for regimental service, and produced the army's first double-coiled bugle, designed by a Captain Ridge, which was praised for its portability and tone.⁷⁹ Instrument makers and martial musicians experimented with adding slides, holes, and keys to trumpets and bugles to increase the number of playable notes, culminating in the invention of the keyed bugle by Joseph Haliday, the master of the Cavan Militia band, in 1810.⁸⁰ Even in peacetime, the Guards regiments remained primary ports of call for inventors and dealers anxious to popularise novel brass instrument designs because of their deep pockets and national prestige.⁸¹

Wartime musical mobilisation not only trained novice performers and stimulated the music trade but directly encouraged the post-war formalisation of amateur wind

⁷⁸ *Literary Gazette* (3 September 1836), p.573.

⁷⁹ D. Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements', *Galpin Society Journal*, 63 (2010), pp.116, 120-1; *Cyclopædia*, viii, 'clarinet'; *Military Register*, 19 April 1815. For an extant Ridge bugle, see NAM, 1994-01-115-1.

⁸⁰ D. Lasocki, 'New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle, Part 1', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 21 (2009), pp.11-50. See also Sumner, 'Stock Purse', p.129, mentioning a slide bugle purchased for the Northampton Militia band.

⁸¹ T. Moore, *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, ed. Lord J. Russell (8 vols, 1853-6), iv, pp.111-12; *The Musical World* (29 December 1837), pp.254-5; *The Spectator* (21-27 October 1838), p.1013.

and later brass bands. Outdoor ceremonies and cavalcades in the later eighteenth century frequently featured non-military instrumental accompaniment, sometimes provided by chapel performers, civic musicians known as waits, or a smattering of poorly documented village bands.⁸² But secular civilian wind ensembles became far more widespread and better organised in the decades after 1815. Often formally governed by bandmasters, committees, and written regulations, these bands were primarily comprised of skilled and semi-skilled workers and considered permanent enough to justify substantial investments in instruments and uniforms.⁸³ The Newcastle historian Eneas Mackenzie, writing in 1827, was unequivocal about the link between the expansion of instrumental music-making and the recent conflicts: 'The bands attached to the numerous military corps embodied during the late war have tended greatly to extend the knowledge of music. At present, there is a band belonging to almost every extensive colliery upon the Tyne and the Wear, all of which are encouraged by the owners on account of the moral influence of music. In Newcastle, it has become, as in other parts, an essential part of education.'⁸⁴

The military facilitated the proliferation of civilian bands by creating a geographically dispersed supply of trained instrumentalists capable of leading and

⁸² *Derby Mercury*, 30 December 1784; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 January 1793; *Leicester Journal*, 11 January 1793; Mackenzie, *Descriptive and Historical Account of...Newcastle*, i, pp.59, 590.

⁸³ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.194-7; Lomas, 'Secular Civilian Amateur Wind Bands', pp.79-80; H.J. Morehouse, *History and Topography of the Parish of Kirkburton* (Huddersfield, 1861), p.168; *The Musical World* (24 March 1837), p.30.

⁸⁴ Mackenzie, *Descriptive and Historical Account of...Newcastle*, i, p.591.

tutoring amateur players. James Platt, previously a local militia fife-major, founded a wind band at Saddleworth in Yorkshire in 1817, while Joseph Mellor of nearby Oldham, a former Life Guards trumpeter, led another band established for George IV's coronation for more than two decades.⁸⁵ Across the Irish Sea, the young men of the Carrick-on-Suir amateur band clubbed together to engage the instructional services of the bandmaster of the Tipperary Militia.⁸⁶ A number of old soldiers established themselves as serial band-trainers, including William Shaw of Lincoln, an erstwhile 'trumpeter and bugleman' of the 33rd Foot who had reportedly trained forty-nine ensembles by 1844.⁸⁷ An unscrupulous alumnus of the Grenadier Guards band, resident in Southwark by the 1840s, likewise worked as an 'instructor to and arranger of music for amateur bands, of which there are a considerable number in the suburban districts south of the Thames.'⁸⁸ Erstwhile musical warriors also provided important professional stiffening as rank-and-file instrumentalists in civilian ensembles.⁸⁹ A Dutch musician captured at the battle of Camperdown, for example, served with the 73rd Foot at Waterloo and subsequently became a well-known member of Great Yarmouth's town band.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Bradbury, *Saddleworth Sketches*, pp.60, 83; TNA, WO13/3649, Agbrigg LM pay-lists; *Oldham Advertiser*, 28 November 1857.

⁸⁶ *Tipperary Free Press*, 20 August 1836.

⁸⁷ *Stamford Mercury*, 15 August 1834, 16 March 1838, 20 December 1844.

⁸⁸ *Morning Advertiser*, 4 October 1849.

⁸⁹ T. Geering, *Our Parish: A Medley* (Lewes, 1884), pp.78-80; *Lanarkshire Examiner*, 6 February 1886; [J. Riddell], *Aberdeen and its Folk* (Aberdeen, 1868), pp.132-3.

⁹⁰ E.J. Lupson, *St. Nicholas' Church, Great Yarmouth* (Yarmouth, [1881]), pp.214-15; TNA, WO 97/857/37 and 121/204/139, John Van Hutton discharges.

Not all amateur ensembles incorporated old soldiers; church and chapel musicians were also prominent as leaders or participants.⁹¹ Yet regimental bands clearly constituted the primary model for civilian wind ensembles and set the standard against which they were judged.⁹² Instead of adopting the mixed woodwind and string instrumentation common among English church musicians, secular civilian bands formed in the 1820s and 1830s employed the wind and percussion instruments associated with their military counterparts. A band of tradesmen in Graiguenamanagh in County Kilkenny, for example, featured six clarinets, one piccolo, two flutes, one French horn, two bassoons, one bass horn, cymbals, and a bass drum in 1829. Other ensembles incorporated keyed bugles, trombones, triangles, and tambourines.⁹³ Moreover, a large proportion of civilian bands followed military practice by purchasing eye-catching and often obviously martial attire. A town band formed at Crieff in 1825 under the leadership of 'an old regimental bandsman' was clothed in blue jackets with white facings and tartan trousers.⁹⁴ Six years later, an eighteen-strong Salford band turned out 'wearing military dresses of the hussar cut'.⁹⁵ Civilian ensembles also

⁹¹ J. Greenhalgh, 'Recollections of Stockport', in E.W. Bulkeley (ed), *Cheshire Notes and Queries* (Stockport, 1887), p.210; F. Peel, *Spen Valley: Past and Present* (Heckmondwike, 1893), pp.294-6.

⁹² See, for example, *Brighton Gazette*, 19 April 1832; *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 23 October 1824; *Sketches of the Merino Factory* (Dublin, 1818), p.47.

⁹³ P. O'Leary, *Old Time Music: The Old Bands, Graignamanagh* (Graiguenamanagh, 1904), p.6. See also, for example, NLW, Eaton Evans & Williams (Solicitors) Records, EAEVWI/5028, S.H. Phillips to Harvey and Grevill committee, 4 June 1831, and Sir Leonard Twiston Davies Collection, LEOIES/4420, Monmouth election band account from James Hopkins, 18 December 1832; J. Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey* (Stanningley, 1887), p.104; H. Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham* (Horsham, 1911), p.50; *Register for the First Society of Adherents to Divine Revelation, at Orbiston* (9 September 1826), p.133.

⁹⁴ Macara, *Crieff: Its Traditions and Characters*, p.230.

⁹⁵ *The Star*, 25 July 1831. See also *The Scotsman*, 9 and 13 August 1834.

mirrored the repertoires of their regimental counterparts, performing marches, 'martial' pieces, or Scottish airs, and even purchased manuscript part-books directly from military bands. The Idle and Calverly ensemble, clad in uniforms compared to 'soldier's clothes', played several quicksteps and a waltz, as well as 'Rule, Britannia!', 'Heart of Oak', and 'Boyne Water', for a Bradford Orange march in 1844.⁹⁶ Furthermore, at least some amateur bands emulated military drill. A band raised by the experimental socialist community of Orbiston in Lanarkshire in 1827 was 'taught in the military form' and practised 'marching, counter marching [and] wheeling', while the Barnard Castle band, which included veterans of the Durham Militia and their offspring, was described as 'regularly drilled & accustomed to marching & playing in military time' twenty-five years later.⁹⁷ The involvement of veterans, moreover, could infuse civilian bands with an ethos of military rigour: Roderick Innes, a sprightly pensioner in Stonehaven who had served in India as a drummer, was well-liked as the leader of a temperance society band but 'never forgot that he was the soldier, and was strict in the enforcement of discipline' over his musicians.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ J. Skinner, *Journal of a Somerset Rector, 1803-1834*, ed. H. and P. Coombs (Oxford, 1984), p.190; *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 August 1824; *The Beauties of Sidmouth Displayed*, 2nd edn (Sidmouth, [1816]), p.29; J. Parker, *Illustrated Rambles from Hipperholme to Tong* (Bradford, 1904), pp.446-7; *Bradford Observer*, 6 June 1844.

⁹⁷ *Register for the First Society of Adherents...* (11 July 1827), p.63; DCRO, Durham Light Infantry Papers, D/DLI 2/4/206-7, William Watson to the Duke of Cleveland, 27 October 1852 and Cleveland to Watson, 28 October 1852, and D/DLI 2/4/211(5), Barnard Castle Band notes.

⁹⁸ W. MacGillivray, *Men I Remember* (1913), pp.139-41; TNA, WO97/887/48, Innes discharge.

The multiplication of quasi-military bands following the French Wars, though partly explained by the involvement of discharged regimental instrumentalists, was also driven by audience expectations. The ubiquity of martial musicians in wartime appears to have nurtured a perception that public events were incomplete without their performances.⁹⁹ The 'military band' became a recognised cultural paradigm and a commodified product independent of the armed forces, supplied by civilians or retired soldiers to clients who hoped to replicate familiar martial sounds and spectacle. A Dublin musical instrument-maker, for example, advertised his ability to 'supply a band, composed of able performers, on the military plan' in 1821, while Peter Stubbs, the son of a militia drum-major, helped organise a 'harmonic military band' of professional musicians in Liverpool in 1828 to give 'unprecedented *éclat*' to public entertainments.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, a sizeable number of post-war civilian bands billed themselves as 'military' ensembles to reflect their quasi-martial character, including the Amateur Military Band in Hull (1830), the Bannockburn Military Instrumental Band in Stirling (1830), and the 'military band' of the North Walsham Harmonic Society which played in the town's theatre in 1836.¹⁰¹ The Saffron Walden Military Band celebrated their second anniversary in 1832 by 'march[ing] into the town *en militaire*' and sharing a convivial meal with 'several veterans' of the town's former volunteer

⁹⁹ *Chester Chronicle*, 9 June 1815; Lomas, 'Amateur Brass and Wind Bands', p.21.

¹⁰⁰ *Saunders's News-Letter*, 2 August 1821; *Liverpool Mercury*, 2 May 1828; *Liverpool Mail*, 13 February 1840 and 20 January 1844; West Sussex Record Office, St Mary's, Horsham, PAR 106/1/1/3, 28 April 1795 christening of Peter Stubbs. See also *Manx Sun*, 20 November 1832.

¹⁰¹ 'Order of Procession in Commemoration of Robert Spittal's Donation to Decayed Tradesmen in 1830', in *The Stirling Antiquary*, iv, pp.80-1; *Hull Advertiser*, 25 June 1830; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 16 April 1836.

band. Whether these ex-military instrumentalists played a role in the formation of the post-war ensemble is unclear, but their invitation to dinner suggests that its members saw themselves as heirs to a civic tradition of martial music-making initiated in wartime.¹⁰²

Closer investigation of the origins and sponsorship of quasi-regimental bands reveals the broad social appeal of the format and the new opportunities and attitudes that encouraged their creation in a range of settings. In the first place, aristocrats and magnates organised wind ensembles for their country houses. The Marquess of Blandford, for example, formed a private military band at his estate near Reading and eagerly sought the services of a one-eyed serpent-player discharged from the Berkshire Militia.¹⁰³ The Marquesses of Breadalbane also maintained a uniformed ensemble at Taymouth Castle in Perthshire between 1804 and the 1860s. Composed of young apprentices and estate workers, the band was strictly governed by a succession of ex-army musicians, including a Sicilian who had served with the 40th Foot at Waterloo.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Essex Standard*, 28 January 1832.

¹⁰³ Darter, *Reminiscences of Reading*, pp.9-10; TNA, WO97/1104/43, William Middleton discharge.

¹⁰⁴ L. Whitehead, 'The House Bands of the Marquises of Breadalbane, c.1804-60', *Galpin Society Journal*, 70 (2017), pp.179-97; TNA, WO97/729/63 and WO119/64/270, Lewis Foghill discharges.

Industrialists and mine-owners, intent on providing their employees with ‘rational recreations’, sponsored wind bands as ordered and morally uplifting alternatives to customary leisure activities such as drinking, cock-fighting, and gambling.¹⁰⁵ The social reformer Robert Owen, convinced that music and military discipline promoted happiness and obedience, formed an amateur band from his mill workers at New Lanark and hired a retired soldier to teach their children to march with fife and drum.¹⁰⁶ The 3rd Marquess of Londonderry and his colliery manager John Buddle, both of whom had overseen wartime regimental bands, supported a uniformed ensemble raised from their Northumberland miners as early as 1824, while a Belper manufacturer financed a workers’ band and choir under the direction of William Gover, who like his father before him had led the Derbyshire Militia band.¹⁰⁷ Even when old soldiers were not directly involved, exposure to military music-making palpably shaped the sound and appearance of workplace ensembles. John Mackinnon, the son of a fencible sergeant who grew up in wartime Glasgow, compared the sound of fifes and drums to ‘the voice of an old acquaintance’; he taught both instruments

¹⁰⁵ P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (1978); A. Raistrick, *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare* (1938), p.71; *Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* (25 June 1836), p.243.

¹⁰⁶ L. Davidson, ‘Quest for Harmony: The Role of Music in Robert Owen’s New Lanark Community’, *Utopian Studies*, 21/2 (2010), pp.232-51; R.D. Owen, *Threading My Way: Twenty-Seven Years of Autobiography* (1874), p.114.

¹⁰⁷ DCRO, Londonderry Papers, D/Lo/C 142/8, John Buddle to the Marquess of Londonderry, 18 February 1824, and Buddle Papers, NCB I/JB/524, George Fox to Buddle, 16 April 1842; *Durham Chronicle*, 6 December 1828; Gardiner, *Music and Friends*, ii, pp.512-13; TNA, WO97/1098/90, Gover discharge; *Derby Mercury*, 17 March 1824, 9 January and 13 February 1833; *Derbyshire Advertiser*, 3 December 1869.

to boys under his supervision at Carnbroe Ironworks in 1859 and formed them into a band with uniforms modelled on military dress.¹⁰⁸

Belief in the moral benefits of music also prompted the formation of military-style bands in schools and children's homes. By 1825, students at Hazelwood School near Birmingham woke to the sound of the reveille on a keyed bugle and marched to classes in 'military step' behind a wind band composed of fellow pupils.¹⁰⁹ This experimental institution was unusual in its emphatic emulation of regimental discipline, but increasing numbers of industrial schools and children's asylums, including London's Foundling Hospital, organised quasi-military bands and fife and drum corps for working-class boys from the 1840s. Intended to inculcate discipline, promote good character, and provide children with marketable skills, these mid-century ensembles were instructed by men like David Byford and Richard Porteous, who had begun their own musical careers as military band-boys in the Napoleonic conflict.¹¹⁰

Towns and villages across Britain and Ireland, driven by a desire to enhance civic spectacle and promote edifying recreational amenities, raised funds for military-style

¹⁰⁸ GCA, Mackinnon Papers, TD743, especially John Mackinnon to James Mackinnon, 11 August 1859, 11 October 1862 and 13 November 1863.

¹⁰⁹ A. Hill, *Public Education: Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys...at Hazelwood School*, 2nd edn (1825), pp.4, 80-2, 154-7 and *passim*.

¹¹⁰ *PP* (1857/8), xlv (2386), Reports by H.M. Inspectors of Schools on Workhouse Schools, pp.39-41; TNA, WO97/201/3, Porteous discharge, and ADM157/32/88, Byford attestation; *Suffolk and Essex Free Press*, 3 May 1866; LMA, Foundling Hospital Papers, A/FH/A/3/20, Band Committee minutes, 1847-8, and A/FH/A/6/20/8, 'Letter to the Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital on the Expediency of Forming an Instrumental Band' by J. Brownlow, 1847.

bands in the 1820s and 1830s. In the market town of Great Driffield in Yorkshire, for example in 1828-29, gentlemen, professional men, merchants, and skilled workers subscribed for the purchase of instruments and sets of marches to be used by a local ensemble 'on all public occasions'.¹¹¹ Other community bands receiving patronage from propertied townsmen played publicly on summer evenings in the manner of regimental musicians in garrison towns.¹¹² Enthusiasm for civic bands was particularly apparent in England's developing seaside and spa resorts, which had benefited from expanding middle-class demand and the inaccessibility of continental alternatives in wartime.¹¹³ Having grown accustomed to military ensembles playing for visitors on the seaside promenade, Hastings formed a new town band to perform in the same spot from 1818.¹¹⁴ Another town band in Southampton, led by a former militia bugle-major, played three evenings weekly on the Royal Pier in July 1834.¹¹⁵ Bands became equally indispensable leisure amenities in spa communities. The Duke of Devonshire sponsored a 'band of military music' from the 1820s to enhance Buxton's tourist appeal while nearby Matlock Bath boasted a brass ensemble comprised of young men in military dress.¹¹⁶ Conscious of the need to compete against Cheltenham's

¹¹¹ ERA, PE10/T87, Great Driffield All Saints, churchwarden's accounts, 15 December 1828, 23 March 1829; *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory for 1828-9* ([1828]), pp.929-32.

¹¹² *Tipperary Free Press*, 9 December 1835, 20 August 1836; *Belfast News-Letter*, 24 March 1837.

¹¹³ P. Borsay, 'Health and Leisure Resorts 1700-1840', in P. Clark *et al.*, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (3 vols, Cambridge, 2000), ii, pp.780-4.

¹¹⁴ *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 28 July 1805; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, 22 August 1814; *The British Press*, 29 September 1818.

¹¹⁵ TNA, WO97/1110/189, Stephen Turtle discharge; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 24 June 1833; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 14 July 1834.

¹¹⁶ S. Glover, *The History of the County of Derby*, ed. T. Noble (2 vols, Derby, 1829), ii, p.180; A. Lister, *No Priest but Love: Excerpts from the Diaries of Anne Lister, 1824-1826*, ed. H.

Montpellier Spa band with their 'imposing foreign military costumes', leading citizens in Leamington Spa fundraised for their own 'military town band' in 1834.¹¹⁷ The Leamington ensemble, which played operatic excerpts at 'promenades, archery fetes, and other public amusements' during the summer tourist season, was also clothed in 'military costume' and led by former regimental musicians.¹¹⁸

Although encouraged by elite and middle-class sponsorship, it must be stressed that the spread of civilian bands was also a product of working-class initiative and interest in mutual improvement.¹¹⁹ Precipitous population growth, urbanisation, and industrialisation expanded potential audiences and therefore earning opportunities for amateur ensembles, as did the comparative frequency of elections and political demonstrations.¹²⁰ Self-reliant working men responded to this robust demand by organising wind bands with their friends, writing marches, and pooling spare shillings to obtain instruments and instruction.¹²¹ The multiplication of friendly societies, temperance associations, and working-class party political clubs by the 1830s further encouraged the formalisation of amateur ensembles, as fraternities hired existing

Whitbread (Otley, 1992), p.114; W. Adam, *The Gem of the Peak, or, Matlock Bath and its Vicinity* ([1838]), p.39.

¹¹⁷ *Cheltenham Journal*, 28 May 1827; *Leamington Spa Courier*, 12 July and 13 September 1834.

¹¹⁸ *Leamington Spa Courier*, 2 May and 20 June 1835, 27 August 1836; T.B. Dudley, *From Chaos to the Charter: A Complete History of Royal Leamington Spa* (Leamington Spa, 1901), pp.213-4.

¹¹⁹ Griffin, *Liberty's Dawn*, pp.222-45; J. Walvin, *English Urban Life, 1776-1851* (1984), p.152.

¹²⁰ Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.196-7; F. O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties* (Oxford, 1989), pp.107-11; W. Mate, *Then and Now; or, Fifty Years Ago* (Poole, 1883), p.83.

¹²¹ Whitehead, *Autobiography*, pp.19-31. See also J. Napier, *Notes and Reminiscences Relating to Partick* (Glasgow, 1873), pp.258-9.

bands for processions and excursions and formed new ones from their own membership.¹²² Many such bands, not least those renowned for public carousing, were largely autonomous plebeian enterprises that reflected the priorities of their working-class members and audiences more than the social anxieties of middle-class proponents of rational recreation.¹²³ For the radical printer Henry Heavisides, who spent ten years as a military musician before leading an amateur band and a workhouse fife and drum corps in Stockton-on-Tees, music was inextricably linked not to the taming of the unruly masses but the self-empowerment of working men.¹²⁴

One of the foremost emblems of working-class life in nineteenth-century Britain was the muscular sound of an exclusively *brass* ensemble.¹²⁵ The identity of the first band to dispense with woodwind instruments has been fiercely contested, but historians have hitherto accepted that brass bands originated in the 1830s at the initiative of civilian musicians.¹²⁶ In fact, military bands began employing the format earlier, taking advantage of advances in chromatic brass technology developed at home and on the continent. An 1818 musical dictionary reported that the 15th Foot

¹²² *Manks Advertiser*, 7 May 1818; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 20 June 1835; *Leeds Times*, 19 November 1836; *The Teetotaler: A Weekly Journal* (25 July 1840), p.38; C.E. McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy* (Cambridge, 2009), pp.69-76; P. Salmon, *Electoral Reform at Work* (Woodbridge, 2002), p.69.

¹²³ Burstow, *Reminiscences*, pp.44, 50; Russell, *Popular Music in England*, pp.238-9.

¹²⁴ *Evening Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 26 August 1870; G.M. Tweddell, *The Bards and Authors of Cleveland and South Durham* (Stokesley, 1872), pp.305-7; H. Heavisides and J.A.H. Simpson, *Centennial Edition of the Works of Henry Heavisides* (1895), pp.7-27.

¹²⁵ Rose, *Intellectual Life*, p.197.

¹²⁶ Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands', pp.18-19.

had organised a band ‘formed of bugles only’, while the Paisley Volunteer Rifle Corps, mobilised to counter insurrectionary radicalism in 1819-20, organised a band composed of keyed bugles and a single drum.¹²⁷ The ‘brass band’ of the 14th Light Dragoons, equipped with keyed trumpets, elicited press accolades for their performance at an 1822 military review.¹²⁸ Other regiments soon followed suit. The 2nd Life Guards, which by 1827 had been gifted valved trumpets by the tsar of Russia, fielded a ‘famous Russian chromatic trumpet-band’, as did the 8th Hussars, and brass bands of numerous other regular and yeomanry corps were mentioned in newspapers before 1830.¹²⁹ The first identifiable civilian brass band was also led by a retired soldier. James Sanderson, a former trumpet-major of the 13th Light Dragoons who had fought at Waterloo, publicised his ‘military brass band’ in February 1829 and led the troupe at festivities in and around Leamington Spa and Warwick.¹³⁰ Sanderson’s ensemble appears to have been short-lived, but military instrumentalists were equally crucial in leading civilian brass bands elsewhere as the format rapidly gained

¹²⁷ Jones, *History of the Rise and Progress of Music*, p.389; R. Brown, *The History of Paisley* (2 vols, Paisley, 1886), ii, p.213

¹²⁸ *Morning Post*, 14 June 1822. The all-brass format was familiar enough by 1824 for a Sheffield organist and yeomanry bandmaster to advertise his willingness to arrange music for ‘what are usually termed “military brass bands”’ (*Sheffield Independent*, 31 January 1824).

¹²⁹ C. Bevan, ‘The (P)Russian Trumpet’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 41 (1988), pp.112-14; *Morning Post*, 18 January 1827; *Dublin Evening Packet*, 14 August 1828; *Freeman’s Journal*, 26 July 1826 and 28 October 1828; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 13 October 1827; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 30 June 1827; *The Standard* (London), 8 and 20 June 1829. For more on the formation and instrumentation of early yeomanry brass bands, see Dorset History Centre, Dorset Yeomanry Papers, D-DOY/A/3/7/2, especially James Frampton to G.T. Jacob, 11 August 1833, and Frampton to Captain Goodden, 7 October 1833.

¹³⁰ TNA, WO97/117/47, Sanderson discharge; *Leamington Spa Courier*, 28 February 1829; *Warwick and Warwickshire General Advertiser*, 9 May 1829; *Leicester Herald*, 1 July 1829.

purchase.¹³¹ Although initially reliant on keyed bugles, trumpets, and trombones, civilian brass bands embraced new designs first adopted in the military or introduced by (ex-)regimental performers. The popularisation of affordable and uncomplicated saxhorns by the Distin family, whose patriarch had begun his musical career in the South Devon Militia, appears to have been particularly important in fuelling the continued spread of working-class brass bands from the 1840s.¹³²

From training new entrants to the music profession to providing inspiration for civilian amateur bands, the impact of the military on nineteenth-century musical culture was manifestly far-reaching, albeit difficult to quantify precisely. Yet some sense of proportion may be gleaned from an 1884 local history by the millwright-bassoonist William Millington, which documents musical life in several south Lancashire parishes, including Eccles, Leigh, and Bolton, between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. His *Sketches of Local Musicians and Musical Societies* includes biographies of more than two hundred singers and instrumentalists, many of whom Millington had known personally; though some entries are more fulsome than

¹³¹ See, for example, E. Jackson, 'Origin & Promotion of Brass Band Contests', *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review* (September 1896), p.815; *Stamford Mercury*, 15 August 1834; J. Cossins, *Reminiscences of Exeter* (Exeter, 1877), pp.21-31; *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 15 July 1837, 21 March 1840; *Western Times*, 23 June 1838; TNA, WO97/1107/130, Thomas Ronchetti discharge.

¹³² *Durham County Advertiser*, 8 August 1829; *Stamford Mercury*, 17 April 1835; *The Musical World* (20 January 1837), p.79, and (29 December 1837), pp.254-5; *The British Bandsman* (March 1889), pp.132-4; *The International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue* (3 vols, [1862]), ii, p.113; TNA, WO13/537-47, South Devon Militia pay-lists, 1804-14; Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands' and A. Myers, 'Instruments and Instrumentation of British Brass Bands', in Herbert (ed), *British Brass Band*, pp.24-31, 169-73.

others, they collectively provide unusually detailed insight into the activities of lesser-known musical professionals and amateur or part-time performers. Of the 142 instrumentalists listed (all of whom were men), thirty-eight had served in military ensembles for all or part of their musical careers. Two organists were sons of John Fawcett, a former local militia bandmaster mentioned above, and a further ten players, including Millington himself, had been instructed by musicians with experience of military service.¹³³ The salience of the military becomes greater still when the focus is restricted to wind instrumentalists; forty-five out of seventy-two (62.5%) are known to have had direct or indirect connections with regimental music-making. Thirty-seven had played in military bands themselves: twenty-three in the Bolton Local Militia band, five in other wartime corps, and thirteen in the post-war yeomanry or mid-century volunteers (four individuals served in multiple units). Another eight wind players were the sons or students of ex-servicemen; most of the remaining instrumentalists were affiliated with local churches and chapels. The former military musicians profiled by Millington actively contributed to numerous facets of musical life, performing for religious services and concerts, instructing individual pupils and entire bands, and operating music shops or repairing instruments. Millington's biographies, although probably not entirely comprehensive and only pertaining to a small geographical area, provide an estimation of the military's importance in the nineteenth-century musical ecosystem which is more in keeping with the qualitative

¹³³ Millington, *Sketches, passim*, and Marsh, *Journals*, i, pp.578, 642.

observations of contemporaries than Rohr's account.¹³⁴ The military emerges not as a marginal component of musical culture but as a preeminent sponsor of wind music-making and second only to churches and chapels as an institutional instigator of musical activity.

The prominence of military veterans in wider musical culture was also readily discernible across the British empire and further afield. Just as retired army officers contributed to the development of British colonies and colonial institutions through their cultural education and practical knowledge in fields such as medicine and engineering, regimental bandsmen and their progeny played a vital role in propagating European musical practices overseas.¹³⁵ Erstwhile military musicians gave lessons, imported instruments, and opened music shops or dancing academies in Montreal and Quebec City, often benefiting from the local reputations they had established as teachers and performers while still in uniform.¹³⁶ A former bandmaster of the Leitrim Militia opened a music school in Cobourg, Upper Canada with his son in 1832, while grandchildren of the German bandmaster of the Kerry Militia played Canadian church organs, sold pianos, and co-founded the Ontario Music Teachers' Association.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, p.41.

¹³⁵ C. Wright, *Wellington's Men in Australia* (Basingstoke, 2011), p.10.

¹³⁶ Bourassa-Trépanier and Poirer, *Répertoire des Données Musicales*, ii, pp.262-73, 291, 306-7, 975, 1042, 1150; R.W.S. Mackay, *Montreal Directory for 1842-3* (Montreal, 1842), p.52; TNA, WO 97/850/21, John Follenus discharge.

¹³⁷ M.A. Peterman, *Delicious Mirth: The Life and Times of James McCarroll* (Montreal and Kingston, 2018), pp.16-43; TNA, WO119/26/201, Robert McCarroll discharge; G.M. Rose, *Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 2 vols, 1886), i, p.701; H. Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto, 1960), pp.150-1; *Cork Constitution*, 1 September 1832;

Similar patterns can be traced elsewhere: the Italian-born Joseph Reichenberg, the first named composer in the history of settler Australia, became a Catholic choirmaster in Hobart after retiring as bandmaster of the 40th Foot and was succeeded in the role by his daughter.¹³⁸ A number of regimental musicians, some of whom had deserted or been captured during the War of 1812, later worked as music teachers and concert instrumentalists throughout the United States, in one case leading the fledgling band of the US Military Academy at West Point.¹³⁹ The influence of military music-making could also be indirect and multi-generational: the American Civil War band leader and impresario Patrick Gilmore, recognised as the father of the concert band in the United States, learned music in his native Ireland from a veteran of the Peninsular War.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, ex-army musicians routinely mentored amateur bands organised on regimental lines overseas, training enslaved plantation workers in Mauritius and spearheading early wind and brass ensembles in Australia, Canada, and the United States.¹⁴¹

TNA, WO97/1108/180, Andrew Sippe discharge.

¹³⁸ G. Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition: First National Music, 1788-c.1860' (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2011), pp.73-80.

¹³⁹ S. McNelley, 'John Easterbrook and the War of 1812', *Tracings by Sam* (2017), <https://www.tracingsbysam.com/middhx.html> (4 June 2022); Lord Dalhousie, *The Dalhousie Journals*, ed. M. Whitelaw (3 vols, Ottawa, 1978-82), ii, p.79; B.H. Miller, *Augusta Browne* (Rochester, NY, 2020), pp.10-45. For Alexander Kyle, see *The Sun*, 10 November 1818; *New York Evening Post*, 12 October 1827; V.B. Lawrence, *Strong on Music* (3 vols, 1988-2000), i p.54; E.C. Boynton, *History of West Point* (New York, 1864), p.337.

¹⁴⁰ P.E. Bierley, *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1973), p.54; TNA, WO97/473/7, Patrick Keating discharge; *Athlone Sentinel*, 19 August 1842; *Westmeath Independent*, 10 September 1853; *Harper's Weekly* (28 September 1889), p.786.

¹⁴¹ C. Telfair, *Some Account of the State of Slavery at Mauritius* (1830), pp.182-4, 245; Bourassa, 'Contribution des Bandes Militaires', pp.137-59; D.B. Payne, 'Social Music in London, Upper Canada/Canada West', (MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1998), pp.42-3; Skinner, 'Toward a General History of Australian Musical Composition', p.307; [E.

In the colonies as in the United Kingdom, onetime musical warriors sometimes discovered that local demand for their services was insufficient to support their families, and were obliged to take on non-musical work.¹⁴² The ready availability of regimental bands in imperial garrisons was even criticised by the 1840s for hurting the prospects of self-employed performers.¹⁴³ Yet investigation into the backgrounds of the complainants only underscores the centrality of military families in colonial musical life: of the eleven Montreal musicians who remonstrated against regimental ensembles playing at civilian functions in 1843, two appear to have been sons of Richard Salter, a discharged musician of the 49th Foot, and another four were children of Joseph Maffre, who had joined the Royal Foreign Artillery as an eleven-year-old drummer in 1806 and eventually retired as bandmaster of the 71st Foot.¹⁴⁴

Wartime military mobilisation had far-reaching ramifications for musical culture in Britain, Ireland and overseas. Regimental instrumentalists commonly continued performing after discharge to remember their military service or earn income as musicians. Former bandsmen and their offspring not only distinguished themselves as

Finn], *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne* (2 vols, Melbourne, 1888), ii, p.539; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 12 June 1880; E. Clark, *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York* (2 vols, New York, NY, 1890), i, pp.260, 312.

¹⁴² Western Cape Archives, CO3886, Lewis Meurant to H.G. Grey, 12 August 1811.

¹⁴³ *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 6 March 1847.

¹⁴⁴ LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 76, p.219, G. Compton *et al.* to Sir Richard Downes Jackson, 4 November 1843; TNA, WO10/626, Royal Foreign Artillery pay-lists, 1806, and WO119/36/199, Salter discharge; M. Griep and M. Mikasen, *Joseph Maffre: Master of the Band* (Lincoln, NE, 2015).

wind performers but worked throughout the civilian music profession, becoming organists and vocalists, teachers and retailers, and religious or operatic composers. Music could be a precarious vocation, yet discharged regimental performers benefited from the growing middle-class appetite for music lessons and concerts and a buoyant market for popular leisure. Onetime musical warriors in many cases did not conform to the received image of ex-soldiers as despised and alienated figures, but instead successfully settled back into civilian life, as John Cookson has argued in the case of Scottish pensioners, and achieved 'a measure of social respect'.¹⁴⁵ The military not only trained large numbers of performers but underpinned the expansion of popular music-making by promoting new instrument designs, fostering the music trade's commercial infrastructure, and generating substantial stocks of second-hand instruments. Wartime mobilisation also helps explain the character and spread of civilian instrumental ensembles after 1815, not least because a sizeable number were in fact regimental bands which soldiered on after the demise of their associated corps. Besides producing the largest identifiable cohort of band trainers, the military provided a familiar and attractive model for amateur players and audiences just as growing commercial opportunities and belief in the moralising power of music encouraged the formation of instrumental ensembles in wider society. By drawing on previously overlooked archival records and newspaper accounts, this chapter has also revised the accepted chronology and history of amateur bands in other respects. While

¹⁴⁵ J.E. Cookson, 'Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Military Pensioners as Homecoming Soldiers', *Historical Journal*, 52/2 (2009), pp.319-41.

Trevor Herbert has argued that the British brass bands of the 1850s represented a new musical movement which owed relatively little to prior developments, many of the innovations he attributed to the later nineteenth century can in fact be identified at an earlier date. Indeed, secular instrumental ensembles of labouring men, often sponsored by employers or public subscriptions, were already widely dispersed in the 1820s and 1830s prior to the general adoption of valved brass technology.¹⁴⁶ Brass bands themselves, moreover, were not brought to Britain and Ireland by bourgeois paternalists or working-class musicians in the 1830s but had been introduced by the military more than a decade before their previously accepted genesis.

¹⁴⁶ See Herbert, 'Nineteenth-Century Bands', pp.11, 18-19, 34-6; T. Herbert, 'Traditions and Interventions: Popular Music 1840-1940', in T. Herbert, M.V. Clarke, and H. Barlow, *A History of Welsh Music* (Cambridge, 2022), pp.296-7.

7. Military Music and Post-War Popular Politics

In November 1833, tradesmen in Birmingham laid the cornerstone of the Operative Builders' Guildhall, which was intended to serve as the headquarters of a fledgling trade union federation. The union's periodical congratulated its members for staging a procession that outmatched the bloodstained mummerly of military spectacle but saw no contradiction in the fact that the cavalcade was led by a former local militia band. Instead, *The Pioneer* gleefully noted that the onetime regimental musicians, now mobilised in aid of organised labour, had been made to wear leather aprons, symbolising the triumph of industry over war. The building's architect Joseph Hansom, in a speech at the rain-soaked ceremony, could not avoid drawing a comparison with the foul weather of the Waterloo campaign. While condemning the destructiveness of war, he predicted that the union would persevere against and ultimately defeat the enemies of the working class just as gallant British soldiers had overcome Napoleon's Grande Armée on sodden European fields eighteen years before. This sanguine comparison was not borne out by events, for the Operative Builders' Union soon dissolved and the guildhall was never completed. Yet reports of this trade union ceremony strikingly illustrate both the cultural currency of the French Wars in the post-war era and the political appropriation of martial music, even by those who scorned the military as an institution.¹

¹ *The Pioneer; or, Trades' Union Magazine* (7 December 1833), pp.105-7.

While the war years were marked by military mobilisation on an unexampled scale, subsequent decades witnessed the emergence of popular movements which sought to pressure Parliament and the political elite into enacting constitutional change. Gordon Pentland and Robert Poole, among others, have highlighted the emulation of military drill among would-be revolutionaries and supporters of parliamentary reform between 1815 and 1820, driven by the involvement of ex-servicemen and public familiarity with martial display following a generation of warfare.² Thomas Bartlett has likewise attributed the ‘militarisation’ of Irish political demonstrations and affrays to the military experience of many Irish Catholic men, while David Fitzpatrick and Allan Blackstock have suggested that the quasi-regimental parading of the Protestant Orange Order was a product of the French Wars.³ By and large, however, these accounts have paid short shrift to the auditory dimensions of political mobilisation, in keeping with the broader propensity of historians to study radical political banners and symbols in far more detail than accompanying music and sounds. This chapter directs attention to the military’s impact on the instrumental music which constituted an integral part of nineteenth-century popular political culture.⁴ Rather than

² G. Pentland, ‘Militarization and Collective Action in Great Britain, 1815-20’ in M.T. Davis (ed), *Crowd Actions in Britain and France* (Basingstoke, 2015), p.180; R. Poole, ‘The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England’, *Past & Present*, 192 (2006), pp.113, 120, 147.

³ T. Bartlett, ‘The Emergence of the Irish Catholic Nation, 1750-1850’ in A. Jackson (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford, 2014), p.532; D. Fitzpatrick, *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories since 1795* (Cambridge, 2014), p.21; Blackstock, *An Ascendancy Army*, p.300; Blackstock, *Loyalism in Ireland*, pp.265-6.

⁴ K. Bowan and P.A. Pickering, *Sounds of Liberty: Music, Radicalism and Reform in the*

considering just one campaign or type of political activity, the ensuing analysis encompasses a range of movements and extends into the 1840s. It demonstrates that sounds and spectacles associated with the military held broad and lasting appeal and considers the practical and symbolic significance of their political appropriation. The chapter begins by arguing that regimental and ex-military bands were a familiar and largely accepted feature of post-war parliamentary elections, which were more generally characterised by a predilection for martial imagery. Quasi-military music was also routinely heard at British demonstrations in support of parliamentary reform, Queen Caroline, and Chartism. The emulation of military display can likewise be documented in Ireland during the agitation for Catholic emancipation in the late 1820s and the mass meetings in support of the repeal of the Anglo-Irish union in the early 1840s, which conspicuously featured uniformed temperance bands. Finally, the chapter charts the involvement of serving and former musical warriors in Orange Order processions and Upper Canadian reform rallies.

Late Georgian parliamentary elections were frequently boisterous, theatrical affairs reliant on the participation of voters and non-voters alike. Music and song were essential for attracting public attention, rallying crowds of supporters, and imparting

Anglophone World, 1790-1914 (Manchester, 2019), pp.16-18; K. Bowan and P.A. Pickering, "'Songs for the Millions': Chartist Music and Popular Aural Tradition', *Labour History Review*, 74/1 (2009), p.46-47. See also I. Haywood, 'The Sounds of Peterloo', in M. Demson and R. Hewitt (eds), *Commemorating Peterloo* (Edinburgh, 2019), pp.57-80, which despite its attention to shouting and song pays little attention to drums, bugles, and bands.

information on candidates and controversies.⁵ Musicians of disbanded auxiliary corps continued performing at post-war parliamentary contests, typically amplifying the politics of their erstwhile commandants. Thomas Meynell, a Catholic squire resident in Yarm, marshalled the band of his former volunteer corps to ‘enliven the spectacle’ of John George Lambton’s County Durham canvas in 1820; the fifteen or so uniformed musicians, who were ferried between towns in carts, played ‘a very prominent part’ in the Whig reformer’s successful re-election bid.⁶ Moreover, militia bands routinely participated in post-war election rituals in both contested and uncontested constituencies across the United Kingdom. Musicians of the South Lincoln regiment welcomed a pro-ministerial hopeful - the brother of their commanding officer - into Grantham in 1820, while the ‘drums and fifes of the East Essex Militia’ joined a Tory candidate’s procession in Colchester six years later.⁷ Military veterans also participated in numerous ostensibly civilian bands engaged for elections and other partisan gatherings: four of the five named members of the Somerset and Norton band, who were pelted by a crowd after playing at a Conservative party dinner in 1835, were serving or retired members of the 1st Somerset Militia.⁸

⁵ F. O’Gorman, ‘Campaign Rituals and Ceremonies: The Social Meaning of Elections in England, 1780-1860’, *Past & Present*, 135/1 (1992), pp.81, 95-7.

⁶ Quotations from *Evening Mail*, 13 March 1820; *Durham County Advertiser*, 15 April 1820. See also *Morning Post*, 22 March 1820; *Saunders’s News-Letter*, 16 August 1820; *Durham Chronicle*, 25 November 1820. Another former local militia band played at a Chichester by-election three years later (*The Times*, 15 February 1823).

⁷ R. Storr, *Storr’s Impartial Narrative of...the Contested Election for...Grantham* (Grantham, 1820), pp.9-10; *Morning Post*, 12 June 1826.

⁸ *Dorset County Chronicle*, 14 January 1836; *PP* (1835), xxxviii (201), p.55; TNA, WO13/1911, 1st Somerset Militia pay-lists, 1831-8, and WO97/1095/23-4, WO97/1111/92, Samuel Warford and George Creedy Snr and Jnr discharges. See also Geering, *Our Parish*, pp.78-80; Herbert, *Shoemaker’s Window*, p.26.

Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow have suggested that the election-related appearances of militia bands were controversial and deprecated by military authorities.⁹ In reality, their performances were remarkably uncontentious, becoming an accepted practice in numerous constituencies despite the existence of legislation mandating the departure of regular soldiers and militiamen from British polling centres during elections.¹⁰ Only a handful of ineffectual complaints were levied, including one by voters in Newark-on-Trent which protested to the Home Secretary about the ‘*unlawful* and unconstitutional’ conduct of eight musicians of the Nottinghamshire Militia who played during a by-election in 1831.¹¹ Yet the petitioners also conceded that such partisan performances were an ‘evil of long standing’ in the borough rather than an isolated occurrence. Moreover, their objections notably failed to prevent serving and former Nottinghamshire militiamen from participating in the election bands of local MP William Ewart Gladstone over the next decade.¹² On the rare occasions when militia musicians were punished for electoral activities, their

⁹ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.119-21.

¹⁰ W.T. Roe, *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Elections*, 2nd edn (2 vols, 1818), pp.302-17; TNA, HO52/11/151-2, Gardiner to Newcastle, 4 July 1830, and Peel to Newcastle, [July 1830]. The law did not apply to Ireland.

¹¹ For other complaints, see *Chester Chronicle*, 12 March 1819; *The Globe*, 28 May and 6 June 1839; *Bedfordshire Mercury*, 15 and 22 June 1839, and *Monmouth Lent Assizes, 1826 in the King’s Bench, the King against Joseph Price, Esq., and others* ([Monmouth], 1826), which documents controversy over the involvement of militia musicians in Monmouth’s civic political disputes.

¹² TNA, HO51/31, pp.378-9, Lamb to Gardiner, 18 February 1831, and WO13/1694-5, Nottinghamshire Militia pay-lists, 1814-41; Nottinghamshire Archives, Newark-on-Trent Election Papers, DD/2723/1/3/3, 5-6, payments to election band, 1841, DD/2723/1/4/17, 25-29 list of Newark band and payments to musicians, 1833-c.1841, DD/2723/2/2/12, Hurst *et al.* to Caparn, 2 December 1834, and DD/2723/4/1/9, 1832 election account ledger.

officers appear to have been motivated not by constitutional reservations but by concern that performers had left headquarters without prior permission or hired themselves out to political adversaries.¹³ The colonel of the 2nd West York Militia, for example, was content to permit the regimental musicians to perform at the hustings as long as they supported his preferred party; on learning 'the reformers had employed his band' for the 1835 election, he ordered them to switch sides and play for the Conservatives instead.¹⁴

The presence of regimental musicians at post-war parliamentary elections paralleled the palpably military dimensions of much electoral spectacle and rhetoric. Martial metaphors evolved from an occasional trope among eighteenth-century satirists into a convention of election reportage, testifying to the ongoing influence of the recent wars on the public imagination. Newspapers breathlessly described 'regiments' of voters 'marching in *battle array* to the polling booths' and chronicled partisan affrays in overtly military terms, describing crowds holding 'councils of war', mounting 'charges', and besieging inns hosting rival campaigns.¹⁵ Electoral crowds, moreover, appear to have participated in this military make-believe, keeping step in 'military files' and parading with party flags in a manner reminiscent of regimental

¹³ SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/1048, Mortimer to Bradford, 24 March 1820. Musicians of the Leicestershire Militia were reportedly punished after playing at the chairing of candidates who had unseated the brother of their colonel (*Leicester Chronicle*, 21 May 1831).

¹⁴ *PP* (1835), x (612), Select Committee on York City Election Bribery Petition, p.396; *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1852), p.302.

¹⁵ *Hereford Times*, 15 December 1832; *Northampton Mercury*, 15 December 1832; J. Dawson, *The Norwich Election Budget* (Norwich, 1831), p.31.

ritual.¹⁶ Prospective parliamentarians, many of whom had experienced active service or held commissions in wartime auxiliary corps, recurrently channelled warlike imagery on the hustings, wearing military uniforms and medals or comparing their electoral strategies to Wellington's tactics at Waterloo.¹⁷ Congratulating supporters on securing an early lead, a Tory industrialist contesting Coventry in 1826 vaingloriously thundered that his opponents had 'brought up their light artillery and ammunition into the field; their great guns and reserve have fired broadside after broadside, but you triumphantly advanced through the hottest of the fire, and nobly obtained a majority of 71 on the day's poll.'¹⁸

Martial music and imagery were not only embraced by post-war parliamentary candidates but appropriated by political radicals seeking to reform Parliament and expand voting rights. Plebeian mimicry of state and military pageantry was not a new phenomenon: drums, trumpets, and flags had frequently been used to rally eighteenth-century crowds, and examples can be found of discharged veterans of previous wars using their musical skills to oppose the Hanoverian regime.¹⁹ But the radical reform meetings organised in northern England and Scotland between 1816

¹⁶ *The Times*, 6 August 1819; *Stamford Election, 1830* (Stamford, [1830]), p.13.

¹⁷ *Morning Post*, 13 August 1830; *Enniskillen Chronicle and Erne Packet*, 29 June 1826; *History of the Contested Election, in Chester, 1818* (Chester, [1818]), p.74.

¹⁸ Bodleian Libraries, G.A.Warw.b.3, 'Scrap-book: A Chronicle of the Times...connected with...Coventry', f.11.

¹⁹ R. Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-century England* (2004), pp.116-19; A. Randall, *Riotous Assemblies: Popular Protest in Hanoverian England* (Oxford, 2006), p.306; A.E. Cormack, *These Meritorious Objects of the Royal Bounty* (2017), p.285.

and 1820 were distinguished by their concerted emulation of military display.²⁰ One government informant described 'a large band of musicianers dress[ed] in a regimental form' striking up 'a quick march' as they played Henry Hunt, a leading spokesman for parliamentary reform, into Manchester in January 1819.²¹ Eight months later, columns of working people converged on the same town to attend another, larger demonstration, directed by bugle calls and led by bands and banners. Musicians performed 'See the Conquering Hero Comes' to welcome Hunt before some forty or fifty thousand onlookers, while drums and other musical instruments lay scattered across St. Peter's Field in the aftermath of the meeting's bloody dispersal by regular and yeomanry cavalry.²² The martial pageantry of the August Manchester meeting - dubbed Peterloo in sardonic reference to the 1815 battle - was widely noted by eyewitnesses, who described crowds marching 'like soldiers' to 'military music' and advancing 'six abreast, in military order', accompanied by leaders calling out 'Left, Right' to maintain the step.²³ In the weeks preceding Peterloo, drums and bugles had echoed through the South Pennines, disturbing slumbering inhabitants and summoning radicals for military exercise. Ex-servicemen were ubiquitous at these drill sessions as both tutors and participants, including the discharged sergeants, riflemen, and buglers who instructed unarmed reformers in wheeling and light infantry

²⁰ Pentland, 'Militarization and Collective Action', p.186.

²¹ TNA, HO42/183, f.334, account of John Livesey, 18 January 1819.

²² TNA, HO40/16, f.296, Edward Owen testimony, 6 November 1819; *Trial of Henry Hunt...at the York Lent Assizes* (1820), pp.39, 79; R. Poole, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford, 2019), pp.273, 324, 326, 363.

²³ *Trial of Henry Hunt*, pp.48, 55, 65, 77-8, 93, 179, 205; TNA, HO40/16, f.303, John Barlow testimony, 11 April 1820, and HO42/196, f.5, J.G. testimony, 10 October 1819.

manoeuvres on Tandle Hill.²⁴ Although hostile observers undoubtedly stressed the demonstrators' belligerence to justify state repression, the conscious emulation of martial discipline was acknowledged by reformers themselves. The Middleton radical Samuel Bamford described how 'old soldiers' put local lads 'through their facings' and taught them 'to march with a steadiness and regularity which would not have disgraced a regiment on parade' at regular 'drilling parties'.²⁵ Henry Hunt was less enamoured by such military posturing: four days before Peterloo he disparaged underemployed Lancashire weavers for spending 'a considerable portion of their time...playing soldiers' by practising military manoeuvres with 'drums, fifes, and bugles', noting 'one third of them at least' had previously served in the regular or auxiliary forces.²⁶

A number of erstwhile musical warriors are known to have participated in post-war radical politics, including a discharged militia musician who chaired an 1819 reform meeting in Nottingham.²⁷ The aptly-named Tom Bluett, who played to summon Royton reformers to drill prior to Peterloo, was an ex-army bugler, as was John Baird, a deserter from the 95th Rifles executed for his role as a ringleader in the 1820 Scottish

²⁴ Poole, *Peterloo*, pp.231-3; TNA, HO42/191, ff.408-9, X.Y. to Fletcher, 8 August 1819; *Report of the Proceedings in the Cause [of] Redford v. Birley and others* (Manchester, [1823]), pp.284, 309-10.

²⁵ S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical and Early Days*, ed. H. Dunkley (2 vols, 1893), ii, pp.143-4.

²⁶ *The Observer*, 16 August 1819.

²⁷ *The Times*, 22 July 1819; TNA, HO42/190, ff.401-2, Cartledge to Allsopp, 20 July 1819; WO13/1694, Nottinghamshire Militia pay-lists, 1813-16.

radical rising.²⁸ A former militia drum-major in Kilmarnock, affectionately nicknamed 'The Colonel', marshalled local reformers in 'military order' and marched them off to radical gatherings 'with a flourish of his staff' and 'drums beating, music playing, and flags flying'. The musical contingent of the Kilmarnock reformers also included a retired military bass drummer, a 'brawny carpet weaver' who, having once performed 'in defiance of the French', now turned his talents against the unrepresentative British state.²⁹

Some of the musical instruments purchased by the military in wartime were later employed to marshal supporters of reform or even rebellion. Tom Bluett's battered bugle, now displayed in an Oldham museum, still sports the broad arrow used to mark government property.³⁰ During the failed Grange Moore rising in 1820, aspiring revolutionaries visited Joseph Archer, a former local militia drummer in Barnsley, to commandeer his 'old volunteer drum' and beat it to announce the onset of armed insurrection.³¹ Although radicals also engaged musicians who performed in church

²⁸ *Oldham Chronicle*, 14 December 1878; P.E. Ellis, 'Baird, John (1788-1820)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/42328> (26 June 2022).

²⁹ J. Paterson, *Autobiographical Reminiscences* (Glasgow, 1871), pp.70-1; A. McKay, *Burns and his Kilmarnock Friends* (Kilmarnock, 1874), p.52; A.R. Adamson, *Rambles round Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock, 1875), p.24.

³⁰ Gallery Oldham, Object No. 2021.40, Tom Bluett bugle.

³¹ TNA, TS11/1013/4131, Rex v. Comstive and others, 1820, pp.15-17; HO40/12, ff.256-7, John Mitchell testimony, 15 April 1820; WO13/4619, Staincross Volunteers pay-lists, 1804-8; WO13/3666, Staincross and Osgoldcross LM pay-lists, 1809-14.

bands and borrowed instruments from Scottish town drummers, the military clearly constituted an important source of trained performers and musical materiel.³²

The radical adoption of martial music and drill was not only the result of the involvement of ex-soldiers but a consequence of more than two decades of intensified societal acculturation to regimental rituals. According to one reformer on trial after Peterloo, the Manchester demonstrators were far from alone in embracing the hallmarks of military spectacle: Sunday school pupils, friendly society members, Orangemen, and Freemasons in Lancashire all ‘generally walk in procession with music and flags’, for ‘military habits are almost interwoven with the people, in consequence of the last war’.³³

The military flavour of political reform demonstrations was partly a pragmatic organisational strategy. Radicals understood that drilling and ranked formations facilitated the marshalling of large crowds, ensuring ‘order and decorum’ through the ‘uniformity of motion’, and recognised that musical accompaniment improved group morale, encouraging ‘cheerfulness and hilarity’.³⁴ Musicians held the crowd’s attention by playing at intervals between speeches and filled interruptions in the

³² *Trial of Henry Hunt*, pp.180-1; GCA, Mackinnon Papers, TD743, Mackinnon autobiography, pp.54, 61.

³³ *Trial of Henry Hunt...for an alleged conspiracy* (Manchester, 1820), p.78.

³⁴ TNA, HO42/196, f.408, printed notice for Newcastle meeting on 11 October 1819; Bamford, *Passages*, ii, pp.143, 240-1; [Hansard], *Parliamentary Debates*, 1st ser., xli, cols. 509-13 (30 November 1819, Manchester meeting petition).

programme caused by unforeseen mishaps, including the partial collapse of the hustings at a Glasgow reform meeting in November 1819.³⁵ Yet the emulation of military display was a political strategy as much as an aesthetic or logistical imperative, offering a rejoinder to hostile authorities and newspapers who sought to discredit reform rallies as unruly mob gatherings. By presenting themselves as disciplined demonstrators rather than a riotous rabble, disenfranchised radicals staked a claim to political citizenship, demanding elite respect (in Samuel Bamford's words) 'by showing that we respected ourselves'.³⁶

Radicals such as Bamford characterised drilling and quasi-regimental spectacle as innocent innovations, but the militarisation of their gatherings was obviously intended to intimidate. Ordered displays of numerical strength were integral to the double game of post-1815 'mass platform' radicalism, which sought to cultivate a peaceful, law-abiding public image while exploiting elite fears of revolution to pressure Parliament and the Prince Regent into conceding reforms.³⁷ The precocious organisation of these demonstrations alarmed rather than reassured authorities, who interpreted the brazen appropriation of martial music and drill as proof of insurrectionary intent.³⁸ Hostile press accounts of Peterloo described a 'disciplined

³⁵ *Morning Chronicle*, 6 November 1819.

³⁶ Bamford, *Passages*, ii, pp.142-3, 150; Pentland, 'Militarization and Collective Action', pp.186-7.

³⁷ Pentland, 'Militarization and Collective Action', p.187.

³⁸ Poole, 'March to Peterloo', p.147; Poole, *Peterloo*, p.232; *Report of the Proceedings in the Cause [of] Redford v. Birley and others*, pp.212, 217.

revolutionary army' descending on Manchester for a 'seditious pageant', their bands, bugles, and 'warlike insignia' incompatible with peaceful deliberative assemblies.³⁹ It was no accident that the repressive Six Acts, hastily passed by Parliament in December 1819 to quash the burgeoning radical movement, explicitly targeted the martial symbolism of political dissent, banning both public drilling and any processions 'with any drum or military or other music'.⁴⁰

For post-war radical reformers, however, music was a critical form of non-violent political discourse, helping inspire supporters, counter critics, and communicate core beliefs. A former local militia officer described a band 'playing marches and other military tunes' at an Oldham reform meeting in 1817; noting the crowd's enthusiasm for French revolutionary airs such as 'Ça Ira' and 'La Marseillaise', he lamented that 'all loyal tunes were cautiously avoided'.⁴¹ Such reticence was atypical, however. Reformers played and sang airs which condemned state repression and celebrated righteous resistance against tyranny, such as 'Exile of Erin' and 'Scots Wha Hae Wi' Wallace Bled', but also routinely performed patriotic refrains often heard from military bands, especially 'God Save the King', 'Rule, Britannia!', and 'Downfall of Paris'.⁴² Glasgow radicals even struck up 'The British Grenadiers' when marching past military

³⁹ *Carlisle Patriot*, 28 August 1819.

⁴⁰ Cited in J.A. Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* (Oxford, 1994), p.96.

⁴¹ TNA, HO40/4/1, part 2, ff.72-7, William Chippendale to Lord Sidmouth, 4 January 1817.

⁴² *Yorkshire Gazette*, 28 August 1819; WYAS (Leeds), WYL250/6/2/B1/12/1, Keighley reform meeting order of procession, [November 1819].

barracks in an apparent salute to their residents.⁴³ Just as the adoption of martial spectacle was intended to refute loyalist scaremongering about unruly radical mobs, 'the usual patriotic airs' offered a sonic refutation of accusations of sedition by affirming radicals' fundamental allegiance to king and constitution.⁴⁴ Yet the performance of national tunes at reform meetings was also inherently subversive, enabling post-war radicals to echo their eighteenth-century forebears in claiming the mantle of patriotism while denouncing the political and economic domination of a self-interested elite.⁴⁵ Changes in lyrics or emphasis could imbue familiar refrains with unmistakably dissenting messages: contingents of Peterloo marchers, according to an unsympathetic onlooker, sang 'nothing more' than 'Britons never will be slaves' as a band performed 'Rule, Britannia!', thereby transforming an ode to naval supremacy into a defiant assertion of universal liberty.⁴⁶

To be sure, the post-war wave of radical demonstrations was not solely informed by military display. These 'great working-class carnivals' also drew on a lively popular culture of fairs, festivals, and friendly society feast-days and involved large numbers of women and children.⁴⁷ Yet the recent wars clearly had a considerable impact on the

⁴³ *Morning Advertiser*, 5 November 1819.

⁴⁴ *Carlisle Patriot*, 6 November 1819; *The Black Dwarf* (25 August 1819), col. 553.

⁴⁵ H. Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism', in R. Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (3 vols, 1989), i, pp.57-89.

⁴⁶ *The Whole Proceedings Before the Coroner's Inquest at Oldham...on the Body of John Lees...* (1820), pp.372, 385.

⁴⁷ J. Belchem, *'Orator' Hunt: Henry Hunt and English Working-Class Radicalism* (Oxford, 1985), p.112; Poole, 'March to Peterloo', pp.113-15; Epstein, *Radical Expression*, p.86.

symbolism and language of the post-1815 reform movement. Female radicals ceremonially presented caps of liberty at large-scale meetings, recalling the wartime presentation of colours to volunteer corps, while Nelson's famous Trafalgar signal was transformed from a loyalist rallying cry into an ambiguously insurrectionary call for 'every man' to 'do his duty' in effecting political change.⁴⁸ As James Epstein has argued, radicals articulated a 'rich counter-statement to the rituals of loyalism', ridiculing and repurposing official ceremony and rhetoric to encourage support for political reform.⁴⁹

The capacity of martial musicians to amplify opposition causes was amply demonstrated during the 1820 agitation in aid of Queen Caroline, a radical figurehead who gained widespread public sympathy amidst salacious parliamentary divorce proceedings initiated by her estranged husband George IV.⁵⁰ Caroline's supporters delighted in ironically embracing shibboleths of loyalism, including military music and patriotic song. Hecklers in Weymouth's theatre, for example, coaxed a regimental band into reprising the national anthem so the audience could sing 'God Save the Queen', earning the musicians a sharp rebuke from their colonel.⁵¹ During Bonfire Night festivities in Guisborough, the band of the late 3rd North York Local Militia played 'Rule, Britannia!' before large crowds as a green bag 'filled with *rubbish* and

⁴⁸ Poole, *Peterloo*, pp.190, 243; *Westmorland Gazette*, 16 October 1819; *Newcastle Courant*, 16 October 1819.

⁴⁹ Epstein, *Radical Expression*, p.83.

⁵⁰ For further information, see T.W. Laqueur, 'The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV', *Journal of Modern History*, 54/3 (1982), pp.417-66 and M. Chase, *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom* (Manchester, 2013).

⁵¹ *The Times*, 25 September 1820.

combustibles', symbolising the flimsy ministerial adultery case against Caroline, was consigned by a Waterloo veteran to the flames.⁵² The government's abandonment of the deeply unpopular divorce proceedings sparked general exultation, with further processions and effigy burnings held across Britain in defiance of the Six Acts. Some were enlivened by renditions of 'The Rogue's March' or attended by the bands of former auxiliary corps. In Carmarthen, for example, 'the bands of music of the established and local militias of the county' celebrated the Queen's 'acquittal' by playing through the streets, singing at the end of every air: 'God save Queen Caroline – Long may she reign.'⁵³ Further north in Liverpool, a committee chaired by a retired army officer mustered '[a]ll the military music which the town could afford' to commemorate Caroline's triumph, encompassing mounted trumpeters, Scottish bagpipers, four bands, and no fewer than seven corps of fifes and drums.⁵⁴

Quasi-military ensembles again featured prominently in the popular demonstrations of 1831 and 1832 in support of the Whig ministry's efforts to overhaul the electoral system by abolishing rotten boroughs and expanding the franchise. An engraving of the gargantuan assemblies on Newhall Hill in Birmingham, supposedly attended by 200,000 people including upwards of 200 bands of music, depicts a full

⁵² *York Herald*, 11 November 1820.

⁵³ *The Times*, 21 November 1820. See also *Durham Chronicle*, 25 November 1820; *Norfolk Chronicle*, 2 December 1820; Chase, *1820: Disorder and Stability in the United Kingdom*, p.188.

⁵⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 November 1820.

ensemble including Turkish percussion players in military-style dress.⁵⁵ Scottish reform gatherings also resounded with pseudo-military music-making. A civilian ensemble formed in Partick near Glasgow in 1829, established with the guidance of an old military musician and explicitly modelled on a 'regimental band', paid off their instruments by performing at meetings and processions in support of the reform bill.⁵⁶ Several former military instrumentalists, moreover, participated in rejoicings after the measure's ultimate passage, including the bootmaker George Elwin, who drew on his experience as a militia drummer to beat for festivities in Darlington.⁵⁷ The band of the Flintshire Militia even enlivened a local celebratory cavalcade alongside several other uniformed ensembles.⁵⁸

As Kate Bowan and Paul Pickering have argued, music-making was central to Chartism, a British working-class movement of unprecedented scale and longevity that campaigned for a 'People's Charter' of democratic reforms.⁵⁹ Chartists invested considerable money and effort in bands, singing classes, and choirs, using music to help construct what David Kennerley has termed 'an all-encompassing radical counter-culture' in opposition to the conservatism of state ceremonial and much popular

⁵⁵ H. Harris, 'The Gathering of the Unions on New Hall Hill, Birmingham' (1832).

⁵⁶ Napier, *Notes and Reminiscences Relating to Partick*, pp.258-9. See also *The Scotsman*, 15 October 1831 and 9 May 1832.

⁵⁷ Tweddell, *Bards and Authors of Cleveland and South Durham*, pp.305-7; H. Spencer, *Men That Are Gone From The Households of Darlington* (Darlington, [1864]), p.262.

⁵⁸ *Chester Chronicle*, 29 June 1832.

⁵⁹ Bowan and Pickering, "'Songs for the Millions'", p.45.

song.⁶⁰ True believers trooped through towns singing ‘Rule, Britannia!’ with revamped lyrics (‘Spread – spread the Charter’) or waved banners emblazoned with ‘BRITONS STRIKE HOME!’, transforming cherished loyalist anthems into clarion calls for reform.⁶¹ Bands were indispensable crowdpleasers at Chartist demonstrations both large and small, arguably proving a greater draw than the oratory.⁶² The Chartist *Northern Star* described ‘above a dozen bands of music...perambulating the city [and] rousing the laggarts from their couches’ on the morning of an 1840 Glasgow meeting while one itinerant Chartist speaker credited a Wiltshire village ensemble with assembling about two hundred auditors in a few minutes.⁶³ Even allowing for inflated attendance figures, Chartism demonstrated an impressive ability to mobilise musical manpower for its largest rallies. An organiser of the 1838 Kersal Moor meeting near Manchester claimed more than thirty bands of music had been engaged ‘to enliven the scene’, although one delegate in attendance, awestruck by the scale and sonic sensation of proceedings, was convinced the number was still greater: ‘I should think there were hundreds of bands of music’.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ D. Kennerley, ‘Towards a Sonic History of Chartism’ (unpublished paper, delivered 12 February 2019, Graduate Seminar in History, 1680-1850, University of Oxford).

⁶¹ T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872), p.175; D.G. Wright, ‘Politics and Opinion in Nineteenth-Century Bradford, 1832-1880’, (2 vols, PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1966), i, p.325.

⁶² P.A. Pickering, ‘Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement’, *Past & Present*, 112 (1986), p.153.

⁶³ *Northern Star*, 26 September 1840; *Western Vindicator*, 30 March 1839.

⁶⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838; R. Lowery, *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist*, ed. B. Harrison and P. Hollis (1979), p.109.

Some of the musicians involved in Chartist demonstrations conspicuously emulated the dress of their regimental counterparts. Radical orator Feargus O'Connor, welcomed into Birmingham in 1841 by instrumentalists 'in military uniform', was played through Teignmouth by a 'tee-total brass band, dressed in military uniforms' five years later.⁶⁵ Chartists organised orderly processions 'akin to military parades', as Matthew Roberts has argued, and revelled in their inversion of state ceremonial.⁶⁶ Dismissing criticism of extravagant expenditure on bands and banners, *The Northern Star* praised the movement for opting to 'fight their enemies with their own weapons of "tinselled glitter and idle pomp"', thereby 'inoculat[ing] thousands with the spirit of Chartism'.⁶⁷ The subversive contestation of military music was appreciated by radicals and soldiers alike: a Chartist trumpeter in Llanidloes, who sounded his tin 'horn of liberty' to muster supporters for a takeover of the Montgomeryshire town in 1839, reportedly taunted a bugler in the 45th Foot by promising to 'blow again' as soon as the redcoats departed, thereby reclaiming the local soundscape for democratic reform.⁶⁸

Numerous ex-servicemen joined the Chartist movement.⁶⁹ In Bradford in the West Riding, adherents paraded the streets in 'a regular regimental step' alongside 'an

⁶⁵ *Northern Star*, 25 September 1841, 12 September 1846.

⁶⁶ M. Roberts, *Chartism, Commemoration and the Cult of the Radical Hero* (Abingdon, 2020), p.41.

⁶⁷ *Northern Star*, 7 May 1842.

⁶⁸ D. Thompson (ed), *The Early Chartists* (1971), p.222; TNA, HO40/57, ff.764-5, T.E. Marsh to Lord Powis, 28 April 1840.

⁶⁹ N. Mansfield, *Soldiers as Citizens: Popular Politics and the Nineteenth-Century British*

ancient soldier' playing the fife and a youth beating a tin can in imitation of a recruiting drum.⁷⁰ Textile workers at Dalston in Cumberland, who struck work in support of Chartist aims in 1839, were preceded by another old soldier playing a bass drum.⁷¹ The Winlaton band on Tyneside, which had reportedly accompanied a wartime volunteer cavalry troop, later achieved local notoriety by playing 'martial and patriotic airs' for Chartist rallies and 'democratic soirees', still led by one of its original members.⁷²

As in 1819-20, the appropriation of martial sound and spectacle was not merely a charismatic conceit or show of defiance but essential to Chartist political strategy. In accordance with the mantra 'peaceably, if we may - forcibly if we must', Chartists professed their non-violent intent but threatened resistance should the authorities attempt repression. More than a few radicals, anticipating bloodshed, gathered arms and drilled under the guidance of sympathetic ex-servicemen.⁷³ Chartist orators, even those with no intention of countenancing armed conflict, trafficked in sabre-rattling language in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to leverage their only genuine advantage over the state: the weight of numbers.⁷⁴ Pseudo-military music and parading substantiated this rhetoric of force by demonstrating incipient martial

Military (Liverpool, 2019), pp.86-7, 117-19.

⁷⁰ *Bradford Observer*, 11 May 1848.

⁷¹ *Carlisle Patriot*, 17 August 1839.

⁷² W. Bourn, *History of the Parish of Ryton* (Carlisle, 1896), p.126, 137; *Northern Liberator*, 6 April 1839; *The Charter*, 23 June 1839; *Newcastle Guardian*, 1 November 1851.

⁷³ M. Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester, 2007), p.72; F.C. Mather, 'Army Pensioners and the Maintenance of Civil Order in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *JSAHR*, 36/147 (1958), p.112.

⁷⁴ D. Thompson, *The Chartists* (1984), pp.66-7.

organisation, presenting the mass movement as capable of mounting a credible challenge to the established order.

Across the Irish Sea, military music and spectacle also figured prominently in the Catholic Association's campaign for the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament and hold high office. Though vocal in condemning regimental bands for playing party tunes or even wearing orange-trimmed coats, given the colour's association with the Orange Order, propertied Irish Catholics eagerly engaged the services of militia musicians for pro-emancipation political dinners, much to the dismay of Protestant die-hards and the Home Secretary Robert Peel.⁷⁵ Moreover, Gary Owens has documented the 'martial flavour' of the demonstrations organised throughout south-west Ireland in the months following the 1828 election of Catholic firebrand Daniel O'Connell in County Clare. More than a quarter million people attended upwards of sixty meetings as rural factions gathered to bury feuds and express united support for O'Connell's right to enter Parliament.⁷⁶ Although some of the symbols displayed by the demonstrators, including green boughs and crucifixes, reflected local faith and custom, the legacy of wartime mobilisation was plainly apparent. Instructed by veterans in military drill, the unarmed Munster marchers divided themselves into

⁷⁵ NAI, CSO/RP/1825/507, especially J.P. Lyons *et al.* to the Marquess of Wellesley, April 1825; *Morning Chronicle*, 25 August 1825; *Freeman's Journal*, 1 September 1825 and 12 September 1828; *Tipperary Free Press*, 8 October 1828; TNA, HO51/31, p.116, Sir Robert Peel to the Duke of Wellington, 9 December 1828.

⁷⁶ G. Owens, "'A Moral Insurrection': Faction Fighters, Public Demonstrations and the O'Connellite Campaign, 1828', *Irish Historical Studies*, 30/120 (1997), pp.513, 526.

companies of horse and foot and manoeuvred three, four, or six abreast in ‘military order’, accompanied by fifes, drums, and bugles, and flags as large as regimental colours.⁷⁷ While eighteenth-century agrarian insurgents had also engaged in quasi-military parading, the 1828 processions were widely recognised as a novel development in Irish politics, unprecedented in their scale and sophistication.⁷⁸ Newspapers, magistrates, and army officers described columns of men wearing homemade green uniforms ‘imitative of the military’, complete with sergeants’ chevrons, epaulettes, yeomanry-style plumes, and improvised officers’ sashes fashioned from red women’s shawls.⁷⁹ These accounts cannot simply be dismissed as products of Protestant paranoia, for Catholic campaigners also recognised the military tenor of these locally-organised demonstrations. A teenaged participant in the Tipperary assemblies considered himself a foot soldier in ‘O’Connell’s Militia’, assuring a German traveller that ‘we can march and wheel already like the redcoats’, while Association leaders described their southern Irish supporters as ‘a national army’, ‘moving with a regular step to the sound of martial music.’⁸⁰ As in Britain, however, the term ‘military array’ proved something of a Rorschach test. Although the Munster

⁷⁷ Owens, “‘Moral Insurrection’”, pp.516, 522-6, 535-7; TNA, HO100/222, ff.342-3, Samson Carter to William Gregory, 7 September 1828; NAI, CSO/RP/OR/1828/315, Richard Long to Francis Leveson Gower, 29 August 1828.

⁷⁸ Conway, *War, State, and Society*, p.66; T. Wyse, *Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland* (2 vols, 1829), i, pp.412-3; Owens, “‘A Moral Insurrection’”, p.513.

⁷⁹ TNA, HO100/222, ff.317-19, Edward Wilson to William Gregory, 2 September 1828; *Cork Constitution*, 2 October 1828; BL, Peel Papers, Add.MS.40336, ff.7-8, Lord Lismore to Lt-Col Gosset, 29 September 1828; NAI, CSO/RP/OR/1828/315, Richard Long to Francis Leveson Gower, 29 August 1828; Owens, “‘A Moral Insurrection’”, pp.526-7.

⁸⁰ Hermann Pückler-Muskau, *Tour in England, Ireland, and France* (Philadelphia, PA, 1833), p.402; Wyse, *Historical Sketch*, i, p.246; *Waterford Chronicle*, 4 October 1828.

marches, notably devoid of drinking and disorder, were touted by sympathisers as exemplars of 'peaceable constitutional organization', hostile newspapers and officials regarded the disciplined demonstrations as portents of anarchy and insurrection.⁸¹ Undoubtedly, by adopting military music, drill, and dress, participants emulated and parodied symbols of state authority, implicitly challenging the government's claimed monopoly on political legitimacy and lethal force.

Although O'Connell's admission to Parliament staved off civil war, the successful emancipation campaign emboldened a fledgling Catholic political consciousness, which continued to assert itself through quasi-military music and display.⁸² The Cork paper manufacturer and anti-tithe activist James Hodnett, for example, sponsored a wind band partly drawn from his employees. Headed by a drum-major wearing an old Scots Greys helmet decked out in orange and green, the musicians rallied crowds protesting the payment of tithes to Protestant clergymen to the tune of 'The British Grenadiers.' This impertinent plagiarism of military ritual exasperated serving soldiers. Major-General Sir George Bingham flew into a rage on meeting Hodnett on a country road in 1832: 'Where's your drum-major's staff? Where's your drum-major's cap and paraphernalia?', he queried sarcastically, before ordering an escort of lancers to ride down the campaigner.⁸³

⁸¹ Wyse, *Historical Sketch*, i, p.246; *The Times*, 29 September 1828; BL, Peel Papers, Add.MS.40326, ff.36-43, Marquess of Anglesey to Sir Robert Peel, 18 and 20 September 1828.

⁸² Bartlett, 'Emergence of the Irish Catholic Nation', p.526; M. Cronin, 'Popular Politics, 1815-1845', in Kelly et al. (ed), *Cambridge History of Ireland*, iii, p.142.

⁸³ *Tralee Mercury*, 31 October 1832; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 November 1832. See also

Quasi-military ensembles were also a cornerstone of Father Theobald Mathew's temperance crusade, an extraordinary social movement that drastically reduced alcohol consumption in Ireland and convinced at least half the island's population to take a teetotal pledge.⁸⁴ Catholic Ireland succumbed to 'a kind of music mania' in the early 1840s as temperance societies, hoping to publicise their cause and find respectable alternatives to alcohol-fuelled recreational pursuits, scrambled to form instrumental ensembles.⁸⁵ More than three hundred temperance bands were established across the island, as Aiveen Kearney has documented; though ridiculed for their sometimes tortured performances, the bands emerged as symbols of sober self-improvement, sources of local pride, and sonic markers of the movement's strength.⁸⁶ Teetotal musicians also intruded into the political sphere through their prominent participation in demonstrations calling for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish union. Daniel O'Connell relied on temperance musicians to entice and enthuse crowds of tens of thousands at his carnivalesque 'monster meetings': mass rallies for Irish self-government that routinely attracted thirty or forty teetotal troupes.⁸⁷

Ballyshannon Herald, 21 September 1838 for the performance of former Donegal Militia musicians at an anti-tithe meeting.

⁸⁴ P.A. Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity* (Dublin, 2002).

⁸⁵ J.F. Maguire, *Father Mathew: A Biography* (1863), p.176; J.G. Kohl, *Travels in Ireland* (1844), p.96.

⁸⁶ A. Kearney, 'Temperance Bands and their Significance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland' (MA thesis, University College Cork, 1981), p.14; J. McCarthy, *An Irishman's Story* (1904), p.39; Maguire, *Father Mathew*, pp.175-8.

⁸⁷ M. Cronin, 'Of One Mind?: O'Connellite Crowds in the 1830s and 1840s', in Jupp and Magennis (eds), *Crowds in Ireland*, p.158; *Special Report of the Proceedings in the Case of the Queen against Daniel O'Connell*, ed. J. Flanedy (Dublin, 1844), pp.231-2, 461.

Temperance bands derived obvious inspiration from their military counterparts. Indeed, teetotal societies initially sought out regimental ensembles to enliven teetotal processions before controversy over the movement's association with Catholic nationalism and the Repeal campaign obliged them to organise their own accompaniment.⁸⁸ The resulting amateur bands struck a distinctly 'martial tone', performing a blend of patriotic airs, dances, and marches.⁸⁹ The better-funded temperance ensembles mimicked regimental dress, parading through Irish towns and villages in 'military uniforms' complete with lancers' caps, 'demi-cavalry' attire, or 'pompous' regalia reminiscent of the Royal Artillery or hussars.⁹⁰ For the Tara Repeal meeting in August 1843, temperance musicians from Trim in County Meath even purchased custom imitations of the uniforms of the 54th Foot band, then stationed in nearby Dublin.⁹¹ Contemporary soldiers were keenly aware of Repealers' appropriation of martial music, drill, and costume. One veteran described a Donnybrook Repeal demonstration as 'a military movement in civilian dress': 'the masses of the people' marched in step 'to the music of numerous bands', each 'in full uniform with a flashy drum-major at the head.'⁹²

⁸⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 18 and 20 March 1840; *Roscommon & Leitrim Gazette*, 11 July 1840.

⁸⁹ *Weekly Freeman's Journal*, 3 April 1841; Maguire, *Father Mathew*, p.184; *Dublin Weekly Herald*, 11 December 1841; Kearney, 'Temperance Bands', pp.29-30.

⁹⁰ *Cork Examiner*, 28 March 1842, 17 April 1843; *Limerick Chronicle*, 9 November 1842; *The Times*, 3 July 1843; J. Venedey, *Ireland and the Irish during the Repeal Year*, trans. W.B. McCabe (1844), p.83.

⁹¹ *Special Report*, p.229; *Freeman's Journal*, 16 August 1843; C.T. Atkinson, *The Dorsetshire Regiment* (2 vols, Oxford, 1947), ii, p.144.

⁹² *Naval & Military Gazette*, 8 July 1843.

Military musicians proved an indispensable source of instrumental tuition and expertise for temperance bands. Charles O'Connor, a musician who had joined the Limerick County Militia in 1806 at age sixteen, later directed a teetotal band in Newcastle West, while Patrick Keating, a retired regimental bandmaster and Peninsular veteran, composed a 'Temperance March' which was performed for Father Mathew by an Athlone ensemble.⁹³ A 'celebrated bugle player' of the Londonderry Militia tutored several amateur and teetotal bands, reportedly rendering aspiring instrumentalists in Letterkenny 'little inferior' to the 'best military bands' after only one month of practice.⁹⁴ Another old soldier, though bereft of musical expertise, convinced Cork teetotallers to appoint him as their drum-major and began 'strutting majestically at the head of the band'.⁹⁵ The politicisation of ex-servicemen involved in temperance music-making caused trepidation in government: military authorities demanded pensioners desist from attending Repeal demonstrations on pain of forfeiting their stipends, singling out old soldiers who performed in teetotal bands.⁹⁶ Despite official misgivings over the relationship between temperance and O'Connellite agitation, serving military musicians also mentored teetotal ensembles, sometimes

⁹³ TNA, WO97/1105/107, O'Connor discharge, WO97/473/7, Patrick Keating discharge; *Limerick Chronicle*, 3 March 1841; *Westmeath Independent*, 10 September 1853; *Athlone Sentinel*, 24 December 1856.

⁹⁴ *Enniskillen Chronicle and Erne Packet*, 16 September 1841; *Newry Examiner*, 8 January 1842; *Coleraine Chronicle*, 9 August 1845; TNA, WO13/3052-3, Londonderry Militia pay-lists, 1813-43.

⁹⁵ Maguire, *Father Mathew*, pp.192-3.

⁹⁶ *Naval & Military Gazette*, 11 November 1843.

with the approval of superiors.⁹⁷ Private John McLeod of the Royal Scots, a soldier's son and former drummer born at Cape Town in 1806, conducted the young men of the Slaney amateur band at Wexford's 1842 Temperance Festival, notwithstanding his own 'very bad' character, penchant for drink, and prodigious criminal record.⁹⁸

The martial guise and repertoire of teetotal bands dovetailed with O'Connell's political message and strategy. By performing Hibernian national airs like 'St. Patrick's Day' alongside 'God Save the Queen' and 'Rule, Britannia!', temperance musicians echoed O'Connell's vehement expressions of loyalty to Queen Victoria and support for a continued regnal union alongside his demands for an autonomous Irish legislature.⁹⁹ The discipline and sobriety of temperance bands 'advertised Ireland's capacity for responsible self-government', as John Borgonovo has argued, inspiring in the words of one contemporary periodical 'that species of martial peacefulness which keeps men together in one mind.'¹⁰⁰ As such seemingly paradoxical phrasing implies, quasi-

⁹⁷ BL, Peel Papers, Add.MSS.40478, ff.53-4, Lord de Grey to Sir Robert Peel, 11 May 1843; PRONI, Fitzgerald Papers, MIC639/8, p.124, Lord Fitzroy Somerset to Maurice Fitzgerald, 24 August 1844.

⁹⁸ *Wexford Independent*, 13 April 1842; *Wexford Conservative*, 15 October 1842; TNA, WO12/1911, 1/1st Foot pay-lists, 1842, WO97/231/70, McLeod discharge papers; University of the Witwatersrand Research Archives, AB1569/7/12/1, St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town registers, 12 December 1806 christening of John McLeod.

⁹⁹ This combination of monarchism and nationalism produced moments of sonic dissonance, notably an unlikely rendition of 'God Save the Queen' during the Tara monster meeting in honour of United Irish rebels of 1798 buried in a nearby mass grave. *The Times*, 17 August 1843; Venedey, *Ireland and the Irish*, pp.85-6, 131-2; *Special Report*, p.215; Kearney, 'Temperance Bands', pp.23-30.

¹⁰⁰ J. Borgonovo, 'Politics and Leisure: Brass Bands in Corks, 1845-1918', in L. Lane and W. Murphy (eds), *Leisure and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool, 2016), pp.29-30; *The Pilot*, 17 May 1843, cited in G. Owens, 'Nationalism without Words: Symbolism and Ritual Behaviour in the Repeal 'Monster Meetings' of 1843-5', in J.S. Donnelly and K.A. Miller (eds),

regimental spectacle suited O'Connell's attempts to straddle the politics of moderation and militancy. While determined to undo the Anglo-Irish union through moral suasion rather than violence, O'Connell recognised the potency of what Patrick Geoghegan has termed the 'threat of latent force', summoning the spectre of insurrection through deliberate military imagery.¹⁰¹ Predicting a 'moral Waterloo' in 'the battle for Ireland's liberty', he envisioned his followers as 'men of a fighting age' comprising the makings of an army, suited to military subordination and as capable of 'walk[ing] in order after a band as if they wore red coats'. Should the clash of wills over Repeal come to blows, the Liberator warned, his legions of supporters, disciplined by the temperance movement and animated 'in the time of peril' by their beloved teetotal musicians, would prove 'quite abundant for the conquest of Europe'.¹⁰²

O'Connell's brinksmanship ultimately failed in the face of the Peel ministry's unflinching repression, while Father Mathew's teetotal crusade, and the musical movement it spawned, waned amidst the death, hardship, and emigration caused by the Great Famine.¹⁰³ Yet the teetotal and Repeal campaigns rallied unexampled numbers of Irish people under the banners of social improvement and political reform,

Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850 (Dublin, 1998), p.249.

¹⁰¹ P.M. Geoghegan, 'The Impact of O'Connell, 1815-1850', in Kelly *et al.* (eds), *Cambridge History of Ireland*, iii, pp.107, 115-21.

¹⁰² *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, 24 January 1837; *Evening Mail*, 23 August 1843; L.J. McCaffrey, *Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal Year* (Lexington, KY, 1966), pp.77-9; P.M. Geoghegan, *Liberator: The Life and Death of Daniel O'Connell, 1830-1847* (Dublin, 2010), p.158.

¹⁰³ Kearney, 'Temperance Bands', pp.66-8.

prompting the Catholic labouring classes to engage in ‘unprecedented anti-deferential behaviour’.¹⁰⁴ As Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin argues, the temperance band was Catholic Ireland’s ‘sonic weapon of choice’ for reclaiming public space after centuries of dispossession, providing a cacophonous expression of popular demand for Repeal.¹⁰⁵ The Irish teetotal drive also surely deserves recognition as a prodigious and precocious manifestation of ‘Christian militarism’, emerging long before the Salvation Army and other mid-Victorian British incarnations identified by Olive Anderson.¹⁰⁶

Quasi-military display was equally important to the Orange Order, the embodiment of a very different Irish political tradition dedicated the defence of Protestant interests and the prevention of Catholic enfranchisement or revolt. Orangemen in Ulster paraded with drums, fifes, and bugles to aurally assert their local dominance in the 1820s, even resorting to nocturnal drumming parties which vexed Catholics and liberal Protestants from afar.¹⁰⁷ Not a few Orange drummers had previously served in the armed forces, including a Peninsular veteran who led fellow Orangemen in an 1823 affray with Catholic antagonists due to his knowledge of military tactics.¹⁰⁸ Orange lodges repeatedly obtained instrumentalists from the loosely-disciplined and

¹⁰⁴ G. Bretherton, ‘The Battle Between Carnival and Lent: Temperance and Repeal in Ireland, 1829-1845’, *Social History*, 27/54 (1994), p.309; Owens, ‘Nationalism without Words’, p.261.

¹⁰⁵ G. Ó hAllmhuráin, *Flowing Tides: History and Memory in an Irish Soundscape* (Oxford, 2016), p.59.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, ‘Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain’, pp.46-72.

¹⁰⁷ T. Reid, *Travels in Ireland in the Year 1822* (1823), pp.188, 194-5, 200; S. Farrell, *Rituals and Riots: Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784-1886* (Lexington, KY, 2009), p.75.

¹⁰⁸ *Ulster Gazette*, 1 April 1854.

Protestant-dominated yeomanry, which continued to provoke Catholic ire by playing party tunes at post-war musters.¹⁰⁹ Yeomanry drummers beat for Orange processions and funerals in Bandon, Ballybay, Downpatrick, and Lurgan, among other places, between 1823 and 1831, and were implicated in several sectarian disturbances in County Armagh.¹¹⁰ Cognisant that the force had become more of an obstacle than an aid to preserving public order, Dublin Castle repeatedly ordered yeomen to stop playing party tunes and refrain from participating in Orange displays.¹¹¹ These appeals encountered considerable rank-and-file resistance: at least two corps commanders were reduced to wrestling instruments away from drummers who had defied orders to steer clear of commemorations of the Battle of the Boyne.¹¹² Despite bans on sectarian processions and the attempted state suppression of the Orange Order in the 1830s, a revived Orange parading tradition continued to express loyalist solidarity, demarcate territory, and consolidate religious divisions in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ J.S. Donnelly, *Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821-1824* (Madison, WI, 2009), pp.138-9; NAI, CSO/RP/1824/898, memorial from Abbeyleix inhabitants to the Marquess of Wellesley, [August?] 1824.

¹¹⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 17 May 1823; *Westmorland Advertiser*, 24 January 1824; PRONI, Perceval-Maxwell Papers, D3244/G/1/62, Alexander Miller to J.W. Maxwell Jnr, 8 March 1830; *PP* (1835), xvi (476), Third Report from the Select Committee on Orange Lodges, pp.173, 186, 203 and appendix, pp.39, 190.

¹¹¹ Blackstock, *Ascendancy Army*, pp.250, 293; Fitzpatrick, *Descendancy*, p.30.

¹¹² *Belfast News-Letter*, 15 July 1823; *PP* (1835), xvi, appendix, p.204; PRONI, Downshire Papers, D671/C/12/263, William Hawshaw to Lord Downshire, 27 December 1821.

¹¹³ N. Jarman, *Material Conflicts* (Oxford, 1997), p.56.

The involvement of former musical warriors in political agitation can also be traced in overseas colonies. In Upper Canada, Richard Coates built barrel organs and instructed an instrumental ensemble for David Willson's Children of Peace, a cooperative Quaker sect aligned with the reformer and future rebel William Lyon Mackenzie.¹¹⁴ Although described in a late Victorian history as a retired military bandmaster who had survived the battle of Waterloo, Coates may actually have worked as a drummer in the 5th North York Local Militia.¹¹⁵ Regardless of his precise service record, the band led by Coates provided musical ministry at chapel services in Hope (now Sharon, Ontario) and accompanied open-air sermons in neighbouring townships, luring crowds within earshot of Willson's 'bitter anathemas' against the colonial ruling elite.¹¹⁶ Shuttled from place to place in wagons, the musicians of the Children of Peace became a mainstay of Upper Canadian political dissent in the 1830s and early 1840s: they roused reformers at election hustings and upstaged garrison church parades by periodically processing through the provincial capital in support of democratic reform.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ H. Kallmann, 'Coates, Richard (1778-1868)', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1976), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/coates_richard_9E.html (26 Feb. 2020); Kallmann, *History of Music in Canada*, pp.72-7.

¹¹⁵ E. McArthur, *Children of Peace* ([1898?]), p.[3]; TNA, WO13/3663, 5th North York LM pay-lists, 1813-15.

¹¹⁶ I. Fidler, *Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and Canada* (New York, NY, 1833), p.188.

¹¹⁷ Scadding, *Toronto of Old*, pp.105-7; *Colonial Advocate*, 20 and 27 February 1834; A. Schrauwers, 'Union is Strength': W.L. Mackenzie, *The Children of Peace and the Emergence of Joint Stock Democracy in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 2009), pp.140, 226-7, 233.

The experience of prolonged conflict and military mobilisation, as this chapter has argued, had significant ramifications for post-war popular politics. Regimental and ex-military musicians were commonly employed at parliamentary polls, while candidates and crowds were prone to envision electioneering as a kind of military role-play, complete with artillery, sieges, and skirmishes. In an era when crowd interventions in politics increasingly took the form of public meetings aimed at influencing Parliament rather than violent gatherings animated by local grievances, martial spectacle shaped and facilitated mass participation in national affairs.¹¹⁸ The emulation of military music and drill by political campaigns and associations was not only visually and aurally appealing but strategically important as well. Emblematic of the importance of custom and tradition in communal political mobilisation, it fostered a sense of festivity and confidence among demonstrators while drawing attention to their public presence.¹¹⁹ Adopting the familiar scripts of military rituals helped organise mobs into movements, marshalling supporters in a dignified and orderly fashion while obliquely threatening insurrectionary violence through displays of incipient military training.

The relationship between mass arming and mass politics has long been debated by historians. John Cookson acknowledged that the volunteer movement expanded opportunities for non-elite men to participate in public affairs and briefly noted the

¹¹⁸ C. Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (1995), pp.96-7, 339; Cronin, 'Popular Politics', pp.135-6.

¹¹⁹ On the importance of tradition and popular culture to radical mobilisation, see Poole, 'March to Peterloo' and C. Calhoun, *The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere, and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements* (Chicago, IL, 2012).

attempts of Peterloo demonstrators to 'reproduce military glamour'. Yet he ultimately concluded that 'the war experience added little to popular politics, whether rhetoric or substantial power.'¹²⁰ This assessment seems unduly dismissive of the influence of martial display on mass political agitations, which, though often unable to achieve constitutional change in the short term, were undeniably successful in attracting the active support of impressive numbers of non-voters. The importance of quasi-military music to these demonstrations lends credence to arguments advanced by scholars including Mark Philp and Linda Colley, who have suggested that the unprecedented marshalling of popular opinion and plebeian manpower in defence of the British state after the French Revolution 'breached the traditional boundaries of the political nation', ultimately broadening political participation and helping facilitate the expansion of political rights.¹²¹ If the wartime armed nation did not give rise to the revolutionary 'armed crowd', as ministers and magistrates had sometimes feared, the musical abilities and military training inculcated by the armed forces nonetheless proved to be dangerously transferable skills. Large-scale military mobilisation bolstered national security in the face of French invasion and domestic disquiet, but also provided post-war radicals, reformers, and reactionaries with powerful symbolic and organisational tools for challenging and discomfiting the British state.

¹²⁰ Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, pp.244, 251-2.

¹²¹ Quotation from M. Philp, 'Vulgar Conservatism, 1792-3', *English Historical Review*, 110/435 (1995), p.45. See also Colley, *Britons*, pp.361-3, 371; Philp, *Radical Conduct*, p.55.

Conclusion

Officers of the 1st Foot, bivouacking in a Portuguese wood in July 1811, took to referring to their encampment as 'Vauxhall', for the sound of regimental bands playing among the trees brought to mind the rustic and music-filled pleasure gardens on the south bank of the Thames.¹ Two years later, in the real Vauxhall Gardens, the 'picturesque' appearance of military bands in the forested parts of the grounds, according to press reports, allowed visitors far removed from Iberian battlefields to envision soldiers sheltering and unwinding amidst the privations of campaign life.² Music thus lessened the sense of dislocation experienced by combatants while representing the conflict to domestic audiences. As with poetry and visual art, it helped civilians feel a connection with military men and empathise with their experiences.³ As this thesis has argued, martial music was both meaningful and prevalent in wartime. Its ability to shape human actions, allegiances, and emotions – to unite and divide, to amuse, encourage, and console – was well understood and frequently articulated by soldiers and civilians.

Music was highly valued by the military and proved integral to its operations at home and on campaign. Musical warriors provided a soundtrack to regimental life,

¹ *Royal Military Chronicle* (November 1811), p.9.

² *Manchester Mercury*, 27 July 1813.

³ Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp.18-19, 31; P. Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Farnham, 2013).

facilitated communication and discipline, and attracted recruits. Military ritual not only relied on the visual appeal of dress and drill but impressed onlookers and participants by reshaping the auditory environment, juxtaposing music with collective silence in the ranks and coordinated barrages of artillery, musketry, and cheering.⁴ As symbolic of the soldier's trade as uniforms, arms, and colours, music set military men apart and appealed to their sense of professional pride while also drawing attention to their presence in the broader community. Consideration of martial music also offers insight into the character of the armed forces during the French Wars. Although the army may have been an employer of last resort for some recruits, this thesis has argued that the military mobilised musical labour in large part by offering relatively attractive terms. It paid the best bandmasters more than many officers while providing novices from the labouring classes with regular wages, educational opportunities, and the freedom to undertake outside engagements. Commanders did not seek to manage soldiers solely through coercive discipline but widely recognised the importance of morale and actively cultivated the loyalties of their men. Music was not only used to affirm fidelity to the British state and the monarch but fostered a bevy of local, regimental, and national allegiances. Indeed, the borrowing and dissemination of tunes by martial instrumentalists underscores the military's significance as a crucible of cultural exchange which accelerated interactions between different peoples.

⁴ For example, Bodleian Libraries, Russell Papers, MS.Eng.lett.c.153, ff.25-6, Sir Henry Russell to Lady Russell, 11 February 1813.

Recent scholarship has questioned the longstanding dichotomy between the supposedly 'limited' wars of the eighteenth century and the more 'total' struggles which followed the French Revolution, instead stressing continuities in the impact of conflict on Georgian Britain and Ireland.⁵ Scrutiny of the recruitment and training of musical warriors offers support for this view, drawing attention to the military's reliance on traditional structures of authority and the instructional expertise of veterans of earlier conflicts. Yet the French Wars, by dint of their scale and extreme duration, nonetheless appear to have been significantly more intrusive and profound in their effects. Musical warriors enjoyed new prominence in civilian society between 1793 and 1815, while the loyalist preoccupation with music as a tool of domestic propaganda reflected more urgent interest in rallying mass support for the war effort and the established order. By investigating the impact of armed conflict and military service on musical life, this thesis contributes to a growing body of work documenting the ways in which the French Wars prompted cultural development and change.⁶

Appreciation of the impressive scale of wartime musical mobilisation has substantial implications for wider narratives of music history in Britain and Ireland. While existing literature has emphasised precocious commercialisation, this thesis redirects attention to the role of the military as a major instigator of instrumental

⁵ See especially Conway, *War, State, and Society*.

⁶ See for example L. Reynolds, *Who Owned Waterloo?: Battle, Memory, and Myth in British History, 1815-1852* (2022); Ramsey, *Military Memoir*; G. Atkins, 'Christian Heroes, Providence, and Patriotism in Wartime Britain, 1793-1815', *Historical Journal*, 58/2 (2015), pp.393-414.

activity.⁷ Indeed, it reveals that the realms of commercial and regimental music-making were complementary and intertwined. This study also helps redress the overly metropolitan focus of much previous scholarship. Looking beyond London, it echoes the work of Peter Holman, Roz Southey, and Christopher Roberts in emphasising the vibrancy of eighteenth-century provincial musical culture.⁸ Rather than regarding music primarily as a medium of polite leisure and sociability for the affluent, the thesis shows how music permeated late Georgian life more broadly, spilling out into streets and marketplaces and involving socially diverse performers and audiences. While historians have tended to separate elite and popular forms of music and study specific genres in isolation, attention to martial music demonstrates the interconnectedness and fluidity of contemporary musical culture. Regimental bands performed a variety of pieces in myriad settings, appearing not only on parade but in churches and theatres and enlivening both exclusive social gatherings and mass spectacles. This thesis also revises conventional accounts of the brass band tradition, which have tended to emphasise its Victorian origins, by highlighting the formative role of the French Wars in the expansion of amateur music-making and the dissemination of musical skills.

Indeed, the impact of military music was by no means confined to the war years. As with their French equivalents, many retired regimental bandsmen pursued civilian

⁷ T. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture* (Oxford, 2002), pp.161-80; Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', p.19.

⁸ P. Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century English Music', in Wyn Jones (ed), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp.3-4; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*; Roberts, 'Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire', pp.1-2.

musical work, achieving success throughout the music profession and making notable contributions to provincial and colonial musical life.⁹ The smaller peacetime military also remained a major provider of musical employment and education. Having become accustomed to frequent appearances by martial musicians, the post-war public came to regard band performances not as a privilege granted by munificent officers but almost as a 'prescriptive right', excoriating and petitioning those that failed to offer up their ensembles for communal enjoyment.¹⁰ The innumerable bandstands which survive in parks across Britain, Ireland, and the Commonwealth testify to the prevalence of military band concerts as a nineteenth-century pastime.¹¹ The influence of European martial music, as a consequence of imperialism and emigration, has been felt around the world.¹² Wind and all-brass bands, which tend to mirror the military's emphasis on hierarchical organisation and uniformity in performance and dress, remain among the most ubiquitous musical idioms on earth.¹³

Yet the popularity of bands modelled on regimental lines does not necessarily demonstrate the triumph of militarism or the ascendance of what Scott Hughes Myerly has termed the 'military paradigm', in the sense of a sweeping imposition of military

⁹ Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, pp.108, 122.

¹⁰ *USJ* (1829, part ii), p.240; *Montreal Herald*, 12 June 1821; Bourassa, 'Contribution des Bandes Militaires', pp.53-4.

¹¹ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military*, pp.176-7, 254.

¹² Rempe, 'Cultural Brokers in Uniform', *Itinerario*, pp.327-52.

¹³ K. Brucher and S.A. Reily, 'Introduction', in Reily and Brucher (eds), *Brass Bands of the World*, 2nd edn (Abingdon, 2016), p.2; J. Whiteoak, 'Popular Music, Militarism, Women, and the Early "Brass Band" in Australia', *Australasian Music Research*, 6 (2001), pp.27-48.

values on civilian life and the veneration of the army by wider society.¹⁴ Public attitudes towards the military during and after the Napoleonic Wars remained ambivalent and depended on the context of the encounter. Localities rushed to form part-time volunteer corps but rioted at the prospect of balloting men for more onerous militia service, while soldiers feted as national heroes might at other times be reviled as a threat to public peace or an embodiment of state oppression.¹⁵ Indeed, as the emulation of military music and spectacle by political reformers suggests, it was possible to harbour indifference or contempt for the British state and army while imitating its symbolic practices. The sounds of brass ensembles or Highland pipes at modern weddings and national celebrations in India, not to mention the spread of wind and percussion bands in black and indigenous communities worldwide, demonstrate how musical practices associated with imperial authority have been reinvented and imbued with new meanings.¹⁶

¹⁴ Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, p.171; Pentland, 'Militarization and Collective Action in Great Britain', p.180.

¹⁵ B. Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution* (2008), p.10; Cookson, *British Armed Nation*, p.255; E. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815-1914* (1980), pp.52, 116.

¹⁶ R. Boonzajer Flaes, *Brass Unbound: Secret Children of the Colonial Brass Band*, 2nd edn (Amsterdam, 2000); A. Alter, 'Garhwali Bagpipes: Syncretic Processes in a North Indian Regional Musical Tradition', *Asian Music*, 29/1 (1997-8), pp.1-16; Bowan and Pickering, *Sounds of Liberty*, pp.110-17; Cooper, 'Playing against Empire', pp.540-57; 'India's Republic Day: bagpipes and bugles in New Delhi', YouTube (uploaded 30 Jan. 2012), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JjDOOGfxIjQ> (26 Aug. 2022). See also D. Mulcahy, 'The Evolution of Limerick City's Fife and Drum Band Tradition, 1840 to 1935', (PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2017), pp.100-2 for the popularity of nationalist drum corps in early twentieth-century Ireland.

Military music during the French Wars, as this study has argued, was nothing if not versatile and dynamic. As an influential and popular element of mainstream culture, it has been unduly neglected in modern accounts of the late Georgian musical scene. Consideration of the reach and impact of martial music-making demonstrates not only the salience of music in war, politics, and everyday life but powerfully underscores the depth and breadth of interactions between the military and society.

Appendix: The Instrumentation of Military Bands

The instrumentation of military bands was not officially regulated but varied according to the tastes and means of the officers and the size of the ensemble. This absence of standardisation could cause disharmony: musicians of the West Leicestershire Volunteers were unable to play together because they had purchased clarinets in different keys, a situation which caused altercations whenever they met.¹ Nonetheless, band instrumentation tended to conform to a common pattern, knowledge of which was shared with newly formed corps by experienced officers, instrument suppliers, and professional musicians engaged as instructors and advisers.² Major George Vallancey, for example, advised the colonel of the Royal Tyrone Militia in 1793 that a regimental band ‘cannot consist of less than four clarinets, two French horns, and two bassoons’, in addition to a bass drum, tambourine, and cymbals.³ The clarinet was invariably the principal melodic instrument in a regimental band.⁴

¹ Bodleian Libraries, Noel Papers, Dep. Lovelace Byron 23, f.105, Captain Farmer to Lord Wentworth, 10 April 1804.

² PKA, Royal Perth Volunteers papers, PE66/Bundle3, Louis Vogel to committee, 7 February 1797; NRS, Breadalbane Papers, GD112/74/841/19-21, Longman and Broderip to Mr Anderson, 29 March 1793.

³ PRONI, Abercorn Papers, D623/A/145/6, Major Vallancey to the Marquess of Abercorn, 27 April 1793.

⁴ Nicholson, *British Encyclopedia*, iv, ‘clarinet’ in the ‘musical instruments’ entry; J. Marsh, ‘Hints to Young Composers of Instrumental Music’, ed. C. Cudworth, *Galpin Society Journal*, 18 (1965), p.64.

London-based instrument makers and dealers positioned themselves as one-stop shops for officers seeking to equip their regimental bands, promising to furnish complete sets of instruments ‘at an hour’s notice’ and catering to a range of budgets.⁵ John Cramer & Son of Pall Mall, for example, quoted the Earl of Uxbridge £373 to replace the instruments of the Staffordshire Militia and took twice as much from the Duke of Northumberland, whose purchases for the Royal Horse Guards included premium ebony clarinets.⁶ A sixteen-man local militia band, by contrast, commanded by a mere baronet, could be equipped by the same firm with a more modest assemblage for only £104 6s 6d.⁷ Whether these prices represented value for money is debatable, given reports of kickbacks demanded by fife-majors and the propensity of suppliers to charge aristocratic commandants more than musical professionals.⁸ Bandsmen themselves were accused of requesting new instruments prematurely so as to profit by selling their old ones second-hand.⁹ Conversely, some corps limited costs by purchasing pre-owned instruments and sought to hold instrument sellers accountable for shoddy merchandise, relying on officers’ musical knowledge and third-party professionals to judge the quality of their purchases.¹⁰

⁵ See, for example, *The Times*, 8 August 1798.

⁶ StaffsRO, Paget Papers, D603/O/2/52, Lt-Col Disbrowe to Lord Uxbridge, 29 September 1810. Northumberland spent upwards of £500 annually on his ‘extremely expensive’ regimental band (G. Arthur, *The Story of the Household Cavalry* (3 vols, 1909), ii, pp.563-4).

⁷ StaffsRO, Aqualate Papers, D(W)1788/P1/B7, estimate from Cramer, [1813].

⁸ BL, Hardwicke Papers, Add.MS.35678, f.111, G. Miller & Co. to Hardwicke, [1812]; NLI, Clements Papers, MS 36058/7, Lawrence Hagarty to Lord Leitrim, 9 March 1825.

⁹ SHC, Tynte Papers, DD/S/WH/343, Colonel Strode to Colonel Tynte, 26 January 1800.

¹⁰ ERO, Lieutenancy Records, L/U 3/1, Loyal Chelmsford Volunteers minute book, 18 March and 10 April 1799, and L/U 3/4, music committee proceedings, October 1798; SA, Bradford Militia Papers, 190/454, J.D. Lacy to Lord Bradford, 18 January 1809; NRS, Leslie Papers,

Well-used instruments, particularly fragile woodwinds, required regular replacement and repair: twenty-four of forty band instruments owned by the Donegal Militia in 1811, for example, were pronounced defective, although none had been purchased more than six years previously.¹¹ Musical hardware was regularly captured or destroyed on campaign and could be especially difficult to replace outside Europe. The musicians of the 41st Foot, who lost most of their instruments during a retreat through Upper Canada in late 1813, were still confined to playing fifes at Quebec in May 1815.¹²

The following table presents examples of the instrumentation of military bands. Asterisked entries represent inventories of all the instruments owned by a particular ensemble. These tend to include old instruments as well as sets of flutes and clarinets in different keys, not all of which would have been used at the same time. The other entries appear to correspond with the actual or intended number of performers ordinarily fielded by the band.

GD26/9/140/B-D, John Strachan to Lord Balgonie, 6 January and 8 March 1800, and Breadalbane Papers, GD112/52/127, account due to John Köhler, 28 August 1793.

¹¹ NLI, Clements Papers, MS36058/7, return of musical instruments, 23 January 1811.

¹² TNA, WO27/133, 1st Half Year 1815 inspection reports, 41st Foot. See also Hall, *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*, ii, pp.359-60; Steevens, *Reminiscences*, p.73; NLS, Cameron of Fassiefern Papers, Acc.9174/10, Alexander Bruce to Lt-Col Cameron, 9 November 1809; LAC, RG8 'C' Series, letter from Lt-Col Smith, 29 September 1800.

Table 5: Instrumentation of Military Ensembles

	West Middlesex Militia, 1793	80th Foot, 1794	Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, 1794	Frampton- on-Severn Volunteers, 1798	Worlingworth Volunteers, c.1798	Oxford Loyal Volunteers, 1798	Petworth Volunteers, 1801*	Bingley Volunteers, 1803	Lincoln Volunteer Infantry, 1803	Loyal Worcester Volunteers, 1804	Belfast Yeomanry, 1805	Royal Tyrone Militia, 1807	North York Militia, 1808	Castlewellan Yeomanry, 1810	Donegal Militia, 1811*	1/24th Foot, c.1812	49th Foot, 1813*	Shropshire Militia, 1814*	De Meuron's Regt, 1816*	Cheshire Yeomanry, 1817
Flutes					1	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	10	2	10	8	9	2
Clarinets	5	7	6	4	4	6	5	4	6	6	4	6	6	4	15	6	14	7	10	4
Horns	2	2	2	2	2	2	4		2	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2
Trumpets	1	1	1		1	1	1			1		2	2	1	2	(1)	1	1	3	1
Bugles	1									1	2	2		1	2	(1)		1		
Bassoons	2	4	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	4	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2
Serpents						1	1		1			1	2				1	1	1	1
Trombones												1	1		1			1	1	
Bass horns												1		1	1	1		1		
Bass drums	1			1	1			1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1		1
Kettle drums															1		1	1		
Field drums						1														
Triangles	2				1			1	1	1	2						1	1	2	
Tambourines	2					1	1		1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1		
Pairs of cymbals	1					1			1	1		1			1	1		1	2	1
Total strength	17	14	11	9	11	18	N/A	10	17	21	14	21	20	14	N/A	19	N/A	N/A	N/A	14

Sources for Table 5

West Middlesex Militia: Letter from W.J. Mattham, 2 July 1793, published by G. Blencowe in *Notes and Queries* (18 August 1855), p.121.

80th Foot: Anglesey, 'Two Brothers in the Netherlands', p.103.

Royal Edinburgh Volunteers: Schetky, *Schetky Family*, p.161.

Frampton-on-Severn Volunteers: GA, Clifford Papers, D149/X21/15, John Pearce to Nathaniel Winchcombe, August? 1798, and D149/X19, Frampton-on-Severn Volunteers OB, 8 August 1798. These lists detail the instruments played by nine members of the band but do not mention the instrument used by John Pearce, the bandmaster, who probably performed with the others. The order book noted that a triangle and two octave flutes were also available for the band's use.

Worlingworth Volunteers: Suffolk Archives, Henniker Papers, HA116/1/2/6, 'Some Account of the Families of Major and Henniker', 1803.

Oxford Loyal Volunteers: Bodleian Libraries, MS.Top.Oxon.e.241, Oxford Loyal Volunteers minutes, 12 May 1798.

Petworth Volunteers: West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives, PHA10609, account of instruments of the late Petworth Volunteer band, 1801-2.

Bingley Volunteers: WYAS (Bradford), 29D93/1, Bingley Township Book, Bingley Volunteer Corps minutes, 25 September 1803.

Lincoln Volunteer Infantry: *Stamford Mercury*, 25 November 1803.

Loyal Worcester Volunteers: *Gloucester Journal*, 30 January 1804.

Belfast Yeomanry: PRONI, D3221/1, Belfast Yeomanry OB, May 1805 band expenses.

Royal Tyrone Militia: PRONI, Caledon Papers, D2433/C/3/119, return of instruments belonging to the Royal Tyrone Militia Band, 19 July 1807. Of the six clarinets in use, five were B-flat clarinets and one an E-flat clarinet. An inventory of instruments 'not in use' included six C clarinets and two 'hautboys' (oboes); two kettle drums, one tenor drum, and two triangles were listed as 'in store'.

North York Militia: NYCRO, Zetland Papers, ZNKx2/2/206, North York Militia band roll, 17 May 1808. One of the flautists may have doubled as a clarinetist.

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Donegal Militia: NLI, Clements Papers, MS36058/7, return of musical instruments of the Donegal Militia, Tuam, 23 January 1811. This table excludes a clarinet noted as 'lost on the route from Dublin to Tuam'.

1/24th Foot: RMRW, list of musicians of the 1/24th Foot, compiled by Sergeant A. Crosswell, c.1812. One musician was tasked with playing both the bugle and trumpet, as required. One of the clarinetists also played the bassoon 'occasionally' and another played the flute 'occasionally'.

49th Foot: LAC, RG8 'C' Series, vol. 1227, p.13, statement of the musical instruments and books lost by the 49th Foot during the Battle of Fort George, signed by Major Plenderleath, 20 January 1814.

Shropshire Militia, 1814: SRO, Bradford Militia Papers, 586/5, inventory of Shropshire Militia band instruments, 13 October 1814.

De Meuron's Regiment: *Le Spectateur Canadien*, 8 July 1816, listing musical instruments to be auctioned due to the regiment's disbandment.

Cheshire Yeomanry: Cheshire Archives, Leicester-Warren Papers, DLT/D463/5, f.118, list of Cheshire Yeomanry band, 14 July 1817.

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Limerick, Limerick Archives

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Add.MS.32468: Journal of the campaign in Portugal, by John Westcott, late master of the band, 1st Battalion, 26th or Cameronian Regiment of Foot, 1811-2

Add.MS.33048: Newcastle Papers

Add.MS.33766: Letters of A.F. Meuller, corporal in the 1st Foot Guards, 1813-14

Add.MS.35664-70: Hardwicke Papers, Cambridgeshire Militia, Local Militia and Volunteers

Add.MS.40166: Thomas Law Hodges diary, 1798-9

Add.MS.40181-617: Peel Papers, correspondence and papers of Sir Robert Peel

Add.MS.48233: Morley Papers, letters of Fanny Morley to Theresa Villiers, 1809-10

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1902,1011.7175: Portrait of [James] Fraser, tambourinist in the Coldstream Guards

London, Lambeth Palace Library

MOORE: Archbishop Moore Papers

London, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA)

Acc1360: Clitherow Papers, Royal Westminster Militia returns and accounts

A/FH: Foundling Hospital Papers

CLC/W/LA/15/MS9957/2: Portsoken Ward Armed Association minute book

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HO40: Disturbances Correspondence

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HO50: Military Correspondence
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1968-07-176: Letters and returns of the 6th and 85th Regiments of Foot, 1794-1806
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 1993-03-218: Standing orders of the Minorca garrison, 1800
 1994-01-115-1: Bugle invented by Captain Ridge and manufactured by G. Miller & Co., c.1812-15
 1994-03-129-42: Dalrymple Papers, Sir Hew Dalrymple to Lady Dalrymple, 7 November 1793
 1998-10-295: Order book of Elias Thackery, Captain in the Cambridgeshire Light Dragoons, 1797
 2011-07-3: Londonderry Militia digest, memoir of Rowley Millar
 2016-10-23-4-225: Grenadier Guards archives, letter of George Darby to parents, 13 August 1793

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QM3619: John Malchair's Third Collection of Tunes
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Maidstone, Kent Archives

Fo/JQ4/15: Folkestone Quarter Sessions, complaint of Thomas Rigden against William Beecham, 18 October 1810
 R/U888/C11/48: Garrett Papers, Robert Garrett to Charlotte Bentinck, 10 May 1813
 U42/C/1: Miscellaneous title deeds and other documents, Duke of Kent to Lieut-Col Jones, 22 August 1806
 U771/C25: Osborne Papers, J.M. Tylden to William Bland, 14 January 1810
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Matlock, Derbyshire Record Office

D2375/F/H/1/6/23: Harpur Crewe Papers, documents concerning the marches for the Derbyshire Yeomanry Cavalry written by Joseph Haydn

Maynooth, Maynooth University Library

PP12 Box 31P: Littlehales Papers, Edward B. Littlehales to William Wellesley-Pole, 30 December 1810

New York, New York Philharmonic Archives

Box 500-01-01: Diary of Ureli Corelli Hill, 1835-7

Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO)

ZNKx2: Zetland Papers, North York Militia
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Norwich, Norfolk Record Office (NRO)

AYL570-8, Aylsham Volunteers Papers
HMN4/221, 737X7: Hamond of Westacre Collection, John T. Hales to Anthony Hamond, 17 January 1804
MC500/2, 761X5: East Norfolk Militia regimental courts-martial, 1808-12
MC500/6, 761X: East Norfolk Militia order book, 1813-62
MC766/1, 795X5: John Hemmingway autobiography
MC794/1-2, 795X7: Robert Sendall music manuscripts, 1800-20
MEA11/61, 663X3: Meade of Earsham papers, regulations and orders, 1799-1807

Nottingham, Nottinghamshire Archives

DD/311: Diaries of Joseph Woolley, 1800-15
DD/P/6/12/12/16: Portland of Welbeck Papers, Lord Hawkesbury to Marquess of Titchfield, 27 July 1804
DD/2723: Parliamentary Elections in Newark-on-Trent
M/24306: Letter from Sergeant William Tennant to Ann Tennant, 24 September 1815

Nottingham, University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections

PwH601: Portland (Welbeck) Collection, Henry Dundas to the Marquess of Titchfield, 20 May 1798

Oldham, Gallery Oldham

Object No. 2021.40: Bugle owned by Tom Bluett

Ottawa, Canadian War Museum Archives (CWM)

19770094-011: J., N. & B. Pearse clothiers, military tailors' sample book, 1810-46
19770094-023: J., N. & B. Pearse clothiers, uniform design book, 1797-1802

Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada (LAC)

MG24-A1, Reel M-15: Quebec Garrison Order Book or Brock Diary, 7 August 1805
RG5, A1: Upper Canada Sundries, vol. 27, pp.12403-8, Kingston Amateur Theatre accounts, March 1816
RG8 'C' Series: British military and naval records

Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

Curzon b.2(62): 'Contrasted Drummers', 1793
Curzon b.22(60): 'An Old Performer Playing on a New Instrument', 1803
Dep. Lovelace Byron 23: Noel Papers, West Leicestershire Volunteers, 1803-4
G.A.Warw.b.2-3: Scrap-Book: A Chronicle of the Times, a series of controversial election papers, and other articles connected with the city of Coventry, collected by W. Reader
MS.Eng.lett.c.153: Russell Papers, correspondence between Sir Henry Russell and his second wife Anne, 1813
MS.Eng.lett.c.204: Heber Papers, Reginald Heber to Richard Heber, 5 January 1793
MS.Mus.d.32: Tune book of John Malchair
MS.Top.Oxon.d.247: Diary of events in Oxford, 1739-1817
MS.Top.Oxon.e.241: Oxford Loyal Volunteers minutes, 1798-1801

Perth, Perth & Kinross Archives (PKA)

Atholl Collection, John Miller MS for the fife, 1799-1801

PE/66: Royal Perth Volunteers papers, 1794-7

St Andrews, University of St Andrews, Special Collections

B65/22/30/5/94: St Andrews burgh records, payment to local militia band and firing party, 7 June 1809

Msdep14/1B/2: Jessie Playfair diary, 1797-1802

San Marino, California, The Huntingdon Library

ST 144(35): Stowe MSS, Royal Bucks Militia order book, 1807-8

Seaford, Seaford Town Council

Fife of the Seaford company of the Cinque Ports Volunteers, 1800

Sheffield, Sheffield Archives

JC/26/2: Handbill of concert organised by Samuel Mather, 6 January 1812

WWM/Y: Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, West Riding Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers

Shrewsbury, Shropshire Archives (SA)

112/3: Attingham Militia Papers

190 and 586: The Earl of Bradford Militia Papers

Southampton, University of Southampton, Special Collections

CHWJA/19/2: Austen MSS, 'Juvenile Songs and Lessons', manuscript of keyboard music, c.1790-1810

WP1/175/35/3: Wellington Papers, Thomas Woods to Lt-Col James Kemmis, 16 October 1807

Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office (StaffsRO)

D603: Paget Papers

D1300/1/1: Staffordshire Yeomanry Papers, Adjutant's Order Book, 1804-15

D(W)1788: Aqualate Papers

Stafford, William Salt Library

M607: Central Staffordshire Local Militia order book, 1810-13

M608: Central Staffordshire Local Militia enrolment book

Stirling Castle, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders Museum

Turkish crescent or 'Jingling Johnny' of the Sutherland Fencibles, 1793-9

Sydney, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW)

B 1514: Journal of Ensign Alexander Huey, 1809-11

SAFE/C/126: Elizabeth Macquarie, journal of 1809

Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre (SHC)

DD/MT/18: Pitminster Volunteers papers
DD/S/WH/343: Tynte Papers, West Somerset Militia correspondence
DD/SAS/C795/SY/3: Wells City Volunteers papers
DD/SLI/12/2/3-6: Somerset Militia letter books
DD/SLI/7/1: 1st Somerset Militia courts-martial, 1807-12
DD/WY/7/19/12: Wyndham Papers, letters of J.H. Penruddocke and N.B. Brodie concerning the loan of musical instruments of the 3rd Wiltshire Local Militia, 1831

Toronto, Toronto Museums and Heritage Services

John Buttrey MS for the fife, c.1801-6

Truro, Royal Institution of Cornwall

HH/13/131: Hawkins Papers, M. Roberts to Sir Christopher Hawkins, 21 April 1801

Wakefield, West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS), Wakefield

WYW1686/2: Wakefield Local Militia Order Book, 1809-13

Wellington, National Library of New Zealand (NLNZ)

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11M49/236-41: Bolton Papers, Hampshire and Isle of Wight Volunteers correspondence
21M57/C31/38: Agar Papers, Sir Richard Musgrave to Charles Agar, 20 April 1797
44M69/G6: Jervoise Papers, North Hants Militia correspondence
116M99: Klitz of Lymington Papers

Windsor, Royal Archives

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GEO/MAIN/44913-14: William Henry, Duke of Clarence Papers, Clarence to Prince of Wales, September[?] 1803

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