

MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER WIND BANDS IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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In 1757, the militia were revived by Act of Parliament. This force was to be furnished with a set quota of men from each county, selected by a ballot organised by the lord lieutenants and their deputies. Militiamen were to be given a few days' training per year and, in time of national emergency—such as war or insurrection—they were to be embodied under the same conditions as the regular army. They were to be officered by local landowners. This force was to become an important feature of life in late eighteenth-century Britain, although some counties—such as Oxfordshire and Sussex—did not get round to forming their own regiments of militia until the late 1770s.¹

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars saw the expansion of the militia as well as the addition of yet another tier to Britain's defences with the emergence, in the 1790s, of large numbers of volunteer corps. These were made up of civilians who had volunteered to be given some military training. Their primary function was to assist with defence against an invasion. They were armed by the government and officered by local notables. In return for their offer of service, volunteers were often exempted from the militia ballot. Although many units were disbanded after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, volunteer corps were to reappear in huge numbers in 1803, when it was claimed that 380,193 volunteers were under arms.²

A number of wind bands seem to have been formed by militia regiments in the late eighteenth century. The Wiltshire militia started to set up a band in 1769.³ The Somerset militia had a band by 1777.⁴ The Oxfordshire

¹ See table showing the dates of the first formation and embodiment of the militia for each county, 1758-78, in J. R. Western: *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (London and Toronto 1965), pp. 447-8.

² P. J. Haythornthwaite: 'The Volunteer Force, 1803-04' *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 64 (1986), p. 193.

³ See WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [In envelope marked '1769']; [Bandmaster's contract dated 6 November 1769], p.[1]. Some of the material for this paper is drawn from WRO 9 and WRO 2027 (Marlborough Loyal Volunteer Infantry Merriman Papers). Both of these collections are largely uncatalogued at the moment. In the footnotes which follow, I have given as much information as the catalogue provides, using square brackets in order to supply further guidance to other researchers.

⁴ See SRO DD/SAS FA 106, which lists the 'Musick Fifers and Drumers' [sic] of the Somerset militia in 1777.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, Department of Manuscripts.	GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office.
GL	Guildhall Library, City of London.	SRO	Somerset Record Office.
GRM	The Gloucester Regiment Museum.	WRO	Wiltshire Record Office.

militia decided to form a band in 1778.⁵ James Woodforde recorded in his diary in 1783 that he had seen the band of the Norfolk [?] militia in a procession at Norwich.⁶ During the Napoleonic wars, the volunteers formed a large number of bands. In south Gloucestershire alone, at least three full military bands—at Bristol, Stroud and Frampton-on-Severn—were established in the years 1797-8. George Cruikshank, who served in the Loyal North Britons, a London volunteer corps, remembered a great deal of musical activity during the invasion scare of 1803-5:

‘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, and every morning at five o’clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets . . . and the same again in the evening.’⁷

This period did not just witness the emergence of large numbers of bands. Croft-Murray has written (in his paper on wind bands in England) that the late eighteenth century also saw the transformation and expansion of the military band.⁸ The earliest militia bands were quite small and seem to have consisted of clarinets, horns and bassoons. In 1769, it was intended that the band of the Wiltshire militia would comprise three clarinets, two horns and two bassoons.⁹ However, it would appear that the band of the Wiltshires was soon augmented by the use of some of the regimental fifers. The adjutant reported in 1770 that the bandmaster ‘finds great fault with our fifes, their not being in unison with the Clarinetts [sic] . . . he says we have only two proper to play with the other Instruments.’¹⁰ Probably as a result of the bandmaster’s complaints, three flutes seem to have been purchased shortly afterwards, presumably for the use of the fifers.¹¹ With the increasing popularity of ‘Turkish music’ in the later eighteenth century, bands gradually developed their own percussion sections.¹² Larger numbers of clarinets were used and additional brass instruments began to appear. In 1793, the band

⁵ F. Willan: *History of the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia 1778-1900* (Oxford 1900), p. 17.

⁶ J. Woodforde: *The Diary of a Country Parson 1758-1802* (ed. J. Beresford) (Oxford 1978), p. 199.

⁷ G. Cruikshank: *A Pop-gun Fired off by George Cruikshank, in Defence of the British Volunteers of 1803* . . . (London [1860]), p. 11.

⁸ E. Croft-Murray: ‘The Wind-Band in England, 1540-1840’ in T. C. Mitchell (ed.): *The British Museum Yearbook 4 Music and Civilisation* (London 1980), pp. 140-2.

⁹ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [In envelope marked ‘1769’]; [Bandmaster’s contract dated 6 November 1769], p. [1].

¹⁰ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked ‘1770’]; [letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce dated 13 January 1770.], p. [1].

¹¹ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked ‘1770’]; [Receipt dated July 27 1770].

¹² See H. G. Farmer: ‘The Turkish Influence in Military Music’ in H. G. Farmer: *Handel’s Kettledrums And Other Papers On Military Music* (2nd ed. London 1960), pp. 41-46.

of the West Middlesex militia were seen using 5 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 bassoons, a trumpet, a bugle horn, a bass drum, cymbals and 2 triangles.¹³ The serpent was also employed; in about 1798, the band of the Loyal Stroud volunteers had a serpent as well as 6 clarinets, 2 horns, 1 bassoon, a triangle and a bass drum.¹⁴

By the end of the eighteenth century, even the smaller volunteer corps possessed bands. In 1798, the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers had a band of 4 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 bassoons and a bass drum. A triangle and 2 'Octave Flutes' were also available.¹⁵ The band, drums and fifes of the Marlborough Volunteer infantry in 1804 comprised 1 flute, 3 clarinets, 1 horn, 1 bassoon, 2 fifes, 3 side drums, a triangle and a bass drum.¹⁶

The fact that there were large numbers of bands and bandsmen present in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suggests several questions. Firstly, where did the players come from, at a time when, by the most recent estimate, there seems to have been no more than 2000 professional musicians in the whole country¹⁷ and when there appears to have been little in the way of musical education? Secondly, where did the large sums of money come from which were required to provide these bands? Finally, how did composers and music publishers react to the creation of this large market for their music?

The first question can only be answered by a series of hypotheses at the moment. The first of these hypotheses is that in the 1760s and 1770s militia bands employed two types of musician: the first category were professional musicians (possibly of foreign origin) who trained a second category of

¹³ See H. G. Farmer: *The Rise & Development of Military Music* (London [1912]), pp. 83-4. Farmer quotes from a letter by the Lavenham innkeeper, W. J. Mattham.

¹⁴ P. H. Fisher: *Notes and Recollections of Stroud, Gloucestershire* (London and Stroud 1871), p. 80. This conflicts with the details given by Charles Hill in his *MS Stroud Relics* (GRO 4851), p. 255. Hill gives the band as comprising a bandmaster, 2 horns, 5 clarinets, a tambourine, a serpent, a bassoon, cymbals, a bass drum, a triangle, a drum major, two drummers and a fifer. The difference between Fisher's and Hill's version may have occurred partly because Hill described all the musicians of the Stroud volunteers as the 'band'; it is possible that the unit's instrumentalists were divided into a corps of fifes and drums and a band, like its rival at Frampton-on-Severn. The extra clarinetist in Fisher's account may have been the bandmaster referred to by Hill. It was quite usual for a bandmaster to play with his band at this time. See WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1770']; [letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce dated 13 January 1770.], p. [2]. This refers to the bandmaster of the Wiltshire militia having a coat made for him with large pockets for musical instruments.

¹⁵ GRO D149/X19 [Nathaniel Winchcombe's order book] pp. 22-3. A number of the instruments of the band are preserved at Gloucester Folk Museum.

¹⁶ WRO 2027 Marlborough Loyal Volunteer Infantry Merriman Papers; [Bundle marked 'Extra 10 Days (1804-05)']; [Paper listing the band, fifes and drums of the Marlborough Volunteer Infantry].

¹⁷ See C. Ehrlich: *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century A Social History* (Oxford 1985), p. 1.

player—the raw amateur—from scratch. The use of foreigners—particularly Germans—would be likely, given the readiness of the British in the eighteenth century to import foreign musicians and given contemporary admiration for German military music.¹⁸ There were probably few skilled amateur players available; amateur bands were still at an early stage in their development.

The case of the Wiltshire militia band seems to confirm this hypothesis. In November 1769, the colonel of the regiment, Lord Bruce, made an agreement with [John Adam] Buckner 'of London, Musician' to teach band instruments to seven men and to give some instruction to the regimental fifers.¹⁹ 'Buckner' could be a German name. A letter to Lord Bruce from his adjutant, William Peck, dated January 13th 1770, described the early stages of Buckner's training of the band. Buckner seems to have tried his men out on different instruments before deciding upon which part they had to play. It also appears that he would have given up with one of the bassoonists had it not been for the man's great desire to learn.²⁰

There is other evidence of the employment of Germans as militia bandmasters; the bandmaster of the Royal Middlesex militia in 1776 was called Eberhardt.²¹ Johann Gottfried Lehmann came from Hanover in 1794 to become bandmaster of the Cambridgeshire militia—even though he could not speak English!²² Other bandmasters' names sound foreign. J. Vras was the bandmaster of the Oxfordshire militia in 1779.²³ Francis Wreth was bandmaster of the South Gloucestershire militia in the 1800s.²⁴

A second hypothesis with regard to the supply of personnel is that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century a third category of musicians made their appearance in militia and, later, volunteer units. Experienced players who were not professional musicians began to join bands. It may be that Richard Carpenter, a member of the Wiltshire militia band in 1781, was an early example of such an individual. Carpenter was hired on better terms than the other musicians, and it was claimed that if he was allowed a discharge this would lead to 'the total dissolution of the Band'.²⁵

Certainly, there are examples of experienced players who were not professionals being recruited by volunteer bands in the 1790s. When Nathaniel

¹⁸ See Ehrlich op.cit., p. 16 et seq. for discussion of the domination of English professional music by foreigners. See also H. G. Farmer: 'Foreign Army Bandmasters: Their Rise And Fall', in H. G. Farmer: *Handel's Kettledrums*, pp. 103-9.

¹⁹ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [In envelope marked '1769']; [Bandmaster's contract dated 6 November 1769], p. [1].

²⁰ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1770']; [letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce dated 13 January 1770.], p. [1].

²¹ H. G. Farmer: *The Rise & Development of Military Music*, p. 82.

²² Western op.cit., p. 370.

²³ Willan op.cit. p. 20.

²⁴ See the cover of *The Nightingale. A Favorite [sic] Military Rondo, as performed at Brighton . . . Sett [sic] by Francis Wreth, Master of the R.S. Gloces. Band* (London [n.d.]); the unit spent much time at Brighton during the Napoleonic wars.

Winchcombe decided to set up a military band for his volunteer corps at Frampton-on-Severn in 1798, he appointed the local carver, John Pearce, as bandmaster.²⁶ Pearce seems to have been quite knowledgeable; he wrote a letter to Winchcombe, giving detailed advice about the instrumentation of the band and about retailers to contact. Pearce's letter also seems to imply that there were a number of competent players in the Frampton area; he wrote of the need to move quickly to engage these 'performers' before someone else employed them.²⁷ The little evidence we have of the occupations of the Frampton bandsmen would suggest that at least some of them were not professionals. Using the list of names, occupations, parishes and sureties of the men agreeing to join the corps in April 1798,²⁸ it is possible to establish the occupations of 5 of the 10 members of the 'band' listed in Winchcombe's order book.²⁹ Pearce—as has been stated above—was a carver. The horn player, Thomas Wills, seems to have been some kind of farmer.³⁰ James Barnard, the bass drummer was a butcher³¹ Samuel Hayward, one of the clarinetists, was an innkeeper or a cabinet maker.³² James Wiles, the bassoonist, was a joiner.³³ Indeed, the presence of a number of skilled players who were not professionals was probably a precondition of the establishment of rural volunteer bands. Professionals were not available in large numbers in such areas. It was hardly worthwhile to import professionals from the cities when bands such as Frampton-on-Severn were only required about twice a week.³⁴

If a fair number of bandsmen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were not professionals and yet experienced players, where did they gain their musical training? It is possible that the early militia bands produced a number of players. However, the pool of instrumentalists created by the militia must have been fairly small, especially as some counties proved recalcitrant in the formation of their militias.

The church bands—which were becoming very common in the last two decades of the eighteenth century—may have been more important educators of musicians. The existence of large quantities of manuscript music for these

²⁵ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1781']; [Letter from Porchester to Bruce, dated 28 March 1781]. Porchester described Carpenter as 'part of the Band' but admitted to not caring much about the regimental music. It may be that Carpenter was the bandmaster rather than an ordinary player.

²⁶ Pearce is named as bandmaster in GRO D149/X19 p. 22. His occupation was given as 'carver' on p. [5] of the list of men agreeing to serve in the Frampton-on-Severn corps which was drawn up in April 1798. (GRO D149/X17.)

²⁷ GRO D149/X21/4 letter from Pearce to Winchcombe, [n.d., probably mid-July 1798].

²⁸ GRO D149/X17.

²⁹ GRO D149/X19, pp. 22-3.

³⁰ GRO D149/X17, p. [4]. [Given as 'Wilkes' in GRO D149/X19, p. 22.]

³¹ GRO D149/X17, p. [2].

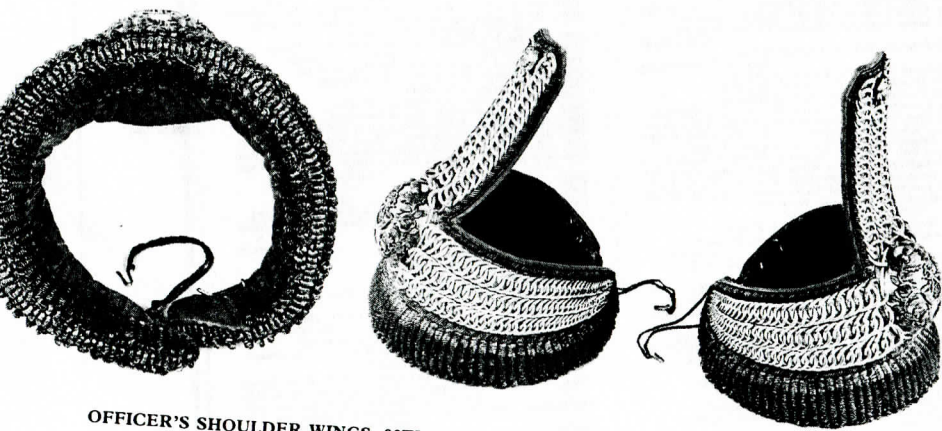
³² *Ibid.*, loc.cit., and *ibid.*, p. [6].

³³ *Ibid.*, p. [5].

³⁴ See GRO D149/X21/36 letter from W. Hooper to Winchcombe, dated 2 March 1799.



1ST (OR ROYAL) REGIMENT OF FOOT c. 1835



OFFICER'S SHOULDER WINGS, 90TH REGIMENT (PERTSHIRE VOLUNTEERS)

By kind permission of Scottish United Services Museum

NORWICH BARRACKS

and their GARRISONS

The Norwich Cavalry Barracks were built in 1791, and the Britannia Barracks (for Infantry) in 1886, on Norwich being made a Military Depot. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Queen Street, Tombland, was opened by the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Wolseley) on 19th December, 1865.

It is interesting to record that every Cavalry regiment of the line has been quartered in Norwich, and that many troops belonging to other branches of the service have been billeted in the city. The troops that took part in the ill-fated expedition to the Netherlands, under Prince Frederick Augustus, Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, in 1791, on their return to the coast to the quarters assigned to them in various parts of the Kingdom. In the last week of October and first week of November of the year named, the following regiments were quartered in the city for one night—CAVALRY AND ARTILLERY: 7th Light Dragoons (214 strong), 11th Light Dragoons (218), 15th Light Dragoons (184), 18th Light Dragoons and Royal Artillery. INFANTRY: 7th Light Dragoons (610), 29th Regiment (580), 49th Regiment (430), 83rd Regiment (587), and 79th Cameron Highlanders (800).

1862, 14th Feb. 2nd Batt. Norfolk Regiment entertained (by Mayor, Col. J. B. Harvey, D.S.O.) in St. Andrew's Hall
1864, 17th Nov. 7th Dragoon Guards. Regimental War Memorial in Norwich Cathedral unveiled
1865, 5th Oct. Rt. Hon. H. O. Arnold Forster, Sec. of State for War, laid Foundation Stone of Norwich New Cavalry Barracks

1793	1st Dragoon Guards (King's)—Col. Howard	1850	11th Hussars (Prince Albert's Own)—Col. Earl Cardigan
1794	Ditto ditto ditto	1851	2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—Major Trench
1795	2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—Col. Townsend	1852	4th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Captain Brown
1796	6th Dragoons (Innskillings)—Col. Johnston	1853	6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)—Major Gustance
1797	Ditto ditto ditto	1854	Royal Artillery—Captain Gibbon
1798	4th Dragoons, Fifeshire Cavalry (4th Hussars)—	1855	Ditto Captain Mountain
1799	14th Light Dragoons (14th Hussars)—Col. Epton	1856	Ditto Major Strang
1800	15th Light Dragoons (15th Hussars)—Col. Ererton	1857	Ditto Major Hoste
1801	3rd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—Col. Craig	1858	15th Hussars (King's)—Col. Key
1802	13th Light Dragoons (Prince of Wales)—Col. Fawcett	1859	Royal Horse Artillery—Major Branding
1803	7th Light Dragoons (7th Hussars)—Col. Craig	1860	Ditto Captain Saunders
1804	1st Royal Dragoons—Captain Craven	1861	10th Hussars (Prince of Wales' Own Royal)—Col. Baker
1805	1st Dragoon (1st Royal Dragoons)—Col. Garth	1861	5th Dragoon Guards (Princess Charlotte of Wales)—
1806	No Cavalry	1862	Col. Calthorpe
1807	5th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)—Col. Goldie	1863	5th Lancers (Royal Irish)—Col. Portal
1808	Ditto ditto ditto	1864	18th Hussars—Col. Knox
1809	6th Dragoon Guards (Princess Charlotte of Wales)—	1865	15th Lancers (Queen's)—Captain Riddell
1810 to 1814	No Cavalry	1866	13th Hussars (Light Dragoons)—Col. Jenyns
1815	Maj.-Gen. Hon. Bobb Taylor	1866	No Cavalry
1816	Brunswick Hussars (King's German Legion)—	1867	15th Hussars (King's)—Col. Pitts-Wigram
Col. Von Tempky		1868	Royal Horse Artillery—Col. Bishop
1817	5th Dragoon Guards (Princess Charlotte of Wales)—	1869	Ditto Col. Mitchell
Major Irwin		1870	Ditto ditto
1818	15th Hussars (King's)—Captain Lewis	1871	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal's)—Col. Peyton
1819	9th Lancers (Queen's Royal)—Col. Myland	1872	Ditto ditto
1819	14th Light Dragoons (14th Hussars)—Two Troops only	1873	3rd Dragoon Guards (Prince of Wales)—Col. Towers
1820	9th Lancers (Queen's Royal)—Captain Campbell	1874	7th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Col. Hale and Capt.
1821	4th Light Dragoons (4th Queen's Own Hussars)—	H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught	
Captain Pratt		1875	6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)—Col. Napier
1822	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal's)—	1876	Ditto ditto
Lieut.-Col. Burnsbury		1876	1st Royal Dragoons—Col. Gordon Graham
1822	1st Royal Dragoons—Captain Window	1877	5th Lancers (Royal Irish)—Col. Massey
1822	18th Lancers (Queen's)—Lieut. Cooley	1878	21st Hussars—Col. Wake
1823	15th Hussars (King's)—Captain O'Donnell	1879	1st Royal Dragoons—Captain Morton
1824	2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—Lt.-Col. Westera	1879	Depot 27th Brigade—Major Hayward
1825	2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys)—Major Mubleton	1880	6th Dragoons (Innskillings)—Lieut.-Col. Gore
1825	1st Dragoon Guards (King's)—Captain Randall	1881	3rd Hussars (King's Own)—Major Napier
1825	Depot 40th Foot (The Prince of Wales' Volunteers)	1882	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal's)—Col. Campbell
1826	12th Lancers (Prince of Wales Royal)—Maj. Vandeleur	1883	4th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Lieut.-Col. Phillips and
1826	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal)—Maj. Vandeleur	1884	Lieut.-Col. Peters
1826	12th Lancers (Prince of Wales Royal)—Capt. Berford	1885	Ditto ditto
1827	1st Royal Dragoons—Col. Somerset	1885	13th Hussars—Lt.-Col. Gifford and Lt.-Col. Spilling
1827	Ditto	1886	19th Hussars (Princess of Wales' Own)—Lt.-Col. Combe
1827	7th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Col. Keene	1887	Ditto ditto
1828	3rd Light Dragoons (3rd King's Own Hussars)—	1888	Ditto ditto
Captain Shade		1888	27th Hussars—Col. Blake
1828	2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—Major Kearney	1889	Ditto Col. Graves
1828	6th Dragoons (Innskillings)—Major Ratcliffe	1890	Ditto ditto
1828	17th Lancers (Duke of Cambridge's Own)—Maj. Pratt	1891	8th Hussars (King's Royal Irish)—Col. St. Quinton
1827	5rd Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal)—Maj. Huntley	1892	Ditto ditto
1828	4th Dragoon Guards (Royal Irish)—Major Makepeace	1893	Ditto ditto
1829	9th Lancers (Queen's Royal)—Earl of Beatty	1894	1st Dragoon Guards (King's)—Lt.-Col. Douglas-Willan
1829	6th Hussars (King's Royal Irish)—Col. Molyneux	1895	Ditto ditto
1829	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal)—Major Bolton	1895	7th Dragoon Guards (Princess Royal's)—Col. Creagh
1831	13th Hussars (Light Dragoons)—Major Mathew	1896	Ditto
1842	Ditto ditto	1896	Lieut.-Col. W. Croxall
1843	2nd Dragoon (Royal Scots Greys)—Col. Clarke	1898	Lieut.-Col. W. Croxall and Lieut.-Col. W. E. M. Rough
1844	8th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Major Master	1898	7th Hussars—Lieut.-Col. H. Paget, C.B.
1845	7th Hussars (Queen's Own)—Major Campbell	1903	Lieut.-Col. The Hon. R. T. Lawley, C.B.
1846	6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers)—Col. Jackson	1903	Provisional Regiment of Dragoons—
1847	No Cavalry	Lieut.-Col. R. H. Carr-Ellison	
1848	19th Lancers (Queen's)—Col. Smyth	1904	2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays)—
1849	Ditto ditto	Lieut.-Col. Coventry Williams	
		1905	2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys)—
		Lieut.-Col. Coventry Williams	
		1905	Dec. 7th Hussars—Lieut. Col. R. F. Waller

Lieut. Col. Sir Thomas P. Hacking died. He was buried November 2nd, at the Cathedral.

ensembles would suggest that a number of church bandmen were musically literate. The bassoon, flute, serpent and clarinet were often found in the old choirs. There was a church band at Frampton-on-Severn from the 1770s, although only string instruments are known to have been used.³⁵ It is difficult to ascertain whether the Frampton musicians performed in nearby churches. A number of them seem to have received payments from the local churchwardens, but the churchwardens' accounts rarely state what these payments were for; many of them may have been for non-musical work. However, it would seem that the clarinetist Aaron Taysum was the parish clerk at Arlingham church from the 1780s onwards. Such a position often involved the leadership of the church band. According to the Arlingham churchwardens' accounts, Taysum seems to have been paid roughly the same amount each year: in 1789-90 he was paid £2/9/8d,³⁶ in 1790-1 he received £2/12/-³⁷ and in 1791-2 he was paid £2/9/-.³⁸ These regular payments would suggest that Taysum was receiving a stipend. In the only account of the 1790s (1795-6) in which Taysum's name does not occur, the words 'Paid the Clark's [sic] Bill' appear against a payment of £2/11/-,³⁹ which is comparable to earlier sums given to Taysum.

Professional musicians continued to be employed by the volunteers in this period. They were probably commoner in bands based near the big cities. A large number of professional musicians seem to have been used by the Bristol volunteers. The 12 names and addresses of the band in 1797 are given in Brown's *The Rise, Progress & Military Improvement of the Bristol Volunteers*.⁴⁰

Matthews's *Complete Bristol Directories* for the years 1798 and 1799-1800 contain lists of the names, addresses and occupations of numerous Bristol tradesmen, from which it is possible to form some idea of the occupations of many of the band. Matthews's directories give the impression that most of the first seven men appearing on the Brown list were professional players. John Percivall, of 'Limekiln-lane' in Brown's list may have been the John Percivall who was listed as a 'Musician' of 'Limekiln-lane' in Matthews's directory for 1799-1800.⁴¹ Joseph Stansbury of 'Marlbro'-street' was possibly the Joseph Stansbury who appeared in Matthews's directory for 1798 as 'Musician' of 'Marlborough-street'.⁴² Andrew Winpenny Waite of

³⁵ See K. H. MacDermott's collections relating to church bands, 'The Old Church Gallery Minstrels', BL Add.47775A, p. 83

³⁶ GRO P18 CW2/1, p. [50].

³⁷ Ibid., p. [51].

³⁸ Ibid., p. [52].

³⁹ Ibid., p. [56].

⁴⁰ J. Brown: *The Rise, Progress & Military Improvement of the Bristol Volunteers; with an Alphabetical List of Officers and Privates* (Bristol 1798), pp. 40-1.

⁴¹ W. Matthews: *Matthews's Complete Bristol Directory for the years 1799 & 1800* (Bristol [1798?]), p. 89.

⁴² W. Matthews: *Matthews's Complete Bristol Directory for the year 1798* (Bristol [1797?]), p. 105.

'Canon-street' was not listed in either directory. David Williams, of 'Beaufort-court' might have been the 'Musician' of 'Beaufort-court' mentioned in 1798.⁴³ John Cheston Hobbs of 'Penn-street' does not seem to have appeared in either directory, although there were entries for John Hobbs, a 'Cork-cutter' of 'Thomas-street' in the 1798 and 1799-1800 editions⁴⁴ and for John Hobbs, a 'Butcher' of 'Redcliff-street' in the directory of 1798.⁴⁵ Joseph Sturge of 'Marlbro'-street' was very possibly the same Joseph Sturge who appeared in the 1798 directory as a 'Music-master' of 'Marlborough-street'⁴⁶ while William Fryer of 'Canon-street' was probably the 'Musician' of 'Cannon-street' listed in the 1799-1800 edition of Matthews.⁴⁷

Of course it could be argued that the individuals above (on the Brown list) were not the same men listed in Matthews. However, this is unlikely. The fact that these players' names were given at the head of the list (which is not in alphabetical order) may imply that these men had special status in the band. Professional musicians would probably have possessed such standing.

It is more difficult to establish the occupations of the five men at the foot of the list. William Watkins of 'St.James's Church yard' was possibly the 'Shoe-maker' of 'St.James's Churchyard' in Matthews's directory for 1798.⁴⁸ John Rew of 'Allen's-court' may have been the 'Carpenter' of 'Hotwell-road' mentioned in 1799-1800.⁴⁹ William Bush of 'Bridewell-bridge' could have been the 'Watch & Clock-maker' of 'Bridewell-lane' mentioned in the directory for 1798.⁵⁰ William Lucas of 'Montague-street' could have been either a 'Warehouse Keeper in the Customs' or a 'Cheque Clerk, Customs', according to the 1798 directory.⁵¹ William Hicks of 'Rosemary-street' may have been the 'Writing-master' of 'Bedminster' who appeared in Matthews in 1798,⁵² or the 'Ship & Sign Painter' who was listed in the 1799-1800 edition.⁵³ If the names and addresses of the last five bandsmen really do correspond with the names, addresses and occupations given in Matthews, the Bristol volunteers' band would seem to have included a number of artisans.

It is possible to add to the evidence given by the local directories. Andrew Winpenny Waite does not appear in Matthews's directories for 1798 or for 1799-1800. This does not mean that he was not of sufficient status to deserve an entry. As Pryce has shown in his short guide to trade directories, some

⁴³ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 58 and Matthews [1798?], p. 59.

⁴⁵ Matthews [1797?], p. 58.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 107.

⁴⁷ Matthews [1798?], p. 47.

⁴⁸ Matthews [1797?], p. 116.

⁴⁹ Matthews [1798?], p. 97.

⁵⁰ Matthews [1797?], p. 24.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁵² Ibid., p. 57.

⁵³ Matthews [1798?] p. 58.

people were not included because, for instance, they were afraid that the directories might be used for taxation purposes or because the compilers left them out.⁵⁴ Indeed, Morgan, in his *A Brief History of the Bristol Volunteers*, refers to Waite playing trumpet in a Bristol performance of *Messiah* in 1803.⁵⁵ Hooper's account of musical life in Bristol also mentions an individual called 'Wait', who, along with Stansbury, Sturge and 'Percival' seems to have promoted a concert series in 1803.⁵⁶ Waite was probably a professional musician; it is likely, therefore, that six out of the twelve members of the Bristol volunteers band were professional players.

The second question prompted by the increasing numbers of bands present in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is: where did the money to finance these bands come from? It seems to have come from two main sources. First, donations were made by people such as local notables and the officers—especially the commanding officer—of the unit. Second, the government also provided finance.

Subscriptions seem to have been raised by both the militia and the volunteers. In 1781, Lieutenant-colonel Ward of the Cambridgeshire militia asked Lord Hardwicke to contribute towards the £60 needed to provide new instruments and players for the regimental band, referring to the generosity of his previous donations.⁵⁷ When the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers were raised in 1798, the bandmaster set up a subscription fund which raised money for uniforms for the band.⁵⁸ The officers of militia and volunteer units seem to have contributed a great deal of money towards their bands. Nathaniel Winchcombe, the commanding officer of the Frampton-on-Severn corps, purchased a set of instruments for the unit's band in late July or early August,⁵⁹ and seems to have ordered some more soon afterwards.⁶⁰ Lord Bruce, colonel of the Wiltshire militia, and William Northey, the Lieutenant-colonel, were (with Sir Samuel Long) to find in some way the 24/6d per week paid to the regimental bandmaster, J. A. Buckner.⁶¹ Bruce also paid for instruments.⁶² At a meeting of the officers of the Oxfordshire militia held

⁵⁴ W. T. R. Pryce: 'Trade Directories: A Data Source of Major Importance' in W. T. R. Pryce and D. Mills: *Aspects of Historical Geography 2* (Open University course book for D301 units 16-17) (Milton Keynes 1982), p. 36.

⁵⁵ E. T. Morgan: *A Brief History of the Bristol Volunteers From Their Earliest Recorded Formation to the Establishment of the Territorial Army in 1908* (Bristol [1908?]), p. 37.

⁵⁶ J. G. Hooper: *A Survey of Music in Bristol with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century* (Unpublished typescript, Bristol 1962), p. 272. (A copy of this is held at Bristol reference library.)

⁵⁷ Western op.cit., p. 370.

⁵⁸ GRO D149/X19 p. 25. Pearce wrote to Winchcombe (probably in mid-July 1798) stating that he had raised £16/6/6d and was expecting more. (GRO D149/X21/15.)

⁵⁹ GRO D149/X19 p. 22.

⁶⁰ Diary entry of [Nathaniel Winchcombe] for Saturday 18 August 1798. GRO D149/F38A.

⁶¹ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [In envelope marked '1769']; [Bandmaster's contract dated 6 November 1769], p. [3].

in 1780, it was resolved that the following contributions would be made annually by the officers towards the upkeep of the band: the colonel of the regiment would pay £15 15s, the lieutenant-colonel £8 8s, the major £7 7s and the eight captains 5 guineas each.⁶³

However, a great deal of money for bands came from the government, despite the fact that (in theory) only the barest support was offered to military music. Officially, the militia could expect to receive only the wages, clothing allowance and equipment of a drum major, as well as similar provision for two drummers per company. This was reduced in 1786 to pay and allowances for a drum major and for a single drummer for all companies apart from the light and grenadier companies, who retained two.⁶⁴ It seems that some of these drummers were used as wind instrumentalists in militia bands.⁶⁵ Volunteer corps had drums provided by the government and some could claim pay for drummers from the same source. It is possible that drums and drummers were employed in volunteer wind bands.⁶⁶

Government money was also appropriated to finance bands in other ways. Western's study of the eighteenth-century militia mentions that commanding officers used the profits they made from the regimental clothing allowance to finance their bands.⁶⁷ Bandsmen were also included in militia pay lists as privates and even NCOs, thus reducing the effective strength. This happened in the case of the Wiltshire militia, where two sergeants were employed in the band.⁶⁸ The officers of the Oxfordshire militia resolved in 1778 that four of the regiment's eight bandsmen should be sworn as sergeants.⁶⁹

It will be noticed that much of the money donated for military bands seems to have come from the county families often associated with the militia and the volunteers, rather than from the industrial middle classes who are commonly seen as the main instigators of banding in Britain. Why were even small corps provided with bands, often at great trouble and expense? It may be that bands served as signs of the patriotism and prosperity of their localities, being subjects of competition between different units. It may also be that

⁶² WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1770']; [Receipt dated July 27 1770].

⁶³ Willan *op.cit.*, pp. 20-1.

⁶⁴ Western *op.cit.*, p. 341, et seq. and p. 370.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-1 mention the use of drummers for this purpose in the Cambridgeshire militia.

⁶⁶ Provision of pay and allowances for drummers depended on the conditions of service of volunteer units, which varied widely.

⁶⁷ Western *op.cit.*, p. 357.

⁶⁸ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1770']; [letter from W. Peck to Lord Bruce dated 13 January 1770.], p. [1-2] refers to 'the Sergeants who Act in capacity of musicians'.

⁶⁹ Willan *op.cit.*, p. 17.

officers took advantage of the government and subscription money available to the militia and volunteers to create their own private bands relatively cheaply.⁷⁰ It seems that the Frampton-on-Severn band played at 'the great House' (probably Winchcombe's Frampton Court) from time to time.⁷¹ In 1803, the band of the Royal Exchange division of the Loyal London Volunteers was instructed to play for the Merchant Taylors Company whenever it was required and forbidden to exact any gratuity.⁷² Bands were also useful as a means of enlivening a special occasion. For instance, the band of the Royal Buckinghamshire militia played at Bristol in 1797 during the celebrations which marked George III's 60th birthday.⁷³ In military terms, although the late eighteenth century saw the discouragement of the use of music as a means of maintaining step in battle, bands still had a training function which would have been particularly important to militia and volunteer units. As Houlding has written in his account of British army training in the eighteenth century, 'by the music the recruits accustomed themselves to the standard pace and time, now all-important as a foundation of close-order manoeuvres.'⁷⁴

Although landed families played a prominent part in the funding of militia and volunteer bands, there is some evidence that the initiative for the establishment of bands came from their social inferiors. In August 1798, Winchcombe recorded in his order book that 'The Corps having expressed a wish for a Band of Music', he had purchased the necessary instruments.⁷⁵ Of course, Winchcombe may have been referring to the wishes of himself and a few of the more prosperous members of the unit; he was sufficiently interested in music to attend a 'Grand Concert' in Easton church the day before he met Pearce to discuss the formation of the band.⁷⁶

A third question arising from the large numbers of wind bands present in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century concerns the commercial exploitation of this large new market. One of the main ways in which this occurred was through the publication of music (usually marches) dedicated to particular units. These pieces were in full score and would therefore have been attractive to the band of the corps concerned. They would also have been interesting to the officers; they were often published complete with a piano reduction which facilitated their performance in the houses of the wealthy.⁷⁷ The composer was sometimes well-known to prospective purchasers; Thomas Attwood, composer to the Chapel Royal, organist of

⁷⁰ Farmer provides evidence that this attitude to regimental bands was present amongst the officers. See H. G. Farmer: 'Foreign Army Bandmasters' in *Handel's Kettledrums*, p. 104.

⁷¹ GRO D149/X21/36 letter from William Hooper to Winchcombe, dated 2 March 1799.

⁷² GL Ms5 p. 78v. [Minutes of the committee of the Royal Exchange Division of the Loyal London volunteers.] Minutes of committee meeting of 30 November 1803.

⁷³ *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, Sat. 10 June 1797 p. [3].

⁷⁴ J. A. Houlding: *Fit for Service The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford 1981), p. 261.

⁷⁵ GRO D149/X19, p. 22.

⁷⁶ Diary entries for Sunday 8 July 1798 and Monday 9 July 1798. GRO D149/F38A.

⁷⁷ See, for example, W. Liquorish: *The Loyal Hampstead Association March & Quick Step, as Performed by the Band, and Adapted for the Piano Forte . . .* (London [1801]).

St. Paul's cathedral and former pupil of Mozart, published his *Royal Exchange March* in 1803, written for the Royal Exchange division of the Loyal London volunteers.⁷⁸ William Abington, a lieutenant in the 1st regiment of the Royal East India volunteers, wrote a quick and a slow march for his own unit.⁷⁹

Norwithstanding the fact that the instrumentation of military bands was not standardised at this time, such pieces were not just played by the bands to which they were dedicated. Croft-Murray refers to the City Corporation band playing a number of pieces specially written for the various volunteer corps when it performed at balls held at Ranelagh Gardens between 1799 and 1802.⁸⁰ The Duke of York's famous band also seems to have played volunteer music; this was mentioned on the covers of a number of pieces and possibly served as a powerful endorsement.⁸¹

It is more difficult to ascertain what other pieces were performed by militia and volunteer bands during this period. Accounts of occasions where a band was present tend to be uninformative. Undoubtedly, much of the music of the militia and volunteers was 'background music', often short items of a patriotic flavour which contributed to the atmosphere of special occasions. Thus, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* reported that the band of the Royal Buckinghamshire militia played *God Save the King* 'and other loyal, national and martial tunes' when they performed at the king's birthday celebrations at Bristol in June 1797.⁸² At the opening of the Oxford Canal in 1790, the band of the Oxfordshire militia appeared on a boat, playing *The Roast Beef of Old England* while an ox was roasted on the wharf.⁸³ Dance music was also performed; the band of the Berkshire militia seems to have played 'country dances' during a royal visit to Broad Mead, near Wyke Regis, in 1798.⁸⁴

There is also a certain amount of evidence that bands sometimes performed concerts, perhaps using a repertoire which made greater demands upon the musicians and their audience. John Pearce, bandmaster of the Frampton-on-Severn volunteers, advised Nathaniel Winchcombe in 1798 that the instruments purchased for the band should be 'fit for concerts'.⁸⁵ In 1801, the *Gloucester Journal* advertised a concert which may have featured the Oxfordshire militia band.⁸⁶ In 1780, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* carried an

⁷⁸ T. Attwood: *Royal Exchange March Composed and Inscribed to Lieut' Colonel Birch and the Rest of the Officers of the Royal Exchange, or First Regiment of Loyal London Volunteers* . . . (London [1803]).

⁷⁹ W. Abington: *The Royal East India Quick March* . . . (London [1796]) and *The Royal East India Slow March* . . . (London [1797]).

⁸⁰ Croft-Murray op.cit., p. 143.

⁸¹ For example, the cover of T. Essex's *The Royal Westminster Volunteers March* . . . (London [1798]) referred to the piece having been performed by the Duke of York's band as well as by the band of the Royal Westminster volunteers.

⁸² *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, Sat. 10 June 1797, p. [3].

⁸³ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Sat. 2 Jan. 1790, p. [3].

⁸⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 68 (1798), p. 1078.

⁸⁵ GRO D149/X21/15 letter from Pearce to Winchcombe, [n.d. probably mid-July 1798].

advertisement for a concert at Witney, probably given by the Buckinghamshire militia band, of 'Vocal and Instrumental Musick: consisting of Overtures, Concertos, Songs, Catches, Glees, &c.'⁸⁷ Of course, it is quite possible that at least part of the instrumental music at this concert was not given by a wind band; it could be that some of the Buckinghamshire bandmen were 'doubling' on string instruments.⁸⁸

A great deal of the music used by the militia and volunteers would probably have been in manuscript and arranged by the bandmaster. Published music was very expensive and, in any case, the instrumentation of bands varied widely. In a modification of his contract with the Wiltshire militia in 1769, the bandmaster, J. A. Buckner, agreed that he would provide music for the band if he had the time.⁸⁹

Russell has argued (in his recent study of popular music in England) that wind bands in the second quarter of the nineteenth century started to be affected by a formalisation process which touched other forms of amateur music. Bands, he claims, started to acquire names, committees and rules; they started to perform concerts, rather than just playing background music. Russell states that these changes were related to the opportunities and dislocation produced by contemporary industrialisation.⁹⁰ However, it has been shown that recognisable, named bands did exist—sometimes in rural settings—before this period in the wind bands of the militia and volunteers. Such bands did possess rules; these were (in the case of the volunteers) often included in the Articles of Association of the unit concerned. Thus, the Loyal Stroud volunteers' Articles of Association of July 1798 stipulated that bandmen were to pay a £10 fine if they were to leave the corps⁹¹ and a 2/6 fine if they could not give a reasonable excuse for non-attendance on Thursday nights.⁹² The Marlborough Volunteer infantry band seems to have operated a similar system of fines.⁹³ The band of the South Gloucestershire militia was subject to the regimental standing orders, which stated in 1811 that musicians could only perform for other organisations or individuals with the

⁸⁶ *Gloucester Journal*, Mon. 14 Dec. 1801 p. [3]. The concert was organised by the bandmaster of the Oxfordshire militia.

⁸⁷ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Sat. 29 April 1780, p. [3]. The advertisement refers to the 'Bucks Band'. This was probably the band of the Buckinghamshire militia, who were in the area at about this time.

⁸⁸ There is some evidence that militia bandmen 'doubled' on string instruments. See Western op.cit., p. 370, which mentions the Cambridgeshire bandmen being asked to perform as a string ensemble.

⁸⁹ WRO 9 Savernake Collection Wiltshire Militia Papers; Letters relating to the regiment, including the Militia riots at Devizes, 1810; [Envelope marked '1769']; [modification of bandmaster's contract, dated 6 Nov. 1769 and beginning 'Be it Remembred [sic]. . .'].

⁹⁰ D. Russell: *Popular music in England, a social history* (Manchester 1987), p. 156 et seq.

⁹¹ GRO D4851, p. 256.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

⁹³ WRO 2027 Marlborough Loyal Volunteer Infantry Merriman Papers; [Bundle marked 'Extra 10 Days (1804-05)']; [Paper listing the band, fifes and drums of the Marlborough Volunteer Infantry].

consent of the commanding officer and which laid down rules for the care of musical instruments.⁹⁴ Volunteer bands seem to have been under the control of the committees which often ran units; thus, the minutes of the committee of the Royal Exchange division of the Loyal London volunteers for 2 November 1803 include the instruction that the band should only wear their uniforms when on duty with the corps.⁹⁵ It has already been shown that there is a little evidence that concerts were given by volunteer and militia bands. It would therefore seem that the formalisation observed by Russell was not new and that some opportunities and pressures for formalisation existed prior to the nineteenth century. Perhaps the bands of the volunteers and militia marked, in this respect, a departure from traditional forms of music-making which anticipated and even influenced the brass bands which were to emerge in the 1830s and 1840s.

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