
Masters

Applied Arts

2018

Examining the Irish Art Song: Original Song Settings of Irish Texts by Irish Composers, 1900-1930.

David Scott

Technological University Dublin, david.scott@tudublin.ie

Follow this and additional works at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/appamas>



Part of the [Composition Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Scott, D. (2018) *Examining the Irish Art Song: Original Song Settings of Irish Texts by Irish Composers, 1900-1930.*. Masters thesis, DIT, 2018.

This Theses, Masters is brought to you for free and open access by the Applied Arts at ARROW@TU Dublin. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters by an authorized administrator of ARROW@TU Dublin. For more information, please contact arrow.admin@tudublin.ie, aisling.coyne@tudublin.ie, vera.kilshaw@tudublin.ie.

**Examining the Irish Art Song:
Original Song Settings of Irish Texts by Irish
Composers, 1900–1930**

David Scott, B.Mus.

Thesis submitted for the award of M.Phil.

to the Dublin Institute of Technology College of Arts and Tourism

Supervisor:

Dr Mark Fitzgerald

Dublin Institute of Technology Conservatory of Music and Drama

February 2018

ABSTRACT

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, arrangements of Irish airs were popularly performed in Victorian drawing rooms and concert venues in both London and Dublin, the most notable publications being Thomas Moore's collections of *Irish Melodies* with harmonisations by John Stephenson. Performances of Irish ballads remained popular with English audiences but the publication of Stanford's song collection *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* in 1901 by Boosey and Hawkes in London marks a shift to a different type of Irish song. This was a move away from the typical 'Irish ballad,' towards original art song settings of Irish poetry. Can this collection be said in any way to have contributed to or inspired a distinctive tradition of Irish art song? This thesis examines the original Irish song collections that Stanford composed between 1901 and his death in 1924 alongside similar works by his most prominent Irish contemporary in England, Hamilton Harty. It contrasts these with the emerging group of composers in early twentieth-century Ireland, such as Ina Boyle and John Larchet, placing them within the broader context of song composition in Ireland. As well as highlighting key songs, the thesis will consider the social, political and economic factors which affected both their reception and their afterlife in England and Ireland. Finally, the thesis will evaluate which songs would be particularly suitable for revival on the concert platform today.

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of M.Phil. is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work. This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for graduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution. The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the DIT's guidelines for ethics in research. DIT has permission to keep, lend or copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Signature 

Date 2/2/18

David Scott

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr Mark Fitzgerald for his insight, guidance and for the feedback he provided throughout this study. I would like to thank the staff of the libraries of the DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, Trinity College Dublin, and the National Library of Ireland for their assistance in sourcing several musical scores. I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Manuscripts and Archive Research Library of Trinity College Dublin for granting me permission to reproduce examples from the manuscripts of Ina Boyle, Rhoda Coghill and Frederick May. I am also grateful to Dr Maria McHale and Sinéad Lalor (M.Sc.) for helping me to acquire scores for this study, and to Dr Kerry Houston for his encouragement.

I am very thankful to Dr Ita Beausang for isolating Ina Boyle's Irish art songs from the period examined in the work, and to Dr Axel Klein for highlighting composers who proved to be very relevant for this study. I am extremely grateful to Brendan Finan (M.A.) for his assistance with type-setting Rhoda Coghill and Ina Boyle's songs into Sibelius Software. His expertise in notation and advice with corrections aided the analysis of their songs hugely. I am also grateful to Patrick Joseph Kehoe (B.Mus.) for supplying a performance history of the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra, and to Dr Declan Plummer for his guidance in cataloguing Hamilton Harty's songs.

I would like to thank my friend Dr Sean O' Dubhghaill for his help with formatting, editing and proof-reading in the final few months. I would also like to thank my parents, who let me use their home as a late-night study hall on many occasions. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Niamh Keating for her endless patience and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues Robbie Carroll (B.Mus.) and Anne Conaghan (M.A.) who played some of the more challenging piano parts for me.

ABBREVIATIONS LIST

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DIT	Dublin Institute of Technology
DOS	Dublin Orchestral Society
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
LSO	London Symphony Orchestra
MP	Member of Parliament
NUI	National University of Ireland
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RCM	Royal College of Music
RIAM	Royal Irish Academy of Music
RMS	Royal Mail Steamer
RTÉ	Raidió Teilifís Éireann
TCD	Trinity College Dublin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS LIST	v
TABLE OF FIGURES	3
INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	16
i. Music and Politics in the Nineteenth Century	16
ii. Ireland’s Nineteenth-Century Emigrant Composers.....	18
iii. Drawing Room Ballad	20
iv. Push for Home Rule and Rise of Gaelic Culture	22
v. Annie Patterson and the Foundation of Feis Ceoil	25
CHAPTER TWO: Charles Villiers Stanford	28
i. Upbringing in Dublin.....	28
ii. Stanford’s Irish Songs.....	29
iii. Collections	34
iv. Choice of Poet.....	38
v. Predominant Themes	39
vi. Style of Songs	42
CHAPTER THREE: HAMILTON HARTY	47
i. Background.....	47
ii. Move to London	49
iii. Poets.....	54
iv. Themes.....	56
v. Early Songs	58
vi. Advanced writing.....	61
CHAPTER FOUR: DECLINE OF THE STANFORD / HARTY IRISH ART SONG	68
PART ONE: ISSUES IN BRITAIN	68
i. Decline of Stanford and Harty	68
ii. The Folk Song.....	69
iii. Technology	71
iv. Stanford and Harty as Conservatives	71
v. Emergence of Ralph Vaughan Williams	75
PART TWO: ISSUES IN IRELAND	81
i. Politics	81
ii. Identity.....	85

iii.	Comparisons with Eastern Europe.....	87
CHAPTER FIVE: THE MUSIC SCENE IN IRELAND		90
i.	Musical Structures	90
ii.	The Popular Ballad Tradition	94
iii.	The Gaelic Art Song	98
iv.	Ina Boyle.....	109
v.	Rhoda Coghill	129
vii.	John Larchet.....	133
viii.	Frederick May.....	138
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS		145
i.	School of Irish Art Song	145
ii.	Ireland post-1930	146
iii.	Problems of Texts	150
iv.	Songs for Performance Today	153
v.	The Case for the Irish Art Song	157
BIBLIOGRAPHY		160
DISCOGRAPHY		175
LIST OF WORKS.....		176
APPENDIX ONE: Performance Editions of Unpublished Songs		179
	‘Sea Wrack’ by Ina Boyle.....	180
	‘The Lost Water’ by Ina Boyle	194
	‘Roses’ by Ina Boyle.....	205
	‘A Soft Day, Thank God!’ by Ina Boyle.....	210
	‘The Joy of Earth’ by Ina Boyle	217
	‘If You Let Sorrow in on You’ by Ina Boyle.....	225
	‘The Stolen Child’ by Ina Boyle	230
	‘They Went Forth’ by Ina Boyle.....	244
	‘Blessing’ by Ina Boyle	252
	‘Mary Moriarty’ by Rhoda Coghill.....	257
	‘The Stolen Child’ by Frederick May	263
	‘Sheep and Lambs’ by Frederick May.....	273

TABLE OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Stanford's Irish Art Songs Post 1900.	33
Fig. 2. Stanford, 'Night,' <i>Cushendall</i> [bars 41–44].	35
Fig. 3. Stanford, 'Cushendall,' <i>Cushendall</i> [bars 1–3].	35
Fig. 4. Stanford, 'A Fire of Turf,' <i>A Fire of Turf</i> [bars 80–86].	35
Fig. 5. Stanford, 'The West Wind,' <i>A Fire of Turf</i> [bars 79–82].	36
Fig. 6. Stanford, 'The Fairy Lough,' <i>An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures</i> [bars 1–7].	43
Fig. 7. Stanford, 'The Fairy Lough,' <i>An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures</i> [bars 36–38].	44
Fig. 8. Stanford, 'The Fairy Lough,' <i>An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures</i> [bars 65–69].	44
Fig. 9. Stanford, 'A Soft Day,' <i>A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster</i> [bars 15–19].	45
Fig. 10. Harty's Irish Art Songs.	53
Fig. 11. Harty, 'Sea Wrack' [bars 54–59].	59
Fig. 12. Stanford, 'Sea Wrack' [bars 83–87].	59
Fig. 13. Stanford, 'Sea Wrack' [bars 104–110].	60
Fig. 14. Harty, 'Flame in the Skies,' <i>Six Songs of Ireland</i> [bars 10–13].	62
Fig. 15. Harty, 'Flame in the Skies,' <i>Six Songs of Ireland</i> [bars 17–22].	62
Fig. 16. Harty, 'Dreaming,' <i>Six Songs of Ireland</i> [bars 29–36].	63
Fig. 17. Harty, 'The Stranger's Grave,' <i>Five Irish Sketches</i> [bars 6–7].	64
Fig. 18. Harty, 'The Stranger's Grave,' <i>Five Irish Sketches</i> [bars 49–50].	65
Fig. 19. Harty, 'A Drover,' <i>Five Irish Sketches</i> [bars 63–65].	66
Fig. 20. Vaughan Williams, 'Bright is the Ring of Words,' <i>Songs of Travel</i> [bars 31–40]. ...	78
Fig. 20. Needham, 'Husheen' [bars 5–8].	95
Fig. 21. Macmurogh, 'Macushla' [bars 30–33].	96
Fig. 22. O'Brien, 'The Fairy Tree' [bars 53–56].	97
Fig. 23. Patterson, 'Take up the Harp,' <i>Six Original Gaelic Songs</i> [bars 5–6].	99
Fig. 24. Patterson, 'Skylark,' <i>Six Original Gaelic Songs</i> [bars 13–15].	99
Fig. 25. O'Brien Butler's Irish Art Songs.	101
Fig. 26. O'Brien Butler, 'Mary Cavanagh,' <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i> [bar 12].	103
Fig. 27. O'Brien Butler, 'The Outlaw of Loch Lein,' <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i> [bars 47–49].	104
Fig. 28. O'Brien Butler, 'The Outlaw of Loch Lein,' <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i> [bars 8–9].	104
Fig. 29. O'Brien Butler, 'Cusheen Loo,' <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i> [bars 1–5].	105
Fig. 301. O'Brien Butler, 'Tourlough McSweeney,' <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i> [bars 4–6 vocal line].	105
Fig. 31. Crest on front cover of <i>Seven Original Irish Melodies</i>	107

Fig. 32. O'Brien Call to Arms Crest, 1617 A.D.	107
Fig. 33. Butler Family Crest.	107
Fig. 34. Boyle's Irish Art Songs 1900–1930.	115
Fig. 35. Boyle, 'Sea Wrack' [bars 14–15].	116
Fig. 36. Boyle, 'Sea Wrack' [bars 25–26].	116
Fig. 37. Boyle, 'The Lost Water' [bars 10–13].	117
Fig. 38. Boyle, 'Roses' [bars 1–7].	117
Fig. 39. Boyle, 'A Soft Day, Thank God!' [bars 4–9].	118
Fig. 40. Boyle, 'A Soft Day, Thank God!' [bars 37–40].	119
Fig. 41. Boyle, 'If you let sorrow in on you' [bars 30–36].	121
Fig. 42. Boyle, 'Sleep Song' [bars 1–10].	121
Fig. 43. Boyle, 'Sleep Song' Harmonic Reduction [bars 30–39].	122
Fig. 44. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 5–9].	123
Fig. 45. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 27–29].	124
Fig. 46. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 53–58].	124
Fig. 47. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 45–47].	125
Fig. 48. Boyle, 'A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep' [bars 1–4].	126
Fig. 49. Boyle, 'A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep' [bars 32–36].	127
Fig. 50. Boyle, 'Blessing' [bars 1–2, 26–28].	127
Fig. 51. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 1–3].	131
Fig. 52. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 26–28].	132
Fig. 53. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 19–21].	132
Fig. 54. Larchet's Irish Art Songs to 1930.	134
Fig. 55. Larchet, 'Padraic the Fiddler' [bars 37–38].	135
Fig. 56. Larchet, 'An Ardglass Boat Song' [bars 25–29].	136
Fig. 57. Larchet, 'A Stóirín Bán' [bars 19–21, 27–30].	137
Fig. 58. Larchet, 'A Stóirín Bán' [bars 6–8].	138
Fig. 59. May's Irish Art Songs to 1930.	140
Fig. 60. May, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 13–16].	141
Fig. 61. May, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 60–62].	141
Fig. 62. May, 'Sheep and Lambs' [bars 38–49].	142
Fig. 63. May, 'Hesperus' [bars 26–28].	143

INTRODUCTION

The term Art Song is broadly used to define an originally composed vocal setting of a text for concert repertory, usually with piano and generally relatively short in duration. While there is a great deal of debate on the topic of the art song's origins, with Richard Taruskin arguing that the German *Lied*, for example, can be superficially compared to many previous forms of accompanied solo songs, such as the seventeenth-century Florentine song, its modern definition was established in the eighteenth century and the genre developed throughout Europe during the nineteenth century.¹ While more in-depth categorisations can prove problematic, sub-genres of the art song are usually considered to be a tradition within specific countries; for instance, the *Lied* is broadly defined as a form of romantic German song, while the *Mélodie* is regarded as a product of nineteenth-century French culture.²

Until this study, the only notable examination of the concept of an Irish art song was Lorraine Byrne Bodley's article 'Art Song in Ireland' in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (2013). Byrne Bodley traces the origin of art song in Ireland to the eighteenth century, using Thomas Augustine Geary's canzonet 'Go Gentle Zephyr' as a starting point.³ She states that the Irish art song of this era was characterised by a melody that stayed close to the tonic, with a homophonic accompaniment and a slow harmonic rhythm. She then discusses Irish art song in the nineteenth century, focussing in particular on Thomas Moore's 'conscious borrowing' from Edward Bunting for his ten volumes of *Irish Melodies*. There is also a discussion of some of the songs 'preserved' in the literature of James Joyce, including 'M'appari' from Friedrich von Flotow's opera *Martha*, and popular drawing room ballads drawn from the operas of Michael William Balfe and William Vincent Wallace. Discussing 'Late Romantic Song,' she correctly highlights Stanford as the first composer to produce anything more than 'mere melody with accompaniment.' She lists his folk song arrangements *Songs of Old Ireland* and his original songs 'A Soft Day' and 'Irish Skies' as examples of art song, as well as folk arrangements by Herbert Hughes and Michele Esposito, and original songs by Carl Hardebeck. After a section devoted to songs by female composers she discusses twentieth century songs ranging from songs composed in the 1940s by Frederick May and Brian Boydell, to

¹ Richard Taruskin (ed.), *The Oxford History of Western Music, Volume 3: the nineteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 119–20; Peter Dickenson, et al., 'Art Song,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, Date 13 March 2016).

² Glen Johnson & Richard Stokes, *A French Song Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), xiii.

³ Lorraine Byrne Bodley, 'Art Song in Ireland,' in Harry White & Barra Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013), 34.

compositions by living composers, such as Gerald Barry's stage work setting of the tenth-century *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon*.

While Byrne Bodley's article provides a detailed account of song-writing by Irish composers over a period of three centuries, it fails to provide a concise definition of a specifically Irish art song, beyond her description of its simple form in the eighteenth century. For the centuries that follow, Byrne Bodley provides an anthology of different types of songs written either in Ireland or by an Irish composer, however, she draws no distinction between original songs, folk song arrangements or opera arias that have been removed from their original setting, considering all of these to be art songs.

For the purposes of this study, I am defining the Irish art song as an original setting of an Irish text for voice and piano by an Irish composer. The decision to examine original songs means that this study will not consider arrangements of traditional melodies or folk songs. The numerous arrangements of Irish folk songs, particularly of the nineteenth century, tend to display a close relationship between the pre-existing vocal line and piano accompaniment, and in the case of Moore's *Irish Melodies*, the text has been adapted to suit the folk melody. Moore's *Melodies* were commonly performed in Victorian drawing rooms, as were popular airs from nineteenth-century English operas, such as Michael Balfe's 'The Dream' (or 'I Dwelt I Dreamt in Marble Halls') from *The Bohemian Girl*.⁴ Like folk songs, these 'ballads' were thematically sentimental, in strophic form and the lyrical vocal line was often accompanied by simple piano chords, with little melodic interest.⁵ A tradition of ballad composition continued into the twentieth century and the influence of this tradition on composers of art songs will be considered. However, the ballad tradition will not be considered itself in any great detail.

In the first thirty years of the twentieth century Charles Villiers Stanford and Hamilton Harty wrote a significant number of songs with original vocal melodies and piano accompaniments, which were inspired by Irish themes and poetry. The vocal and piano parts of these songs display greater independence than folk arrangements or ballads. The first significant collection of such songs was Stanford's *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* (based on texts by Winifred Mary Letts), which was published in London 1901. Taking this collection as

⁴ Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour, Second Edition* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

a starting point, this study will assess whether one can create an argument for the existence of a specifically *Irish* romantic art song. Stanford would produce four more collections of Irish art songs over the next twenty years. In this he was almost matched by Hamilton Harty, who like Stanford left Ireland and settled in London. A broader context can be given by examining contemporary composers who were active in Ireland. In Dublin in the first decade of the twentieth century, the now relatively forgotten Thomas O'Brien Butler and Annie Patterson composed several art songs that attempted to be compatible with the emerging Gaelic revivalist culture. Ina Boyle, who was based in Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow, wrote a significant amount of art songs too, periodically using the same texts that Stanford and Harty had used for their songs. A variety of approaches to the composition of art song can also be observed in the work of Rhoda Coghill, John Larchet, and Larchet's pupil Frederick May. A number of unpublished songs by Boyle, Coghill and May have been transcribed from the Manuscript and Archive Research Library of Trinity College Dublin and have been edited and typeset specifically for this study.⁶

For the purposes of this dissertation, I have restricted the selection of composers to those who were born in Ireland. Stanford has often been categorised as an English composer as his career developed entirely outside Ireland and due to his contribution to Anglican church music and the establishment of new standards in English musical education. However, his formative years in Dublin and identification of himself as Irish were significant in his decision to write a variety of Irish themed works. While the issue of identity will be examined later, both Stanford and Harty, who is also sometimes remembered for his contribution to English music, will be considered as Irish composers.

While several composers born overseas, such as Michele Esposito and Arnold Bax, composed similar settings of Irish poetry, their musical education and early exposure to music was very different to that experienced by composers born in Ireland. In leaving Ireland, Stanford and Harty continued the trend set by Irish nineteenth-century composers Michael Balfe, William Wallace and Arthur O'Leary. However, as we move into the twentieth century composers such as Boyle, Larchet and May decided to stay in the new state and to attempt to forge a career in their native country. Therefore, while fully aware of the dangers of adopting an essentialised concept of Irish identity, this study will only consider composers who were

⁶ Performance editions of these scores can be found in Appendix One.

born and raised in the Irish musical scene. This will afford a simultaneous investigation into the artistic and economic conditions in Ireland, and the educative structures available to Ireland's budding composers. Through this investigation, it is intended that this study will ascertain why the Irish art song was established in England rather than in Ireland.

The timeline for this study will coincide roughly with the first three decades of the twentieth century, and music trends in both London and Dublin will be considered. There are various reasons for this; first the time span coincides roughly with Stanford's involvement with the genre; his final Irish art song collection, *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*, was published in 1920, and he died in 1924.⁷ Hamilton Harty, the other prominent composer of Irish art songs in London, wrote his first Irish art song 'Sea Wrack' circa 1900. He would decrease his output due to ill health following his 1926 collection *Antrim and Donegal*, only briefly returning to the genre in 1938. Furthermore, the types of art song that Stanford and Harty wrote were attached to a Victorian culture that underwent a radical transformation after 1930. Another significant factor in deciding this timeline was the changing nature of the consumption of music. With the development of the radio and gramophones, publication of music for domestic consumption gradually decreased, reflecting a reduction in the demand for music for voice and piano by amateur musicians. Compositional styles in Europe and Britain too would undergo significant transformations as the century progressed, making the music of Stanford and Harty seem even more outmoded.

While little research has been conducted to date specifically on 'Irish art song,' there has been a great deal of commentary on factors that have influenced Irish composition in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Two issues are particularly pertinent to this study and will be given their due consideration; first, the reasons why Ireland's leading composers emigrated to pursue a professional career and secondly, how the change in Ireland's cultural identity in the twentieth century and liberation from the United Kingdom affected the development of indigenous art music. As a corollary to this there is the question of whether those who settled in England were still considered 'Irish' in Ireland.

For general historical contextual material, I have relied on studies of Dublin's social decline in the nineteenth century by Maurice Craig and Mary E. Daly, in addition to studies by

⁷ Jeremy Dibble, 'Sir Charles Villiers Stanford,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 24 October 2016).

Alvin Jackson and the revisionist work of R.F. Foster. Works by James Camlin Beckett and David Fitzpatrick have also been utilised in order to establish the relevant political developments of this era. These will provide a wider context in which to situate Ireland's musical scene and to capture the conditions Stanford and Harty functioned in before immigrating.

Aloys Fleischmann's essay 'Music in the Nineteenth Century,' in Brian Boydell's *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland* was one of the earliest attempts to examine how music was affected by the political upheavals of the century.⁸ Fleischmann's collection of essays in *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* in 1952 provides a survey of the music profession in Ireland and a commentary on the role of, and attitudes towards, art music in the early years of the Irish Free State.⁹ Joseph Ryan's 1991 doctoral dissertation *Nationalism and Music in Ireland* examines the development of music in Ireland between 1800 and 1950, positing the idea that the development of national thought in Ireland was detrimental to the development of original composition and arguing for the impossibility of accommodating Irish nationalism with art music.¹⁰ This study focussed primarily on the identity of individual composers, categorising them as either nationalists or as part of an alternative tradition. In 1998, Harry White published *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, a book which examines this idea more extensively from the perspective of a cultural history of Ireland, rather than from a compositional one.¹¹ White details various aspects of Irish music's complicated history from 1770–1970, including Thomas Moore's politicised ethnic idiom of *Irish Melodies* within the colonial establishment, the growth of Cecilianism in the late nineteenth century Ireland that appealed to an urban Catholic middle class and the Celtic Revival that afforded symbolic status to traditional music. Central to White's thesis is the concept that ethnic (traditional) and colonial (art) music were cultivated separately and that the popularity of ethnic music, as an anti-colonial practice was achieved at the cost of 'serious' musical culture, in the key areas of education, performance and composition. The factors that affected the standards of education within Ireland in both the late nineteenth century and in the opening decades of the twentieth century are examined in greater detail in the pioneering 1999 work by Marie McCarthy *Passing*

⁸ Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in the Nineteenth Century,' in Brian Boydell (ed.), *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979).

⁹ Aloys Fleischmann (ed.), *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952).

¹⁰ Joseph Ryan, 'Nationalism and Music in Ireland (Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Ireland, 1991).

¹¹ Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

It On, which examines the role of oral transmission within the multifaceted relationship between musical, educational and cultural development in nineteenth and twentieth-century Ireland.¹² Mark Fitzgerald and John O’Flynn’s 2014 book *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* contains a number of essays that touch on matters germane to this study.¹³ In particular, Martin Dowling’s survey of the role of music making in education and daily life at the end of the nineteenth century and in the period of the Gaelic Revival, and Edmund Hunt’s examination of the concept of an ‘Irish school of composition’ provide many important insights into the complexity of Irish compositional identity in the period this dissertation focuses on. Dating from the same year, Benjamin Dwyer’s *Different Voices* examines in a detailed introductory chapter how socio-political factors impacted upon Ireland’s musical education and structural systems, and provides a more nuanced alternative to Joseph Ryan’s bald dichotomies.¹⁴

There has also been much recent scholarship on the lives of a number of composers considered in this study. Basil Walsh has written several biographies and articles on Ireland’s emigrant composers of the nineteenth century, most notably Michael William Balfe, and Andrew Lamb wrote a biography of Ireland’s other significant composer of this time, William Vincent Wallace.¹⁵ Jeremy Dibble’s two biographies, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician* (2002) and *Hamilton Harty: A Musical Polymath* (2013) chronicle the two composers’ lives in considerable detail and will be used as primary sources of information.¹⁶ The shorter biographies of Stanford, by Paul Rodmell and Harty, edited by David Greer review their lives and music in slightly less detail, but provide an alternative perspective and additional information.¹⁷ Some of Stanford’s Irish art songs have been reviewed in Trevor Hold’s *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* and Stephen Banfield’s *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century*, however both books consider them in the context of ‘English’ art song.¹⁸ *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (2013) edited by

¹² Marie McCarthy, *Passing it On: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999).

¹³ Mark Fitzgerald, & John O’Flynn (eds.), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁴ Benjamin Dwyer, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland* (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2014).

¹⁵ Basil Walsh, *Michael William Balfe: A unique Victorian composer* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008); Andrew Lamb, *William Vincent Wallace: Composer, Virtuoso and Adventurer* (West Byfleet: Fullers Wood Press, 2012).

¹⁶ Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jeremy Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2013).

¹⁷ David Greer, *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1979); Paul Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2002).

¹⁸ Trevor Hold, *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* Stephen Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Harry White and Barra Boydell, *Oxford Music Online* and Axel Klein's book *Die Musik Irlands im 20 Jahrhundert* will be used as sources of biographical information for most of the other Irish composers.¹⁹ Henry Boylan's *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* will also be used for much factual information about the various poets and writers relevant to the study.²⁰

There has also been a considerable amount of recent research about neglected Irish composers. Ita Beusang is currently engaged in research on Ina Boyle, and while her monograph on Boyle is forthcoming, she has written a number of articles on her life, most recently in the 2016 publication *The Invisible Art: A century of music in Ireland 1916-2016*, edited by Michael Dervan, which also contains a general survey of articles by Joseph Ryan and Axel Klein.²¹ Sonya Keogh's 2002 M.Phil. dissertation about Ina Boyle's life and works is a further source of information but neither of these deal in any detail with Boyle's songs.²² There has been little critical literature written about the life and career of John Larchet. His entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* by Úna-Francis Clarke and his own 'A Plea for Music,' written in 1923, will be used as principal biographical sources.²³ Laura Watson's article 'Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet' for the *Journal of the Society of Musicology in Ireland* is currently the most extensive piece of research on the life and works of Rhoda Coghill.²⁴ Accounts of the life of Frederick May were largely insufficient until an article documenting his career by Mark Fitzgerald was included in Fitzgerald and O'Flynn's *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*. In conjunction with the DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, Fitzgerald produced *The Songs of Frederick May* in 2016, for which all of his surviving mature songs were recorded, including two featured in this study: 'Irish Love Song' and 'Hesperus.'²⁵ This allows one to examine May's early songs in the context of his later vocal output.

As a singer, one of the initial reasons for looking at this repertoire was the fact that so much of it has disappeared from public performance. It is notable that very few of Stanford

¹⁹ Harry White & Barra Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013); Axel Klein, *Die Musik Irlands im 20 Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996).

²⁰ Henry Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1979).

²¹ Michael Dervan, *The Invisible Art: A century of music in Ireland 1916–2016* (Dublin: New Island Books, 2016).

²² Sonya Keogh, *Ina Boyle: A Life and Work* (M.Phil. dissertation, University College Cork, 2002).

²³ Úna-Francis Clarke, 'John Francis Larchet,' in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 579–580; John Larchet, 'A plea for music: an analysis of the present position of music in Ireland, and the needs of the future,' *National Archives of Ireland*, IE NAI FIN/1/2794 (1923).

²⁴ Laura Watson, 'Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet,' *Journal of the Society of Musicology in Ireland*, 11 (2015–16).

²⁵ Mark Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May* (Dublin: DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, 2016).

and Harty's songs were recorded during their lifetimes, which was undoubtedly a factor in their disappearance from the repertoire. An article in 1937 by John Thorne specifically asks why so few of Stanford's songs were recorded, writing that to his knowledge the only Irish art song to have been recorded was 'The Bold Unbiddable Child' from his collection *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*.²⁶ Hamilton Harty's 'Sea Wrack' was recorded in 1928 by English contralto Muriel Brunskill, while in 1929 tenor John McCormack recorded 'A Cradle Song' from his *Five Irish Sketches*.²⁷

In the latter part of the twentieth century and early years of the twenty-first century, more recordings of these songs were made, which may yet play a role in restoring these compositions to prominence. In 1999, baritone Stephen Varcoe and pianist Clifford Benson recorded a number of Stanford's Irish art songs as part of their two CDs of songs by Stanford for the Hyperion label, including the collections *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* and *A Fire of Turf*. An orchestrated version of 'The Fairy Lough' (*An Irish Idyll from Six Miniatures*) was recorded as part of a disc of *English Orchestral Songs* by the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra for the same label, highlighting how his Irish art songs are still considered to contribute to the overall genre of 'English art song.'²⁸ Another album, *Songs from the Elfin Pedlar* by tenor James Griffett and Clifford Benson consists mainly of Stanford's Irish folk arrangements, but also includes the original songs 'The Fairy Lough,' 'The Bold Unbiddable Child' (*A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*) and 'The Monkey's Carol,' clearly considering them all to be 'Irish songs.'²⁹

The most well-known recording of original Irish art song in Ireland is the 1998 disc *A Sheaf of Songs from Ireland* by mezzo-soprano Bernadette Greevy and pianist Hugh Tinney. The album includes all six songs from Stanford's *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* collection as well as 'The Fairy Lough.'³⁰ The album also includes the three Larchet songs examined in this

²⁶ John Thorne, 'In the Footsteps of Plunket Greene,' *The Gramophone*, 15/3 (June 1937), 8.

²⁷ Muriel Brunskill contralto 'Sea Wrack' (H. Harty), Hamilton Harty, piano, 1928, YouTube, Published on 15 Jun 2013 by Jozef Sterkens (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XnerIxVpuY>, 3 September 2015); Cyril Ehrlich, 'Discography,' in Greer (ed.), *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music*, 140.

²⁸ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Stanford: Songs, Vol. 1*, Stephen Varcoe (baritone), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: CDA 67123, 1999; Charles Villiers Stanford, *Stanford: Songs, Vol. 2*, Stephen Varcoe (baritone), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: CDA 67124, 1999; 'English Orchestral Songs,' Christopher Maltman (baritone), Martyn Brabbins (conductor), BBC Symphony Orchestra, compact disc, Hyperion: CDA67065, 1998.

²⁹ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Songs from the Elfin Pedlar*, James Griffett (tenor), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: A 66049, 1982.

³⁰ *A Sheaf of Songs from Ireland*, Bernadette Greevy (mezzo-soprano), Hugh Tinney (pianist), compact disc Marco Polo: CD 8.225098, 1998.

study, as well as Vincent O'Brien's 'The Fairy Tree.' A number of historic recordings are available either in CD format or via online platforms. John McCormack recorded 'Padraic the Fiddiler' by John Larchet and 'The Fairy Tree' by Vincent O'Brien.³¹ 'Sea Wrack' continued to be Harty's most popular song and was recorded by soprano Veronica Dunne and pianist Havelock Nelson in 1965, and again in 1966 by Bernadette Greevey and pianist Jeannie Reddin.³² In 1974 'The Stranger's Grave' was recorded by soprano Isobel Baillie, who was eighty at the time.³³ It was also recorded in 1986 by mezzo-soprano Norma Gray Wilson and pianist Elizabeth Bicker, and more recently by soprano Ailish Tynan and pianist Iain Burnside for their 2011 disc *An Irish Songbook*.³⁴

A few of these songs have begun to appear in public recitals in Ireland in recent times as interest in Ireland's compositional heritage increases. Harty's 'Sea Wrack' is particularly popular. Most recently, in September 2016 mezzo-soprano Rachel Kelly and pianist Una Hunt performed the song in their *Composing the Island: An Irish Song Book* recital in the National Concert Hall's John Field Room.³⁵ The song was performed by mezzo-soprano Imelda Drumm and pianist Dearbhla Collins in a concert in St Patrick's College in Drumcondra in October 2015, and it was also performed by contralto Elizabeth Pink and pianist Tim Tozer in October 2013 in the National Concert Hall's John Field Room.³⁶ Tenor Robin Tritschler and pianist Peter Tuite performed a number of songs by Stanford and Harty examined in this study as part of the *Composing the Island* series.³⁷ The author also performed songs examined in this study by Stanford, Harty, Boyle and May in the National Concert Hall John Field Room as part of DIT's Afterlight Chamber Music and Lecture Series in October 2015.

³¹ *McCormack and Kreisler in Recital*, John McCormack (tenor), Fritz Kreisler (violin), Edwin Schneider (piano), compact disc Prima Voce N17868, 1995; *Ireland's own John McCormack*, John McCormack (tenor), compact disc Emerald Echoes, B011KCF2B8, 2015.

³² Axel Klein, *Irish Classical Recordings: A discography of Irish Art Music* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), 81.

³³ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 88.

³⁴ Klein, *Irish Classical Recordings: A discography of Irish Art Music*, 84; *An Irish Songbook*, Ailish Tynan (soprano), Iain Burnside (piano), compact disc Signum Classics: SIGCD239, 2011.

³⁵ 'Composing the Island: Songs of Erin, An Irish Song-Book (Volume 2),' *Contemporary Music Centre* (<https://www.cmc.ie/events/2016/sep/composing-island-songs-erin-irish-song-book-volume-2>, 11 July 2016.)

³⁶ *St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Lunchtime Concerts* (<https://www.spd.dcu.ie/site/news/documents/ImeldaDearbhla.pdf>, 11 July 2016); *Royal Irish Academy of Music* (<http://www.riam.ie/page/18/?id=2161-12>, 11 July 2016).

³⁷ 'Composing the Island: Songs of Erin, An Irish Song-Book (Volume 2),' *The Journal of Music* (<http://journalofmusic.com/listing/04-09-16/composing-island-songs-erin-irish-song-book-volume-1>, 11 July 2016).

There is currently a revival of interest in Ina Boyle's works. Boyle was one of the composers featured in the project *Composing the Ireland: A century of music in Ireland 1916–2016*. While most of her Irish songs have not been publicly performed in recent years, 'Sleep Song' is performed occasionally. Mezzo-Soprano Victoria Massey included the song in a recital she gave of Ina Boyle songs in the Hugh Lane Gallery in February 2011, and the song was included on the recently released album entitled *I Am Wind on Sea: Contemporary Vocal Music from Ireland* by mezzo-soprano Aylish Kerrigan and Dearbhla Collins.³⁸ John Larchet's complete songs for voice and piano were performed by baritone Gavin Ring, mezzo-soprano Raphaela Mangan and pianist Niall Kinsella in a recital in the Hugh Lane Gallery in June 2017.³⁹ While in the second half of the twentieth century the majority of these songs were neglected, increased performances in recent years indicate a growing appetite for rediscovering a distinctive Irish art song tradition.

This study will begin in Chapter One with a historical overview of Ireland's music scene in the nineteenth century, examining the conditions, both economic and political, that led to Ireland's most talented composers emigrating, usually to London, to pursue their musical careers. It will then detail how Irish themed songs became popular in the English drawing room of this time. Finally, it will examine the rise of Gaelic culture towards the end of the century, investigating the different strands of music that helped to form a background to, and also helped to shape, the idea of songs with a national character.

Chapter Two will initially review Charles Villiers Stanford's upbringing in Ireland, and will outline how he began to write Irish themed songs in London. It will then discuss his collections, examining how the songs were grouped within a collection, and the general style of composition used by Stanford. Chapter Three will provide a similar assessment of Hamilton Harty. As the publication of Harty's songs in London overlap with Stanford's, the study demonstrates whether or not common trends can be observed in these works.

Chapter Four will discuss the changing musical scene in Britain and suggest why the Irish art songs of Stanford and Harty declined in popularity after 1930. This chapter will also

³⁸ 'The Music of Ina Boyle,' *Hugh Lane Dublin* (<http://www.hughlane.ie/all/262-the-music-of-ina-boyle>, 26 February 2017); *I Am Wind on Sea: Contemporary Vocal Music from Ireland*, Aylish Kerrigan (mezzo-soprano), Dearbhla Collins (piano), compact disc Méteir: MSV 28558, 2016.

³⁹ 'Sundays@Noon: John F. Larchet Remembered,' *Hugh Lane Dublin* (<http://www.hughlane.ie/past-sunday-concerts/1740-sundaysnoon-john-f-larchet-remembered>, 16 June 2017).

cover wider social and political issues and whether Stanford and Harty's legacy as Irish composers were affected by the country's liberation from the United Kingdom. Chapter Five will begin by examining the musical infrastructure within Ireland in the opening decades of the twentieth century. It will then review the composers based in Ireland, who wrote similarly themed art songs to texts by Irish writers, analysing their work to draw conclusions not just about the individual composers, but also about the wider context within which they worked. Chapter Six will assess whether a distinctive genre of Irish art song emerged over the first thirty years of the twentieth century, and examine the factors that affected the songs' long-term popularity. Finally, it will select which of the Irish art songs examined in this study would be most suitable for a revival today.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

i. Music and Politics in the Nineteenth Century

During the eighteenth century, Dublin was a relatively affluent city with an active music scene. Johann Kusser (1660–1727), Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762) and Tomaso Giordani (1730–1806) were some of the foreign composers who settled in Dublin, while Thomas Arne (1710–1778), George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) and others paid extended visits.⁴⁰ However, this cultural scene was never cultivated throughout the whole country, with the centralisation of Dublin as a political hub being partly responsible for this. The Irish Parliament was representative of the gentry and brought patronage to the arts in Dublin. Hence, when Dublin's status and economy declined, the arts were severely affected. The reasons for this decline are linked to the changing political scene. First, in the second half of the eighteenth century, after growing unrest in rural Ireland, the British Government decided to relax the Penal Laws in order to keep the majority of the Catholic population loyal. However, this resulted in alienating the Irish elite to some extent.⁴¹ The feeling of political and social unrest was heightened by the United Irishmen, who led the failed rebellion of 1798, which had a crippling effect on many parts of society in Ireland. The Act of Union was subsequently enforced which played a significant role in diminishing Dublin's status. It amalgamated the Irish and British Parliaments and instead of two hundred MPs (Members of Parliament) meeting in College Green, now one hundred Irish MPs would meet in Westminster. Rather than travel back and forth between Dublin and London, Ireland was effectively ruled by an absentee Government and MPs lived in London, spending money and socialising there, rather than supporting the charitable organisations in Dublin that commonly produced musical events.

There has been some debate over the exact impact of the Act of Union on the Irish musical scene; Aloys Fleischmann wrote that Dublin might well have become one of the 'liveliest capitals in Europe' in its support for music, had it not been for the Act of Union.⁴² By contrast, Brian Boydell argued that Dublin's decline was not initially caused by the Act of Union, and that Dublin's diminishing wealth only began in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and the agricultural depression of the 1820s.⁴³ While Boydell is correct that Dublin's

⁴⁰ Barra Boydell, 'Dublin,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 21 March 2017).

⁴¹ R. F. Foster, 'Ascendancy and Union' in *Idem, The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (London: Guild Publishing, 1989), 181.

⁴² Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music in the Nineteenth Century,' 39.

⁴³ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 19.

depression began with the agricultural price collapse in 1815, after the Napoleonic War and the re-opening of the British market to overseas suppliers as a source of food, the Act of Union caused many wealthy landowners to leave Dublin for London, which ultimately led to the lack of patronage.⁴⁴ Dublin's prosperity in the first fifteen years of the century probably masked the full impact of the Act of Union.

As the century progressed, the focus of power shifted from the Protestant Ascendancy as Catholics gradually took control of politics and, to a lesser degree, the city's businesses and professions. Dublin's social landscape was also greatly affected by a series of uprisings; the Tithe War of the 1830s, the Fenian Rising of 1867 and the Davitt and Parnell Land War of the 1880s. There was a migration to the suburbs and the Protestant middle class now had more concentrated strongholds in areas such as Rathmines and Pembroke, which established autonomous self-governing townships that failed to contribute to the city's taxes. Historian Mary E. Daly describes the Dublin of the nineteenth century as a 'deposed capital,' given that it became a city bereft of its parliament and a backwater of politics that was relatively ignored by Westminster.⁴⁵ The other event that greatly stifled progress was the Great Famine of 1845–49. While the country's population was halved due to mortality and emigration, the hardship among the Irish aristocracy was significant, with many landlords being left unpaid.⁴⁶

In the immediate aftermath of the Famine, musical life initially continued as usual in the Dublin's churches and theatres. A number of new musical societies were founded and presented choral works primarily from the eighteenth century, with the Philharmonic Society and the Antient Concert Society playing a major role in Dublin's musical life. However, the Antient Concerts were mainly the preserve of the wealthier Protestant classes.⁴⁷ There was however a growing appetite for music throughout society at large, and the biggest audiences in Dublin were drawn by touring opera companies. Although vocal and instrumental concerts by visiting artists continued to a lesser degree, touring Italian opera companies began to dominate Ireland's classical music landscape in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ The new Catholic middle class

⁴⁴ Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Markets, Fairs and Towns in Ireland, c1600–1853,' in *Idem, Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 50.

⁴⁵ Mary E. Daly, *Dublin The Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860–1914* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1985), 1–2.

⁴⁶ Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660–1860* (Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co, 1969), 309.

⁴⁷ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 19–20.

⁴⁸ Thomas Joseph Walsh, *Opera in Old Dublin: 1819–1838* (Wexford: The Wexford Festival, 1952), 100–01.

was also partaking in musical activity, which is evident from the increased number of concerts of national music involving organists of Catholic churches.⁴⁹

ii. Ireland's Nineteenth-Century Emigrant Composers

The downturn in the social and economic fortunes already began to impact upon Ireland's composers in the early nineteenth century. Their decisions to leave Ireland so early in their careers highlight the limited opportunities available to them. Michael William Balfe (1808–1870) was the one of the first such composers to emerge from Dublin's scene. He received his earliest musical tuition from his father who was a dance master and violinist.⁵⁰ Balfe junior participated in Dublin's active concert scene in his early years with considerable success, and his first composition was a song called 'The Lover's Mistake,' which was published in 1822 when Balfe was fourteen.⁵¹ However, Balfe left Dublin for London in 1823, gaining employment as the deputy leader of the orchestra of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.⁵² Basil Walsh suggests that the musical scene in Dublin was too routine for the restless and ambitious personality that Balfe possessed.⁵³ Arthur O'Leary (1834–1919) also spent only a short period of time in Dublin's musical scene. He was born in Kerry in 1834, leaving his family residence in Tralee for Dublin in 1844.⁵⁴ However, O'Leary's duration in the capital was short, leaving in 1847 to study in the Leipzig Conservatory. He eventually settled in London and became an assistant professor in the Royal Academy of Music.⁵⁵

William Vincent Wallace (1812–1865) was born in Waterford where his father was stationed for one year with the Ballina Brass Band; he was raised in Ballina, Co. Mayo.

⁴⁹ Beausang, 'From national sentiment to nationalist movement, 1850–1900,' in Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny (eds.), *Irish Musical Studies 9: Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 38.

⁵⁰ Nigel Burton, & Ian Halligan, 'Balfe, Michael William,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 20 September 2016).

⁵¹ Walsh, *Michael William Balfe: A unique Victorian composer*, 7.

⁵² Burton & Halligan, 'Balfe.'

⁵³ Walsh, *Michael William Balfe: A unique Victorian composer*, 11.

⁵⁴ While his memoir of 1919 states that he was born in Tralee, *Cumming's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* gives lists his birthplace as Killarney. William Hayman Cummings was a colleague of O'Leary's at the Royal Academy of Music, so he might conceivably have received this information first hand. Furthermore, the fact that O'Leary decided to be buried in Killarney (in 1919) rather than with his sister in Tralee having spent his whole adult life in London, would indicate that Killarney had a special significance for him; Bob Fitzsimons, *Arthur O'Leary and Arthur Sullivan: Musical Journeys from Kerry to the Heart of Victorian England* (Tralee: Poghouse, 2008), 16.

⁵⁵ Fitzsimons, *Arthur O'Leary and Arthur Sullivan: Musical Journeys from Kerry to the Heart of Victorian England*, 50.

Although Wallace grew up in Ireland, it does not appear that he studied composition formally with any particular teacher, but he did study violin and piano with various teachers and played in orchestras in Dublin's theatres for events such as pantomimes. He received a teaching position in the Ursuline Convent in Thurles and became an organist in Thurles Cathedral at age eighteen.⁵⁶ After getting married in 1831, he immigrated to Tasmania in 1835 before moving to Sydney a year later.⁵⁷ It is unclear how much he had composed by this time; his friend William Guernsey wrote that he had written over two hundred compositions, fantasies and marches for military bands, although there is little evidence of these compositions.⁵⁸

This first wave of Irish composers to emerge wrote very little music that was thematically Irish. Balfe was fondly remembered by Dublin's musical circles; in November 1838, he was invited back to Dublin to join a group of English singers for a season of opera. Balfe performed the lead baritone roles in various operas by Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) and Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835), and a public dinner was organised on 28 December 1838 to celebrate his return.⁵⁹ Fellow emigrant composer Arthur O'Leary also returned to Dublin to perform with the Philharmonic Society in 1860 and in 1864 and the local press in Kerry continued to report on the O'Leary family until about 1920.⁶⁰ While both composers were proud Irishmen, neither wrote in a particularly national style and Irish or Irish themed texts were not of primary concern to them. In O'Leary's case, he set a variety of texts ranging from the German 'Nacht,' to the Scottish ballad 'Address to Scotland.' Balfe was a prominent composer at a time during which Ireland was ravaged by the Great Famine, a fact of which he was obviously aware as he gave a benefit concert in February 1847 'for the relief of the distressed Irish because of Famine,' but he did not make any reference to this or other local events in his music.⁶¹ While he wrote over 250 songs, very few had any reference to Ireland and those that did such as 'Killarney,' 'Kathleen Macree' and 'Norah, darling! don't believe them' were written in the style of romantic parlour songs with relatively basic

⁵⁶ Lamb, *William Vincent Wallace: Composer, Virtuoso and Adventurer*, 2.

⁵⁷ William Henry Grattan Flood, *William Vincent Wallace: A Memoir* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1912), 13; Jeremy Dibble, '(William) Vincent Wallace,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 20 September 2016).

⁵⁸ Wellington Guernsey, 'William Vincent Wallace,' *The New York Musical World and Journal of the Fine Arts* (1852), 178.

⁵⁹ Walsh, *Michael William Balfe: A unique Victorian composer*, 76

⁶⁰ Fitzsimons, *Arthur O'Leary and Arthur Sullivan: Musical Journeys from Kerry to the Heart of Victorian England*, 56.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

accompaniments.⁶² William Vincent Wallace wrote no Irish themed songs or settings of Irish texts as he, like Balfe, composed his music according to the prevailing economic factors in the countries in which he worked.

While Italian opera had begun to gain ground among the middle class, Alfred Bunn (1796–1860), lessee of Covent Garden London, believed that a fusion of English and Italian opera could produce an English form of grand opera. The first major success of this new form was Balfe’s *The Siege of Rochelle*. However, the conditions necessary for growth of the genre were unfavourable, given that the middle-class audience tended to judge English operas by the resources they offered for use in the drawing room. Balfe’s solo numbers far outshone those of his contemporaries and they became popular in their own right, with George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) describing them as being better than those of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893).⁶³ These solos would often bear little dramatic relevance to the plot of the opera. Manuscript sources suggest that Balfe wrote these songs before the rest of the opera and publishers printed them in advance of the vocal scores, in order to benefit from the wave of enthusiasm from the public that usually accompanied the opening of a Balfe opera.⁶⁴ This is evident from the fact that in these early publications the treble clef is used in the vocal line, regardless of the character that the song was intended for, which was a common practice in song-publishing. Hence, the English operas of the nineteenth century became one of the ‘storehouses’ of drawing room songs.⁶⁵

iii. Drawing Room Ballad

The drawing room ballad had developed from theatrical forms of entertainment that were predominant during the previous century, such as *The Beggar’s Opera* by John Gay (1685–1732) and *The Dragon of Wantley* by John Frederick Lampe (c. 1703–1751). They satirised the court and aristocratic entertainment, but at the same time instilled a didactic moral purpose which appealed to the taste of the middle class audience.⁶⁶ The Government passed a Licensing

⁶² Basil Walsh, *Michael William Balfe* (<http://www.britishandirishworld.com/>, 20 September 2016); William Williams, *’Twas Only an Irishman’s Dream: The image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics 1800–1920* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1996), 48.

⁶³ George Bernard Shaw, ‘Music in London,’ in *London Constable and Co.*, 2 (1932), 173.

⁶⁴ William Tyldesley, *Michael William Balfe: His Life and his English Operas: Music in 19th Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 29.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶⁶ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 1.

Act in 1737 enforcing strict censorship in Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres, given that some of these pieces caused controversy, and as the century progressed, the most popular form of musical entertainment was the light sentimental comedy that contained a mixture of original music, songs from operas and traditional airs. Table Entertainment developed from this, which consisted generally of a mixture of narration and singing, often satirical in nature, delivered by a single individual seated behind a table, facing the audience.⁶⁷ These relatively simple songs were also performed in pleasure gardens and became particularly popular with amateur musicians with the advent of cheaper music-printing in the early 19th century. Publishing houses such as Chappell encouraged their popularity by organizing series of concerts showcasing them.⁶⁸

The Irish poet Thomas Moore (1779–1852) was particularly popular in London in the early nineteenth century for his drinking songs, and received acclaim for his opera *The Gipsy Prince* in 1801.⁶⁹ By now, the migration of the Irish aristocracy towards England had begun and publishers James Power (1766–1836) and William Power (1797–1831) saw a potential market for Irish songs. Publications of gentrified folk song arrangements had rapidly increased in popularity in Scotland and England by the end of the eighteenth century, with some publishers commissioning prominent European composers to arrange music for their collections; between 1791 and 1804, Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) arranged over 400 Scottish folk songs for various publishers, while Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) provided seventy-one settings of Irish folk melodies to Scottish publisher George Thompson (1757–1851) along with arrangements of English, Scottish and continental tunes.⁷⁰ William Power approached Moore and the result of this encounter was *Irish Melodies*.⁷¹ The poetry was provided by Moore and one of the main sources for the tunes was Edward Bunting's (1773–1843) *A General Collection of Ancient Irish Music*, a collection consisting mostly of melodies

⁶⁷ Michael Tilmouth, 'Table Entertainment,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 2 August, 2016).

⁶⁸ Jane Bellingham, 'Drawing Room Ballad,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 2 August, 2016).

⁶⁹ The music of which was provided by the Irish tenor Michael Kelly, who performed the title role; Frederick Burwick, *Playing to the Crowd: London Popular Theatre, 1780–1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 28.

⁷⁰ Andreas Friesenhagen, 'Joseph Haydn – Folksong Arrangements of Scottish and Welsh Songs,' Susan Doering (trans.), *TrioVanBeethoven* (http://www.triovanbeethoven.at/cms_site_en/Projects/Folksong-Arrangements-by-Haydn-and-Beethoven/Folksong-Arrangements-by-Haydn, 25 March 2007); Harry White, *Music and the Irish Literary Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 47.

⁷¹ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 25.

that Bunting had notated while attending the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792.⁷² In 1808, the first of ten volumes of *Irish melodies* was published, which contained piano arrangements by John Andrew Stevenson (1761–1833), the vicar-choral of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.⁷³ The nine subsequent volumes were published serially through 1834, containing more than 130 songs and these were to provide the corner-stone of the English bourgeois ‘popular song.’⁷⁴

It is perhaps not surprising that Michael Balfe, who by now was the most significant composer of opera in England, was the first composer of note to arrange these songs. In 1859, he was contracted by the London Music Publisher Novello & Co. to update and complete new arrangements of Moore’s *Irish Melodies*.⁷⁵ This fashion for arranging Irish folk tunes was continued in the 1880s by Charles Villiers Stanford (1852–1924), which would ultimately lead to his decision to compose original Irish art songs.

iv. Push for Home Rule and Rise of Gaelic Culture

The distinctly indifferent attitude expressed by Westminster towards relief for the Irish during the Famine led to great frustration.⁷⁶ The Irish Conservative Isaac Butt (1813–1879) was a harsh critic of British policy in Ireland, condemning its centralising tendencies and its failure to address issues of land and education in a comprehensive manner.⁷⁷ The 1850s saw both a wave of Protestant revivalism and an opposing political culture of Irish nationalism, which was expressed through Fenianism.⁷⁸ ‘Fenian’ became a term most generally applied to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), a separatist group that emerged in the late 1850s, and Butt, while against the movement, saw it as being symptomatic of the misgovernment of Ireland.⁷⁹

The Fenians strove to achieve separation from Great Britain, while any type of self-government for Ireland was strongly resisted by British Governments, with the leader of the Conservative Party, Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), dismissing the Irish question as merely

⁷² Basil Walsh, ‘Ireland’s Magnificent Seven – Irish Music Pioneers of the 19th Century,’ (<http://basilwalsh.wordpress.com/tag/michael-w-balfe/>, 23 October 2013).

⁷³ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 26.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁵ Basil Walsh, *Michael William Balfe*, www.britishandirishworld.com, Date 18 October 2013).

⁷⁶ James Camlin Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603–1923* (Dublin: Faber Publications, 1966), 350.

⁷⁷ Matthew Kelly, ‘Home Rule and its Enemies,’ in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 584.

⁷⁸ David Fitzpatrick, ‘Ireland Since 1870,’ in Foster, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*, 207.

⁷⁹ Kelly, ‘Home Rule and its Enemies,’ 584.

‘the Pope one day, potatoes the next.’⁸⁰ In a bid to pacify the Fenian movement, Liberal leader William Gladstone (1809–1898) introduced a number of political measures such as the 1869 Act disestablishing the Church of Ireland, and the 1870 Land Act giving the right of compensation to evicted tenants. While these were inadequate to solving the problems of alienation and poverty, these were angrily interpreted by many Protestants as attacks on minority sections of society and seen as symbolically implying the end of the Ascendancy of Protestants and landlords.⁸¹ Isaac Butt was one such Protestant who was unhappy with Gladstone’s policies and as a result, he launched the Home Government Association in 1870, which turned into the Home Rule League.⁸² After his death in 1879, William Shaw (1823–1895) and later Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891) would turn the movement into a major political force which became known as the Irish Parliamentary Party. Two Home Rule bills were introduced by Gladstone in 1886 and 1893, but were defeated as a faction of Liberal Unionists supported the Tory opposition.⁸³ The issue divided Ireland with a significant minority of Unionists now based mainly in Ulster. The Orange Order and Conservative and Unionist Party warned that a Parliament in Dublin, run by Catholics and Nationalists, would discriminate against them and intense rioting broke out in Belfast when the first Home Rule Bill was being debated in 1886.⁸⁴

The push for Home Rule and the growth of nationalism in the late nineteenth century coincided with a revival of interest in Ireland’s heritage, the Irish language and with Gaelic culture more generally. The Gaelic Revival, and subsequent Literary Revival, exerted considerable influence on Dublin and on Ireland’s artistic scene. The Gaelic Revival was sparked out of a concern that the Irish language would die out completely. This led to the formation of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in 1877 and the Gaelic Union in 1880, which founded the influential Gaelic Journal two years later.⁸⁵ This coincided with the Literary Revival, where poets such as William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) sought to realise a new national literature in English, which was unmistakably Irish, but was also open to modern European influences. This was, according to Thomas Bartlett, a revolt against the ‘talentless buffoonery and shameless shamrockery’ that previously characterised much of Irish

⁸⁰ Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland a History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 300–6.

⁸¹ Fitzpatrick, ‘Ireland Since 1870,’ 206.

⁸² Bartlett, *Ireland a History*, 315.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁸⁴ Jonathon Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992), 402–5.

⁸⁵ Richard Vincent Comerford, ‘Nation, Nationalism and the Irish Language,’ in Thomas Hachey, & Lawrence McCaffrey (eds.), *Perspectives on Irish Nationalism* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 27.

writing.⁸⁶ Yeats was to find himself at the forefront of the movement and in 1892 he co-founded the National Literary Society in Dublin and the Irish Literary Society in London.⁸⁷ In November 1892, the National Literary Society's first president Douglas Hyde (1860–1849) delivered a speech to the Society entitled *The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland*, in which he claimed that the Irish people had become completely Anglicised and that could only be reversed through the revival of Irish as a spoken language.⁸⁸ This in turn led to the formation of the Gaelic League a year later, which was specifically established to preserve and encourage Irish culture through dance, music and the Irish language.⁸⁹ Its first president was also Douglas Hyde, given that both Gaelic and Literary Revivals were inextricably linked.

Various musicologists have theorised about the negative impacts of the Revival on Ireland's art music scene. In a lecture for the Thomas Davis Lecture Series on RTÉ Radio, Harry White stated that the Literary Revival was a means of 'rehousing' elements of Gaelic civilisation in English and music was being utilised as an agent of nationalist culture.⁹⁰ In his book *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, White argues that the emblematic status afforded to traditional music by cultural revivalists and nationalists acted to impede the progress of art music.⁹¹ According to White, the association between political aspiration and musical expression of this time prevented any form of musical growth and the art tradition lapsed into mediocrity, or silence.⁹² However, Martin Dowling has criticised the majority of musicological research that has tended to focus on the disparity between the Irish bourgeois taste and the musical culture of the peasantry as the reason for Ireland's impoverished art music scene.⁹³ Benjamin Dwyer has provided a more comprehensive review of Ireland's music culture of this time, arguing that a far greater hindrance to development was a lack of investment in infrastructure by the British Government in the nineteenth century.⁹⁴

⁸⁶ Bartlett, *Ireland a History*, 347.

⁸⁷ David Ross, *Critical Companion to William Butler Yeats: A Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 507.

⁸⁸ Michael Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill: Scholar and Man of Action 1867–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 20.

⁸⁹ Bartlett, *Ireland a History*, 346.

⁹⁰ Harry White, 'Music, Politics and the Irish Imagination,' in Richard Pine (ed.), *Music in Ireland 1848–1998* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998), 27.

⁹¹ Fitzgerald & O' Flynn (eds.), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, 7.

⁹² White, 'Music, Politics and the Irish Imagination,' 53.

⁹³ Martin Dowling, 'Traditional Music in the Irish Revival,' in Fitzgerald & O'Flynn, 43.

⁹⁴ Dwyer, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland*, 41. The issue of Ireland's musical structures will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

While the Gaelic and Literary Revivals did little to promote art music, they should not be blamed as the sole cause of art music's stagnation, considering the sharp decrease in patronage and the economic depression in the nineteenth century. However, it is fair to assert that the concept of art music with a predominant Irish theme was current at this time. Stanford's comic opera *Shamus O'Brien* was first performed in Dublin in 1896 and he wrote his first *Irish Rhapsody* in 1901, which used the Londonderry Air. Art music based on Irish folk music was encouraged and in 1902, the Feis Ceoil decided to award a prize for a symphony based on Irish folk melodies, an idea that was apparently inspired by the first performance in Dublin of Antonín Dvořák's (1841–1904) *'New World' Symphony* in 1901.⁹⁵ The winner of this competition was a symphony by the Dublin based Italian composer Michele Esposito (1855–1929), who had also written operas and a cantata *Deirdre* (1897) which drew on Gaelic mythology and folklore.⁹⁶

v. **Annie Patterson and the Foundation of Feis Ceoil**

Annie Patterson (1868–1934) was another important figure in Irish classical music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who spearheaded music with distinctly Irish themes during the Gaelic Revival. Born in Lurgan, Co. Armagh, she attended Alexandra College in Dublin on a scholarship and later studied at the Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) under Robert Prescott Stewart (1825–1894), obtaining a B.A. and B.Mus., and then a D.Mus. in the Royal University of Ireland. She became the first woman in Great Britain and Ireland to receive a doctorate in music that was not honorary.⁹⁷

During the 1890s, she became interested in the Irish language, taking classes and joining the Gaelic League. She encouraged the notion that the revival of the language should be accompanied by a revival in Irish music.⁹⁸ Thomas O'Neill Russell (1828–1908), one of the founders of the Gaelic League, asserted that Dublin's professional musicians were neglecting the agenda expressed in Hyde's speech for Irish music to be revived in line with 'Celtic Modes'

⁹⁵ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 43.

⁹⁶ Jeremy Dibble, *Michele Esposito* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010), xiv.

⁹⁷ William Murphy, 'Annie Wilson Patterson,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge University Press (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 24 August 2016).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

and after months of debate, Patterson hosted a meeting in her home in 1895 to found the Feis Ceoil Association.⁹⁹

The establishment of the Feis Ceoil as a national music festival in 1897 was seen as an attempt to foster both strands of art and ethnic music. The 1897 Feis Ceoil syllabus stated that its aim was ‘the cultivation of Irish music’ so it could regain ‘its old eminence among musical nations.’¹⁰⁰ Patterson was prominent in developing the Feis Ceoil’s strategy for developing music of ‘archaeological interest.’¹⁰¹ Many had hoped that by cooperating with the Gaelic League, the Feis Ceoil might solidify an alliance against ‘English-infected’ mainstream music. However, it immediately sparked a debate on the relevance of continental music to Irish society. A newspaper article entitled ‘Appreciation and criticism’ published after the first Feis Ceoil called for a more national flavour, while another article published in 1899 wrote:

Every entertainment will be Irish of the Irish, and all will show versatility and diversity and the great beauty of Irish work in music and poetry, both archaic and modern.¹⁰²

According to Jeremy Dibble, it only was due to the protests of Esposito and other members of the Royal Irish Academy of Music that the Feis Ceoil syllabus was expanded to cater for classical music.¹⁰³

Fostering the two strands of music in one structure proved problematic, mainly because the festival became a competitive arena for young musicians. This situation was probably caused by the fact that RIAM provided many of the competition’s entrants every year and the Governors of the Academy offered a number scholarships for study at RIAM to prize winners who were not already pupils.¹⁰⁴ John Larchet (1884–1964) in his 1923 article entitled ‘A Plea for Music’ claimed that the Feis Ceoil could not be regarded as a musical festival in the true sense of the word as it was purely of a competitive nature, and intended to be only of educative value.¹⁰⁵ Although the Feis Ceoil did nurture traditional music to a degree, it became apparent

⁹⁹ Martin Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 160–1.

¹⁰⁰ Éamonn Ó Gallchobhair, ‘The Cultural Value of Festival and Feis,’ Fleischmann (ed.), *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, 214.

¹⁰¹ Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives*, 163.

¹⁰² Ita Beausang, ‘From national sentiment to nationalist movement, 1850–1900,’ 47–48.

¹⁰³ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Karol Anne Mullaney-Dignam, ‘State, Nation and Music in Independent Ireland, 1922–51,’ (Ph.D. diss. NUI Maynooth, 2008), 21.

¹⁰⁵ Larchet, ‘A Plea for Music,’ 1923, 1.

that the two genres of music would require two separate festivals.¹⁰⁶ This led to the withdrawal of the support of the Gaelic League at a very early stage and the subsequent establishment of their own festival, Oireachtas na Gaeilge, which was confined to the traditional repertory.¹⁰⁷

Two of the nineteenth century's key features impacted profoundly on Ireland's music scene. First, the economic downturn in Dublin resulted in financial hardships for much of the Irish aristocracy leading to a reduction in arts patronage and government investment in a music infrastructure was practically non-existent. Dublin could not cater for the emerging talent, who were forced to emigrate to pursue their career. London became a beneficiary, and the conditions from which an Irish art song would emerge were created as performances of Irish folk songs became popular with the English public. Secondly, the establishment of the Gaelic League affected all aspects of the arts in the latter years of the nineteenth century. While it did not necessarily inhibit musical activity, for many figures such as Patterson, art music that espoused Gaelic culture was favoured.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Carolan, & Harry White, 'Ireland,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 5 August 2016).

¹⁰⁷ White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970*, 111.

CHAPTER TWO: CHARLES VILLIERS STANFORD

i. Upbringing in Dublin

Charles Villiers Stanford was born into the Protestant community in Dublin in 1852. He was the only child of John James Stanford (1810–1880), one of Dublin’s most eminent lawyers, and his second wife, Mary Henn (1817–1892), who came from a distinguished Irish legal family. At that time, the legal professionals constituted a large part of the Dublin bourgeoisie, and lawyers and their wives lived in the finest houses and entertained the Lord Lieutenant.¹⁰⁸ Stanford was raised in an environment made up of his father’s friends, most of whom worked in the ecclesiastical, medical or judicial professions. He grew up in Herbert Street and was educated at an exclusive school run by Henry Tilney Bassett (1824–1885).¹⁰⁹

It was within this circle that Stanford first developed his conservative political views; his uncle, Charles Stuart Stanford (1805–1873), was an editor of the *Dublin University Magazine*, which was distinctly pro-Unionist in its outlook.¹¹⁰ (Charles Villiers) Stanford was critical of the developments in Irish politics that negatively impacted on cultural life, writing:

[B]efore I left [Dublin] in 1870, its glory was beginning slowly to depart, whether from increased facilities for travelling or from tinkering legislation, who can say? Perhaps from both. My eldest aunt, Kate Henn [...] added a fourth cause of friction, Dublin Castle, calling it a remnant of the worst side of Home Rule, which had outlived the Act of Union, and stood directly in the path of the complete realization of the effects of that measure.¹¹¹

This indicates that even Unionist families were unhappy with the administration in Ireland; however, they attributed blame to Dublin Castle, rather than to England’s indifference to Ireland.

Stanford had little systematic training in the theory of music in his youth, but did receive private training initially from Arthur O’Leary and Robert Prescott Stewart, who was an organist in both Christ Church and St. Patrick’s Cathedrals.¹¹² The two Dublin cathedrals seemingly fulfilled the role of the country’s musical educators, with Stanford describing them

¹⁰⁸ Gerard Frances, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New* (London: Hutchinson, 1898), 135.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 19.

¹¹⁰ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 17.

¹¹¹ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Pages from an unwritten diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914), 98–100.

¹¹² Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 22–23.

as the ‘cradle and nursery of music in Ireland.’¹¹³ While this is indicative of the lack of musical infrastructure in Ireland, it perhaps also shows Stanford’s view of Ireland was confined to the activities of upper class Protestants, or that for Stanford, art music was an activity of the Protestant community. The annual visits by the Italian opera companies brought Stanford into contact with late eighteenth and nineteenth century repertoire. The Theatre Royal was usually visited by the company of Her Majesty’s Theatre biannually in the 1860s, and the repertoire was dominated by French and Italian composers.¹¹⁴ The annual season of opera in Dublin also afforded Stanford the chance to both hear and to meet some of the nineteenth century’s leading singers.¹¹⁵

Stanford’s first attempts at composition seem to have commenced at or around the age of six, and some of his early juvenile works reached print, ‘A Venetian Dirge’ (c. 1864) or ‘The Minstrel’s Song’ (1868) for example.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to draw a complete picture of his life in Dublin, and while Stanford had a great affinity with his city of birth, he moved to Cambridge for his general education at the age of eighteen.¹¹⁷ Stanford initially tried, unsuccessfully, for a classics scholarship at Trinity Hall (Cambridge), but he did receive an organ scholarship and then later a classics scholarship. He had written a substantial volume of vocal music, both sacred and secular, and orchestral works by the time he moved from Dublin to Cambridge in 1870.¹¹⁸ He moved further afield to Germany in the summer of 1874, studying with Carl Reinecke (1824–1910) at the Leipzig Conservatory, whom Paul Rodmell describes as an ultra-conservative.¹¹⁹

ii. Stanford’s Irish Songs

Stanford returned to Cambridge several times during his studies in Leipzig, and his appointment as professor to the newly founded Royal College of Music (RCM) in 1883 asserted him as a major figure within Britain’s music scene.¹²⁰ Due to the success of Moore /

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 22–23.

¹¹⁴ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 26.

¹¹⁵ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 29.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 483.

¹¹⁷ His father John Stanford had hoped his son would follow him into the legal profession and stipulated that Charles should have a conventional university education before going on to musical studies abroad; Stanford, *Pages from an unwritten diary*, 103.

¹¹⁸ Dibble, ‘Stanford, Charles Villiers.’

¹¹⁹ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 45.

¹²⁰ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 133.

Stevenson's *Irish Melodies* and Balfe's subsequent arrangements, Stanford was undoubtedly aware of the marketplace in Britain and in the English-speaking world for arrangements of folk melodies with a romanticised Irish sentiment.¹²¹ He had written many art songs, but only very few had any connection to Ireland. His only Irish themed songs to be published (by Chappell) were in 1876 when he used lyrics by his old friend from Dublin Alfred Perceval Graves (1843–1931) for 'Irish Eyes' and 'From the red rose.'¹²² He devoted much of 1881 and 1882 to his first collection of Irish folk-song arrangements: *The Songs of Old Ireland: A Collection of Fifty Irish Melodies Unknown in England*. He wrote that he composed these a short time after the Cambridge performance of Johannes Brahms's (1833–1897) C Minor Symphony, and knowing what interest Brahms held in such work, he asked and obtained his permission to dedicate them to him.¹²³ However, the words supplied by Graves were considered to be 'twee' and rather forced.¹²⁴ This was probably due to the fact that they were not original words, but translations which were altered to fit around the music. The preface to the collection states that the words were founded upon 'Celtic' originals, or in other words, on Gaelic text. Stanford did not speak the language, and as only a quarter of the Irish population spoke any Gaelic (Irish), it was imperative that the texts be translated to English for commercial reasons.¹²⁵

Stanford continued to make further arrangements of Irish folk tunes thereafter including *Irish Songs and Ballads* (1893) and *The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore, restored and arranged* (1895). The popularity of Irish folk song and literature in England was further utilised by Stanford for his popular 1896 opera *Shamus O'Brien*, which quoted the traditional Irish melody 'The Top of Cork Road.'¹²⁶ Eager to capitalise on its success, Stanford composed two songs, 'The Calico Dress' and 'Parted,' with words written by the opera's librettist George H. Jessop (1852–1915). He also in 1896 wrote 'The Rose of Killarney,' which Jeremy Dibble describes as a 'quasi folk song,' the words of which were taken from Graves's collection *Irish Song and Ballads*.¹²⁷ In 1900, he completed another collection of arrangements *Songs of Erin*, again in collaboration with Graves, which was his fifth collection from the unpublished portion of *The Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music in Ireland*. Permission was granted to dedicate

¹²¹ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 128.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 86.

¹²³ Peter Clive, *Brahms and his world: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 443.

¹²⁴ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 391.

¹²⁵ Charles Villiers Stanford, *The Songs of Old Ireland: A Collection of Fifty Irish Melodies Unknown in England* (London: Boosey & Company, 1882), Preface; Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 391.

¹²⁶ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 395.

¹²⁷ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 289.

the collection to Queen Victoria (1819–1901), but the publication did not take place until after the Queen’s death in January 1901, which prompted Stanford to include an obituary.¹²⁸ Stanford’s other significant collection in this area was as editor of George Petrie’s (1790–1866) *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* (1902–1905) which contained 1,582 melodies. However, it appears that Stanford spent only a small period of time researching the melodies, with Irish baritone Harry Plunket Greene (1865–1936) writing that:

The collection in its final form, has come in for a good deal of criticism, and it must be acknowledged some of it is deserved [...] there are a good many repetitions of the same tune, sometimes note for note, sometimes in a different key, which escaped us.¹²⁹

Furthermore, it has been suggested that Stanford categorised the melodies based on their character, rather than by making any enquiries to check the veracity of Petrie’s scholarship.¹³⁰ However, despite these failings, the publication of the substantial collection brought traditional Irish folk melodies into wider circulation.

The success of Stanford’s folk song collections undoubtedly influenced his decision to compose original Irish art songs. *Songs of Erin* (Op. 76) was quickly followed in 1901 by the publication of the song cycle, *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* (Op. 77). This was a collection of six original songs to texts by Moira O’Neill, a pseudonym of (Agnes) Nesta Shakespeare Skrine, née Higginson (1864–1955), from her poetry collection *Songs of the Glens of Antrim*, which had been published the previous year. This can be seen as the first prominent publication of an Irish art song cycle. Stanford also wrote a setting of the O’Neill text ‘Sea Wrack’ from the same collection circa 1900, but this was not published until 1912.¹³¹

Stanford’s second collection of Irish art songs was entitled *Cushendall* in 1910, which was named after a village in Co. Antrim. *Cushendall* was first played at a dinner party organised by Stanford and fellow composers Alexander Mackenzie (1847–1935) and Hubert Parry (1848–1918) for the conductor Dan Godfrey (1868–1939). This event garnered attention from the press and the song cycle was orchestrated especially for the occasion, and was sung

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 328.

¹²⁹ Harry Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Edward Arnold, 1935), 179.

¹³⁰ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 392.

¹³¹ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 483.

by Harry Plunket Greene.¹³² The collection is comprised of six songs to texts by Ulster poet John Stevenson (1850–1932).

In 1914, Stanford turned to the poetry of Winifred Mary Letts (1882–1972). Her 1913 poetry collection *Songs from Leinster* was a considerable success, selling many copies, and almost immediately after its appearance in London, Stanford, undoubtedly aware of the commercial potential, composed *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*, based on six of her poems. One month later he composed *A Fire of Turf*, a further song cycle using another seven texts from the same work.¹³³ For his final Irish art song collection, he reverted to Moira O’Neill’s 1900 collection for *Six Songs from the Glens of Antrim* in 1920. Moira O’Neill would go on to publish *More Songs from the Glens of Antrim* in 1921, possibly because of the interest Stanford’s songs had generated for her work. Stanford also used five poems by Scottish poet Murdoch Maclean for his collection *Songs of a Roving Celt* in 1919, which depicts the Scottish countryside with its ‘kilted highlanders’ and ‘North wind.’¹³⁴ This further illustrates the popularity in England for song collections with Celtic themes. The previous year, Stanford also set a poem about St Patrick, ‘The Fair hills of Ireland,’ by English poet Cecily Fox Smith (1882–1954). In 1921, Stanford used another poem by Winifred Mary Letts for his song ‘The Monkey’s Carol,’ about an organ grinder and a monkey. It seems likely Stanford specifically wrote it as an occasional piece for Christmas, given that the song has many references to ‘Kind Christians,’ ‘God’ and ‘Christmas,’ and it will not be considered in any detail.¹³⁵

His other collection using poetry by an Irish writer was in 1903 when he was celebrating twenty-five years of marriage to Jennie Wetton (1856–1941). He composed a cycle of five sonnets from *The Triumph of Love*, written by his old friend Edmond Holmes (1850–1936).¹³⁶ Holmes had acted as a go-between when difficulties with Stanford and Wetton’s engagement arose in the 1870s, so Stanford’s choice of poet in this instance was more of a personal tribute than a decision to set Irish poetry.¹³⁷ Furthermore the thematic content in this cycle differs considerably to his Irish collections. Stanford also wrote one other art song to a

¹³² *Ibid.*, 387.

¹³³ Although *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* was first to be composed, the two were published in reverse order by Stainer and Bell.

¹³⁴ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Songs of a Roving Celt* (London: Enoch & Sons, 1919), 2.

¹³⁵ Charles Villiers Stanford, *The Monkey’s Carol* (London: J.B. Cramer & Co., 1921), 2–7.

¹³⁶ Christopher Howell, ‘Stanford, Edmond Holmes and “The Triumph of Love,”’ *MusicWeb International* (http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2003/Oct03/Triumph_love.htm, 12 October 2016).

¹³⁷ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: Man and Musician*, 40.

text by an Irish writer in this time period; in 1905, he wrote ‘Mopsa,’ using a translation by Thomas Moore of a Greek text by Philodemus.¹³⁸

Fig. 1. Stanford’s Irish Art Songs Post 1900.

Year	Collection	Song Title
c. 1900 / 1912		Sea Wrack
1901	An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures	Corrymeela The Fairy Lough Cuttin’ Rushes Johneen A Broken Song Back to Ireland
1903	Five Sonnets from The Triumph of Love	O One Deep Sacred Outlet of My Soul Like as the Thrush in Winter When in the Solemn Stillness of the Night I Think that we were Children O Flames of Passion
1905		Mopsa
1910	Cushendall	Ireland Did You Ever? Cushendall The Crow Daddy-Long-Legs How Does The Wind Blow? Night
1914	A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster	Grandeur Thief of the World A Soft Day Little Peter Morrissey The Bold Unbiddable Child Irish Skies
1914	A Fire of Turf	A Fire of Turf The Chapel on the Hill Cowslip Time Scared Blackberry Time The Fair The West Wind
1920	Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim	Denny’s Daughter The Sailor Man Lookin’ Back At Sea

¹³⁸ Thomas Moore, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore: Collected by Himself, In 10 Volumes, Volume 5* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1853), 283.

		I mind the day The Boy from Ballytearim
1921		The Monkey's Carol

iii. Collections

Stanford's Irish songs are works by a mature established composer, all composed in the twentieth century, the first dating from when he was in his late forties. With the exception of 'Sea Wrack,' the 'Five Sonnets,' 'Mopsa' and 'The Monkey's Carol,' they are gathered together into five collections or cycles. While some of these collections are more tightly organised than others, they all contain a mix of different types of songs and typically there are two or three songs with serious themes, two or three descriptive songs based on nature and one or two humorous songs. These humorous songs usually provide a light contrast to some of the more serious themes of death or homesickness. Stanford ensures that a performance of the collection provides a range of moods and contrasts which never becomes too serious, rendering the collections suitable for the drawing room and for a middle-class audience.

Each collection opens with a song that is relatively serious; 'Grandeur' (*A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*) and 'Denny's Daughter' (*Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*) both deal with death, while in the three other opening songs Stanford depicts the émigré melancholically remembering Ireland. Similarly, several of the collections finish with a substantial song that nostalgically imagines a land that the protagonist has left behind, e.g. 'Back to Ireland' (*An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*) and 'Irish Skies' (*A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*). Both of these songs also conclude with a piano postlude, which gives them extra weight as the final song in the collection. For the final song from *Cushendall*, 'Night,' the short postlude contains a direct quote from the third song (which is also the title song), to give the collection greater unity:

Fig. 2. Stanford, 'Night,' *Cushendall* [bars 41–44].

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Night' from the collection 'Cushendall', specifically bars 41 to 44. It is a piano accompaniment. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat major/D minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music features a melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *ppp* (pianissimo) is present in the right hand. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign. Below the score, the text 'St. & B. Ltd. 615.' and 'March, 1910' are visible.

Fig. 3. Stanford, 'Cushendall,' *Cushendall* [bars 1–3].

The image shows the beginning of a musical score for the piece 'Cushendall' from the collection 'Cushendall', specifically bars 1 to 3. It is a piano accompaniment. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of three flats (E-flat major/G minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The tempo is marked 'Adagio'. The music begins with a whole note chord in the right hand and a half note chord in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present in the left hand. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text 'At night I' is written below the right hand staff.

'Back to Ireland' contains an alternative ending with a much shorter postlude for when the song is performed in isolation, emphasising the structural role these postludes play. 'The West Wind' from *A Fire of Turf* contains a more extensive postlude. After a predominantly 'stormy' and energetic song, Stanford recalls the *andante tranquillo* of the four-bar opening, and before the final minim chords, Stanford briefly imitates a theme from the opening song of the collection:

Fig. 4. Stanford, 'A Fire of Turf,' *A Fire of Turf* [bars 80–86].

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'A Fire of Turf' from the collection 'A Fire of Turf', specifically bars 80 to 86. It is a piano accompaniment. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (D major/B minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The bottom staff is a bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music features a melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *f* (forte) is present in the right hand. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The text 'and the em - bers glow.' is written below the right hand staff.

Fig. 5. Stanford, 'The West Wind,' *A Fire of Turf* [bars 79–82].



There is less consistency with how songs are organised within collections. For instance, in *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*, Stanford follows the sombre opening song 'Corymeela,' with a depiction of the Irish countryside in 'The Fairy Lough,' then with lighter or more humorous songs 'Cuttin' Rushes' and 'Johneen.' A more sentimental song, 'A Broken Song,' follows before he finishes with the nostalgic 'Back to Ireland.' There are three 'humour' songs in his second collection *Cushendall*, while *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* contains two songs about death and three descriptive songs of Irish nature. *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* is similarly varied, with death prominent in 'Grandeur,' two humorous songs 'Thief of the World' and 'The Bold Unbiddable Child,' an evocation of nature in 'A Soft Day,' an overtly sentimental 'Little Peter Morrissey,' and the collection finishes with 'Irish Skies.'

The most consistent collection is *A Fire of Turf*, which also contains the songs of the highest overall quality. The central themes are the passing of the seasons, the changing winds and the supremacy of nature over man which are mirrored by the protagonist's journey through his life; from his youth, to old age and finally death, where his memories are kept alive by the glow of turf on the fire. Interestingly, the poetry collection by Letts had nine poems, but Stanford omitted two: 'Voices' and 'Questions.' This was probably to maintain a strong theme of pastoral Ireland throughout the collection.¹³⁹ This is expressed in the first song of the collection, the title song 'A Fire of Turf,' which is in D major, where the expansive piano accompaniment invites the singer to express a broad lyrical sentiment. This is followed by 'The Chapel on the Hill' in D minor which has frequent plagal cadences, and a piano accompaniment that bears a resemblance to hymn writing. It begins with childlike innocence, with descriptions of the Stations of the Cross and the Rosary, ending with an image of girls praying, with the sun

¹³⁹ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 406.

catching ‘Mary Conor’s’ hair. Stanford marks this final image with a *tierce de Picardie* by sharpening the F and ending in D major. While Jeremy Dibble suggests that this is a moment of sexual awakening from childhood innocence, there is no indication from the text whether the protagonist is male or female and the ending may not carry such significance.¹⁴⁰

This is followed by ‘Cowslip Time’ in E-flat major, a semitone higher than the previous song. This is a simple but attractive song about cowslip plants growing in a field. ‘Scared’ is in the relative C minor, and is a comic song about a haunted house, with characters ‘old crazy Nelly’ and ‘mad John Byrne.’ ‘Blackberry Time’ which follows is a lively song in E major, about travelling to Glencullen by foot to pick blackberries, and in mood and topic it mirrors the earlier ‘Cowslip Time.’ While these three songs may all be categorised as ‘light’ songs, both ‘Blackberry Time’ and ‘Cowslip Time’ would be suitable for performance in isolation, whereas ‘Scared’ functions as a comic contrast within the collection. The penultimate song in the collection ‘The Fair’ is a lively patter song, and is similar in nature to Stanford’s folk song ‘Trottin’ to the Fair’ from *Songs of Erin*. Indeed, the concept of ‘going to the fair’ was a popular topic in Irish ballads.

The final song, ‘The West Wind,’ is the most adventurous in the collection. After a calm first section, with a chorale-like opening in the piano, a more turbulent section follows where the waves of Lough Nahanagan are depicted from bar 26 with rapid semiquaver figurations. After finishing the first verse in D minor, the second section uses a series of ascending chromatic harmonies and the vocal line becomes more challenging. This is more sophisticated than the writing generally found throughout most of Stanford’s Irish art songs; however, it is indicative of how final songs in the collection tend to be more substantial. In the third part, Stanford reverts to the tonic once more and again uses ascending chromatic harmonies to evoke the wind bending Glencullen’s tallest trees as he eventually arrives in F major before the tranquil postlude returns us to the mood of the opening of the cycle. Apart from this reminiscence of the opening song at the close, in the first song the change of tempo and rhythmic configuration at bar 64 as the protagonist recalls ‘the gold upon the gorsebush’ clearly prefigures the mood and tone of ‘Cowslip Time’ and these cross references give a strong sense of unity to the cycle.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 406.

iv. Choice of Poet

Stanford was closely wedded to Victorian culture, and his choice of poet reflects this. Moira O'Neill was one Irish writer whose texts would be used throughout the genre. O'Neill was born in Co. Antrim and lived in Co. Wexford and Co. Kildare (as well as in Canada), and her poetry and reviews were published in Blackwood's Magazine.¹⁴¹ While she was little known in Ireland and was described as practically a recluse, her main popularity was among the Irish diaspora.¹⁴²

One notable characteristic of O'Neill's writing is her use of phonetic spelling to recreate a type of Irish accent, a style that was popular at the time. Her *Songs of the Glens of Antrim* was well received, with Ernest Augustus Boyd praising the collection in *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* for its understanding of localised speech.¹⁴³ For instance, in 'Corrymeela,' the first song in Stanford's *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*, some words have been re-spelt by O'Neill to represent a type of peasant Irish speech. This is particularly evident in the first two lines of the second verse: 'There's a deep dumb river flowin' by beyond the heavy trees, /This livin' air is moithered wi' the hummin' o' the bees.' Stephen Gwynn wrote that the collection would be one of the very few books which, if all the copies were destroyed, could probably be reproduced from oral tradition, indicating that the collection enjoyed widespread popularity.¹⁴⁴

John Stevenson, the author of *Cushendall*, was neither a prominent figure in the literary revival, nor did he have any great reputation as a poet. His only other significant literary contribution appears to be his collection *Pat M'Carty, Farmer, of Antrim: His Rhymes, with a Setting* which was published in London in 1903.¹⁴⁵ Like O'Neill, Stevenson uses phonetic spelling, however his contrived attempts to make the prose rhyme highlight his limited ability; in 'Did You Ever,' when describing the sun in the first verse, he writes: 'Did you ever see the sun /When his day's work's nearly done, /Wi' his hand stuck in this pocket /And his head to one side cockit.' Stanford's decision for choosing such a text may be the fact that, like Moira O'Neill's verse, words are deliberately misspelt to evoke an Irish accent or dialect when sung.

¹⁴¹ A British magazine / miscellany printed from 1817–1980.

¹⁴² John Quinn, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Girl* (London: Methuen, 1986), 66.

¹⁴³ Ernest Augustus Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (Dublin: Maunsell, 1916), 200–201.

¹⁴⁴ Stephen Gwynn, *Irish Literature and Drama* (London: Nelson, 1936), 139.

¹⁴⁵ John Stevenson, *Pat M'Carty, Farmer, of Antrim: His Rhymes, with a Setting* (London: E. Arnold, 1903).

His texts are less highbrow than O'Neill's and as a result the collection has three humorous songs.

The texts of Winifred Mary Letts are thematically similar to those of Moira O'Neill, with her cycles containing a mix of pastoral settings from rural Ireland and more mundane subject matter. Letts began her career as a playwright, writing two one-act plays for the Abbey Theatre. Her story 'The Company of Saints and of Angels' was published by *The Irish Review*, edited by Thomas MacDonagh (1878–1916) in 1912 and *Songs from Leinster* was published in London in 1913.

v. **Predominant Themes**

A primary characteristic throughout all of Stanford's Irish art songs is that they try to evoke an idyllic Ireland, often from the perspective of an outsider. The text for the first song in *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*, 'Corymeela' displays a specific relevance to an expatriate: 'Over here in England, I'm helping wi' the hay, /An I wisht I was in Ireland the live long day,' while the last song 'Back to Ireland' attempts to capture a welcome one would give to an exile returning to Ireland. The song cycle *Cushendall* begins with a similar sentiment to *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* in a song called 'Ireland,' where capturing a romantic notion of Ireland is the overriding theme in the lyrics. The first verse, for instance, displays this quaint sentiment: 'God save her, pray her children, /Wherever they may roam, /The green land of the shamrock, /Wet with Atlantic foam.'

In 'Irish Skies,' the final song in *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*, Letts recalls the beauty and colour of the skies in Ireland from the perspective of an exile. This surely would have resonated with Stanford's worldview, given that he wished to recapture the Ireland of his past. 'Irish Skies' contains the most sincere expression of this as Stanford moves between C minor and C major as he compares the grey skies of London to the brighter skies of Ireland. The piano accompaniment is based on broken semiquaver chords, moving only to block crotchet chords and then minims for the text, 'God's blessing on the far off roads, /And on the skies I love,' which is possibly a personal expression about Stanford's love of his native country. A similar pattern is used in 'Back to Ireland' (*An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*) where Stanford uses a broken chord triplet figure in the piano throughout, except for the last line of text, in which the

piano part completely stops for two beats and the singer exclaims: 'I'm comin' back to Ireland, the mornin'!'

'Lookin' Back' from *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* is another song which evokes the pastoral Irish countryside from the perspective of an emigrant, focussing on nature, the Antrim hills, the wind, waves and rain. While 'I mind the day' from the same collection is a more jovial song, it begins with a similar sentiment, with the narrator wishing they were a 'saygull' so they could fly 'West.' 'Cuttin' Rushes' is particularly reminiscent of an Ireland of the past; the *piu lento* section uses a series of minor chords to create a moment of sombre reflection on the words, 'Yesterday, yesterday, or fifty years ago. /I waken out o' dreams when I hear the summer thrushes.' This type of tranquil land that Stanford created in his songs contrasted considerably to the highly-industrialised climate in Britain, and it is possible that Stanford created a version of Ireland that his British middle class audience imagined existed. Michael Murphy suggests this in his essay 'Race, Nation and Empire in the Music of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford,' writing that Stanford's Irish works represented a type of 'typical Irishman' that was invented by the English, a concept that was parodied in George Bernard Shaw's 1904 play *John Bull's Other Island*.¹⁴⁶ Stanford's version of Ireland was the converse of the type of culture espoused by the Gaelic League, with Murphy asserting that by constructing this Ireland, Stanford engaged with the discourse of British Imperialism.¹⁴⁷

When Stanford occasionally attempts to capture a grittier portrait of Ireland, these attempts tend to be undermined by the sentimentality of the text. 'Little Peter Morrissey' from *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* is a narrative song about a boy from the slums, neglected by his drunken parents. It is marked 'to be sung like a recitation,' indicating that Stanford wished for the words to be accentuated more clearly than they would in a more standard setting. The song describes him as lacking a shirt or jersey and describes how he has become lame from walking barefoot. He is undernourished and undersized, starved and exposed to the weather in winter, but having built up this stark picture the song concludes; 'And yet - there's time, I envy him, /The light heart of a boy.' This final line is at odds with the reality of the high child mortality rate in Ireland.¹⁴⁸ Apart from idealising the lifestyle of the poverty-stricken boy and

¹⁴⁶ Michael Murphy, 'Race, Nation and Empire in the Music of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford' in Pine, *Music in Ireland 1848–1998*, 49.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁴⁸ 81.3% in Dublin in 1916; 'Life in 1916 Ireland: Stories from Statistics,' *Central Statistics Office* (<http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-1916/1916irl/introduction/>, 8 November 2016).

ignoring any of the social problems of the day, this illustrates Stanford's detachment from the reality of life for the majority of Irish people. Their poverty merely supplies the composer with a bit of local colour for his songs and they lack emotional impact.

Similarly, death is a common theme throughout his Irish art songs. 'Grandeur' from *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* is set at the wake of 'Poor Mary Byrne,' who is laid out on her death bed. The song begins in C minor, but moves to C major at effectively every second important cadence point, in bars 13–15 and bars 30–32, as well at the end of the song. On the first occasion, this marks the point where the text speaks of how white Mary Byrne's hands look now she is dead in contrast to how red they were from work when she was living, and on the second occasion the text refers to how many people have turned up to see her, even though during her life she was too busy working to attend anything and 'no one missed her face, /Or sought her in a crowd.' By ending in the tonic major key, Stanford again minimises the tragedy of Mary Byrne's life in favour of a somewhat cloying depiction of the rituals around a death. Stanford uses another fluctuation between minor and major in the similarly themed 'Denny's Daughter' from *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*, which gives a poignant account of how the girl's death has left the protagonist 'lone for life.' The vocal line is syllabic and influenced by folk song styles and the song is quite gentle. There are abrupt moves from the tonic D minor to A-flat major in bar 18 underlining the text 'the eyes of her,' and again in bar 39 on the words 'the loss of her,' to capture the anguish of the protagonist. These are only momentary and in both cases the song quickly returns to D minor. This is an example of how Stanford uses harmonic shifts to create climactic moments within his songs, rather than any type of overt exclamation from the singer.

'I mind the day' from the same collection also romanticises the notion of death, with text such as: 'I'd wish I could be dyin' here to rise a spirit light,' and a final line of 'There be to come a day when we'll be dead, /Achray /A longer, lighter day when we'll be dead.' The song is again in D minor, going to D major for the final line, and has a simple piano accompaniment. The final song in the collection indirectly deals with death, given that 'The Boy from Ballytearim' never returns home. It is also in D minor and the piano part is similarly basic. There is a clear pattern in Stanford's songs that deal with the topic of death; the song is in a minor key, the piano and vocal line are simple and there is a brief move to a major key. While Stanford was capable of far more advanced writing and at times uses more complicated piano parts, it seems that he wished to create a stillness or sensitivity, with sporadic moments

of hope. Death is either romanticised or presented with a quasi-religious solemnity; a ‘good’ death outweighs any potential tragedy.

There are various patter style songs found throughout Stanford’s song cycles, a genre that was popularised particularly by Arthur Sullivan (1842–1900) in his comic operas in the nineteenth century. These include ‘The Fair’ from *A Fire of Turf*, ‘The Sailor Man’ from *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* and ‘Thief of the World’ from *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*. These three songs also function as ‘humour songs’ within a collection. Other examples of this type of comic song include ‘Johneen,’ ‘Did you ever,’ ‘The Crow,’ ‘Daddy Long legs’ and ‘Scared.’ While these may seem banal when considered in a contemporary light, this type of song was common in early twentieth-century England, with Harry Plunket Greene writing that they were ‘part of the singer’s accepted repertoire,’ though he warned against ‘exaggeration of delivery.’¹⁴⁹

vi. Style of Songs

While some of the themes in Stanford’s songs may have been considered old fashioned, the majority are well crafted and their style is typical of straightforward romantic harmonic writing. For instance, Stanford uses a technique of often delaying the announcement of the tonic chord. For instance, ‘Ireland,’ the first song in the collection *Cushendall*, is in F major, but Stanford begins by alluding to the minor key with an initial chord of vi. There are repeated chords of iii and vi, as well as chords of V7 and IV in bar 2, before a tonic chord sounds in bar 3. The tonic is also delayed in the second song of the collection ‘Did You Ever,’ where the first use of the tonic chord is in bar 8. Stanford’s songs often alternate between major and minor. ‘Irish Skies’ (*An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*) is characterised by a dialogue between C major and C minor, while ‘Denny’s Daughter’ (*Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*) fluctuates between D minor and the relative major F. Trevor Hold suggests that switching between modes in this manner is similar to Franz Schubert’s (1797–1828) song writing technique, which he attributes to Stanford’s grounding in Germany harmonic writing.¹⁵⁰

The combination of the simplistic quasi-folk melodies found in his Irish art songs and his unobtrusive accompaniments result in songs that are in many ways understated. The logic

¹⁴⁹ Plunket Greene, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 212.

¹⁵⁰ Trevor Hold, *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 42.

that Stanford applies to his song writing is evident from an instruction he gave to students in 1922:

The accompaniment... should be in the most cases texture and suggestiveness, and not fixed detail of sufficient importance to interfere with the voice. Over-elaboration will kill the main theme [i.e. the vocal line], or at best, quarrel with it a way sufficient to hide its purport.¹⁵¹

While this technique helped Stanford to produce many adept songs, and is particularly effective for songs such as ‘A Soft Day’ (*A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*), where a simple chordal accompaniment aids the lyrical vocal line, it may also have stifled his creativity, and his more sentimental songs can fall into the category of the ‘drawing room ballad.’ His student Rutland Boughton (1878–1960), spoke to this in 1913 when he wrote that among his many fine songs, he wrote ‘an amazing number of bad songs.’¹⁵²

Some of his most suitable songs for solo performances are those that depict a specific location. In ‘The Fairy Lough’ from *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*, Stanford uses a recurring motif for the words ‘Loughareema, Loughareema,’ the name of a ‘vanishing’ lake in Northern Antrim.¹⁵³ The song is characterised by an alternation between D major (tonic) and F major. This is established in the piano introduction and in bar 6 the vocal entry of ‘Lougha-reem-a’ forms a chord of F major with the piano:

Fig. 6. Stanford, ‘The Fairy Lough,’ *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* [bars 1–7].

The image shows a musical score for the song 'The Fairy Lough' by Charles Villiers Stanford. The score is in D major and 6/8 time, marked 'Andante molto tranquillo'. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'Lough-a - reem - a! Lough-a - reem - a Lies so'. The piano part includes a 'poco.' marking in the second system.

¹⁵¹ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Interludes, Records and Reflections* (London: John Murray, 1922), 65.

¹⁵² Hold, *Parry to Finzi: Twenty English Song-Composers*, 42.

¹⁵³ Medbh McGuckian, ‘Drawing Ballerinas,’ in Lizz Murphy (ed.), *Wee Girls: Women Writing from an Irish perspective* (Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2000), 192.

Harry Plunket Greene, who sang the song at the premiere of an *Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures*, was particularly enamoured with this idea, writing that the C-natural evokes a spirit of remoteness and ‘lifts you away from the earth at once.’¹⁵⁴ Stanford paints a vivid picture of the Antrim countryside and nature, with references to herrings, seagulls, heather, sun, stars, moths and hills, and the piano part also portrays the ripples in the lake, which hasten when they reach the shore:

Fig. 7. Stanford, ‘The Fairy Lough,’ *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* [bars 36–38].



Plunket Greene repeatedly returned to the song in his prose writings, highlighting its pictorial and atmospheric qualities and he suggested the use of an artistic pause in its performance for effect.¹⁵⁵ Harmonically, the dialogue between D major and F major continues throughout the song, which also briefly visits E-flat major in bars 19 and 37, and A major in bars 30–31. At the end of the song, Stanford depicts the dawn of day, as the final dark ‘Loughareema’ sounds to a harmony of F major with one last ripple, which then disappears, and after a full bar rest in the piano, a tonic chord sounds to finish the song:

Fig. 8. Stanford, ‘The Fairy Lough,’ *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* [bars 65–69].



¹⁵⁴ Harry Plunket Greene, ‘Stanford’s Songs’ in Harry Plunket Greene & Moira O’Neill, *Music and Letters*, 2/2 (April 1922), 96–106 (103).

¹⁵⁵ Michael Allis, *British Music and Literary Context: Artistic Connections in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), 191.

In ‘A Soft Day’ (*A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster*) Stanford portrays a typically damp day in Ireland. The song is strophic with two repeated verses and it derives much of its character from a representation of drips of rain at the end of both verses, where staccato crotchet chords in the piano and isolated crotchets in vocal line create an onomatopoeic effect:

Fig. 9. Stanford, ‘A Soft Day,’ *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* [bars 15–19].

While the song uses a traditional harmonic language, Stephen Banfield criticises this style of writing, describing the harmonies as watery and having little impact.¹⁵⁶ The song begins with a short liting effect, before a plagal cadence in bars 3–4 establishes the song in D-flat major. Stanford uses a series of imperfect and interrupted cadences in the piano; for instance, in bars 5 and 6 he uses a progression of Ib–V7–vic–V7. He continues in this fashion until bars 9–10, when he momentarily moves into the key of the dominant. He then uses another series of weak sounding chords with ii7 and iiib chords in bar 11, and vi7, ii7c and Ic chords in bar 12. In bar 13 there are two ii7 chords in first inversion and then root form, with the bass and vocal line moving in contrary motion. This is followed by a dominant seventh chord, and in bar 14 Stanford uses a iiib on the first two beats, with a suspended F (beat one) falling to an E-flat (beat two). A diminished seventh chord on the third beat of the bar allows Stanford to pivot back to a tonic chord, and the verse concludes from bar 15 with the ‘drips’ section; After the singer sings ‘rain’ on a D-flat, there is a piano progression of vi – iiib – Ib – IV – iiib – iib – V7, and the vocal line completes the cadence with an unaccompanied tonic note in bar 19.

Banfield’s complaint about Stanford’s harmonic language may be that the secondary or ‘weak’ harmonies and various progressions do not seem to have a clear direction. However, Stanford may have employed this technique for atmospheric reasons, creating a sense of calm to match the tranquil day he portrays.

¹⁵⁶ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 406; Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century*, 35.

Banfield's criticism may perhaps be more relevant to a wider critique of Stanford's songs; he refrains from using strong modulation, so his songs can lack tension and appear bland. When compared to songs by his contemporaries such as Edward Elgar (1857–1934), or his students Herbert Howells (1892–1983) or John Ireland (1879–1962), his harmonic language was very narrow.¹⁵⁷ Along with his fear of over-elaboration in song writing, this is probably the main reason why the quality of Stanford's songs is inconsistent; given the amount of songs he composed, some suffered as a result of these self-imposed harmonic and formal constraints. Stanford's songs are however proficiently written and are indicative of a mature composer, employing compositional techniques established in the nineteenth century.

¹⁵⁷ Hold, *Parry to Finzi, English Song-Composers*, 42.

CHAPTER THREE: HAMILTON HARTY

i. Background

While Dublin had for the previous two centuries been Ireland's hub of musical activity and home to most of Ireland's working musicians, Ulster provided another training ground and a group of composers emerged from there in the late nineteenth century. This consisted of Charles Wood (1866–1926), Norman Hay (1889–1943), Herbert Hughes (1882–1937) and Hamilton Harty (1879–1941). While all of the above would go on to pursue professional careers in England, Hamilton Harty would spearhead this group, with Jeremy Dibble writing that of all of the Irish composers, he, along with Stanford, possessed a 'remarkable' spark of natural talent.¹⁵⁸

The musical scene in Ulster was centred on the Anglican Church and many village churches with adjacent land owners were generously supported by the Church in England. Harty's father was the organist in the Church of St Malachy in Hillsborough, Co. Down and it was in this middle-class Protestant environment that (Herbert) Hamilton Harty was raised.¹⁵⁹ Although he indicated in an interview he gave in America that his parents were very poor and that the family had 'such hard times,' surviving pictures of his father show him as a well-dressed gentleman.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, the fact that he never sought an appointment elsewhere would indicate that he enjoyed a reasonably secure existence in a cultured Hillsborough village.¹⁶¹

While growing up in Hillsborough, Harty's early music education came almost exclusively from his father. He was also familiar with the music of the Anglican Service as, by the age of nine and with the assistance of his father, he was the organist and choirmaster of the nearby Episcopal Church.¹⁶² After serving a term as organist in St. Barnabas's Church in Belfast, he was appointed as the organist in Christ Church in Bray, Co. Wicklow in 1896, further indicating that most positions of employment for musicians in Ireland were based in churches.

¹⁵⁸ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, xi.

¹⁵⁹ John Barry, 'Hillsborough Years,' in Greer (ed.), *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music*, 6.

¹⁶⁰ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 330.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 3.

Being based in Bray allowed Harty to network with musical circles in Dublin. The one significant development in Dublin, since Stanford's departure in 1870, was the arrival of Michele Esposito in the spring of 1882, which had a significant impact on both Ireland's and the capital's musical activity. Educated in Naples, Esposito was pursuing a career in Paris without significant success, when he applied for, and secured, a post as a piano teacher in the Royal Irish Academy of Music. After establishing himself as a performer of prominence in Dublin, Esposito regularly performed in the Royal Dublin Society's newly inaugurated 'popular' concerts.¹⁶³ Due to the lack of a professional orchestra in Dublin, Esposito founded the Dublin Orchestral Society (DOS) in 1899, which was modelled upon the *Società Orchestrale della Scala di Milano*. Although the orchestra's operation was a financial struggle, it allowed Esposito to bring an exceptionally wide repertoire to Dublin audiences. He also improved teaching standards throughout the country, establishing a plan for local examination centres in 1894.¹⁶⁴

Shortly after arriving in Dublin, Harty made his acquaintance with Esposito and joined the DOS as a viola player. Although Esposito was never his official teacher, Harty benefited greatly from his advice and they formed what would become a lifelong friendship. Esposito's guidance and assistance not only had an influence on his compositions, but also on his career decisions. Harty wrote of Esposito in 1920:

The Italian musician is the presiding genius in all that there is of music in Ireland [...] I send him for criticism everything I write, and put implicit faith in him now as when a boy—he has always been right.¹⁶⁵

While this indicates the level of respect Harty held for his mentor, it also demonstrates how few critical voices there were in Ireland.

As there are no surviving programmes for DOS concerts, it is unclear when Harty began playing with the orchestra, but he gained roughly three years of experience under Esposito as conductor. The DOS also provided Harty with a modest income, as well as giving

¹⁶³ Anna Dore, 'Michele Esposito' in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 359.

¹⁶⁴ Philip Hammond, 'Dublin and London,' in Greer (ed.), *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music*, 23.

¹⁶⁵ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 149.

him exposure to, and the chance to assimilate, a core repertoire.¹⁶⁶ His comments about the DOS, however, highlight how musical standards could scarcely compare to those abroad:

At Dublin I was admitted into the local orchestra as a violist, a very inferior violist, but the orchestra itself was not superlative.¹⁶⁷

He also became known for his skills as an accompanist at concerts by choral bodies in Dublin and, as a composer, most notably at the Feis Ceoil, where both his String Quartet in F major (1900) and *Fantasiestücke* for piano trio (1901) were awarded prizes.

ii. Move to London

By the year 1900 Harty's stature as an accompanist was beginning to rise abroad. He participated in concerts in Berlin and Scotland and was recruited by several English concert promoters. These opportunities probably convinced Harty to move to London, with the *Bray Parish Quarterly Calendar* writing that he hoped to find a better sphere for the development and employment of his talents than Dublin.¹⁶⁸ The move was particularly daunting for Harty, given that he neither held formal music qualifications, nor were there any prospects of gaining entry to a college. However, following his success in the Feis Ceoil in 1900, Annie Patterson wrote a feature on him in the *Weekly Irish Times*, describing him as an accompanist 'par excellence.'¹⁶⁹ According to Patterson, Harty possessed many skills that set him above his London contemporaries; these included his abilities to anticipate the intentions of the solo artist, to shape melodic phrases and to sight-read and transpose.¹⁷⁰ These skills soon earned Harty a reputation as a versatile musician and he gained respect among music professionals. Despite enduring a challenging first year, he established a reputation as both a promising composer and an outstanding accompanist.¹⁷¹

After a few public engagements, Harty found employment at musical parties in the homes of aristocrats in London, where he would usually work with one or two operatic singers

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁶⁷ C., 'Hamilton Harty,' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 61/926 (1 April 1920), 227–230, 227.

¹⁶⁸ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 21.

¹⁶⁹ Annie Patterson, 'Feis Composers of 1900: Mr. Herbert Harty,' *Weekly Irish Times* (7 July 1900), 3.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷¹ Michael Kennedy, 'Sir (Herbert) Hamilton Harty,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 28 August 2014).

and present a pleasing evening of music, catering for his audience's taste.¹⁷² Harty became acquainted with various professional singers, particularly the soprano Agnes Nicholls (1876–1959). Harty would become Nicholls's regular accompanist and *repetiteur*, before they later married. They appeared many times in concerts together and were in high-demand by musical societies across Britain. New songs by Harty were included in the concert programmes, which frequently used Irish themes and texts, and Nicholls's popularity at this time meant that Harty's songs were showcased to sizeable audiences.¹⁷³ Although many of these solo songs were written specifically for her to sing and for him to accompany, other notable singers such as Harry Plunket Greene would also perform these songs around Britain.

One of his first proficient songs, and the first that used an Irish text, was a setting of Moira O'Neill's 'Sea Wrack.' Though it is undated, it was probably composed at much the same time as Stanford's *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* (1901) and it was published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1905. Philip Cranmer claims that an unpublished memoir by Harty indicates he wrote the song when still a boy in Hillsborough; however, this appears to be inaccurate given that O'Neill's *Songs of the Glens of Antrim* was not published until 1900.¹⁷⁴ Another of the *Songs of the Glens of Antrim*, 'The Song of Glen Dun' was Hamilton Harty's first published song in 1902. In 1903, he chose two texts by William Lyon Bultifaft (1870–1900), following the posthumous publication of his collected poems *Songs on the March* in Belfast in 1901. 'Rose Madness' was written for Agnes Nicholls specifically, and the other song 'Bonfires' was often included in her concert recitals, to such an extent that Harty orchestrated it for her to sing at the Norwich Festival in 1905.¹⁷⁵ Harty also followed the example set by Stanford of arranging Irish folk melodies. *Three Traditional Ulster Airs* were released in 1905 to words by Seosamh MacCathmhaoil (1879–1944) and dedicated to Harry Plunket Greene, who sang them in recitals with Harty accompanying.¹⁷⁶

There was particular interest in arrangements of traditional airs in Ulster at this time, and a movement was spearheaded by a nationalist Presbyterian lawyer, Francis Joseph Bigger

¹⁷² Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 29.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁷⁴ Philip Cranmer, 'Vocal Music,' in Greer (ed.), *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music*, 119.

¹⁷⁵ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 39–40.

¹⁷⁶ Seosamh MacCathmhaoil was a Belfast born Catholic John Campbell, who chose to write under the Gaelic version of his name. He founded the Ulster Literary Society in 1904 and moved to London in 1905. He later took part in the 1916 Easter Rising and the Civil War on the Republican side; A.A. Kelly & Norah Saunders, *Joseph Campbell: Poet & Nationalist 1879–1944, a Critical Biography* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1988).

(1863–1926).¹⁷⁷ Bigger financed the publication of fellow Ulster composer Herbert Hughes's *Songs of Uladh*, a collection of airs about the glens and valleys of Ulster. Even though Harty claims to have had little exposure to traditional music during his youth, *Songs of Uladh* would surely have reignited memories of growing up in Ulster. His interest in the collection can be judged by the fact that he made his own arrangement of one of the songs, 'My Lagan Love' (which led to Hughes unsuccessfully attempting to sue Harty for breach of copyright). In 1905, Harty also wrote an arrangement of the traditional Irish melody 'Collen's Wedding Song,' which was also known as 'I'm going to be married on Sunday.' It was following this that Boosey, clearly pleased with the commercial appeal of these 'Irish songs,' became Harty's publisher until 1910.¹⁷⁸

Harty's concert work provided an abundant environment for solo songs and he continued to compose in this genre. In 1906, he used another text from O'Neill's *Songs of the Glens of Antrim* for his song 'The Ould Lad.' 'An Irish Love Song' to a text by Katharine Tynan (1859–1931) was published by Chappell & Co. in 1908 and was written for performance at the Chappell Ballad Concerts in Queen's Hall in London.¹⁷⁹ It was composed for tenor Ben Davies (1858–1943), its dedicatee and frequent partner of Harty at the Ballad Concerts; however, it was first sung at a London Symphony Orchestra concert on 28 June 1908 at the Albert Hall.¹⁸⁰ Later that year Harty's first Irish art song collection *Six Songs of Ireland*, for which Harty drew upon texts by Moira O'Neill, Lizzie Twigg (1882–1933), Cahir Healy (1877–1970) and Cathal O'Byrne (1867–1957) was premiered.¹⁸¹ The collection was well-received, with a critic from *The Guardian* deeming them to be the best songs Harty had written.¹⁸² An indication of their popularity can be judged in the fact that the syllabus for sopranos competing in the 1923 Blackpool Music Festival Scholarship contained two of the songs, 'Dreaming' and 'At Sea,' along with 'Thou Monstrous Fiend' from Beethoven's *Fidelio*.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 60.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁷⁹ In 1858, publishers Chappell & Co. and Cramer & Co. jointly built St James's Hall, which became known for its Monday and Saturday 'Pops' and 'London Ballad Concerts.' In 1896, the Ballad Concerts were moved to Queen's Hall, which then became London's principal concert venue, before being succeeded by Wigmore Hall; Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall 1893–1941* (London: Ryder, 1944), 91.

¹⁸⁰ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 63.

¹⁸¹ Hamilton Harty, *Six Songs of Ireland* (London: Boosey & Co, 1905).

¹⁸² Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 63.

¹⁸³ 'The Blackpool Syllabus,' *The Musical Times*, 64/965 (1 July 1923), 500–01.

Harty again chose a text by O'Neill for 'By the Sea,' which was completed in January 1909. This was unpublished, and Harty wrote that it was 'Written for some private person. Whose name I have forgotten.'¹⁸⁴ In 1910, Harty began an association with the mezzo-soprano George (Elsie) Swinton (1859–1937) and they would regularly appear in concert together. On 2 November 1911, in a programme of songs by Hugo Wolf (1860–1903), Swinton sang a group of songs entitled *Five Irish Sketches*, based on poems by contemporary Irish writers. Harty used texts by Padraic Colum (1881–1972) for three of the *Sketches*: 'A Cradle Song,' 'Across the Door' and 'A Drover.' 'A Cradle Song,' with the first line 'O Men from the Fields' would become synonymous with a setting by Herbert Hughes to an old air, as part of his *Songs of Connaught* collection, also in 1913.¹⁸⁵ The text was also used by Arnold Bax (1883–1953) in his *Three Irish Songs* in 1922, and a carol by Arnold Cooke (1906–2005) based on the text was published as part of Oxford University Press's *Carols for Choirs* in 1961; however, Harty's song appears to be the first setting.¹⁸⁶ For the remaining two *Sketches*, Harty used 'The Stranger's Grave' by Emily Lawless (1845–1913), and Moira O'Neill's 'The Rachray Man.' Harty was clearly fond of the work of Emily Lawless, basing his orchestral tone poem *With the Wild Geese* on two of her poems, and he wrote another two song settings of her poetry, 'An Exile's Mother' (1911) and 'Heart of my Heart' (c. 1910–1912), although neither of these were published.

The first performance of *Five Irish Sketches* in 1911 was received with considerable acclaim, and they were repeated by Harty and Swinton at two further concerts in London that year and at another concert in The Hague in 1912.¹⁸⁷ Swinton and Harty performed these together so many times that Swinton became associated with the songs. The *Five Irish Sketches* were published individually by Novello & Co. in 1913, and were quickly followed in 1914 by two further songs; 'A Rann of Wandering' also by Padraic Colum, and 'The Wake Feast' by Alice Milligan (1865–1953).

Harty's next Irish themed song was an arrangement of the Irish melody 'Carnlough Bay' in 1921 which was unpublished. For his next collection of Irish art songs in 1926, Harty used two texts each by Moira O'Neill and Elizabeth Shane, a pseudonym of Gertrude Elizabeth

¹⁸⁴ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 305.

¹⁸⁵ Joseph Ryan, 'Herbert Hughes,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 20 July 2016).

¹⁸⁶ Trevor Hold, *Parry to Finzi, Twenty English Song-Composers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 173.

¹⁸⁷ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 79–80.

Heron Hine (1877–1951), for *Antrim and Donegal*, an area the composer is believed to have adored.¹⁸⁸ In 1929 Harty arranged three folk songs with words by Patrick William Joyce (1827–1914) for *Three Irish Folksongs*. There then follows a considerable gap in Harty’s compositional career, largely due to his busy schedule as a conductor. Due to ill-health, Harty was forced to take a break from conducting and in 1938 he wrote *Five Irish Poems*, using texts by Alice Milligan, Helen Lanyon (1882–1979), Moira O’Neill and most notably, ‘The Fiddler of Dooney,’ Harty’s only choice of poetry by W.B. Yeats.¹⁸⁹ While these are in the style of his earlier Irish art songs, this form had largely gone out of fashion by the time of its publication.¹⁹⁰

By contrast with Stanford’s Irish art songs, which all date from the latter part of his life, Harty’s Irish art songs range across the entire course of his career; his first Irish art song ‘Sea Wrack’ was written when he was in his early twenties. As a result, there is a greater variety of style in these songs than in Stanford’s collections, and they trace the general development of Harty’s own musical voice.

Fig. 10. Harty’s Irish Art Songs.

Year	Collection	Song Title
c. 1900		Sea Wrack
c. 1902		The Song of Glen Dun
1903		Bonfires
1903		Rose Madness
1906		The Ould Lad
1908		An Irish Love Song
1908	Six Songs of Ireland	Lookin’ Back Dreaming A Lullaby Grace For Light Flame in the Skies of Sunset At Sea
1909		By the Sea
1911		An Exile’s Mother
c. 1910–1912		Heart of My Heart
1911 (1913)	Five Irish Sketches	A Cradle Song Across the Door A Drover The Stranger’s Grave The Rachray Man
1914		A Rann of Wandering
1914		The Wake Feast (A Young Girl Dead)

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 268.

¹⁹⁰ This issue will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Four.

1926	Antrim and Donegal	The Two Houses The Little Son Hush Song Herrin's in the Bay
1938	Five Irish Poems	A Mayo Love Song At Easter The Sailor Man Denny's Daughter The Fiddler of Dooney

iii. Poets

Hamilton Harty also frequently used texts by Moira O'Neill, presumably due to the popularity of her *Songs of the Glens of Antrim* collection in London. However, Harty uses a greater variety of Irish poets, some of whom had connections with the emerging Irish literary scene. Katharine Tynan ('An Irish Love Song') was a nationalist writer and while she was not a leading literary figure, she worked with many leading figures of the Irish literary revolution including W.B. Yeats.¹⁹¹ The poem had been previously set to the tune of the Londonderry Air and there is a 1923 recording of tenor John McCormack (1884–1945) singing Tynan's lyrics to the popular air.¹⁹² William Lyon Bultitaft, though born in England in 1870, spent most of his life in Lisburn, Co. Antrim. He was related to the wealthy Quaker Sinton family that lived near Hillsbrough, and with whom Harty was probably well acquainted.¹⁹³ When Bultitaft died in 1900, Harty chose to set two of his poems, possibly as a tribute to him, but also because their pastoral nature probably reminded Harty of the area where he was raised.

Six Songs of Ireland also features poems by writers with strong connections to Irish Republicanism. Lizzie Twigg wrote poetry for the *United Irishman* and in 1904, she published a volume of *Songs and Poems* under her Gaelic name Eilís ní Chraoibhín.¹⁹⁴ Cahir Healy was born in Co. Donegal and worked as a journalist for *Fermanagh News*. He joined Sinn Féin upon its foundation in 1905 and campaigned against Tyrone and Fermanagh joining Northern

¹⁹¹ Peter van de Kamp, 'Katharine Tynan (1859–1931)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 12 July 2016).

¹⁹² This song is generally referred to as 'Would God I were the tender apple blossom,' the first line of Tynan's poem; Brian Audley, 'The Provenance of "The Londonderry Air,"' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 125/2 (2000), 205–247, 205; John McCormack, *The McCormack Edition, Vol. 10: Victor Talking Machine Company - Gramophone Company Ltd*, compact disc ADD: CD8.111401, 2012.

¹⁹³ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 38.

¹⁹⁴ Gerry O'Flaherty, 'Reading Ulysses, James Joyce: Lestrygonians,' *RTE* (<http://www.rte.ie/readingulysses/episode8.html>, 13 July 2016).

Ireland.¹⁹⁵ He was a prolific writer of articles and he produced a volume of poetry, *The Lane of the Thrushes: Some Ulster Love Songs* with Cathal O'Byrne. O'Byrne was born and raised in Co. Down to parents from Co. Wicklow and was a member of the Gaelic League in Belfast.¹⁹⁶ However, the texts chosen by Harty were not overtly republican in nature and they accompanied two typically Victorian poems by O'Neill, particularly the first song of the collection 'Lookin' Back,' which described the 'sthrong wind' off the Antrim Coast.

For his *Five Irish Sketches*, Harty chose another diverse selection of poetry, using texts by O'Neill, Padraic Colum and Emily Lawless. Padraic Colum was a Catholic born peasant who joined the IRB in 1901.¹⁹⁷ He was discovered by Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith (1871–1922), who published his poetry and plays in the *United Irishman*. His first book of poetry, *Wild Earth* which contains the poems used by Harty in *Irish Sketches*, was published in 1907 and was praised for its simplicity and its characterisation of country folk living according to their ancient ways.¹⁹⁸ He also collected folk tunes with Herbert Hughes and wrote the lyrics for two of his best known works, 'She Moved Through the Fair' and 'Cradle Song.'¹⁹⁹ While it is unclear if Harty knew Colum personally, Jeremy Dibble notes that Harty held an interest in Francis Bigger's (1863–1926) poetry salon in Belfast, with which Colum had a close connection.²⁰⁰ Emily Lawless was, however, from the opposite side of the political spectrum. Born in Lyons Demesne in Co. Kildare, she was against Home Rule and was seen by her more patriotic contemporaries as being insufficiently devoted to her country's cause.²⁰¹ Despite a passionate attachment to Ireland, her disaffection with Irish politics led to her relocating in Surrey. Her most successful poetry collection was *With the Wild Geese* (on which Harty based his orchestral work of the same name), where she focuses on Irish soldiers serving in the French army in the Continental Wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁰² Although Harty and Swinton often performed the *Five Irish Sketches* as a set, they are not a collection in the same sense as a collection by Stanford. There is no thematic link throughout

¹⁹⁵ Kate Newmann, 'Cahir Healy (1877–1970),' *Dictionary of Ulster Biography* (<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/655>, 13 July 2016).

¹⁹⁶ Patrick Devlin, 'Cathal O'Byrne (1876–1957),' *New Ulster Biography* (<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/1273> 19 July 2016).

¹⁹⁷ Sanford Sternlich, 'Padraic Colum, formerly Patrick Collumb (1881–1972),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 18 July 2016).

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 64.

²⁰⁰ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 85–86.

²⁰¹ Pam Perkins, 'Emily Lawless (1845–1913), novelist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 18 July 2016).

²⁰² *Ibid.*

and because they were published individually it is likely that Harty treated them as individual songs.

‘The Wake Feast’ was written by Alice Milligan from Co. Tyrone, who was another nationalist writer active in the Gaelic League and her early writing did much to stimulate the early Sinn Féin movement. She also co-founded the monthly paper *The Northern Patriot* that advocated the separation of Ireland from England.²⁰³ Harty would turn to the pastoral-styled texts of Elizabeth Shane for his collection *Antrim and Donegal*, as well as texts by Moira O’Neill. Shane was born in Belfast and played first violin for the Belfast Philharmonic Orchestra. Her poetry was mostly about the idyllic Ulster countryside especially the islands around Donegal.²⁰⁴ This is Harty’s most thematically coherent collection, compiled in a manner similar to Stanford’s collections, set in a specific part of the country, with evocations of nature and the Irish countryside in each text.

iv. **Themes**

‘A Drover’ and ‘The Stranger’s Grave’ present far grimmer aspects of Ireland than anything in Stanford’s collections. ‘A Drover’ is a first-hand account of a man driving cattle to a market in Meath across the wet bog lands of Leitrim and Longford. He contemplates other lifestyles like the romantic image of a soldier, who on the one hand sees many foreign lands, but doesn’t have the freedom he has. This imagery is rejected in favour of, not an idealised version of Ireland, but rather one with ‘hard earth never broken for corn’ and ‘scant croppings harsh with salt of the sea.’ Lawless’s poem ‘The Stranger’s Grave’ is a stark depiction of the grave of an unknown drowned man in Inishmaan (Inis Meáin).²⁰⁵ The song is framed with a description of the other graves on the island, those of unbaptised babies which at the time would not have been seen to merit burial in a general graveyard.

Harty would also depict social issues that were more applicable to Irish life than Stanford; for instance, ‘Across the Door’ is a more intimate text in which a woman narrates how she is drawn away from a dance and out into the meadows. The first part of the song is

²⁰³ Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 227.

²⁰⁴ Moynagh O’Sullivan, ‘Elizabeth Shane,’ in Angela Bourke (ed.), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Volume 5: Irish Women’s Women and Tradition* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 1045.

²⁰⁵ The dedication on the 1913 publication states ‘In a graveyard upon Inishmaan, dedicated to unbaptised babies, an unknown drowned man lies buried;’ Hamilton Harty, *The Stranger’s Grave* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).

simple and light-hearted as the piano imitates fiddles that were ‘playing and playing’ as couples danced, with open string drones in the left hand and the tune in the right hand. The second half of the song moves to the harmonically remote F-sharp major before resolving to C major, and Harty captures the anxiety of the female protagonist, with a dissonant and chromatic section under the word ‘cry,’ which the singer holds on a high F for nine beats, as she is kissed by the man who has brought her outside. ‘The Rachray Man’ also carries an underlying social commentary on the oppression of women in Irish life. While it resembles some traits of typical Irish patten songs, with a time signature of 9/8 resembling a slip jig, it has a darker undertone, with the female protagonist detailing how she regrets marrying this man and would have preferred to stay in her home rather than to move to Rathlin Island. It is clear that Harty wished to evoke a darker sentiment, rather than portraying anything simply comical, as indicated by a direction on the score of ‘With rueful humour’ and the key of D minor. Harty’s commentary on women’s role in society is also indicative of the generational gap between the two composers, given that Harty was more willing to engage with issues such as women’s position in society in the early twentieth century.

Like Stanford, Harty also deals with the concept of death in ‘The Wake Feast,’ but his setting expresses emotions more overtly than Stanford’s songs, concentrating on the anguish caused by death. The ominous nature of the song is apparent from the opening in the piano, the first note being the third F below middle C and the remainder of the chord of D minor being spelt out over the bar. The vocal line is similar to a recitative, with rhythms matching the inflections of the text. The piano accompaniment is initially quite sparse, adding to the sombre tone. From the *animando* in bar 43, the descending chromatic chords which had been firmly anchored in D at the opening of the song are used to propel the song into a new section with triplet figures (bars 47–54), depicting the way the protagonist would watch the woman when she was alive. The remainder of the song uses the same material with the chromatic writing resolving to D as the protagonist compares his own lowly station with hers as the daughter of a farm owner. Further chromatic descending figures link to a return of the triplet material (bar 74) as he once again remembers the time when she was alive. Unlike Stanford’s concept of a ‘happy’ death, Harty provides a far more vivid emotional representation of the protagonist’s difficulty in coming to terms with the woman’s death.

v. **Early Songs**

Harty's Irish art songs can be divided into early songs which mimic the drawing room ballad and his later songs in which he expands his harmonic language. When he first moved to London in 1901, he initially wrote music to appeal to a prosperous Edwardian society, just as Stanford had done. It was in these conditions that Harty composed 'Sea Wrack,' which Jeremy Dibble describes as a 'sturdy, popular ballad' that was ideal for inclusion in miscellaneous concerts.²⁰⁶ Like Stanford, Harty was aware of the popularity of O'Neill's poetry in London, and Cushendun, a coastal village in Antrim which is named in the poem, was the home of O'Neill.

This strophic song is in C major and Harty uses a simple opening of alternating the tonic and with the minor subdominant chord. This generates a vocal line which has a quasi-modal feel, with flattened sevenths bars 15 and 38. Harty marks the end of the first verse in bars 19–22, with a change in the vocal line's step-by-step trajectory to jumps of perfect fourths and minor thirds on the words 'The wet wrack, the sea wrack,' and the opening idea returns for the words 'The wrack was strong to cut.' The *tremolandi* in the piano part add a touch of melodrama to this refrain on each appearance. A similar format follows in the second verse, and the emotional climax of the song follows in the third verse. Tension is increased in the vocal line by the raised seventh in bars 52–54 as Harty moves to D minor. This is released after a crescendo in bar 54, when vocal line reaches its highest note (F) in bar 55 (and 57) and the singer exclaims how their friend has drowned, while harmonically it moves between F major, D minor and D major:

²⁰⁶ Dibble, Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath, 37.

Fig. 11. Harty, ‘Sea Wrack’ [bars 54–59].

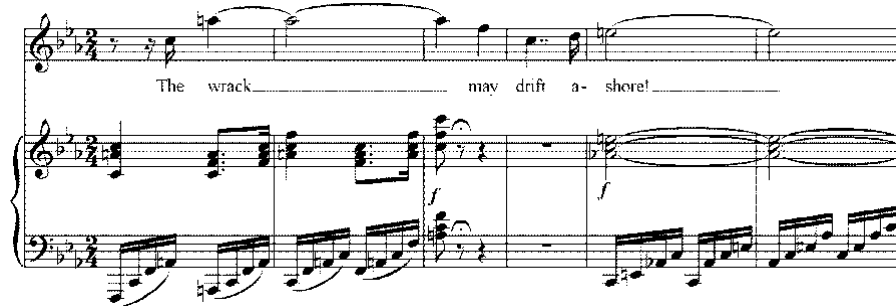
Harty then re-introduces the opening idea (C major and F minor chords) to conclude the song.

Stanford’s setting of the same text, which was written at much the same time as Harty’s provides an interesting comparison between the two writing styles. Both composers represent the sea in the piano accompaniment; Stanford uses a four-note broken chord on each beat, an idea which is consistent throughout the first and third verse. The more fragmented accompaniment in the second verse means that the tension does not build across the song in the relentless way that it does in Harty’s song. Harty builds the storm in his piano part, with the piano moving from crotchet progressions in the first verse to a mix of crotchets and quavers in the second. Stanford’s setting of ‘Him beneath the salt sea’ is pianissimo and is marked by a sudden shift to C major:

Fig. 12. Stanford, ‘Sea Wrack’ [bars 83–87].

His climax occurs on the final line: ‘The wrack may drift ashore.’ The vocal line goes to its highest note (A-natural) on the word ‘wrack,’ however more significant is the fact that the word ‘shore’ finishes on an augmented chord, which is then resolved by a postlude in the piano:

Fig. 13. Stanford, ‘Sea Wrack’ [bars 104–110].



However, the jump of a major sixth on the words ‘the wrack’ and the harmonic resolution in the ensuing piano music occurs at the end of every verse, with each of the vocal leaps a semitone higher than the previous verse. Hence Stanford’s climactic moment is not as abrupt or dramatic as Harty’s ‘Him beneath the salt sea, /Me upon the shore.’ This melodramatic narrative created by Harty has ensured the song’s popularity while Stanford’s more refined setting has remained little known.

Harty’s ‘The Song of Glen Dun’ however has more in common with the type of song written by Stanford. While it begins in G major, the tonic is not fully established until the second bar, as Harty begins with a momentary tonicisation of A minor. He stays in the tonic for the first two verses, but Harty expands the harmonic range and piano ideas for the third verse. There is an abrupt move to the dominant of B-flat in bar 27, although B-flat is not tonicised as Harty uses dominant seventh arpeggios. He moves back to G major in bars 30–31, and there is another abrupt move to E-flat in bar 48. Thus, what is essentially a simple strophic song is rendered more complex by a piano part that becomes increasingly harmonically elaborate with each verse. This style can be seen in some of Stanford’s songs, such as ‘The West Wind’ or ‘Irish Skies.’

Harty’s two songs by William Lyon Bultitaft in 1903 are slightly different in style to his other Irish art songs, mainly because they were written for soprano Agnes Nicholls. Nicholls was known to have a powerful voice and regularly sang Wagnerian repertoire, and

hence these piano accompaniments are more orchestrally conceived.²⁰⁷ The piano contains much virtuosic writing and the vocal lines have typical climactic moments on a high G-sharp in ‘Rose Madness’ and a top B in ‘Bonfires.’²⁰⁸ These songs could, therefore, be considered as arias for voice and piano, a genre that was popular in the drawing room.

Jeremy Dibble describes Harty’s 1906 song ‘The Ould Lad,’ which is in D-flat major, as ‘a rather banal homespun ballad.’²⁰⁹ The song was often sung by baritone Harry Plunket Greene, who had much experience of singing O’Neill’s verse and quasi-Irish ballads, indicating the ‘The Ould Lad’ fitted into the established practice of ‘Irish song’ performance in England. ‘An Irish Love Song’ of 1908 also echoes this type of song. Like ‘The Ould Lad,’ the song is in D-flat major, however, Harty does widen his harmonic language, occasionally using chromatic passages. The song is not particularly memorable, but it marks a turning point in his song writing. As Harty would further develop his harmonic language, he abandons this type of well-crafted quasi-ballad format.

vi. **Advanced writing**

Six Songs of Ireland contains a mix of complicated songs and more standard forms. In ‘Flame in the Skies’ Harty begins to engage with some more chromatic harmonies, although still within a standard harmonic framework. For instance in bar 3, Harty moves from a chord of IV7 (B-flat / D / F / A), flattens the D and A in bar 4 and arrives on a chord of I (F major) in bar 5. This is effectively a plagal cadence with chromatic passing notes in bar 4. In bars 11–12 Harty uses an E7–A minor progression (a V–i of the key of the mediant), which is then decorated by a sliding chromatic passage that moves away from and returns to the chord of iii in bar 13:

²⁰⁷ J. B. Steane, ‘Agnes Nicholls,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 27 September 2016).

²⁰⁸ Dibble, Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath, 39–40.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

Fig. 14. Harty, ‘Flame in the Skies,’ *Six Songs of Ireland* [bars 10–13].

The musical score for Figure 14 consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "dais - ies Spread on an em - erald lawn,". The piano accompaniment is in two staves (treble and bass clefs) and features a complex texture with triplets and a *pp* dynamic marking. The time signature is 3/4.

Harty then uses a circle of fifths with chords of iii7 (bar 14), vi7 (bars 15–16) and ii7 (bar 17). He then breaks this circle with an A-flat in the expected chord of C (V) in bar 18, which then leads to a chord of ii7 in bar 17, with an F-sharp functioning as its enharmonic equivalent G-flat. A V7 chord follows in bar 21 and the phrase finishes with a repeat of the cadence in bars 3–4. This passage illustrates that while Harty’s writing is becoming more elaborate, he still uses a simple harmonic procedure:

Fig. 15. Harty, ‘Flame in the Skies,’ *Six Songs of Ireland* [bars 17–22].

The musical score for Figure 15 consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are "bawn, And mists like a ghost - ly gar - ment Round the quiet moun - tains drawn." The piano accompaniment is in two staves (treble and bass clefs) and features a complex texture with triplets and a *pp* dynamic marking. The time signature is 3/4.

Harty’s increasingly chromatic language is more effective in ‘Dreaming,’ a poem about lost love and longing for death. The song is in a varied strophic form, and in both verses Harty uses this chromatic sliding effect to capture the protagonist’s turmoil. For instance, for the emotional climax of the second verse, the singer exclaims ‘lovers and dreamers and joys all gone,’ while the chromaticism in the piano mirrors his anguish:

Fig. 16. Harty, ‘Dreaming,’ *Six Songs of Ireland* [bars 29–36].

The musical score for 'Dreaming' by Harty, bars 29-36, is presented in a standard musical notation format. It consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is G minor (one flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line begins with the lyrics '- ers and dream - ers and joys...' and ends with 'all a - gone'. The piano accompaniment features a constant semiquaver figure in the right hand, which the text identifies as representing waves of the sea. The score includes dynamic markings such as 'p.' (piano) and 'dim.' (diminuendo), and a 'legato' instruction. The piece is identified by the number H. 5917.

‘Lookin’ Back’ is also more adventurous than Stanford’s setting of the same text (from *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*). While Harty uses the familiar idea of constant semiquaver figures in the piano to represent waves of the sea, his vocal line is typically more dramatic. Harty depicts a more windswept Armagh coast than Stanford with an unrelenting piano part, and Harty’s climactic moment of the song is in bar 57 when the vocal line has a pause on a high G on the last line of text, whereas Stanford finishes the song with a more subdued largamente and a low-lying vocal line. Harty’s ‘Grace for Light’ functions in much the same way as a Stanford humour song; it is more jovial and harmonically simple than the other songs and is positioned as fourth in the collection.

Five Irish Sketches represents some of Harty’s most advanced song writing. According to a review in *The Observer* in 1911, the *Five Irish Sketches* were specifically styled by the composer as duets for voice and piano, owing to their substantial parts, while *The Times* wrote that they were not vocal parts with piano accompaniments, but duets in which ‘two performers are placed upon equal terms.’²¹⁰ While the relatively simple ‘A Cradle Song’ begins the collection, ‘Across the Door’ highlights how Harty is engaging with more advanced compositional techniques. The song begins in G major and from bar 13 Harty uses chords of B-flat, which in bar 16 chromatically move down to a chord of F. Harty’s harmonic language becomes more complex from bar 24. A chord of E major is followed by chromatic harmonies and the use of parallel fourths and fifths in bars 26, 28 and 29, which lands on a chord of G9

²¹⁰ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 84; *Ibid*, 79.

in bar 30. In bars 31–33, Harty is tonally ambiguous, using arpeggiated movement on a chord of D, F-sharp, B-flat and C. Another chromatic elaboration in the piano eventually brings the song to a close in C major. Jeremy Dibble suggests that Harty’s compositional style in this song is influenced by Claude Debussy (1862–1918), and certainly the use of parallel fourths and fifths was quite a progressive style of writing for an English or Irish composer.²¹¹

The two songs in this collection that indicate a clear departure from drawing room style are the longer and more sophisticated ‘The Stranger’s Grave’ and ‘A Drover.’ The poem ‘The Stranger’s Grave’ has far more depth than the usual poetry found throughout the Irish art song, and as a result the structure is atypical. It begins in G minor with a hymn-like modal chorale in the piano, setting a suitably mournful tone.²¹² This piano introduction can be considered section A. The first vocal entry ‘Little feet too young and soft to walk,’ (B) has a folk-like simplicity, with Harty using alternating chords of G major and A-flat, which forms a Neapolitan relationship:

Fig. 17. Harty, ‘The Stranger’s Grave,’ *Five Irish Sketches* [bars 6–7].

The musical score for bars 6–7 of 'The Stranger's Grave' is presented in a grand staff. The vocal line is in treble clef, 3/4 time, and G minor. The lyrics are 'Lit - tle feet too young and soft to walk,'. The piano accompaniment is in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and is marked 'pp lontanato'. The piano part consists of a simple harmonic structure with a Neapolitan relationship between G major and A-flat.

From bar 12, the piano drives the song forward with energetic semiquaver movement in 9/8 time (C). After four lines of text, this idea comes to a sudden halt in bar 23. An unaccompanied vocal upbeat is then followed in the next four bars (D) by subtle chording in the piano for the lines ‘Oh, plotting brain, and restless heart of mine, /What strange fate brought you to so strange a shrine.’ The opening hymn-like figure returns in bar 29 as an interlude. The piece then moves to C major for another four-line stanza and Harty gives the instruction *tranquillo, dolce e semplice*, as he finds a more mellow tone for the description of the woman walking over the grave, echoing the semiquaver movement from earlier. The song returns to G minor for a repeat of the lines ‘Oh, plotting brain, and restless heart...’ as Harty uses a similar

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 88.

Neapolitan idea as before in the piano. He then returns to the opening idea for a repeat of the text ‘Little feet to young ...’ with a slight variation in the piano to end the song:

Fig. 18. Harty, ‘The Stranger’s Grave,’ *Five Irish Sketches* [bars 49–50].

This means that Harty has structured the song as follows:

- A (Introduction): 1–5
- B: 6–11
- C: 12–23
- D: 24–27
- A (Interlude): 28–32
- C1: 32–42
- D: 43–48
- B: 49–56.

‘The Stranger’s Grave’ has a diversity of themes, rich harmonic language and unusual form, and Jeremy Dibble describes the song as a ‘miniature essay.’²¹³ Another feature of the song that distinguishes it from the typical Irish art song is the detailed instructions in the vocal line. For instance, he writes *stormy and lamentable* in bar 13 for the start of the section B, *più agitato* in bar 18 on the words ‘drowned man,’ *espressivo* in bar 24 (section C), *dolce e semplice* in bar 33 and *poco agitato* in bar 44. Furthermore, almost every line of text has either a different dynamic or instruction and while these instructions are usually in keeping with the sentiment created in the piano, they encourage a more overtly dramatic performance from the singer.

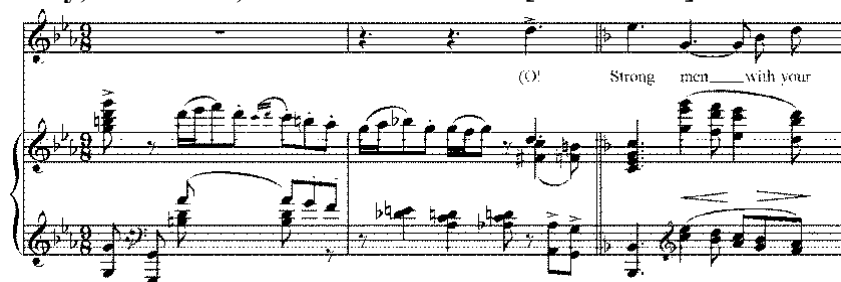
‘A Drover’ is another substantial song with Colum’s nine verses set over 91 bars, and Harty uses shifts in harmony to dictate the structure; after an opening in C minor, the song

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 87.

moves to C major and then to F major in bar 43 when the farmer imagines the alternative lifestyles of farmers and soldiers. It then returns to C minor when he remembers the ‘smell of the beasts’ in bar 49. After a *wild* piano interlude, from bar 65 Harty builds tension with unresolved chords over B-flat, as the drover articulates his frustration at the lack of opportunities for him to achieve what is possible for others. A later movement to C major (bar 75) occurs when the drover reconciles himself to life in the West of Ireland, and there is one final move to E major in the last three bars.

There are once more hallmarks of Irish traditional music with Harty using flattened sevenths, while his elaborate piano accompaniment is influenced by impressionism. Harty uses much chromaticism as part of his harmonic language, and doesn’t always clearly tonicise sections, but instead uses ninth and seventh chords. For instance, in bar 63, Harty uses a chord of G9, a V9 chord in C minor, and then after a chromatic progression arrives on a chord of C7 in bar 65 (which is now a chord of V7 in F major) for the beginning of the eighth stanza:

Fig. 19. Harty, ‘A Drover,’ *Five Irish Sketches* [bars 63–65].



Harty’s piano part is far more complex than piano arrangements of folk songs. Although his *Five Irish Poems* of 1938 fall outside the timeline of this study, it is worth noting that the piano parts were similarly elaborate, with ‘A Mayo Love Song’ and ‘The Fiddler of Dooney’ making considerable demands of the pianist. While this would have been no issue for the highly skilled accompanist Harty, his songs were not suitable for the less advanced, amateur musician. It is reasonable to assume therefore that they were written specifically for concert performance, while Stanford’s songs catered for both concert and domestic performance.

Harty returned to more a standard format for his 1926 collection *Antrim and Donegal*. The collection is thematically consistent and resembles the type of Irish collections produced by Stanford. All four songs mention the sea, with the first song ‘The Two Houses’ depicting a

storm with constant triplet figures in 3/4 time and the last song 'Herrin's in the bay' providing a lively conclusion. The piano writing in these songs, particularly in 'The Two Houses' which has a considerable postlude, contrasts with the writing found in the other songs. 'The Little Son', a sentimental O'Neill text about a new-born boy contains mainly homophonic block chords in the first half while 'Hush Song' is in the style of an Irish lullaby in 6/8 time. This song, which is the highlight of the collection, is a relatively uncomplicated song in A minor with a clear rocking effect in the bass of the piano, the rhythm of which is replicated in the vocal line. *Antrim and Donegal* was Harty's most distinct portrayal of a type of tranquil Ireland commonly found in Stanford's collections. While the songs are proficient, they lack the ambition of his previous collections.

Harty's Irish art songs show a great variety and while some songs demonstrate a similarity with the approach taken by Stanford, his songs are sometimes more adventurous in their approach to form. While Harty engages with a later and more complex harmonic language than Stanford, the songs are not as innovative when compared with work by international contemporaries and remain indebted to the sound world of late romanticism. Harty also apportions greater importance to his piano parts than Stanford, who felt the piano was subsidiary to the vocal line. Although Harty also chooses some Hiberno-English texts, these are less dependent on phonetic spellings and tend to deal with topics with a greater degree of realism.

CHAPTER FOUR: DECLINE OF THE STANFORD / HARTY IRISH ART SONG

PART ONE: ISSUES IN BRITAIN

i. Decline of Stanford and Harty

While Stanford and Harty's Irish art songs were popular in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the genre declined from about 1930 on. One significant factor was the diminishing stature of the two composers and their personal circumstances.

The outbreak of World War One had a serious effect on Stanford. He moved from his residence in London to Windsor to avoid air-raids, a thing of which he was very frightened.²¹⁴ Many of his former students suffered because of the war; Arthur Bliss (1891–1975) and Ivor Gurney (1890–1937) suffered injuries and George Butterworth (1885–1916) was killed.²¹⁵ The fall in student numbers at the RCM meant that Stanford's income was reduced, given that there was less demand for his services.²¹⁶ Following Stanford and Harty's publications in 1914, the next Irish art song collection to be published in London was Stanford's *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* in 1920. While a shortage of resources led to a reduction in music publishing, there was an upsurge in the popularity of lighter songs in the style of Music Hall, to raise the morale of soldiers and citizens. The most famous example is 'Keep the Home Fires Burning ('Til the Boys Come Home)' by Ivor Novello (1893–1951), which was published by Chapel & Co. in 1915 and became an anthem of the War.²¹⁷ Stanford's compositional career effectively finished when he completed his sixth *Irish Rhapsody* in 1922, two weeks before his seventieth birthday. He died in March 1924.²¹⁸

Hamilton Harty appeared to become less focussed on composing as he furthered his career as a conductor, and there is a notable drop in the amount of original compositions he produced during his tenure as principal conductor of the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester from 1920–33. In 1932, Harty accepted the post of artistic adviser and conductor-in-chief of the London Symphony Orchestra (LSO) and, as a result, the Hallé Concerts Society decided to end

²¹⁴ L.H. Heward in Walford Davies, et al., 'Charles Villiers Stanford by some of his pupils,' in *Music & Letters*, 5/3 (July 1924), 193-207 (203).

²¹⁵ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 298.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 297.

²¹⁷ Paul Webb, 'Ivor Novello [Davies, David Ivor],' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 15 August 2016).

²¹⁸ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 328.

his contract after the 1932–33 season.²¹⁹ While his time with the LSO was less successful, he toured Australia and North America in the 1930s and maintained a heavy conducting schedule in Britain.²²⁰ From 1936 on, Harty's health began to deteriorate considerably. He was diagnosed with a malignant brain tumour and lost his right eye with the resulting surgery. In this period, he was unable to conduct and spent time in both Ireland and Jamaica while recovering.²²¹ His last composition was the symphonic poem *The Children of Lir*, which he conducted with the BBC Symphony Orchestra in 1939.²²² Although he undertook a full concert programme in 1939–40, his health further deteriorated and he died in February 1941.²²³ His only compositions to be performed regularly after his death were his arrangements of Handel's *Water Music* and *Music for Royal Fireworks*, but his original works soon fell from the standard repertory.

ii. The Folk Song

Another issue that affected the original Irish art song's development was the continuing popularity in Britain of the Irish folk song. The British folk revival and the foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1898 were particularly influential. Significant contributors to the movement included folk collector Cecil Sharp (1859–1924) and composers Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) and Percy Grainger (1882–1961).²²⁴ The thirty-one issues of the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, produced by the movement, constitute a significant source of English folk song transcriptions and also include many Gaelic songs.²²⁵

Whereas Stanford only produced a handful of solo Irish folk songs after *The Complete Collection of Irish Music* in 1905, and Harty only wrote a total of eight folk song arrangements, other Irish composers embraced the popularity of this genre and continued to write Irish folk arrangements for voice and piano. Armagh-born Charles Wood followed the direction of Stanford in the late nineteenth century by collaborating with Albert Perceval Graves. Ian

²¹⁹ Raymond Holden, 'Sir (Herbert) Hamilton Harty,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 24 July 2016).

²²⁰ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 103.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 103.

²²² Holden, *Harty*.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Cecil Sharp also founded the English Folk Dance Society in 1911, which merged with the Folk Song Society to become the English Folk Dance and Song Society in 1932. Alain Frogley, & Maud Karpeles, 'English Folk Dance and Song Society' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 18 August 2016).

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

Copley suggests that Wood joined with Stanford for the production of *Songs of Old Ireland, Irish Songs and Ballads* and *Songs of Erin*.²²⁶ While Wood's name does not appear on the publication, it was likely that it was through this connection that Wood began collaborating with Graves, producing *Irish Folk Songs* in 1897. These were in the same style as Stanford's folk song collections of the 1880s.²²⁷ In 1904, he was a founding member and vice-president of the Irish Folk Song Society in London. His extensive Irish folk song publications include three volumes of *Irish Country Songs* (1914, 1927, 1928), collaborating with Graves for the first two volumes and with Patrick Joseph McCall (1861–1919) for the third, and *Anglo-Irish Folk Songs: Volume One* (1931) with texts by Padraic Gregory (1886–1962).²²⁸

Herbert Hughes was another Irish composer whose arrangements of Irish folk songs were widely published. Hughes grew up in Belfast and studied at the RCM from 1901 with, among others, Charles Wood and was also a founder of the Irish Folk Song Society. His most notable achievements in music were his published Irish folk song collections, including four volumes of *Irish Country Songs, Old Melodies* and *Historical Songs and Ballads of Ireland*.²²⁹ His collaboration with the poet Padraic Colum resulted in the distribution of old airs such as 'The Star of County Down,' 'I Know Where I am Going,' 'She Moved through the Fair' and 'O Men from the Fields.' While the rise of Irish folk songs in London created the conditions for the Irish art song to emerge, they also hindered its progress. The sheer popularity of Irish airs and folk arrangements of songs with publishers and performers alike probably prevented composers like Wood and Hughes from 'progressing' to composing original Irish songs. Hughes even considered his arrangements to be on a par with original songs, writing in a foreword to his third collection of *Irish Country Songs* that a folk song under the hands of an arranger is 'definitively transmuted into an art-song, an art-song of its own generation.'²³⁰ Considering that both original Irish art songs and folk arrangements were popularly published in the first three decades of the twentieth century, it is probable that London's publishers held a similar view to Hughes and did not necessarily differentiate between the two forms, considering them all to be 'Irish songs.' While Hughes's settings were often criticised for the classical style of the accompaniment writing, they were performed throughout Britain and

²²⁶ Ian Copley, *The Music of Charles Wood: A Critical Study* (London: Thames Publishing, 1978), 111.

²²⁷ Dibble, 'Charles Wood,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 18 August 2016).

²²⁸ Volumes Two and Three of *Irish Country Songs* and *Anglo-Irish Songs* were published posthumously, as Wood died in 1926. The title of *Anglo-Irish Songs: Volume 1*, indicates that it was the intention of Wood and Gregory to produce subsequent collections. Copley, 111.

²²⁹ Ryan, 'Herbert Hughes.'

²³⁰ Herbert Hughes, *Irish Country Songs: Vol 3* (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1909), Preface.

America by both Harry Plunket Greene and John McCormack.²³¹ The gramophone recordings of the folk songs by McCormack and Kathleen Ferrier (1912–1953) led to the songs being heard throughout the English-speaking world. These became far more popular than any of the original art songs by Stanford or Harty and for many defined expectations of an ‘Irish song.’

iii. Technology

The development of new forms of media such as the phonograph and gramophone had other important effects. American and jazz music began to become increasingly important within British culture.²³² The availability of commercially released phonograph records meant that people were no longer dependent on actually being able to play an instrument as a means of hearing music in their home and music printing gradually receded from about 1910 on.²³³ Further developments in radio, cinema and, later, sound and film helped the influence of mass culture spread across society, which slowly led to the decline of the Victorian culture in which the art song thrived. The early 1930s were, according to Cyril Ehrlich, a ‘watershed’ for musicians in Britain, with changes in technology, patronage and the collapse of the domestic music scene.²³⁴ While the economic depression undoubtedly effected the funding of live performances, the growing popularity of radios practically eradicated the demand for domestic music. By the end of the 1930s, 73% of households in the United Kingdom paid a radio licence fee, which allowed the BBC to become a significant employer of musicians in Britain and the major determinant of Britain’s musical life.²³⁵

iv. Stanford and Harty as Conservatives

While Stanford, along with Hubert Parry (1848–1918), was responsible for establishing the RCM as a training ground for budding composers, contributing to what was referred to as the ‘English Renaissance,’ he was also tied to the ideals of Brahms; as such, he was linked irrevocably to that period. By the time of the publication of Stanford’s *An Irish Idyll in Six*

²³¹ Ryan, ‘Herbert Hughes.’

²³² Chris Gibson & John Connell, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place* (London: Routledge, 2003), 34–6.

²³³ Stanley Boorman, et al., ‘Publishing and Printing of Music: II Publishing,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, Date 26 August 2016).

²³⁴ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 209.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 211–12.

Miniatures, Edward Elgar's *Enigma Variations* had been performed, which drew international acclaim and was a significant milestone for contemporary British composition. It was a move away from the English school of Stanford and the conservatism taught in the RCM, towards a more contemporary aesthetic closer to that found throughout central Europe. Stanford, who was only five years older than Elgar, resisted any such transformation and his choral work *Ode to Discord* in 1908 was a satirical statement against the new music of the twentieth century. This was perhaps caused by bitterness given that, in the first decade of that century, his music became eclipsed by that of Elgar. Robert Anderson wrote that Stanford 'had his innings with continental reputation' in the late nineteenth century before Elgar 'bowled him out.'²³⁶ Stanford had been supportive of his colleague when Elgar was struggling, conducting his music and putting him forward for a doctorate in Cambridge; however, he was upset when Richard Strauss (1846–1949) described Elgar as the first progressive British Composer.²³⁷ When Elgar was appointed professor of music at Birmingham University, his inaugural lecture of 1905 contained disparaging remarks about composers of rhapsodies, widely seen as a reference to Stanford.²³⁸ Stanford later wrote of Elgar in his book *A History of Music*, that:

Cut off from his contemporaries by the circumstances of his religion and his want of regular academic training, he was lucky enough to enter the field and find the preliminary ploughing already done.²³⁹

Stanford appealed for a return to classical ideals in his 1917 article 'Sanity (?) in Composition' in *The Musical Herald* and in another essay in 1921 entitled 'On Some Recent Tendencies in Composition.'²⁴⁰

Stanford's perseverance with classical ideals set him against trends in British music, with Harold Samuel (1879–1937) describing him as 'the last of the formalists.'²⁴¹ Stanford's cynicism and dismissal of modernist music also drew criticism from some of his students, most notably Ralph Vaughan Williams. Vaughan Williams wrote that Stanford's music was 'in the

²³⁶ Robert Anderson, 'Surveying Stanford,' *The Musical Times*, 144/1882 (2003), 48–50 (49).

²³⁷ William Henry Reed, *Elgar* (London: JM Dent and Sons, 1949), 61.

²³⁸ It has been suggested that this was due to a letter that Stanford had written to him about his appointment, which Elgar is said to have found 'odious'; however, this letter is no longer in existence; Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 449.

²³⁹ Charles Villiers Stanford and Cecil Forsyth, *A History of Music* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1916), 316–317.

²⁴⁰ Charles Villiers Stanford, 'Sanity (?) in Composition,' *The Musical Herald*, 828 (1917), 78–79. Philip Cooke & David Maw, *The Music of Herbert Howells* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 14; Charles Villiers Stanford, 'On Some Recent Tendencies in Composition,' *The Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 47th Sess. (1920–21), 39–53.

²⁴¹ Dibble, 'Stanford,' Oxford Music Online.

best sense of the word Victorian' and 'the musical counterpart' of prominent Victorian figures Alfred Tennyson (1809–1902), George Frederic Watts (1817–1904) and Matthew Arnold (1822–1888).²⁴²

There were many accounts of disagreements between the two; in one such instance, Vaughan Williams wished to explore the modes of Tudor polyphony to their full potential, but Stanford felt he was 'too far gone in the modes already' and banned the use of modes in romantic music for Vaughan Williams, ordering him to write a waltz instead. Vaughan Williams, acting according to his rebellious nature, wrote a modal waltz.²⁴³ The difference in styles between teacher and pupil exemplifies the disparity between Stanford's music and that of emerging composers in the early twentieth-century in Britain. Whereas Vaughan Williams also disliked the music of Strauss, Stanford's means of a rebuttal was a regression to conventional styles, which created an aversion within his students. Accounts of his classes portray him as an intransigent traditionalist fiercely intolerant of contemporary developments.²⁴⁴ George Dyson (1883–1964) wrote:

In a certain sense the very rebellion he fought was the most obvious fruit of his methods. And in view of what some of these rebels have since achieved, one is tempted to wonder whether there is really anything better a teacher can do for his pupils than drive them into various forms of revolution.²⁴⁵

Hamilton Harty would also be levelled with the accusation that he was musically conservative. As he was born more than a quarter of a century after Stanford, his music engaged with a later harmonic style. However, Harty resisted the rapid changes in contemporary practice and important developments in twentieth-century modernism, just like Stanford. Although his compositional output was not as prolific as some of his contemporaries, Harty's programme selections from his conducting career indicate his own stylistic preferences. His programmes regularly featured romantic composers Hector Berlioz (1803–1869), Richard Strauss, Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) and Alfredo Casella (1883–1947).²⁴⁶

²⁴² Ralph Vaughan Williams in Walford Davies, et al., 'Charles Villiers Stanford by some of his pupils,' 195.

²⁴³ Ralph Vaughan Williams & Gustav Holst, *Heirs and Rebels: Letters written to each other and occasional writings on music* (London: Cooper Square Publishers, 1959), 101.

²⁴⁴ Matthew Riley, 'Liberal Critics and Modern Music in the Post-Victorian Age,' in *Idem, British Music and Modernism: 1895–1960* (Farnham: Ashgate Press, 2010), 25.

²⁴⁵ George Dyson in Walford Davies, et al., 'Charles Villiers Stanford by some of his pupils,' 197–98.

²⁴⁶ Kennedy 'Sir (Herbert) Hamilton Harty'

With regards to British music, he conducted the music of Arnold Bax, Ernst John Moeran (1894–1950) and William Walton (1902–1983), as well as the folk-imbued works of Gustav Holst (1874–1934) and Ralph Vaughan Williams.²⁴⁷ However, he seemingly disliked music that did not convey a patriotic sentiment, as stated in his *Musical Times* interview in 1920:

‘So many clever musicians are writing in England that it is strange no English music is being made - I mean music that naturally strikes one as English.’²⁴⁸

In a speech at the Manchester Luncheon Club in October 1922 he declared that he considered the music of young English composers ‘bad and insincere’ and while he acknowledged Elgar as ‘the most distinguished English composer of the present day,’ he felt Elgar’s music lacked the qualities ‘necessary to the composer who would claim to be essentially English.’ He also hailed Arthur Sullivan as the one really distinguished English composer since Henry Purcell (1659–1695).²⁴⁹ Harty’s criticism of continental influences in Elgar’s works seems unusual considering the clear influences in the harmonic writing of his own Irish art songs and other compositions. However, these comments ignited a stinging response from Arthur Bliss, who described Harty as an eminent composer carrying on the German classic tradition, whose programmes did not show a great knowledge of contemporary music but instead reflected his conservatism.²⁵⁰ Bliss’s comments were echoed by a number of journalists, and given the Hallé Orchestra’s avoidance of avant-garde music, Harty became portrayed as a conservative, an accusation that became attached to his legacy.²⁵¹

Harty generally used a romantic harmonic language that was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In a paper for the Manchester Organists’ Association in 1924, Harty defended accusations of conservatism, stating that these years were ‘a very empty, unprofitable time in the history of musical composition.’²⁵² He singled out many twentieth-century composers for criticism and believed the ‘race of music giants’ finished with

²⁴⁷ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 150.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 150

²⁴⁹ ‘Occasional Notes,’ *The Musical Times*, 63/957 (1 November 1922), 774.

²⁵⁰ Arthur Bliss, ‘Some Aspects of the Present Musical Situation,’ *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 49th Session (1922–1923), 67.

²⁵¹ Declan Plummer, ‘Hamilton Harty’s Legacy with the Hallé Orchestra (1920–1930): A reassessment,’ *Journal for the Society of Musicology in Ireland*, 5 (2009–10), 55–72 (55–56).

²⁵² Hamilton Harty, ‘Modern Composers and Modern Composition,’ *The Musical Times*, 65/974 (1 April 1924), 328–332, 328.

Richard Wagner (1813–1883) and Brahms.²⁵³ He further argued that melody should be the first reason for music's existence, and cited Igor Stravinsky's (1882–1971) *The Rite of Spring* and Alexander Scriabin's (1871–1915) *Poem of Ecstasy* for being 'decadent and unhealthy.' His critique of this music was scathing and he was unflinching in his stance, incorrectly predicting that these pieces would fail to receive repeat performances.²⁵⁴

The developments in musical modernism, which occurred in the first twenty years of the twentieth century throughout Europe, were not mirrored to any great extent in Britain (or Ireland). The first performance of *Five Orchestral Pieces* by Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) in London in September 1912, for instance, was given an extremely hostile reception from music critics and by the public.²⁵⁵ 'Victorian values' retained currency in all aspects of society and British musical life was still influenced by its strong predilection for nineteenth century German repertoire. However, while modernism was yet to achieve widespread popularity, it was beginning to influence young composers. The most progressive composers visited London to promote their work, and before World War One the city heard performances of *Elektra* by Richard Strauss, Debussy's *Jeux*, Scriabin's *Prometheus* and Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*.²⁵⁶ 'Modern Music' was being debated at length in the press and some British composers responded to the new forms of composition.

v. **Emergence of Ralph Vaughan Williams**

The students and composers who broke away from the Victorian precepts achieved eminence as part of the new wave of twentieth-century British composers. Vaughan Williams in particular made a significant impact as a composer in the first decade of the twentieth century, especially in the genre of art song. Vaughan Williams's early songs were written at a time when British music was, as Aidan Thomson notes, 'at a crossroads.'²⁵⁷ The emergence of Edward Elgar meant that Britain could finally boast a composer of international standing who wrote in a contemporary idiom. However, some music critics expressed doubt as to whether Elgar's

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 329.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 329–30.

²⁵⁵ Deborah Hecker, 'Schoenberg, Roger Fry and the emergence of a Critical Language for the Reception of Musical Modernism in Britain, 1912–1914' in Matthew Riley (ed.), *British Music and Modernism: 1895–1960*, 49.

²⁵⁶ Matthew Riley, 'Introduction,' in *Idem, British Music and Modernism: 1895–1960*, 2.

²⁵⁷ Aidan J. Thomson, 'Becoming a national composer: critical reception to c. 1925,' in Alain Frogely & Aidan J. Thomson (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 58.

music, aside from his patriotic works, could be considered the basis for ‘national music’ due to its continental influences.²⁵⁸ Vaughan Williams would be one of the first composers in over two centuries to liberate English music from Germanic influence.

His first significant song for voice and piano was ‘Linden Lea’ in 1901, the same year that Stanford’s *Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* was published and also around the time Harty wrote ‘Sea Wrack.’ ‘Linden Lea’ was subtitled ‘A Dorset Folksong’ (even though it is an original song) as it uses a text in a Dorset dialect by poet William Barnes (1801–1886) and was in the style of the drawing room songs of the time.²⁵⁹ The song was immediately popular with critics from its first performance in 1902 and was Vaughan Williams’s first published work, with Michael Kennedy noting that Vaughan Williams developed a song ‘midway between folk song and art song,’ which would have appealed to many in the British Folk Revival.²⁶⁰ While later in his career Vaughan Williams would come to dislike the song, describing it in 1925 as a sin from his youth which was becoming ‘every year more horribly popular,’ the song’s appeal came from the imagery of the English countryside and the lyric beauty of the melody line.²⁶¹

His 1903 cycle, *The House of Life*, contained ‘Silent Noon,’ which still remains popular today. In ‘Silent Noon,’ Vaughan Williams captures the tranquil day often portrayed in Stanford’s songs, however, his harmonic process is freer. The song begins with a syncopated figure on the piano in 3/4 time in E-flat major, with a move to the dominant B-flat major in bars 17–18. This leads to a section from bar 19 which unexpectedly goes to G major (a modulation by third from the tonic E-flat).²⁶² Vaughan Williams then uses a similar process of moving by a third from bar 23, with a progression of G – B minor – G – B major. There is a similar progression from bar 33 of C – C minor – A-flat major. The song then takes another unexpected move to F major (down a minor third) for the quasi recitative section before moving to F minor in bar 48 and pivots back E-flat major for the closing section, which recalls the opening syncopated theme in the piano. While the song is largely reminiscent of the previous century, Vaughan Williams’s abrupt harmonic progressions (particularly by third) are

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Hugh Ottaway & Alain Frogley, ‘Ralph Vaughan Williams,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016).

²⁶⁰ Michael Kennedy, *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams, Second Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 77.

²⁶¹ Tim Rayborn, *A New English Music: Composers and Folk Traditions in England’s Musical Renaissance from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2016) 65.

²⁶² Allan W. Atlas, ‘Vaughan William’s [sic] ‘Silent Noon’: Structure and Proportions,’ *The Musical Times* 150/1907 (Summer 2009), 71–82, 72.

generally not found in Stanford's writing. The structure of the song is also distinct: Stanford usually structured his songs around the verses of a poem, however 'Silent Noon' is a sonnet. While Dante Gabriel Rossetti's (1828–1882) twelve lines might have provided a rather confined framework for some, Vaughan Williams creates a number of different themes while maintaining a simplicity and neatness that matches the serenity of the text.

Vaughan Williams conveyed an altogether more vibrant sentiment in his *Songs of Travel* (1901–4), a cycle which offers a British take on the concept of the 'wayfarer,' evoking a romanticism of a kind that according to his biographers had disappeared under the impact of Elizabethan music.²⁶³ Franks Howes states that the cycle represents the authentic voice of a young Vaughan Williams, and is indicative of a change in the direction in pre-War British music, with its modal flavour differentiating it from the drawing room ballad.²⁶⁴ Although many songs in the cycle have a harmonic simplicity, the final song of the cycle, 'Bright is the Ring of Words,' gives an indication of Vaughan Williams's broadening harmonic palette, as he evokes a spirituality that marks the end of the wayfarers journey.²⁶⁵ At a number of key points in the song modal progressions substitute for more traditional harmonic modulations and large blocks have their key centre established as much by repetition of the new tonic as by modulatory strategies. The song begins in C major, but abruptly moves to D-flat major from bar 10, before returning to C in bar 18. After a number of static bars in which the chord of C is constantly alternated with other chords, the upper line doubling the vocal line, a shift to A minor occurs at bar 23 without recourse to the dominant which is then used to form a pedal under the texture from bars 27–31. The music then moves via A-flat (bar 33) to D-flat (bar 34) where it remains until a modal progression moving in tones from A-flat to B-flat to C brings the song to a conclusion:

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ Frank Howes, 'Songs of Travel by Vaughan Williams,' *Tempo*, 58 (Summer 1961), 36.

²⁶⁵ 'Bright is the ring of words' was the final song in the original performance of the cycle in 1904, however a ninth song 'I have Trod the Upward and Downward slope' was published posthumously in 1960 when it was found among his papers; Rufus Hallmark, 'Robert Louis Stevenson, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Their *Songs of Travel*,' in Byron Adams and Robin Wells (eds.), *Vaughan Williams Essays* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 140.

Fig. 20. Vaughan Williams, ‘Bright is the Ring of Words,’ *Songs of Travel* [bars 31–40].

The image displays a musical score for three systems of a song. Each system includes a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The first system has the lyrics 'sun - set em - bers,'. The second system has the lyrics 'The lov - er lin - gers and' and includes the instruction 'la melodia ben marcato' above the piano part. The third system has the lyrics 'sings, And the maid re - mem - bers.' and includes instructions 'pp molto più lento' and 'colla voce' above the piano part, and 'rall.' above the vocal line.

Vaughan Williams’s publisher for these early songs was Boosey & Hawkes (London), who had also published Stanford’s *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* in 1901. While both composers create a type of quasi-folk sound to evoke the pastoral imagery of their texts, already there is a clear difference in the style of the two composers; Stanford would often alternate between major and minor modes and use of standard cadences, whereas Vaughan Williams would use less conventional progressions. In particular, his unorthodox use of harmony from bar 27 of ‘Bright is the ring of words’ illustrates his more dramatic response to the romantic imagery (in this case the sunset) created in the text.

While these predate Vaughan Williams’s more mature compositions, they were regarded as the finest songs written in England in the early twentieth century, noted for their sensitive word-setting and were described by Sophie Fuller as a ‘breath of fresh air’ when compared to the majority of sentimental art songs of this time.²⁶⁶ In 1909, Vaughan Williams composed *On Wenlock Edge*, a song cycle originally scored for voice, piano and string quartet,

²⁶⁶ Sophie Fuller, ‘The songs and shorter secular choral works’ in Frogley & Thompson (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams*, 114.

which is regarded as one of his first major works. The cycle consists of six poems from the 1896 collection *A Shropshire Lad* by the English poet Alfred Edward Houseman (1859–1936). While the text is quintessentially English, the music displays a continental influence. This is immediately evident in the first song ('On Wenlock Edge') where the tremolo strings create a colouristic effect under the piano depicting the wind, while the vocal line is more declamatory than in his earlier lyrical songs, a style he probably developed from his recent studies with Maurice Ravel (1875–1937).²⁶⁷ Alain Frogley claims that these months in Paris emancipated him from the Germanic and Italianate influences of his teachers and contemporaries.²⁶⁸ The song also demonstrates Vaughan Williams's maturing writing style; it is largely based around the Mixolydian mode of G, but the opening accompaniment uses the Dorian mode while the vocal line initially uses the pentatonic scale, which is imitated in the piano at the end of the piece.²⁶⁹

It is clear that Vaughan Williams was developing a style where he infused his harmonic language with modal and chromatic elements. The cycle is indicative of Vaughan Williams's particular type of modernity, which would become identified with the future direction of British music.²⁷⁰ *On Wenlock Edge* became a staple of concert repertory in England in the early twentieth century, far surpassing any achievement of both Stanford or Harty. The year previous to *On Wenlock Edge*'s publication Harty had written *Six Songs of Ireland*, in which he used conventional tonalities and engaged in chromatic harmonies in his more complex songs. Even though some of Harty's song writing became more advanced, he would still use a late romantic tonal language from which Vaughan Williams moved away. While Harty's songs often contain modal qualities, the harmonic possibilities were never explored in the manner of Vaughan Williams's songs.

Another important reason for the success of Vaughan Williams's songs was his choice of poetry. The standard of text set by Vaughan Williams was notably higher than the verse of Moira O'Neill or Winifred Mary Letts. *Songs of Travel* was a setting of poems by Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894), who in the years after his death was lauded in Britain as one of the

²⁶⁷ Hugh Ottaway & Alain Frogley, 'Vaughan Williams'

²⁶⁸ Alain Frogley, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 15 August 2016).

²⁶⁹ Gary Michael Lawler, *A Critical Analysis of "On Wenlock Edge" by Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Central Washington State College, 1966), 25–26.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 66.

great classic writers.²⁷¹ Stephen Banfield highlights the cultural importance of the cycle, writing that the romantic wayfaring imagery of the voyager was as relevant to early twentieth-century England as Schubert's *Die Winterreise* was to nineteenth-century Vienna.²⁷² Alfred Houseman's collection *A Shropshire Lad* deals with the themes of death and desolation in a more realist manner than the poetry Stanford set. For instance, in 'On Wenlock Edge' the narrator creates an image of the wind blowing hard against the woods of Wenlock Edge and uses this as a metaphor for an inner turmoil. He reflects that this turmoil is not only suffered by him, but could be suffered by a Roman soldier standing in the same place many years ago. Finally he prophesises about his own fate, which will be the same as the Roman soldier.²⁷³ Like the poetry of Moira O'Neill and Winifred Mary Letts, there is strong sense of countryside, in this instance Shropshire, however Houseman presents it in a far less sentimentalised manner. As the century progressed, while O'Neill and Letts's poetry would become dated, Houseman's poetry became extremely popular. His pessimistic themes and pre-occupation with death connected with the British public, particularly during the First World War.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Vaughan Williams he had developed one of the most distinctive musical identities of the century.²⁷⁴ His combination of a harmonic language espoused by Ravel and Debussy with the modal influence of Tudor and Stuart formed the basis for his individual brand of musical nationalism. The outbreak of World War One stimulated an outpouring of nationalism, leading to a rejection of the old-fashioned Victorian or Edwardian values that were synonymous with the music of Stanford and Parry.²⁷⁵ The folk-imbued idioms of Ralph Vaughan Williams led to him being heralded as the new English visionary of twentieth-century composition.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ Richard Drury, 'Robert Louis Stevenson's Critical Reception,' *The Robert Louis Stevenson Archive* (<http://robert-louis-stevenson.org/>, 6 December 2017).

²⁷² Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century*, 83.

²⁷³ *The Houseman Society* (<http://www.housman-society.co.uk/wenlock-edge-woods-trouble.htm>, 6 December 2017).

²⁷⁴ Hugh Ottaway & Alain Frogley, 'Vaughan Williams.'

²⁷⁵ Jeremy Dibble, 'Parry, Stanford and Vaughan Williams: The Creation of Tradition,' in Lewis Foreman (ed.), *Vaughan Williams in Perspective: Studies of an English Composer* (Colchester: Albion Press, 1998), 429.

²⁷⁶ John Caldwell, *England*, Oxford Music Online (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016).

PART TWO: ISSUES IN IRELAND

i. Politics

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Dublin was a mass of contradictions in terms of divisions of class and culture. It was the home of the rich and poor, native and immigrants, Nationalists and Unionists and many people of different religious backgrounds, including Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Quakers.²⁷⁷ Dublin's housing situation was notorious and some 37% of families lived in one-room accommodation in 1900. Along with this came a poor diet and high rates of typhoid and tuberculosis.²⁷⁸ Though conditions in rural Ireland had improved after the Famine, these had not been matched in Dublin. However, the city fathers in Dublin Corporation saw no need to undertake any sort of remedy, either because they felt nothing could be achieved until Home Rule was granted or perhaps because a number were beneficial owners of tenement slums.²⁷⁹

Political tensions were also heightened in the opening years of the twentieth century. The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 saw clashes between Unionists and Nationalists on the streets of Dublin and Ulster. The three week visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin in 1900 to boost army recruitment was well received, indicating that there was still support for the Union, with many Union-owned businesses decorating the 'royal route' from Kingstown to the Phoenix Park with bunting and flags.²⁸⁰ In a bid to prevent enlistment to the British Army, *Ighnidhne na hÉireann* (Daughters of Erin) was founded by Maud Gonne (1866–1953) in 1900, which later became *Cumann na mBan* in 1914.²⁸¹ Arthur Griffith also brought together various political and cultural organisations under the umbrella of *Cumann na nGaedheal*, which turned into *Sinn Féin*.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ *The National Archives of Ireland* (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/dublin/main.html>, 2 August 2016).

²⁷⁸ Thomas Barlett, *Ireland: A History*, 357.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 357

²⁸⁰ Daniel Mulhall, 'Ireland at the Turn of the Century,' *20th Century / Contemporary History: Features*, 7/4 (Winter 1999) (<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/ireland-at-the-turn-of-the-century/>, 2 August 2016).

²⁸¹ Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement*. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 73.

²⁸² This was a political organisation formed in 1900, as opposed to the political party *Cumann na nGaedheal* founded in 1923; Mulhall, 'Ireland at the Turn of the Century.'

Another event that highlighted the social unrest in Dublin was The Lockout of 1913. This bitter and sometimes violent confrontation between 400 Dublin employers and 20,000 workers caused the loss of 200,000 working days.²⁸³ The most notable incident occurred on 31 August 1913, which was referred to as Bloody Sunday, when the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary injured between 400 and 600 people in baton charges on O'Connell Street.²⁸⁴ This led to the formation of the Irish Citizen Army for the defence of workers' demonstrations and this group would ultimately take part in the Easter Rising of 1916.²⁸⁵

In 1913, Irish nationalists established the military organisation, the Irish Volunteer Force, which was a response to the founding of the Ulster Volunteer Force that vowed to resist any attempts by the British Government to impose Home Rule.²⁸⁶ In 1914, Ireland was on the verge of civil war and while the Home Rule Act was passed by Parliament in Westminster, both this and the threat of conflict were postponed by the outbreak of World War One. However, over the coming years Dublin would suffer severely from outbreaks of violence; 482 were killed in the 1916 Easter Rising, a further 309 were killed in the 1919–21 War of Independence and another 230 people died in the civil war of 1922–23.²⁸⁷ The Easter Rising of 1916 was particularly destructive to Dublin's urban landscape, with eighty buildings being either fully or partially destroyed.²⁸⁸ By 1923, Dublin was now the capital of the Irish Free State, an independent state that governed 26 of the 32 counties on the island.²⁸⁹

While Harty's links with the Royal Irish Academy of Music and the Feis Ceoil, and the fact that he continued to perform in Ireland, meant that he was remembered as an Irish

²⁸³ David Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland Since 1870,' 226.

²⁸⁴ Pdraig Yeates, 'The Dublin 1913 Lockout,' *20th Century / Contemporary History: Features*, 9/2 (Summer 2001) (<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/the-dublin-1913-lockout/>, 3 August 2016).

²⁸⁵ Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 41.

²⁸⁶ Bartlett, *Ireland a History*, 372.

²⁸⁷ Eunan O'Halpin, 'Counting Terror' in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Terror in Ireland: 1916–23* (Dublin: Lilliput Press / Trinity History Workshop, 2012), 150–52; John Dorney, 'Casualties of the Irish Civil War in Dublin,' *The Irish Story* (<http://www.theirishstory.com/2012/06/19/casualties-of-the-irish-civil-war-in-dublin/#.V6luKesrLIX>, August 2016).

²⁸⁸ Hugh Linehan, 'Nothing radical: the rebuilding of Dublin,' *Irish Times* (<http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/nothing-radical-the-rebuilding-of-dublin-1.2663237>, 3 August 2016).

²⁸⁹ In 1920, the UK Parliament passed the Government of Ireland Act, which repealed the Home Rule Act of 1914 and partitioned Ireland into North and South. While it was set up in Northern Ireland, it never took effect in Southern Ireland due to the War of Independence, which resulted in the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922; Bartlett, *Ireland a History*, 405–06.

musician, Stanford's status as an Irish composer after liberation from Britain has sometimes been considered as being more problematic. Paul Rodmell writes that Stanford was a member of a demographic group that tried to maintain a social and religious aloofness from the greater part of Irish society, since it arrived through colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁹⁰ Stanford's admiration for the British Monarchy can also be judged from his publication in 1900 of an arrangement of the Alfred Percival Graves song 'The Wearin' of the Green,' celebrating the impending visit of Queen Victoria to Ireland. Rodmell argues that Stanford's implicit approval of such a text not only encapsulates his dual nationality, but expresses his imperial belief that Ireland should be seen as an equal part of the British Empire.²⁹¹ This does not mean that Stanford did not consider himself to be Irish though; his membership of the Irish Literary Society and support of the Feis Ceoil would indicate that he was greatly interested in Irish culture and felt an affinity to the country of his birth. However, given that he settled in Cambridge and helped fuel the 'renaissance' in British music at the end of the nineteenth century, some have argued that he should not be considered to be an Irish composer; Arnold Bax illustrated this perception when he wrote in his autobiography, 'Stanford simply wasn't Irish enough.'²⁹²

Stanford's failure or refusal to portray an Ireland in some form of conflict with Britain is possibly one of the reasons the songs quickly seemed dated. 'The West Wind,' the final song of the 1914 collection *A Fire of Turf* for example offered Stanford scope enough to create heartfelt expression of contemporary issues. The poem describes the wind and, ultimately, nature's dominance over civilisation. It has the potential to provide a strong political commentary, with the storm perhaps being interpreted as the winds of change. However, from Stanford's conservative political standpoint, he would not have been interested in referencing the 'stormy' disputes in Ireland, such as The Lockout and he does not relate the songs to contemporary Ireland. Apart from the obvious fact that Stanford had not lived in Ireland since 1870, his home life was far removed from the peasantry often displayed in his songs. As Stephen Banfield points out, his songs about the Irish countryside were written in the comfortable surroundings of urban Kensington.²⁹³ Furthermore, his portrayal of tranquil Ireland was at odds with the political and social situations of the time. It did not match the

²⁹⁰ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 385.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 390.

²⁹² Arnold Bax, *Farewell My Youth: An Autobiography* (London: Longman Green & Co, 1949), 27.

²⁹³ Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century*, 32.

gritty, more ‘realistic’ Ireland portrayed in works such as John Millington Synge’s (1871–1909) *The Playboy of the Western World*, nor did his romantic portrayals of Ireland capture the same mystique found in Yeats’s poetry.²⁹⁴

It is perhaps unusual that Stanford’s Irish art songs contain no political statements given his own convictions as a Unionist. In 1913, when the House of Commons had passed the Home Rule Bill, Stanford gave his allegiance to Edward Carson (1854–1935) and James Craig (1871–1940), the leaders of the Ulster Unionists in a letter in 1913.²⁹⁵ He further publicly declared his allegiance to armed resistance to Home Rule in a letter to his colleague Sedley Taylor (1834–1920) and in a letter to *The Times* declared that ‘Ireland does not want Home Rule.’²⁹⁶ Towards the end of his life, Stanford became disillusioned with Ireland’s new direction. His student, Herbert Howells, wrote of his teacher;

If he spoke of Ireland it was in such wise as to make him appear an embittered political son of a country he by then loved only in part which so moved to the tune of Edward Carson and James Craig so that I could not feel the gentler antecedents of his love for Dublin.²⁹⁷

It is possible that Stanford felt art songs were not suitable for such commentary. Michael Murphy notes that as well as being considered a serious composer, Stanford was also an entertainer.²⁹⁸ It is likely that Stanford considered his art songs as ‘lighter’ or as something less serious than his symphonic or instrumental works, and his Irish art songs were written purely as entertainment for the British middle class, and hence contain no reference to current affairs.

Hamilton Harty’s Irish art songs also contain no relevance to political events in Ireland, with Harty completely ignoring the issue in his 1926 *Antrim and Donegal* collection. Since 1922, Donegal had been part of the Irish Free State and Antrim part of the United Kingdom, but Harty was clearly indifferent to this new political division. Harty regularly returned to Dublin throughout his career, principally to consult with Esposito, but also to see his colleagues at RIAM and to give occasional concerts. He was well-respected throughout the capital, which was demonstrated by the prominence of his songs and small instrumental works on the syllabus

²⁹⁴ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 398.

²⁹⁵ Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician*, 403.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 404.

²⁹⁷ Christopher Palmer, *Herbert Howells: A Centenary Celebration* (East Sussex: Thames, 1992), 285.

²⁹⁸ Murphy, *Race, Nation and Empire in the Music of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford*, 55.

of the Feis Ceoil and by the regular performances of his orchestral works by the DOS.²⁹⁹ In spite of the growing tensions caused by the campaign for Home Rule and the political unrest throughout Ulster, it is clear from the amount of Irish themed works that he produced, Harty's affinity for his home nation remained strong, as did his popularity with audiences on both sides of the new border. For instance, in January 1925, Harty conducted a revision of his *Irish Symphony* with the Hallé Orchestra to a packed Ulster Hall in Belfast, and they performed in Dublin the next day, commemorating his compatriot Charles Villiers Stanford who had died the previous year, with a performance of his *First Irish Rhapsody*. His 1912 work *Variations on a Dublin Air* also demonstrates his affection for the city. The *Musical Times* in 1920 accurately surmised Harty's allegiances, writing that he is 'Irish to the core, but is not a musical nationalist.'³⁰⁰ While his Irish art songs were written specifically for the London concert-going audience, they reflect his own coexisting identities of being both British and Irish. Being Irish was almost considered as a regional identity when Ireland was part of the United Kingdom and Harty once declared he had regarded himself as a British musician with an Irish accent.³⁰¹ While Stanford was candid about his views against Home Rule in Ireland, Harty was never so publicly forthright in his opinions and his choice of poetry also reflected his political indifference.

ii. Identity

Edmund Hunt has written that one of the barriers to the widespread recognition of English-based Irish composers in the early part of the twentieth century was the complexity of Irish identity.³⁰² After partition, there was now a clear dichotomy between North and South, Protestant and Catholic and Unionist and Nationalist. Brian Graham wrote that the very essence of Unionism is vested in the assumption that the Irish Catholic community label it as an 'Other,' a supposition that seems to negate the complex diversity of Irish society, geography and history.³⁰³ Raymond Deane suggested that Stanford's avowed Unionism until only recently excluded him from consideration as an Irish composer.³⁰⁴ This situation may explain why

²⁹⁹ Dibble, *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath*, 75.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

³⁰² Hunt, 'A National School of Music such as the World has Never Seen: Re-appropriating the Early Twentieth Century into a Chronology of Irish Composition,' 62.

³⁰³ Brian Graham, *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), 2.

³⁰⁴ Raymond Deane, 'Exploding the Continuum - The utopia of unbroken tradition,' *Raymond Deane* (http://www.raymonddeane.com/articles_results.php?id=11, March 13, 2013).

composers who emigrated or grew up as Unionists in Ireland have been described as British, or have been called Anglo-Irish, as if they were a different category of Irish.³⁰⁵ While the definition of nationalism in other areas of our social and cultural life has become more pluralist, Deane argues that classical music is the one domain that is struggling to accept the notion that you can be simultaneously Irish and British.³⁰⁶

Although Stanford left Ireland at the age of eighteen, he always considered himself to be an Irishman, but within the context of being British. The problem he and other emigrant Irish composers of this time subsequently faced was that the prevailing Gaelic culture in the 1920s was at odds with the type of Ireland in which they were raised and, as such, their legitimacy as Irish citizens was subsequently judged against different political circumstances. Stanford and Harty were Irish, as well as being British, but the concept of having dual nationality was less acceptable for some in the era of the Free State. However, within the context of British art music it was possible to have an Irish identity, with English composers who engaged with Irish subject matter being sometimes considered as ‘Irish composers.’ For example, Ernest Moeran and Arnold Bax both incorporated Irish themes in their work and were, along with John Larchet and Hamilton Harty, referred to as the ‘Celtic Twilight School.’³⁰⁷

Indeed, Trevor Hold asserts that Bax expressed a spirit and soul of Celtic nationalism in his music that no Irish-born composer was able to.³⁰⁸ In his songs he used authors commonly used by Stanford and Harty, including Moira O’Neill and Padraic Colum.³⁰⁹ He also set one text by John Millington Synge, ‘Beg-Innish,’ as part of his *Five Irish Songs* in 1921. Séamus de Barra describes Bax’s perception of Ireland as a country in which ‘a little reality was blended with much imagination.’³¹⁰ When he visited Ireland, he donned an alter-ego, writing poetry, short stories and plays under the pseudonym ‘Dermot O’Byrne,’ whom he described as a

³⁰⁵ George Bernard Shaw called Charles Villiers Stanford ‘a kind of Anglo-Irish Dvořák;’ Deane, ‘Exploding the Continuum.’

³⁰⁶ Deane, ‘Exploding the Continuum.’

³⁰⁷ Hunt, ‘A National School of Music such as the World has Never Seen: Re-appropriating the Early Twentieth Century into a Chronology of Irish Composition,’ 63.

³⁰⁸ Hold, *Parry to Finzi, Twenty English Song-Composers*, 215.

³⁰⁹ Lewis Foreman, ‘Bax, Sir Arnold,’ *Oxford Music Online (Oxford Music Online)* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 7 August 2016).

³¹⁰ Séamus de Barra, ‘Into the Twilight: Arnold Bax and Ireland,’ *The Journal of Music* (<http://journalofmusic.com/focus/twilight-arnold-bax-and-ireland>, 18 September 2016).

‘second personality.’³¹¹ Visiting Ireland was an escape for Bax, who kept his style of Celtic writing separate from his career in England. Moeran, who could claim Irish heritage, collected many English folk songs, as well as Irish folk songs, a fact that highlights the overlap between the music of the English school and of the Celtic Twilight composers; both contain modal harmonies, melodies derived from folk song and pastoral subject matter.³¹²

In the early years of the Free State, a new generation of composers emerged who were to stay and make their careers in their native land. However, Gareth Cox’s suggestion that until the 1940s Irish art music constituted a local branch of Anglo-Saxon music, reflecting the shifts and changes in English composition, serves to demonstrate that the thorny issues of national identity that underpin interpretations of Stanford and Harty were not easily solved.³¹³

iii. Comparisons with Eastern Europe

The rise in popularity of the folk song, coupled with the tendency of composers to incorporate aspects of folk idioms in their music, led to some commentators comparing this period in Britain and Ireland to superficially similar periods in other European countries where examples could be found of composers finding literary or musical inspiration in folk art or nationalistic ideas.³¹⁴ Antonín Dvořák, for instance, wrote over 100 songs and duets based on folk poetry and he frequently included elements of folk music from Moravia and Bohemia in his own work.³¹⁵ There was a similar movement to the English Folk Song Society in Poland, where from 1904, folk music began to be recorded on the phonograph, and Władysław Skierkowski (1886–1941) collected over two thousand folk songs from the Kurpie region, north of Warsaw.³¹⁶ However, as these folk movements in Czechoslovakia and Poland were more regionalised than those in Britain and Ireland, leading to greater differences in musical style, they are not particularly relatable to the type of quasi-folk songs written by Stanford and Harty.

³¹¹ Bax, *Farewell My Youth: An Autobiography*, 47.

³¹² Hunt, ‘A National School of Music such as the World has Never Seen: Re-appropriating the Early Twentieth Century into a Chronology of Irish Composition,’ 63.

³¹³ Gareth Cox, ‘The Development of Twentieth-Century Irish Art-Music,’ in Herman Danuser, & Plebuch, Tobias (eds.), *Musik als Text: Bericht Über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1993* (2 vols., London, c. 1998), vol. 2, 560–62 (560).

³¹⁴ See David Matthews, ‘The Music of English Pastoral,’ in Anthony Barnett & Roger Scruton, *Town and Country* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1998), 81–90.

³¹⁵ Klaus Döge, ‘Antonin Dvořák,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016).

³¹⁶ Katarzyna Morawska, et al, Poland, *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016); Luke Benjamin Howard, *A reluctant requiem: the history and reception of Henryk M. Gorecki's Symphony no. 3 in Britain and the United States* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1994), 48.

Jan Smaczny has drawn an interesting parallel between the political and cultural climates of the Czech lands and Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, arguing that both jurisdictions were ruled by an aristocracy that shared neither their religion nor language.³¹⁷ He further compares Dublin to Prague as ‘second cities’ in their empires in the nineteenth century, where nationalism in these circumstances was powerful in the politics of both of these countries.³¹⁸ Smaczny claims the ‘divergence’ between the two cultures can be seen in the fact that there was no Irish Dvořák or Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884), and contrasts the lack of popularity of Harty’s *An Irish Symphony* (1904) in Ireland to the favourable reception of Dvořák’s music.³¹⁹ While Smaczny attributes this primarily to the inability of the Irish melodies used by Harty to transcend their locality, he only briefly acknowledges in passing the more important issue, namely the qualitative difference between the compositions of Dvořák and Harty.

While the similarities between the political and cultural histories of the two cities are noteworthy to a certain extent, the differences, particularly in relation to the position of music, are far greater. In reviewing the article, Niall Ó Ciosáin highlights that Smaczny does not elaborate on the point that folk song collection in the Czech Lands was slow, and the first such collections were encouraged by the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of Music Friends), which charged all provincial governments in the Austrian Empire with fostering folk song collection.³²⁰ Ó Ciosáin correctly states that there was no official or semi-official body in Ireland which encouraged collecting of folk songs, possibly because the British State influenced the absence of a nationalistic art music in Ireland, as well as in Scotland and Wales, when compared to the Austrian Empire.³²¹ Furthermore, investment in the artistic scene in the two cities in the previous hundred years differs greatly. Bohemia’s long history as a centre for music and music education is reflected in Charles Burney’s description of it as the ‘Conservatoire of Europe.’³²² Prague as the second city in the Austrian Empire was the location

³¹⁷ ‘Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences’ in Murphy & Smaczny (eds.), *Music in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, 278–279.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 281–282.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 291–292.

³²⁰ Niall Ó Ciosáin, ‘Missing Pieces,’ *The Journal of Music* (<http://journalofmusic.com/focus/missing-pieces>), 7 December 2017).

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Christopher Hogwood & Jan Smaczny, The Bohemian Lands in Neal Zaslaw (ed.), *Man and Music: The Classical Era from the 1740s to the end of the 18th Century* (London: The MacMillan Press, 1989), 188–212 (188).

of the premieres of Mozart's operas *Don Giovanni* and *La clemenza di Tito* in the late eighteenth century and indeed Hogwood and Smaczny suggest that Mozart's greater success in Prague than Vienna was due to the Czechs' superior musical education and background.³²³ The contrast with Ireland could hardly be greater. During the nineteenth century Prague continued to be a music centre of high quality, attracting many distinguished musicians and composers. The Prague Conservatory also grew in importance, especially after merging with the Prague Organ School in 1890.³²⁴ This situation differs hugely with the marginalised musical scene in Dublin, with little infrastructure or investment from the British Government. In such circumstances it is understandable that Ireland failed to produce its own 'Smetana or Dvořák.'

³²³ *Ibid.*, 210.

³²⁴ J. Bužga, Adrienne Simpson & Jitka Slavíková, 'Prague,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://oxfordmusiconline.com>, 11 December 2017).

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MUSIC SCENE IN IRELAND

i. Musical Structures

Harry White argues that the most significant factor to hinder the development of art music in Ireland in the nineteenth century was the ‘impoverished condition’ of music literacy and education throughout the country.³²⁵ Ireland’s music education system had been tied to the British Government’s educational policy and resources were not committed to raising it to anything more than subsistence level.³²⁶ Outside of the Cathedrals, musical education was confined to a few institutions, such as TCD and RIAM, access to which required a degree of wealth. Matters were improved when a Cork Municipal School of Music was established in 1887, and a Dublin Municipal School of Music in 1890, catering for a slightly wider population.³²⁷

Marie McCarthy’s *Passing It On* provides a comprehensive examination of how cultural perspectives affected music education in Ireland. She argues that in the nineteenth century, music played a significant role in defining the identity of sub-cultural groups, and different sub-cultural groups had access to different forms of education. Classical music was dominant in the culture of the Ascendancy, whereas the poorer native Irish were excluded and participated in a music culture that developed from folk music.³²⁸ The nationalist movement in the late nineteenth century would become particularly influential in determining the course of ideas about musical education, with the Gaelic League in particular attempting to reconstruct a Gaelic past.³²⁹ As cultural nationalism intensified at the turn of the century, many felt that established academies were not fulfilling their roles as national schools, with William Henry Grattan Flood criticising both RIAM and the Dublin Municipal School of Music for their un-Irish character.³³⁰ We have seen how Annie Patterson attempted to develop both classical and traditional music collectively as part of the Feis Ceoil, a concept which ultimately failed.³³¹ Patterson also suggested that both strands should be incorporated into musical education, with traditional musicians receiving classical training and that ‘cultured’ musicians should teach

³²⁵ White, *The Keeper’s Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970*, 102.

³²⁶ Pine, *Music in Ireland 1848–1998: An Overview*, 19.

³²⁷ Fleischmann, *Music in Ireland*, 113–115.

³²⁸ McCarthy, *Passing it On: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture*, 43.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 72.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

³³¹ See Chapter 1 section v.

music at every branch of the Gaelic League.³³² However, McCarthy writes that interactions between both genres were minimal, given that the two forms had developed in two different socio-cultural worlds, while Richard Pine claims that such a binary relationship resulted in a situation in which the two traditions failed to accommodate each other.³³³ As traditional music became a nationwide phenomenon, classical music functioned within a system of competition and examination, which was in part imported from the British system.

Benjamin Dwyer discusses the impact of Ireland's cultural shift on art music in his book *Different Voices*, writing that a society that was profoundly wedded to the interests of large farmers, professional classes and businessmen, lacked the 'social refinement to value classical music as a vital cultural asset.'³³⁴ While this may be an oversimplification of Dublin's socio-economic landscape, it is indicative of the emergence of a rural class and of the decline of the Ascendancy. This group had suffered sizable casualties in the First World War, and was largely swept aside in politics with the emergence of Sinn Féin. Landlords were also effectively replaced as most Irish farmers became the owners of their own holdings. The growth of rural Ireland saw the emergence of a political system that was preoccupied with espousing Gaelic culture.³³⁵ Art music was the pursuit of a declining class and was afforded little consideration by a newly established state with limited resources. This condition was not unique to Ireland, with Axel Klein writing that classical music was not the music of the majority of the population in many countries, and had belonged to a class that had access to higher education for centuries.³³⁶

The foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 meant that a newly liberated Ireland would try to define itself as being separate from Britain. Colonial rule, particularly in the nineteenth century, sought to undermine Gaelic social structures, the Catholic Church and the Gaelic language; therefore, Irish nationalists who founded the state promoted Gaelic culture and traditional folk music. The method of establishing a new cultural identity was essentially one of rebranding; the Royal Irish Constabulary was replaced by An Garda Síochána, and the parliament was named Dáil Éireann to conceal its similarity to Westminster. Declan Kiberd

³³² Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspective*, 242.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 78; Pine, *Music in Ireland 1848–1998: An Overview*, 18.

³³⁴ Dwyer, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland*, 57.

³³⁵ Joseph Lee, *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 75.

³³⁶ Axel Klein, 'Roots and directions in twentieth-century art music' in Gareth Cox & Axel Klein (eds.), *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 169.

describes this as an ingenious device of national parallelism, whereby it was felt that the Irish could not claim anything characteristic of England as their own, but on the other hand, it would cause an inferiority complex if they did not have it. He cites Gaelic football as a substitute for soccer as being a classic case of instant archaeology, while it was ‘definitely not a game known to Cuchulain.’³³⁷

The formation of the Free State and the emergence of a new identity in the nation’s psyche would pose challenges for art music. After the formation of the first Dáil in 1919, a ‘Ministry for Fine Arts’ was formed, but it only lasted a total period of nineteen weeks.³³⁸ It appears that the only reason for its establishment was because Eamon de Valera (1882–1975) thought that it would give ‘the appearance of stability and progressiveness to their affairs.’³³⁹ The logic that De Valera applied to the arts is evident from his declaration that they should be encouraged when they observed the ‘holiest’ traditions, but should be censored when they failed to live up to this ideal.³⁴⁰

The shift from a structure that served an elite minority exclusively, to a municipal institution to serve the wider public would have required a radical shift in infrastructure and considerable investment.³⁴¹ John Larchet wrote to the newly formed Government, outlining the importance of art in general education and arguing that it was the duty of the state to come forward and encourage musical bodies.³⁴² Thereafter, he along with his colleague in RIAM Arthur Darley (1873–1929) submitted a proposal for the establishment of a national academy of music in Ireland.³⁴³ The response of William T. Cosgrave (1880–1965), the president of the Government and acting Finance Minister following the death of Michael Collins (1890–1922), was that the financial conditions were such that he would not be justified in making such grants available.³⁴⁴ Instead, then-Minister for Education Eoin McNeill (1867–1945) decided that the

³³⁷ Declan Kiberd, ‘Irish Literature and Irish History,’ in Foster, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*, 320.

³³⁸ 26 August 1921 – 9 January 1922; Marie McCarthy, ‘Music Education in the Emergent Nation State,’ in Pine (ed.), *Music in Ireland 1848–1988*, 73.

³³⁹ Charles Townshend, *The Republic: The Fight of Irish Independence* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 324.

³⁴⁰ Brian Kennedy, *Dreams and Responsibilities: The State and the Arts in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: The Arts Council, 1990), 31.

³⁴¹ Dwyer, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland*, 40.

³⁴² Karol Anne Mullaney-Dignam, ‘State, Nation and Music in Independent Ireland, 1922-51,’ (Ph.D. diss. NUI Maynooth, 2008), 169.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

primary goal of the educational system should be the revival of the Irish language. Pádraig Ó Brocháin (1876–1934), CEO of National Education stated:

It is the intention of the new government to work with all its might for the strengthening of the national fibre, by giving the language, history, music and tradition of Ireland their natural place in the life of Irish schools.³⁴⁵

The Irish language came to dominate the cultural agenda of national schools and singing in the classroom was used as a tool for the teaching of Irish. Larchet had recommended, in a submission to the government, that singing classes were vital in all aspects of education because they were the most accessible basis of all music culture and indispensable to further progress.³⁴⁶ However, the curriculum recommended that all songs should be in the Irish language and taught through the medium of Irish. This was put into practice in April 1922 and as a result, the tonic sol-fa system became linked to the teaching of Irish language songs, rather than being regarded as a fundamental basis in musical education.³⁴⁷ Although Irish language songs dominated school music, the Department of Education's reports and teacher's journals indicate that the teaching of these songs was fraught with problems from the outset. Children had great difficulty learning the words and some teachers argued that it was not a musical process at all, given that learning the words presented more of a strain and took precedence over any musical concerns.³⁴⁸ As a result, other aspects of the music curriculum were neglected. Whereas the policy of reviving the Irish language in schools was successful officially, in so much as the programme was implemented, its legacy to music education and to Irish song is questionable. Although singing was promoted, it was seen more as a means of reviving the Irish language and promoting a Catholic ethos, and political ideologies dominated the rationale for and content of the music curriculum. Furthermore, no music specialists were employed to teach music and classroom teachers received minimal specialist education in music.³⁴⁹

Reports compiled by state inspectors examining the teaching of various subjects in 1924 show that children did not appear to have gained much musical knowledge in a technical

³⁴⁵ Marie McCarthy, 'Ireland: Curriculum Development in troubled times,' in Gareth Cox, & Robin Stevens (eds.), *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education: Cross Cultural Historical Studies of Music in Compulsory Schooling* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 70.

³⁴⁶ Larchet, 'A plea for music,' 3–4.

³⁴⁷ McCarthy, 'Ireland: Curriculum Development in troubled times,' 70.

³⁴⁸ Marie McCarthy, 'Music Education in the Emergent Nation State,' 68.

³⁴⁹ McCarthy, 'Ireland: Curriculum Development in troubled times,' 72.

or general educative sense through compulsory singing classes. Furthermore, music as a primary school subject was often referred to by using different titles, such as ‘singing,’ or ‘vocal music’ in official correspondence by consecutive Ministers for Education in Dáil Éireann, highlighting the indifference to music at the government level. Music’s problematic existence within the education system was symptomatic of its position throughout Irish society.³⁵⁰ At an Annual Congress of the Irish National Teachers Organisation in 1926, it was argued that there was a national indifference to and contempt for music, and that the state of music in education was a reflection of its state in national life.³⁵¹ A similar commentary was supplied by John Larchet, who was Ireland’s most prominent figure in classical music at the time of the formation of the Free State. In his 1923 article ‘A Plea for Music’ he wrote that musical education in the country was ‘fundamentally unsound,’ and that the subject of music in schools was ‘the Cinderella of the curriculum.’³⁵²

ii. The Popular Ballad Tradition

John Larchet also provided a wider critique of the music scene in his ‘A Plea for Music’ article. According to Larchet, the only forms of musical entertainment in Dublin were ballad concerts and ‘a certain type of opera.’³⁵³ The ballad concerts were heavily patronised and their sole value was to make a considerable profit for their promoters in London. Apart from a few operatic arias, which Larchet felt had little value when separated from their opera, the remaining items were sentimental ballads, ending with a ‘top-note’ that was the ‘sole excuse for the song,’ eliciting applause from a musically indifferent audience. Clearly unimpressed with such songs and conventions, Larchet wrote:

Even the final cadential harmonies of the accompaniment are usually drowned in an outburst of premature applause, and I have myself heard an artist interrupted in Dublin, in the middle of an item, to enable the audience to display their ill-timed admiration of a difficult piece of vocal gymnastics. I mention the incident principally to show the very low level of good taste and artistic appreciation prevalent in Dublin.³⁵⁴

It is clear from Larchet’s critique that Dublin’s audiences still appreciated the conventions of operatic arias, from a time during which touring companies had dominated the landscape. It

³⁵⁰ Mullaney-Dignam, ‘State, Nation and Music in Independent Ireland, 1922-51,’ 294–5.

³⁵¹ Denis Breen, ‘School-Music – It’s Place in National Life,’ *The Irish School Weekly*, 77 (1 May 1926), 558.

³⁵² Larchet, ‘A plea for music,’ 1.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

was in these circumstances that Ireland's emerging talent would have to function, and several Irish composers would write this type of song.

One of the most prolific Irish composers of the popular ballad song was Alicia Adelaide Needham (1863–1945). Born in Oldcastle, Co. Meath, Needham studied in the Royal Academy of Music (RAM), receiving a Licentiate of the Academy in 1889 and passing examinations to the Associateship of the RCM in 1893.³⁵⁵ The British Library holds more than 200 publications of hers, mainly published between 1894 and 1917, though she wrote over 700 compositions over her career, most of which were songs which Axel Klein describes as having an 'Irish traditional flavour.'³⁵⁶ Her only song to be recorded is 'Husheen,' with words by Francis Fahy (1854–1935), which was published in 1897 and recorded in 1930 by contralto Clara Butt (1872–1936).³⁵⁷ The song is in D major and Needham generally uses simple chords in the piano part which double a largely syllabic vocal line:

Fig. 20. Needham, 'Husheen' [bars 5–8].

The musical score for 'Husheen' (bars 5-8) is presented in three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, with lyrics: 'who is this that soft - ly lies At my heart's door with drowsy eyes, While'. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment in the right hand, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment in the left hand. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The piano part features simple chords that support the syllabic vocal line.

Frederick St John Lacy (1862–1935) from Cork also had a small amount of ballad-type songs published in London. Lacy was educated at RAM and after becoming an Associate of RAM in 1888 he returned to Cork in 1900.³⁵⁸ In 1901 his collection *Seven Songs of Ireland* was published in London by E. Ascherberg & Co. A review in *The Musical Times* on 1 January 1902 describes three of the songs as 'translations of Irish ballads,' and states that the other four songs were 'equally instinct with sentiment of the Emerald Isle.'³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Axel Klein, 'A Daughter of Music – Alicia Adelaide Needham's Anglo-Irish Life and Music,' (https://www.axelklein.de/app/.../AxelKlein_Needham-paper_Dublin+July+2009.pdf, 24 March 2017).

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ Alicia Adelaide Needham, *Husheen*, Clara Butt (contralto), compact disc Columbia DX729, 1930.

³⁵⁸ Seámus de Barra, *Aloys Fleischmann* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2006), 12.

³⁵⁹ 'Seven Songs of Ireland,' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 43/7 (1 January 1902), 33.

More famous than either of these however, is the love song ‘Macushla.’³⁶⁰ The song was written by Dublin based composer and critic Harold R. White (1872–1943), who composed under the pseudonym Dermot Macmurrogh, using lyrics by Josephine V. Rowe.³⁶¹ It was published in 1910 by Boosey & Co. and brought to international fame when John McCormack recorded it with orchestra the following year.³⁶² In typical ballad style the accompaniment shadows the vocal line throughout while the end of the song demonstrates the conventional ‘top note’ followed by a perfunctory piano conclusion which Larchet commented on so scathingly:

Fig. 21. Macmurrogh, ‘Macushla’ [bars 30–33].



This ballad-format was also used by Vincent O’Brien, who was a prominent figure in Dublin’s musical scene and was principally known as the organist and choir director in St. Mary’s Pro-Cathedral and founder of the Palestrina Choir.³⁶³ He studied at RIAM under Robert Prescott Stewart and he was a popular singing teacher, with his students including James Joyce (1882–1941), Margaret Burke-Sheridan (1889–1958) and John McCormack.³⁶⁴ This association with McCormack continued, as he played the piano accompaniment on McCormack’s first gramophone recordings and accompanied him during his three month tour of Australasia in 1913–14.³⁶⁵ In 1930, O’Brien wrote the song ‘The Fairy Tree,’ which he

³⁶⁰ Macushla is an anglicised form of the Gaelic ‘mo chuisle’ (my pulse), as used in the phrase ‘a chuisle mo chroí,’ (pulse of my heart). In this context though it is used as a way of saying ‘My Darling;’ Michael C. O’Laughlin, *Irish Song, Singers & Sheet Music: An Illustrated History* (Missouri: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 2010), 39.

³⁶¹ While little is known about Rowe, Henrietta McKervey notes that in a census of 1881 she is listed as a ‘pupil teacher’ in Kent and by 1889 she is based in Dublin, apparently soon to marry a clerk from Rathmines. She is not listed in the Irish 1901 census but a UK census of 1911 lists her as 50, unmarried, without children and in lodgings alone in Twickenham; Henrietta McKervey, ‘The search for Josephine Rowe,’ *Henrietta McKervey Blog* (<https://henriettamckervey.com/2015/01/25/the-search-for-josephine-rowe/>), 19 November 2016).

³⁶² Dermot Macmurrogh, *Macushla*, John McCormack (tenor), Victor Orchestra, compact disc Memoir Classics CDMOIR 418, 1993.

³⁶³ Kelin, *Die Musik Irlands im 20. Jahrhundert*, 442.

³⁶⁴ Kieran Daly, ‘Vincent O’Brien,’ in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 743; Pine, *Music in Ireland: 1848-1998*, 107.

³⁶⁵ Daly, ‘Vincent O’Brien,’ 743.

dedicated to John McCormack's wife Lily Foley (1886–1971), writing 'To Lily. Countess McCormack. In kind remembrance,' on the original score.³⁶⁶ This suggests that the O'Brien wrote the song specifically for McCormack to sing. The text was by Temple Lane, a pseudonym of Mary Isabel Leslie (1899–1978). Her style owes something to the popular style of Celtic Revivalism, and 'The Fairy Tree' mixes the pagan mythology of fairies with Christian imagery.³⁶⁷

The beginning of the song is light in texture with both the vocal line and piano part using quavers in 2/4 time. It continues in this manner until half way through the third verse when there is a change in tempo and a move from the tonic of C-sharp major to A major, at the point at which 'Katie Ryan' sees the face of 'Mary's Son' in the tree. The patter-like movement continues until the fourth verse, when O'Brien returns to C-sharp major and uses arpeggiated dotted minim chords in the piano. In the vocal line he employs the 'high-note' convention that Larchet bemoaned, with a tenuto on a high G-flat (the song has briefly gone to G-flat major), before the song returns to its original format to finish:

Fig. 22. O'Brien, 'The Fairy Tree' [bars 53–56].

The image shows a musical score for the song 'The Fairy Tree' by Vincent O'Brien, specifically bars 53 to 56. The score is written for voice and piano. The vocal line is in the treble clef, and the piano accompaniment is in the grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: 'When from a branch of Thorn tree. The crown I wore was made.' The piano part features arpeggiated chords and includes markings for 'ten.' (tenuto) and 'rall e dim.' (rallentando e diminuendo). The time signature is 2/4.

The song was recorded by John McCormack in 1930, which was the primary reason for its success.³⁶⁸ McCormack had a worldwide appeal, and his recordings illustrate the continuing appeal of the Irish ballad internationally. While 'The Fairy Tree' is more imaginative than 'Macushla,' it is still markedly different from the more complex songs of Stanford and Harty in both its simplicity and its cloying mix of fairy-tale and sentimental religiosity.

³⁶⁶ Vincent O'Brien, *The Fairy Tree* (London: J&W Chester: 1930), 1.

³⁶⁷ Deirdre Brady, 'An Irish Literary Set that was more Bloomsbury than Barstool,' *The Irish Times* (<http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/an-irish-literary-set-that-was-more-bloomsbury-than-barstool-1.2203909>, 16 January 2017).

³⁶⁸ Vincent O'Brien, *The Fairy Tree*, John McCormack (tenor), Edwin Schneider (pianist), compact disc ASV: CD AJA 5224, 1997 (recorded 1930); 'The Fairy Tree, Clogheen,' *Clogheen - Hidden Heart of Ireland* (<http://www.clogheen.net/the-fairy-tree-clogheen/>, 6 January 2017).

iii. The Gaelic Art Song

Annie Patterson, who was a musical adviser to the Gaelic League, was one of the first composers to try and establish a distinct form of original Irish art song in line with the prevailing Gaelic culture. In 1897, she wrote six songs for voice and piano which were performed at the inaugural Oireachtas na Gaeilge. These were published in a small pamphlet entitled *Six Original Gaelic Songs: The Words, Gaelic (Irish) and English, by various authors*.³⁶⁹ *Six Original Gaelic Songs* was subsequently published by Boosey & Co. in London. The lyrics were taken from various Irish authors with a Gaelic text being provided by Thomas O'Neill Russell (1828–1908). Patterson dedicated each song to supporters of the Feis Ceoil. They were meant to serve as a means of advertising the first Feis Ceoil and were performed several times in the lead-up to the competition.³⁷⁰

Patterson wrote in the preface to the songs that the volume could claim to be the first of its kind in three ways; it was a collection of new Gaelic lyrics, the melodies contained a strong sense of nationality and it combined the characteristic traits of ancient Irish music with modern song forms.³⁷¹ Her vocal lines are often syllabic, while her piano parts attempt to recreate a type of sound associated with playing traditional music. For instance, in 'Take up the Harp,' the piano part mimics the plucking of a harp with constant arpeggiated figures, whereas for 'The Skylark,' Patterson wrote that she was inspired by Giraldus Cambrensis' description of an Irish harp: 'the tinkling of the high strings over the heavier sound of the bass strings.'³⁷² This results in a typically light vocal line over an accompaniment of block chords in various rhythms:

³⁶⁹ Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives*, 163.

³⁷⁰ Jennifer O'Connor, 'The Role of Women in Music in Nineteenth-Century Dublin,' (Ph.D. diss. NUI Maynooth, 2010), 120.

³⁷¹ Annie Patterson, *Six Original Gaelic Songs* (London: Boosey & Co., 1896), 3.

³⁷² Patterson, *Six Original Gaelic Songs* 14; Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives*, 163.

Fig. 23. Patterson, ‘Take up the Harp,’ *Six Original Gaelic Songs* [bars 5–6].

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Take up the Harp'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The lyrics are: 'Take up again the sweet harp that's broken. / Tóg suas a-rís an chláir seach láris é. A'. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment, marked *p tempo* and *sempre legato*. The bottom staff is the bass line, also marked *p tempo* and *sempre legato*. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4.

Fig. 24. Patterson, ‘Skylark,’ *Six Original Gaelic Songs* [bars 13–15].

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Skylark'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The lyrics are: 'regions above in the sky? I've heard the harpnotes of / teach-tai-re tháisi-nic ó Dháir Do chua-la mé cláir-síghé na'. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, marked *mf*. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4.

However, this appears to be the limit of Patterson’s creativity, with every song in the collection effectively replicating the sound of a harp. Furthermore, this only has limited success with a heavier timbre of a piano.

These songs by Patterson were the first significant attempt to establish a form of Gaelic art song, however, they did not find a place in the song repertoire.³⁷³ This was possibly because the songs were used primarily to promote the Gaelic League and Feis Ceoil, rather than being designed to be performed as part of a concert repertory. For instance, Patterson conducted a choir that had been assembled specifically for the first performance of the songs at the inaugural Oireachtas na Gaeilge; these songs were presumably sung in unison, given that they were not written for SATB choir. This raises some questions as to their purpose, because there is no indication from the published collection if they were written for solo voice or choir; thus, the songs may have carried the wider social role of encouraging the singing of Irish, rather than being intended for performance by trained musicians. For the performance in 1897 in Dublin, the pamphlet included a paragraph by Patterson entitled ‘A Plea for the Gaelic Language,’ which suggests that promotion of the Irish language was the primary function.³⁷⁴ Patterson would also write an anthem for the Gaelic League, ‘Go mairidh ár nGaedhilg slán:

³⁷³ English composer Robert O’Dwyer would write similar works which also had a limited performance life, arranging many folk songs for the Gaelic League choir, and he composed an Irish language opera *Eithne* for the Oireachtas Festival in 1909; Axel Klein, ‘O’Dwyer, Robert,’ in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 760; Richard Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 32.

³⁷⁴ Dowling, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives*, 163.

Rallying song of the Gaelic League’ for SATB choir. The anthem with Gaelic text was published by Conradh na Gaedhilge in 1905, though the score indicates that it too was written specifically for first Oireachtas festival.³⁷⁵

While these songs were written specifically for the Gaelic League and Oireachtas na Gaeilge, Patterson composed a wide range of works, all inspired by Irish folklore and traditional music, given that she was committed to trying to fuse art music with the Irish cultural revival. These works included an oratorio entitled *Meta Tauta* and two operas, *Ardrigh’s Daughter* and *Oisin*.³⁷⁶ Unfortunately, these were all unpublished and no manuscripts of the works survive.

The other Irish composer to have art songs of this nature published in Ireland at this time was Thomas O’Brien Butler. He was born in Caherciveen, Co. Kerry in 1861; however, little is known of his upbringing and records of his musical education are slightly vague. One entry on the composer in *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* claims that he began his musical education in Italy and enrolled in the RCM in 1897, at the unusually advanced age of thirty-five under the name of Thomas Whitwell, where he studied with, among others, Charles Villiers Stanford.³⁷⁷ Elaine Harrington writes that he travelled to New Zealand under the adopted name of (Thomas) Whitwell Butler, before travelling to India and then Italy, studying privately in Milan with Alberto Giovanni (1843–1903) before enrolling at RCM.³⁷⁸

O’Brien Butler settled in Rathfarnham from 1900, the year in which his first song ‘My Little Red Colleen’ was published in Dublin by Pohlmann & Co. He wished to align himself with the Irish Literary Revival and Gaelic League and it is apparent from the diary entries of Lady (Isabella Augusta) Gregory (1852–1932) of May 1900 that he had made himself known to Yeats:

³⁷⁵ Annie Patterson, *Go mairidh ár nGaedhilg slán. Rallying song of the Gaelic League* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaedhilge, 1905).

³⁷⁶ O’Connor, ‘The Role of Women in Music in Nineteenth-Century Dublin,’ 119.

³⁷⁷ Nicolas Slonimsky (ed.), ‘Butler O’Brien,’ in *Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, Fourth Edition* (New York: Schirmer, 1940), 169. This information is repeated in Paul Rodmell, *Opera in the British Isles 1875–1918* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 228–9 and in Axel Klein, ‘Butler, [Thomas] O’Brien,’ in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 142.

³⁷⁸ Elaine Harrington, ‘Lost at Sea: Thomas O’Brien Butler and the RMS Lusitania,’ *University College Cork* (<http://blogs.ucc.ie/wordpress/theriverside/2015/05/20/lost-at-sea-thomas-butler-obrien-and-rms-lusitania/>, 20 July 2015).

He [Yeats] says there is a new recruit to the Celtic movement, a musician, O'Brien Butler, who is writing an opera, & wants a libretto, & wants a cottage in Co. Galway, where he can work... [George] Moore had spent 2 hours listening to him & said he was better than Stanford, & was delighted – Yeats had sent him to see Nora Hopper, & to ask her to do a libretto.³⁷⁹

However, Gregory's later entries indicate that Moore and Yeats were unimpressed with O'Brien Butler's talent after meeting him:

Then to tea with Yeats to meet O'Brien Butler – didn't think him very intelligent or attractive... [Moore] says O'Brien Butler is very amateurish, and that it was only his general amiability since his conversion to Ireland that made him compliment him or sit two hours with him during which he was bored to death.³⁸⁰

While his attempts to become involved with the Literary Revival appear to have been unsuccessful, O'Brien Butler found a greater level of support from the Gaelic League.

In 1902, he gave two concerts to raise funds for an Irish language opera he composed called *Muirgheis*. An article written by the Gaelic League magazine, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, would indicate that the use of the Irish language was of chief importance and the musical standard was a secondary concern;

The opera is the first ever written in Irish words or in Irish music, and for that reason alone should demand support. The composer has come to the Gaelic League with his work, and the Gaelic Leaguers of Dublin should support him.³⁸¹

Butler's 1903 publication *Seven Original Irish Melodies* was set to texts in both Gaelic and English and was jointly published by Piggot and Co., The Gaelic League Offices and M.H. Gill and Son. It is clear that O'Brien Butler wished to appeal to the emerging Gaelic literary culture while composing in a style that was suitable for the drawing room.

Fig. 25. O'Brien Butler's Irish Art Songs.

Year	Collection	Song Title
1900		My Little Red Colleen / Mo Cailin Beag Ruadh

³⁷⁹ Isabella Augusta Gregory & James Pethica (ed.), *Lady Gregory's Diaries 1892 – 1902* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1996), 269.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 270–271.

³⁸¹ *An Claidheamh Soluis* (7 June 1902).

1903	Seven Original Irish Melodies	Kincora; or the Lament for King Brian Carrighoun Mary Cavanagh The Old Man's Song Turlough McSweeney The Outlaw of Loch Lein Cusheen Loo
------	-------------------------------	---

The poets used by Thomas O'Brien Butler were diverse and in some cases obscure. For his 1900 song 'My Little Red Colleen,' he attributes the text to 'Ita's Laureate,' which may be a pseudonym. For his *Seven Original Irish Melodies* in 1903, O'Brien Butler wrote one text himself ('Mary Cavanagh') and elsewhere used texts by James Clarence Mangan (1803–1849), Denny Lane (1818–1895), Patrick Joseph McCall, Ethna Carbery (1864–1902), Jeremiah Joseph Callanan (1795–1829) and Edward Walsh (1805–1850). James Clarence Mangan was the most prominent of these poets, with both W.B. Yeats and James Joyce writing of their esteem for him.³⁸² The standard of poet is less consistent thereafter. Patrick Joseph McCall was primarily known as an author of lyrics for popular ballads.³⁸³ Ethna Carberry wrote many poems for journals such as *Nation* and *United Ireland*.³⁸⁴ She died aged thirty-five in 1902, and while she was soon forgotten, her husband Séamus MacManus (1867–1960) published her poetry in the years following her death, the time at which O'Brien Butler wrote his collection.³⁸⁵ Jeremiah Joseph Callahan had died in 1829 and was known primarily for his translations of Irish poems including 'The outlaw of Loch Lein.'³⁸⁶ Edward Walsh published Irish poetry collections in the 1840s and Denny Lane was an Irish Nationalist and a prominent member of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society.³⁸⁷ While the texts all have clear Irish themes, they vary in standard and O'Brien Butler combines the romantic lyrics of Mangan with the Victorian style prose of Carberry and the typical ballad-like stage Irish of McCall.

His first published song of 1900 'My Little Red Coleen,' is of a basic standard. The song is largely in C major, except for a few bars that contain F-sharps, which indicate a move

³⁸² Ellsworth Mason & Richard Ellmann, *Critical Writings* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), 91.

³⁸³ Henry Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography, Third Edition* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1998), 235.

³⁸⁴ Pseudonym of Anna MacManus née Johnston; Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (1978), 50.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 50.

³⁸⁶ Bourke, *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Vol 5: Irish Women's Women and Tradition*, 922; Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 49; Robert Welch, *A History of Verse Translation from the Irish, 1789–1897* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1988), 65–66.

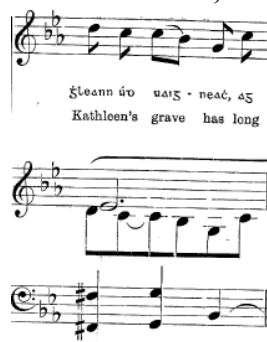
³⁸⁷ Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 362; James Quinn, 'Lane, Denny,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge University Press (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 12 September 2016).

to the dominant. For most of the song, O'Brien Butler moves between tonic and dominant chords and the simple accompaniment could easily be played by an amateur pianist.

In his collection *Seven Original Irish Melodies*, the songs are of mixed quality. His most proficient song is the first of the collection, 'Kincora: or The Lament for King Boru.' The song is in D minor, and O'Brien Butler alternates between chords of i, iv and V7 in the introduction. Harmonically, the song mainly stays in D minor, with brief modulations to F major (e.g. bars 19–20), and there is regular use of V7–i cadences. While the harmony is relatively simple, the vocal line displays folk-like ornaments (semiquaver turns) as it mimics the 'sean nós' style of singing. The song had some popularity and was chosen as a test piece for Soprano Solo in the 1915 Feis Ceoil.³⁸⁸

While 'Kincora' recreates the sentiment of the typical Irish folk ballad, the rest of the collection lacks imagination, and O'Brien Butler's harmonic language is limited. His second song, 'Carrigdounn,' is in B minor, with simple chording and a vocal line with a recurring two quaver upbeat, which makes the song resemble a popular 'music hall' styled song. 'Mary Cavanagh' is in E-flat major and in 3/4 time, however, there are some unorthodox chords in the piano part. For instance in bar 12, a piano chord of F-sharp, D and E-flat, creates an unprepared dissonance that is not normally found in the composer's harmonic language:

Fig. 26. O'Brien Butler, 'Mary Cavanagh,' *Seven Original Irish Melodies* [bar 12].



'Old Man Song' is a simple patter song in C major, while 'Tourlough MacSweeney.' is in F major, and O'Brien Butler creates a modal sound by introducing E-flats in bars 6–7. However, he reverts to E-naturals in bars 8–9 for his tonic / dominant progressions, re-introducing E-flats in bar 11. He also uses a series of tied chords in the piano, creating a type

³⁸⁸ Slominsky, 'Butler O'Brien,' 169.

of drone effect, like that of uilleann pipes, which further suggest he was attempting to recreate a folk song. He uses a similar drone effect in ‘The Outlaw of Loch Lein,’ which is in B-flat major, with the use of a B-flat pedal (bars 35–42). However, his limited level of harmonic understanding is highlighted in this song by some weak progressions. For instance, in bar 17 he uses a B-flat seventh chord, which in bar 18 moves to a chord of F, A-natural, C, and E-flat. This B-flat7 – F7 progression is particularly jarring because of the move from the A-flat to the A-natural, and O’Brien Butler tries to resolve the phrase by moving to a tonic chord of B-flat, with the A-natural in the vocal line acting as a leading note. The F / A-natural chord in the bass clef of the piano also abruptly jumps down to the B-flat / F in bar 18. He repeats this movement in bars 47–49:

Fig. 27. O’Brien Butler, ‘The Outlaw of Loch Lein,’ *Seven Original Irish Melodies* [bars 47–49].

The musical score for Figure 27 consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, marked *mf*. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment in treble clef, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The music is in B-flat major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "fíor a.s. an loic a - tá... ríom - tair - éo'g páir - ac... cinn, Seaó é / down by the lake where the wild - tree fringes its sides, The".

The piano part is also poorly written at times; for instance, in bars 8–9, the moving bass notes means that the harmonies are not clear:

Fig. 28. O’Brien Butler, ‘The Outlaw of Loch Lein,’ *Seven Original Irish Melodies* [bars 8–9].

The musical score for Figure 28 consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment in treble clef, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The music is in B-flat major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "cu - ma ná véan - tar é in ran an fo tá / came not of stream or malt - like the brewing of".

The final song of the cycle ‘Cusheen Loo’ returns to a basic level of harmony, making no deviation from C major. The piano accompaniment has a recurring semiquaver triplet figure, presumably to replicate a folk-like roll; however, the lack of creativity of O’Brien Butler is evident from the repetition of the piano part in the introduction and the first verse:

Fig. 29. O’Brien Butler, ‘Cusheen Loo,’ *Seven Original Irish Melodies* [bars 1–5].

The image shows a musical score for 'Cusheen Loo'. It consists of two systems. The first system is the piano introduction, marked 'No. 7.' and 'Slow, and with feeling.' It features a piano accompaniment with a recurring semiquaver triplet figure in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system shows the vocal line with lyrics in Irish and English: 'Coo - at, maí tá na / Sleep! for the weep - ing'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same triplet figure, and there are dynamic markings like 'p' and 'sf'.

Another odd characteristic is that there is no fourth (F) in the vocal line, but there is a leading note (B) so O’Brien Butler is not using the pentatonic scale. O’Brien Butler has also omitted the fourth note from the vocal lines in ‘Carrighdoun’ and ‘Mary Cavanagh,’ and will often skip the fourth of the scale:

Fig. 301. O’Brien Butler, ‘Tourlough McSweeney,’ *Seven Original Irish Melodies* [bars 4–6 vocal line].

The image shows a single line of music for the vocal part of 'Tourlough McSweeney'. It is marked 'mf' and 'rit.'. The lyrics are in Irish and English: 'Seinn riar úinn gair - éadain - te éir - eann na n-éir, Nuaire a / Play us our Eir - e's most sor - row - ful songs, As she'. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes.

O’Brien Butler may have done this to create a type of modal sound; however, as this is not replicated in the piano part it highlights an inconsistency between his vocal and piano writing. Furthermore, O’Brien Butler will often use simple cadences to finish a phrase, or in some cases just return to a tonic chord (this is particularly evident in ‘The Outlaw of Loch Lein’) as if he was trying to make his piano parts ‘fit’ the vocal line, suggesting he wrote his piano parts after he wrote a melody line. Unfortunately, the vocal lines are not particularly lyrical and many of the songs are of a poor standard.

After 1903, O'Brien Butler's primary focus appeared to be in promoting *Muirgheis* throughout Europe and America. He may have written further Irish art songs, had he not lost his life when he was returning from New York on the RMS Lusitania when it sank in May 1915.³⁸⁹ It would appear that O'Brien Butler's music was popular with Ireland-based publishers primarily due to its contribution to the Irish language and Gaelic culture, rather than on any musical merit. O'Brien Butler also seemed to be particularly skilful at making important acquaintances. His 1900 song 'My Little Red Coleen' is dedicated to Rajinder Singh (1872–1900), Maharaja of Patiala, North India.³⁹⁰ This presumably was due to his time in India, though it is unclear whether he had any direct contact with Singh. The song 'Tourlough MacSweeney' from *Seven Original Irish Melodies* is dedicated to Edward Martyn (1859–1923), who was both an instigator of the Irish Literary Revival and a substantial financial supporter of the DOS.³⁹¹

The cover page of his *Seven Original Irish Melodies* contains a unique crest designed by Séamus Mac Conaill that appears to incorporate both the O'Brien call to arms crest and the Butler family crest, surrounded by crests representing the four Irish provinces. To have a crest specifically designed for oneself would indicate a certain degree of wealth on the part of the composer, or perhaps that he was attempting to assert himself as an important figure in the Irish cultural scene:

³⁸⁹ Axel Klein, 'Butler, [Thomas] O'Brien,' 142.

³⁹⁰ Thomas O'Brien Butler, *My Little Red Colleen* (Dublin: Pohlmann & Co., 1900).

³⁹¹ Richard Pine, *The Disappointed Bridge: Ireland and the Post-Colonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2004), 169.

Fig. 31. Crest on front cover of *Seven Original Irish Melodies*.³⁹²

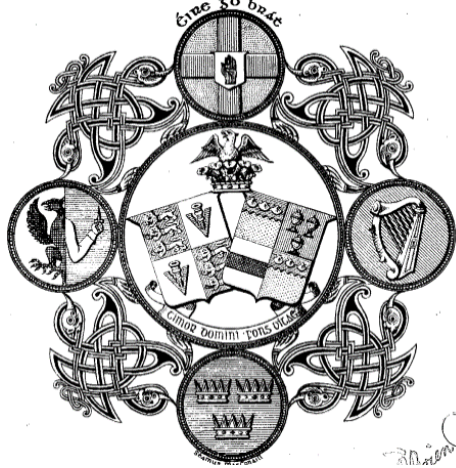


Fig. 32. O'Brien Call to Arms Crest, 1617 A.D.³⁹³



Fig. 33. Butler Family Crest.³⁹⁴



³⁹² Thomas O'Brien Butler, *Seven Original Irish Melodies: Kincora Edition* (Dublin: Piggott & Co, Gaelic League Offices, McGill & Son Ltd, 1903), cover.

³⁹³ *House of Brian Boru* (<http://houseofbrianboru.blogspot.ie/p/obrien-clan-heraldry.html>, 22 July 2015).

³⁹⁴ 'The Butler Clan,' *Irish Gathering* (https://www.irishgathering.ie/clan_info.asp?clanID=112, 22 July 2015).

The cover page of surviving copies of the collection is interestingly entitled ‘Kincora Edition.’³⁹⁵ This suggests that the first song of the cycle: ‘Kincora; or the Lament of Brian Boru’ was particularly popular, and this was the first collection that included the song. There may have also been a personal connection for O’Brien Butler with the area as the Cathedral in Killaloe was originally built by Donal Mór O’Brien, High King of Ireland, and O’Brien was an ancestral name, according to the first song’s dedication.³⁹⁶ The fact that the inscriptions of three Dublin based publishers are also printed on the cover page would indicate that the ‘Kincora Edition’ was not simply a special edition for a Clare based publisher.

O’Brien Butler’s is best remembered as the composer of *Muirgheis*, which was billed as the first grand opera in Irish. While the opera was commissioned by Oireachtas na Gaeilge, and he may have had support from the Gaelic League, the reception of the work further highlights O’Brien Butler’s musical deficiencies. A number of concerts featuring excerpts from the opera were given ahead of the first full performance and a review of one such concert in *The Irish Musical Monthly* stated:

We are very sorry to have to criticise so severely a work intended to be thoroughly Irish. But it would be a bad service to Irish music to praise a composition merely because it is Irish.³⁹⁷

Another review of a recital in the *Weekly Irish Times* described the songs as being ‘rather tame and unambitious,’ while a review of the first full performance in the Theatre Royal in December 1903 was more scathing:

One would fain encourage Irish art, but it must be confessed that “Muirgheis” does not possess the elements of popularity. We do not think that it is more characteristically Irish than Stanford’s *Shamus O’Brien*. Musically and dramatically it is very weak compared with that fine work.³⁹⁸

O’Brien Butler’s technical ability as a composer was also brought into question. Noting that the vocal writing was monotonous and the form uninteresting, the critic added:

³⁹⁵ Kincora was the location of Brian Boru’s Palace in Killaloe, Co. Clare; Roger Chatterton Newman, *Brian Boru: King of Ireland* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2011), 73.

³⁹⁶ ‘Killaloe: Places of Interest,’ *Clare Library* (<http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/places/kointerest.htm>, 22 July 2015).

³⁹⁷ Heinrich Bewerunge, *The Irish Musical Monthly: a journal devoted to the interest of music in Church and School* (1 July 1902), 58.

³⁹⁸ ‘Irish Opera, “Muirgheis,”’ *Weekly Irish Times* (14 June 1902), 8; ‘Irish Opera at the Theatre Royal, “Muirgheis,”’ *Weekly Irish Times* (12 December 1903), 2.

The scoring of the work suggests that the composer has been feeling his way, rather than expressing his ideas in a medium he has known and mastered.³⁹⁹

The review also criticises the singers, who were all amateurs, for their poor diction and claims that as there was no available libretto, it was ‘almost impossible’ to follow the story.⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps the most significant indication of Butler’s pedigree as a composer was the fact that Michele Esposito, the leading composer in residence in Dublin had not heard of him, as a letter from John Millington Synge to Lady Gregory indicates:

I tried to find out from Esposito what is thought of O’Brien Butler’s music, but I did not hear anything definite. They evidently do not consider him a person of importance, but I do not think Signor Esposito has ever heard his music.⁴⁰¹

iv. Ina Boyle

By contrast with the composers of popular ballads and those who tried to create a hybrid of folk song and art song, Ina Boyle (1889–1967) worked purely in the art song tradition and while her work remains little known she was also the most prolific song composer residing in Ireland in the first decades of the twentieth century. Boyle lived all her life in her family home of Bushy Park, Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow. She grew up in a restricted circle of her mother, father and one sister, and when they died one by one, she lived at the home alone. Her first music lessons were with her father William Foster Boyle (1860–1951), who was curate at St. Patrick’s Church, Powerscourt.⁴⁰² She showed an early inclination for music and was given violin and cello lessons by her governess with her younger sister Phyllis (1891–1938), though she had no natural facility as a performer.⁴⁰³ Boyle did not receive a formal education, instead she received private tuition from composers who were essentially steeped in the English tradition. From the age of eleven, she studied theory and harmony with Samuel Myerscough (1854–1932). Myerscough received a Bachelor of Music from Hertford College, Oxford, but was a gifted organist and was a Fellow of both the Royal College of Organists and Trinity

³⁹⁹ ‘Irish Opera at the Theatre Royal, “Muirgheis.”’

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*; The diary entries of a theatre goer and architect of the Abbey Theatre Joseph Holloway (1861–1944) reiterate these criticisms, who wrote that mid-way during the first act he noticed ‘by accident’ that the singers were vocalising English words; Harrington, ‘Lost at Sea: Thomas O’Brien Butler and the RMS Lusitania.’

⁴⁰¹ Anne Saddlemeier (ed.), *The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge: Volume One* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 134.

⁴⁰² J. B. Leslie and W. J. R. Wallace, *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough* (Dublin and Glendalough: Dundalgan Press, 2001), 415.

⁴⁰³ Elizabeth Maconchy, *Ina Boyle: An Appreciation with select list of her music* (Dublin: Dolman Press, 1974).

College London.⁴⁰⁴ From 1904 onwards, she also undertook lessons via correspondence with Charles Wood, who was married to Boyle's cousin Charlotte Georgina Wills-Sandford (1875–1940).⁴⁰⁵ Boyle would send counterpoint and harmony exercises to Wood, and he sent them back with considerable corrections.⁴⁰⁶ In 1910, Boyle began to take lessons with Percy Buck (1871–1947) who had just been appointed a non-resident professor of music at TCD. Buck had been educated in the RCM and held a number of jobs as a Cathedral organist prior to his appointment at TCD.⁴⁰⁷ By 1913, Boyle began studying with Charles Herbert Kitson (1874–1944), who took his music degrees as an external student of Oxford University and came to Dublin as an organist and choirmaster of Christ Church Cathedral.⁴⁰⁸ He began to teach theory in RIAM and spent four years as a Professor of Music at TCD.⁴⁰⁹ From 1923 on, Boyle would begin to travel to London to take lessons with Ralph Vaughan Williams.⁴¹⁰

Boyle enjoyed her first success when she was awarded first and second prizes respectively in the composers' competition at Sligo Feis Ceoil in 1913 for *Elegie*, a piece for cello and orchestra, and a setting of 'The Last Invocation' by Walt Whitman.⁴¹¹ Sonya Keogh highlights a number of her works that received repeated performances during her life; namely, *The Magic Harp* (1919), for which she was awarded a Class A Carnegie Trust Award, her pastoral for orchestra *Colin Clout* (1921), *Gaelic Hymns* (1923–24), *Glencree Symphony No 1* (1924–27) and later her orchestral work *Wildgeese* (1942).⁴¹²

Following the trends of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Boyle set many texts of a pastoral nature, expanding her use of modal harmony to capture a rural and folk ambience. In her song writing, Boyle used a wide variety of texts, including works by

⁴⁰⁴ 'Obituary: Father Myerscough,' *The Cottonian*, 43/1/92 (Autumn 1954), 2.

⁴⁰⁵ David Byers, 'Ina Boyle's String Quartet,' *David Byers Website* (<http://www.byersmusic.com/ina-boyles-string-quartet.php>, 12 February 2017).

⁴⁰⁶ Ina Boyle, 'Exercises with Dr. Wood,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archives Library, IE TCD MS 4049.

⁴⁰⁷ H.C. Colles, & Malcolm Turner, 'Sir Percy (Carter) Buck,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 17 September 2016).

⁴⁰⁸ Watkins Shaw, 'Charles Herbert Kitson,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 17 September 2016).

⁴⁰⁹ Kerry Houston, 'Charles Herbert Kitson,' in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 571–2.

⁴¹⁰ Keogh, 'Ina Boyle: A Life and Work,' 18.

⁴¹¹ 'Ina Boyle and World War I,' *Ina Boyle Composer* (<http://www.inaboyle.org/articles/2015/8/25/ina-boyle-and-world-war-1>, 16 September 2016).

⁴¹² The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust was established in Dunfermline in 1913, after Andrew Carnegie, a wealthy businessman from New York, made a donation of ten million dollars. The Trust elected to sponsor an annual contemporary music competition with successful composers receiving publication of their work under the Carnegie Collection of British Music Scheme; Keogh, 'Ina Boyle: A Life and Work,' 6–9.

Elizabethan poets, William Shakespeare (1564–1616), Walt Whitman (1819–1892), Edith Sitwell (1887–1964) and Robert Bridges (1844–1930).⁴¹³ The Manuscripts and Archives Research Library of TCD has around seventy songs with piano accompaniment written by Boyle. Her song settings of texts by Irish poets represent only a small part of her output. Unlike Stanford or Harty, who specifically chose popular Irish poets to appeal to audiences in London, Boyle probably chose her poets based on wherever she could find inspiration at that time. She was extremely well read and her friend Elizabeth Maconchy (1907–1994) wrote that inspiration for most of her music, including orchestral music, almost always came from poetry.⁴¹⁴ She composed a total of twelve original songs using a variety of texts by Irish poets in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In 1905, like Stanford and Harty, she set Moira O’Neill’s ‘Sea Wrack.’ In 1909, she set two poems by Eva Gore-Booth (1870–1926), ‘The Lost Water’ and ‘Roses.’ Gore-Booth was known in England for her work as a suffragette, editing ‘The Women’s Labour News.’⁴¹⁵ These two poems came from her early collections, when Gore-Booth commonly used nature to convey her message. Her later poetry included themes such as sexual liberation and social change and, in 1926, Boyle set another text, ‘They Went Forth,’ which is based on the legend of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, and gives an account of children disappearing into the night.⁴¹⁶ The poem was part of Gore-Booth’s collection *The House of Three Women*, which had been published that same year in London, which is also the year of her death. While there is no indication on the score, it is reasonable to assume that Boyle used this text as an elegy to Gore-Booth.

Boyle set Winifred Mary Letts’s ‘A Soft Day, Thank God!’ in 1912, which is the same text that Stanford used for his song ‘A Soft Day.’ Letts had begun to write short stories and children’s fiction, and her story ‘The Company of Saints and of Angels’ was published by *The Irish Review* in January 1912. Boyle set another of Letts’s texts, ‘If you let Sorrow in on you,’ in 1922. In 1914, Boyle set a poem by George ‘Æ’ Russell (1867–1935), ‘The Joy of Earth.’⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Bridges was Britain’s poet laureate from 1913–1930, while Sitwell and de la Mare were particularly popular in England in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁴¹⁴ Maconchy, *Ina Boyle: An Appreciation with select list of her music*.

⁴¹⁵ Eric Domville, & John Kelly, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume 1: 1865–1895* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 418; Cathy Hartley, *A Historical Dictionary of British Women* (London: Routledge, 2013), 389.

⁴¹⁶ Gore-Booth just refers to the children as ‘they.’

⁴¹⁷ George William Russell was an Irish Nationalist who wrote under the pseudonym of Æ. This was unwittingly given to him by a printer who failed to understand the Latin word Æon, which Russell had signed to an article he wrote in 1888. Stephen Smith, *An Inkwell of Pen Names* (New York: Xlibris Corporation, 2006), 166.

Russell was a lifelong friend of W.B. Yeats and a leading figure in the Irish Literary Revival.⁴¹⁸ His *Collected Poems* appeared in 1913, a year prior to Boyle's setting. Two of Boyle's Irish art songs are based on ancient Gaelic texts. 'Sleep Song' was translated from Gaelic by Padraig Pearse (1879–1916), who translated all of the original words except for the re-occurring Irish expression 'Déirín dé.'⁴¹⁹ The poem was published in London circa 1915 in a collection called *Lullabies of the Four Nations: a Coronation of Song with Renderings from the Welsh and the Gaelic*, which was arranged by the collector Adelaide Gosset. (1855–1936).⁴²⁰ Given that the First World War commenced in August 1914, this publication was probably aimed at encouraging a patriotic sentiment, particularly with regard to recruiting soldiers to Irish regiments. In 1927, Boyle used a Thomas MacDonagh (1878–1916) translation of a text originally written in Gaelic by Padraig Pearse. Although anthologies of Pearse's poetry call this poem 'Lullaby of the Woman of the Mountain,' Boyle omits the first two lines of translated poetry and names the song 'A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep.'⁴²¹ It would appear that Boyle took the poem and the invented title from a 1916 essay by Cathaoir Ó Braonáin (1875–1937) about Pearse in *An Irish Review*. When discussing the poem, not only does he omit the first two lines of the MacDonagh translation, he writes:

Here is how he makes the mountain woman ask for stillness that her child may sleep.
The translation is by MacDonagh.⁴²²

In 1926, Boyle set one of W.B. Yeats's early poems 'The Stolen Child.' The poem was first published in *Irish Monthly* in 1886 and, subsequently, in his first public collection *The Wandering of Oisín and Other Poems* in 1889. This was one of Yeats's most proficient early poems and demonstrates his fondness for Irish mythology. Here, 'faeries' entice a child to abandon the world 'full of weeping' to join their land of fantasy. Yeats depicts both the lore and terrain of Sligo, in which he spent the happiest days of his childhood.⁴²³ Directly referenced in the poem are Rosses Point, a village northwest of Sligo, Glencar, a valley northeast of Sligo famous for its waterfall, and Sleuth Wood, which is a valley southeast of Sligo, on the shore of Lough Gil. Yeats uses these real locations to paint a mystical world. Yeats's interest in

⁴¹⁸ Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 315.

⁴¹⁹ It refers to a lighted straw used in a children's game, where it is passed from hand to hand. The wisp of smoke rising when the fire goes out was called 'Déirín Dé.'

⁴²⁰ Adelaide Gosset, *Lullabies of the four nations: a coronation of song with renderings from the Welsh and the Gaelic* (London: De La More Press, 1915), 14.

⁴²¹ Padraig Pearse, *Collected Works of Padraig H. Pearse* (Dublin: Maunsell & Co. Ltd, 1922), 315.

⁴²² Cathair O'Braonain, 'Poets of Insurrection II - Patrick H. Pearse,' in *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 5/19 (Sept 1916), 339–50 (342).

⁴²³ Ross, *Critical Companion to William Butler Yeats: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*, 236–37.

mysticism and spiritualism is evident; the child crossing into the ‘faery’ world is not only a liberation from mundane society, but a transcendence from human existence.⁴²⁴ Such a multi-layered text would have been of great interest to the well-read Boyle, from which she drew inspiration. However, it is unlikely that Boyle sought permission from Yeats to set the text and she may have encountered difficulties had she attempted to publish the song. Boyle demonstrated her naivety with copyright laws when in 1948, she set Edith Sitwell’s ‘Still Falls the Rain’ for contralto and string quartet. Boyle received correspondence from Sitwell stating that she had not requested permission to use her text and forbidding her from publishing the work. On a letter to Boyle dated 25 February 1952, Sitwell indicated that she was unhappy Boyle used excerpts of her work:

It is only under the very rarest circumstances that I like my poems to be set, and I can never allow them to be cut [...] It is always best really to write to me first, before setting the poems.⁴²⁵

Sheila Wingfield (1906–1992) was a neighbour and close friend and wrote of Boyle in her memoirs:

In her total simplicity it had never struck her as wise to approach the poet beforehand and mention her own status as a composer of music, rather than ask permission to publish the work after it was finished.⁴²⁶

In 1928, Boyle set ‘Blessing’ by Austin Clarke (1896–1974). Clarke was greatly influenced by writers such as Yeats, and all of his early works were in the romantic style of the revival.⁴²⁷ Between 1916 and 1925, he wrote a series of short poems that tried to recreate a style of Gaelic poetry in English, where his poetry records what happens as he journeys through the West of Ireland.⁴²⁸ However, ‘Blessing,’ which reminisces about the ‘woman of the house’ was one of his first such poems and his biographer Maurice Harmon criticises it for being too compact and restricted to give adequate expression to the freedom it advocates.⁴²⁹ Furthermore, this style of poetry was not well received, and was criticised for having excessive verbal decoration, incoherent plots and poor character portrayal; however, the themes of women and

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 237

⁴²⁵ Ita Beausang, ‘Ina Boyle’s Symphonic Journey: From Glencree to Amalfi,’ *The Symphony and Ireland: A Symposium*, DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama (20 April 2013).

⁴²⁶ Sheila Powerscourt, *Sun Too Fast* (London: 1973), 210–211.

⁴²⁷ Maurice Harmon, ‘Austin Clarke,’ *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 1 April 2015).

⁴²⁸ Maurice Harmon, *Austin Clarke, 1896–1974: A Critical Introduction* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989), 38.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

domesticity seem to have appealed to Boyle, who overlooked the quality of text.⁴³⁰ Boyle also set a text she read in the Sunday Independent in 1928 by unknown writer E.L. Twiss of Foxrock, Co. Dublin, for her song ‘Himself and his fiddle.’⁴³¹

Boyle arranged for a number of her early works to be published at her own expense, to facilitate their performance. Unfortunately, many scheduled performances failed to take place. In 1915 for instance, Charles Kitson had arranged for Boyle’s anthem ‘He will swallow up death,’ which was published by Stainer & Bell in London to be performed in Christ Church Cathedral, but later changed his mind after deciding he did not like it.⁴³² Being awarded the Carnegie Trust Award brought media attention to her composition *The Magic Harp*, though it received a mixed reception, with one review stating that it was ‘up-to-date, without being ultra-modern’ and another calling it ‘a little square and outmoded.’⁴³³ A performance of her pastoral *Colin Clout* at the RCM Patron’s Fund Concert in 1922 was poorly received, with *The Times* judging it to be ‘dull and unimaginative’ and ‘not nearly so assured in technique.’⁴³⁴ Despite the poor reviews, however, the performance of *Colin Clout* as well as the performance of *The Magic Harp* under the auspices of the Patron’s Fund in 1920 had raised her profile in London. In 1923, Boyle’s 1922 song ‘A Song of Enchantment’ was published by Stainer & Bell, who would publish another of her songs in 1926, *A Song of Shadows* (also written in 1922).⁴³⁵ Ralph Vaughan Williams, personally endorsed her works, writing letters of introduction to influential musicians on her behalf.⁴³⁶ Boyle also asked Vaughan Williams for his advice on suitable publishers for her songs, to which he suggested that she persevere with Stainer & Bell.⁴³⁷ Although she achieved success in getting some of her choral music published, her next published song for voice and piano would not be until 1943, when Oxford University Press published ‘With sick and famished eyes,’ a re-setting of the original song by Henry Purcell, with a text by George Herbert (1593–1633). None of her songs to Irish texts were published.

⁴³⁰ Mary Shine Thompson, ‘Joseph Augustine Clarke,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 6 July 2016).

⁴³¹ Ina Boyle, ‘Himself and his Fiddle,’ Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4132, 21–24.

⁴³² Keogh, ‘Ina Boyle: A Life and Work,’ 6.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16–17.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

Fig. 34. Boyle's Irish Art Songs 1900–1930.

Year	Song
1905	Sea Wrack
1909	The Lost Water
1909	Roses
1912	A Soft Day, Thank God!
1914	The Joy of Earth
1922	If you let sorrow in on you
1923	Sleep Song
1926	The Stolen Child
1926	They Went Forth
1926	A Mountain Woman asks for Quiet that her Child may Sleep
1928	Blessing
1929	Himself and his Fiddle

Boyle's song writing over the first thirty years of the twentieth century can be divided into a few different phases. Her early songs were written at a stage when Boyle was still learning her craft. Although she did not undertake formal training, her first three Irish art songs could be considered her 'student songs.' The manuscript for 'Sea Wrack' is dated September 1905, the year after Harty's setting was published.⁴³⁸ While it is possible that Boyle came into contact with Harty's song before her setting, there is no evidence to suggest any direct connection between the two songs. Boyle, like Harty, uses demisemiquavers to depict waves, but she does not create a narrative structure in the same way as Harty. Instead she introduces this wave motif for both the second and third verses. The piano part in these verses no longer shadows the vocal line, but follows the same harmonic structure, creating a type of varied strophic form. Boyle's song compares poorly with the settings of the same text by Stanford and

⁴³⁸ The original manuscript indicates that Boyle may have abandoned the song, as a few notes that appear to have been accidentally erased were never re-written, and the final five bars of the vocal line have no accompanying piano part. There are also three empty bars between verses two and three in the original manuscript, presumably for an interlude that Boyle never wrote, and an empty bar at the beginning, possibly for an introduction that she intended to write; Ina Boyle, 'Sea Wrack,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4050, 345–348 (345).

Harty, particularly her piano accompaniment, which is over fussy and at times crude. For instance, in bars 14–15 Boyle uses descending diminished chords to emphasise the text ‘The wet wrack /The sea wrack:’

Fig. 35. Boyle, ‘Sea Wrack’ [bars 14–15].

While one could make some allowance, given that it was written early in Boyle’s career, ‘Sea Wrack’ was very likely Harty’s first song, and while it is somewhat melodramatic, he demonstrates more accomplished song writing skills than Boyle. Boyle’s setting is predominantly in C minor, however, her use of harmony is at times unmethodical. In bar 25, for instance, under the words ‘swell upon the deep’ she starts with an arpeggio of G-flat on the first beat, a diminished seventh chord on the second beat, a second inversion of an E-flat arpeggio follows on the third and fourth beats and then the first and second beats of bar 26 have dominant seventh arpeggios. For the third beat of bar 26, there is another diminished arpeggio which is again followed by a second inversion of an E-flat minor arpeggio on the fourth beat. Boyle appears to rely on diminished chords to create the drama, rather than her wave motif or the vocal line:

Fig. 36. Boyle, ‘Sea Wrack’ [bars 25–26].

The most notable feature in ‘The Lost Water’ is the constant use of demisemiquavers, which, again, represent a stream of water. The harmony is not as complicated as her previous song and the vocal line is melodic; however, the piano part is muddy at times. For instance, in the bass of bar 12, the chord of F and A would have more effect if the A was an octave higher, particularly since the chords in the previous two bars use this register for their top notes (F and G). Similarly, the bass chord on the first beat of bar 13 would be clearer if it was octave higher:

Fig. 37. Boyle, ‘The Lost Water’ [bars 10–13].

Boyle employs a less fervid rhythmic approach in ‘Roses’ and also a far more simple form than in ‘Sea Wrack,’ and the result is a more successful song. The piano part uses a syncopated rhythm in the piano in 2/4 time, which generates a suitable energy that does not overpower the vocal line:

Fig. 38. Boyle, ‘Roses’ [bars 1–7].

The contained nature of the song, the relatively simple harmonies as well as the piano motif means that it resembles a sentimental or light salon song, a style that was popular with nineteenth century composers like Arthur Sullivan. While Elgar would write some lighter orchestral works, this style of song had largely gone out of fashion in Britain by the twentieth century, but it probably reflects the type of music that was played at the Rectory in Enniskerry. *Roses* can be considered her most coherent early or ‘student’ song.

From 1910 on, Boyle began studying with Percy Buck, and was under his tutelage when she composed ‘A Soft Day, Thank God!’ in 1912. This was a year prior to the poem’s publication in *Songs from Leinster* in London and was written at much the same time as Stanford’s ‘A Soft Day.’ While Stanford provides a simple harmonic style to support the text, Boyle’s writing has what at first might seem like greater harmonic sophistication, but in reality, is rather undisciplined and is sometimes expressed in slightly crude part-writing. For instance, the rhythmic repetition in bars 2–10 reveals her inexperience at this stage in her career:

Fig. 39. Boyle, ‘A Soft Day, Thank God!’ [bars 4–9].

The musical score for 'A Soft Day, Thank God!' [bars 4-9] is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 4-6) shows the vocal line with lyrics: 'hon-ied mouth A scent of drench-ing leaves, Briar of'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic motif of eighth notes with triplet markings. The second system (bars 7-9) shows the vocal line with lyrics: 'beech- of lime White cl-der flower and'. The piano accompaniment continues with the same rhythmic motif.

Her rate of harmonic change is high in comparison with Stanford. For example, the first verse in E-flat major moves through chords of vi and ii before reaching chords of G major in bars 7–8, which is the dominant of the relative C minor. Chords of ii and V7 follow, suggesting a return to the tonic chord but instead the music shifts to a chord of A-flat minor in bars 11–12. Boyle then uses harmonies of a dominant seventh chord of E-flat (bar 13), C major (bar 14) and a diminished chord on A (bar 15), before finishing the verse with dominant and tonic chords in bar 16. She repeats this process in the second verse and there is another slightly

unusual progression in the final four bars in the piano; she finishes with a progression of vi–ii–I7–I:

Fig. 40. Boyle, ‘A Soft Day, Thank God!’ [bars 37–40].



Both songs also display a different relationship between piano and vocal line. While Stanford’s song is syllabic, Boyle’s vocal line soars over the energetic piano part. Boyle’s song has climactic moments in both verses on high Gs (bars 8, 26) and makes more technical demands on the singer, with phrases lingering in their upper *tessitura*, while Stanford’s uneventful harmonies and simple vocal line leave the singer more scope for word painting. The one clear resemblance in Boyle’s setting is in the use of rests to create an onomatopoeic effect on the words ‘drips, drips...’ However, both settings illustrate different interpretations of the poem; Stanford depicted a quiet, misty day in Ireland, while Boyle depicted the ‘wind from the south,’ with a slightly over-energetic piano part. While Boyle’s song contains faults, and is not up to Stanford’s standard, it should not be completely disregarded as it is consistent and her interpretation of the text is clear.

By the time that Boyle wrote ‘The Joy of Earth’ in 1914, she had begun studying with Charles Kitson, and her basic song writing skills had improved. The song is noticeable for its constant four semiquaver broken chord that is on practically every beat in the piano part. Given that the tempo marking is *Allegro*, Boyle clearly wished to create a vibrant piano accompaniment that would drive the song forward. This idea is successful and used in all but four of the thirty-nine bars, and only gives way to block chords in bars 32–34 (the last line of text) and in bar 25, where Boyle uses minim and crotchet chords. While this signifies the end of the second verse, it is unclear why Boyle breaks her semiquaver idea at this point. Given that the semiquavers continue in the interlude between the first two verses, there seems to be no apparent reason for breaking this idea at this stage of the song. Another slight issue is that Boyle uses rhythms in the vocal line which sometimes leads to emphases on unexpected words or syllables. For instance, for the text ‘O’er the unseen fount awhile, and then comes dropping

down,' the word 'then' in bar 10 is afforded a sustained downbeat, whereas 'a-while' may have been more suitable place for a stress. Elsewhere, Boyle gives longer notes to the second syllable ('ing') for words such as 'trembling' (bar 18) and 'burning' (bar 24), resulting in strange inflections when sung. This was probably the result of Boyle's lack of experience of working with singers. However, these are relatively minor issues and overall the song is well written, and was of a high enough standard to be performed. The song was included in a concert for the Royal Engineers' Comfort Fund in Bray on 5 May 1915.⁴³⁹

The years 1922–1926 could be considered a stage in Boyle's song writing where she composes several different types of songs, from lullabies to more advanced forms, and there is a mix in quality. In 1922, Boyle wrote 'If you let sorrow in on you,' which is largely coherent apart from an unusual turn towards the end. The piano part is in 3/8 time and remains sparse throughout, varying between three quavers per bar or six semiquavers. There is little in the way of complication in the first half of the song, with a folk-like quality to the lyrical vocal line. Harmonically the song is in E-flat major, and while the tonic chord is never fully established, the chord of the subdominant (A-flat major) is regularly used, and there is a plagal cadence in the final three bars. However, in bar 31 Boyle uses a chord of B major and then a chord of G major in bar 32, before returning to the tonic in bar 33. This sudden shift is given even greater emphasis by the temporary change in time signature to 4/8 time and the change to demisemiquavers in the piano part which ranges across three octaves. Given the simple quasi-folk nature of the song, these two bars are unexpected. Boyle presumably wished to dramatize the text 'Till the fire burns out,' and this break in the texture six bars from the end of the song creates an imbalance:

⁴³⁹ 'Royal Engineers' Comfort Fund: Successful Concert at Bray,' *The Irish Times* (May 6 1915), 3.

Fig. 41. Boyle, ‘If you let sorrow in on you’ [bars 30–36].

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the piece 'If you let sorrow in on you'. The first system covers bars 30-32, and the second system covers bars 33-36. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The vocal line has lyrics: 'part, Till the fire burns out in the' for bars 30-32, and 'core of your heart.' for bars 33-36. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand. Pedal markings (Ped.) and asterisks (*) are present in the piano part. Hand labels 'L.H.' and 'R.H.' are also visible.

In 1923, Boyle wrote ‘Sleep Song.’ The song is essentially a lullaby in 3/4 time. Boyle uses a motif in the two-bar piano introduction which is then imitated in the vocal line every time the words ‘Déirín dé’ occur. This simple idea is repeated throughout the song and suits the tranquil image of cows in bog land created in the poem. However, the song is quite repetitive and there is some ambiguity as to whether the song is in a major or minor key. Boyle uses chords of III (E-flat) in the first four bars, and when the tonic chord of C minor is used in bars 5–6, it could be interpreted as a chord of vi in E-flat major due to the use of B-flats. Chords of G minor (v) follow and the ‘Déirín dé’ motif occurs over chords of A-flat in bars (9–10):

Fig. 42. Boyle, ‘Sleep Song’ [bars 1–10].

The image shows two systems of musical notation for the piece 'Sleep Song'. The first system covers bars 1-5, and the second system covers bars 6-10. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The vocal line has lyrics: 'Deir-in dé, Deir-in dé! The brown' for bars 1-5, and 'bit-tern speaks in the bog; Deir-in dé, Deir-in dé!' for bars 6-10. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and chords in the right hand. Pedal markings (Ped.) and asterisks (*) are present in the piano part. A dynamic marking 'p' (piano) is shown in the first system, and a '3' (triple) marking is shown in the second system.

Boyle appears to establish E-flat major again in bars 15–16, but her ‘Deirín dé’ motif in bar 25 occurs this time over chords of C minor. The first strong suggestion that the song is in C minor is in bar 32 when the song unexpectedly moves to B-flat minor, from which she moves directly to C minor in bar 35. As there is no strong dominant to tonic progression and the listener may be confused as the song had previously seemed to be in E-flat major. The tonality is further obscured in bar 37, where the piano spells out an A-flat7 chord, but there is an E-flat major triad in the vocal line; perhaps Boyle intends this to be heard as a ninth chord:

Fig. 43. Boyle, ‘Sleep Song’ Harmonic Reduction [bars 30–39].



From bar 39 on, the song stays in C minor to finish. There are similarities between the nature of this song and Stanford’s ‘A Soft Day’ in their depictions of nature, motivic writing and simple piano and vocal lines. Stanford also does not use particularly strong progressions, using mainly interrupted cadences; however, he firmly establishes his song in D-flat major. Boyle was perhaps trying to create a similar ambience by using ‘weak harmonies.’

While Boyle had generally used a straightforward style of song writing, she tried to extend her technique with ‘The Stolen Child,’ based on the text by W.B. Yeats in 1926. Boyle uses a significant amount of different thematic ideas and takes a more modal approach. This could have been a response to the mysticism of the text, or she was possibly influenced by the songs of Ralph Vaughan Williams. Unlike many of her other songs, there is no introduction, possibly because of the length of the poem, with the first note for piano and singer on an upbeat. Despite being quite long (82 bars), a verse and refrain pattern underlies the overall structure.

Boyle begins in E minor but the introduction of F-naturals and a series of first inversion chords, which give a series of parallel fourths in the upper parts, effect a modal transition to A minor (bars 4–5), before the music returns to E minor in bar six. Then, without any preparation, she moves to E-flat minor in bar 9 on the text ‘Come away’ for her refrain, bringing the left hand of the piano accompaniment to where the right hand had been, and moving the right hand an octave higher. This is presumably to reflect the menacing nature of the faeries, directly calling to the child to abandon her world:

Fig. 44. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 5–9].

5
rats; There we've had our fac - ry vats full of ber - ries And of

8
red - dest sto - len cher - ries Come a - way, O hu - man

pp subito

pp poco sost.

con ped.

She brings the song back to E minor in bar 16, before another abrupt move, this time moving up a semitone to an F minor chord in bar 22. However, the text on this occasion 'Weaving olden dances' appears less significant for such a dramatic moment. She then returns to E minor in bar 25. Boyle persists with these abrupt movements throughout the song, usually with the same shift upwards in register as she creates a type of refrain. However, there is no change in register in bars 30 and 71, which also correspond to the refrain in the poem, though it is unclear why it does not occur on these occasions. Throughout the song it would appear that Boyle based her harmonies on an idea of modulating around E minor. Boyle often moves harmonically by semi-tone or tone with little preparation, as at bars 8–9, 12–13, 29–30, 33–34, 54–55, 66–67 and 74–75, possibly feeling that this was not required. The song also contains some awkward writing such as at bar 28, where Boyle breaks the constant quaver movement in the piano part and we hear a chord of E / B-flat / E, which contains an exposed tritone. While this is presumably intended to illustrate the word 'anxious' in the text, it disrupts the texture of the section and is followed by an incongruous sounding A major chord:

Fig. 45. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 27–29].

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "world is full of troubles and is anxious in its sleep." There is a triplet of eighth notes in the first measure and a dynamic marking of *p* (piano) above the second measure. The middle and bottom staves are for piano accompaniment, with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The piano part features a melodic line in the right hand and a more rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. A dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo) is present in the second measure of the piano part.

Further poor writing is seen from bar 56; Boyle uses a G9 chord, which gives no resolution of the previous passage and fails to provide an effective bridge back to E minor:

Fig. 46. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 53–58].

The image shows a musical score for three systems of staves. The top system has a vocal line with lyrics: "world more full of weeping than you can understand -". The middle system has piano accompaniment. The bottom system has a vocal line with lyrics: "stand A way with us he's going. The" and piano accompaniment. There is a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo) above the second measure of the bottom vocal line. A "con ped." (con pedale) marking is at the end of the piano part in the bottom system.

Rhythmically, the piece is varied and unsystematic. The same rhythm is used for the refrains, which are usually followed by staccato quavers, such as those used in the opening. In bar 39, Boyle introduces a new rhythmic pattern which is repeated until bar 46, when there is an interruption as she moves to 3/4 for one bar, before returning to 5/4 time in bar 47 and repeating the pattern. There is no apparent reason for this 'interruption' and it is indicative of the lack of continuity throughout the song:

Fig. 47. Boyle, 'The Stolen Child' [bars 45–47].

She then uses a combination of held chords and staccato quavers to finish the song. While Boyle was clearly trying to expand both her harmonic language and technique, her lack of experience in song writing is evident.

From 1923, Boyle had begun to travel to London to take lessons with Ralph Vaughan Williams. Her involvement with the Carnegie Trust and RCM Fund meant that Vaughan Williams was exposed to her work. After exchanging correspondence, Boyle took her first composition lesson with Vaughan Williams at his home in February 1923, where they considered 'Colin Clout.' Vaughan Williams did not ask Boyle to complete exercises, but instead lessons consisted of analysis and critical comment of her already written works.⁴⁴⁰ This style of tuition continued via correspondence between 1924 and 1927, where Vaughan Williams would review her music and provide a critical commentary. She returned to London for formal lessons in 1928. At a lesson on 4 February 1928, Vaughan Williams specifically warned her against over-sophistication in songs of a simple type, referencing 'The Stolen Child,' saying he thought Stanford had done this too much.⁴⁴¹ Her diary entry of 11 February 1928 indicates that he deemed 'The Stolen Child' to be unsatisfactory and that there was no use in trying to alter it. Boyle agreed with this verdict, writing that the mistakes were too general.⁴⁴²

Vaughan Williams also deemed 'They Went Forth' (1926) to be fundamentally flawed.⁴⁴³ While this song is not as adventurous as 'The Stolen Child,' Boyle constantly

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁴¹ Ina Boyle, 'Diary extracts of Selina (Ina) Boyle,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 10959, 3.

⁴⁴² Boyle, 'Diary extracts of Selina (Ina) Boyle,' 4

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 4.

switches between 9/8 and 6/8 time, which disrupts the metre. Boyle uses a motif to represent the Pied Piper when she uses quintuplet and septuplet figures in the upper part of the piano in the introduction and she uses ascending and descending semiquaver figures to similar effect in bars 14–16; however, there is little consistency to the themes used. The song also contains some unassured harmonic progressions; the song is in the key of E minor, and from bar 15 Boyle uses chords of i, v, VI, and arrives on a chord of F minor in bar 17. This is followed by a chord of i (E minor) in bar 18 and an unexpected chord of F-sharp major in bar 19, to move to a new key of B minor in bar 20.

Vaughan Williams was more impressed with ‘A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep,’ which was also written in 1926.⁴⁴⁴ Like ‘Sleep Song,’ it is also a lullaby, light in texture and in 3/4 time. Her harmonic writing is also less adventurous than most of her songs of this time, and the song stays entirely in B minor. There is harmonic unity between voice and piano, which helps create the serene lullaby-like atmosphere in fitting with the text. The ideas are effective and do not suffer from over-complication. The song is defined by a type of rocking effect in the piano, which reoccurs throughout the song, sometimes with slight variations and does not contain any abrupt harmonic shifts that mar her other songs:

Fig. 48. Boyle, ‘A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep’ [bars 1–4].



She occasionally switches to block chords, most notably in bars 32–35, where descending three-note crotchet chords in the treble clef are played over a bass pedal of first D, then E in octaves, before moving back to the rocking effect in bar 37 to bring the song to a close. This is a simple idea, but it is effective in signifying a winding down of the song on the last line of text:

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

Fig. 49. Boyle, ‘A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep’ [bars 32–36].

The result of Vaughan Williams’ advice can be seen clearly in her next two Irish art songs, ‘Blessing’ and ‘Himself and his Fiddle’ which are of a more simple nature. ‘Himself and his Fiddle’ can be regarded as a quasi-folk song, with four verses (all in C minor) in 6/8 time replicating a type of jig. ‘Blessing’ is a short song in F-sharp minor and is proficiently written, and does not contain any sudden harmonic changes. Furthermore, an opening idea in the two-bar piano introduction is imitated in the final two bars to round off the song:

Fig. 50. Boyle, ‘Blessing’ [bars 1–2, 26–28].

Boyle also uses a descending figure in the piano when there is either a break or a longer note in the vocal line, e.g. bars 8–9, 16, 21, 22–23. This is a simple yet effective idea in achieving unity between voice and piano parts.

Much recent commentary on the career of Ina Boyle has focussed on the fact that she led an almost reclusive lifestyle in Enniskerry. Elizabeth Maconchy attributes her lack of recognition to this situation, writing that living ‘out of the world’ meant that she made very

few musical contacts and, as a result, her music remained little known.⁴⁴⁵ However, an analysis of Boyle's Irish art songs from the first thirty years of the twentieth century indicates that there were problems with her song writing, the result of a lack of a grounding in technique. While this was partly due to her isolation in Enniskerry, it was also indicative of the standard of teaching available in Ireland outside of an institution. Boyle's education in Ireland was confined to tuition from musicians who settled in Dublin. It is surprising that Boyle never attended classes at RIAM, where women had been admitted as students since 1904.⁴⁴⁶

While travelling to London for Vaughan Williams to review her work was certainly helpful, Boyle probably would have benefited more from classes in composition in a more formal environment. While Vaughan Williams was certainly one of the leading composers in Britain, he was not renowned as a teacher and Boyle did not benefit greatly from his tuition. Even though she began studying with him in 1923, 'The Stolen Child' and 'They Went Forth' were written in 1926 and Vaughan Williams did not view them until 1928. Furthermore, although he became a professor at the RCM, none of Vaughan Williams's students achieved any great success.⁴⁴⁷ Vaughan Williams was also aware of the limitations of private tuition, given that this situation did not bring Boyle into contact with fellow composition students in the way a college environment could. He felt he learnt more from discussions with the likes of Gustav Holst and Fritz Hart (1874–1949) than from any amount of formal teaching and advised Boyle to acquaint herself with her peers as much as possible.⁴⁴⁸ Boyle studied with Vaughan Williams both by correspondence and in person for a total of sixteen years, an unusually long time. Both he and his wife came to consider Boyle as a close family friend, and would often chat to Boyle about contemporary music affairs and the concerts she had recently attended. Boyle had also made friendships with Elizabeth Maconchy and violinist Anne Macnaghten (1908–2000), so Boyle probably viewed these trips to London as both educational and social. Lessons incorporated conversations about current musical trends and music performances they had attended. Her periodic visits to London also afforded her the opportunity to go to concerts, operas and ballet and to the British Museum.

⁴⁴⁵ Maconchy, *Ina Boyle: An Appreciation with select list of her music*.

⁴⁴⁶ Ita Beausang, 'The Power of Persistence—Ina Boyle,' in Michael Dervan (ed.), *The Invisible art: a century of music in Ireland, 1916-2016* (Dublin: New Island Books, 2016), 27.

⁴⁴⁷ Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 136.

⁴⁴⁸ Foreman, *Ralph Vaughan Williams in Perspective: Studies of an English Composer*, 186.

Boyle's musical development probably never reached its full potential and Elizabeth Maconchy wrote of her friend that her music was 'never brilliant, though it has its moments of wit or passion.'⁴⁴⁹ When studying with Vaughan Williams in 1931, he enquired as to whether she might have the opportunity for further study abroad. Boyle replied that such a scenario was impossible, but she hoped to attend an International Music Festival in Oxford.⁴⁵⁰ Vaughan Williams was clearly of the opinion that Boyle could mature if she received further training. After the Carnegie Trust Award in 1920, her most notable achievement during her lifetime was in 1948, when she submitted her *Lament for Bion* for tenor and strings to the Olympic Cultural Activities Committee for the London Olympics. The BBC offered to judge the entries and to broadcast the winning composition to its country of origin. Boyle received an 'Honourable Mention,' and while the gold medal was awarded to Zbigniew Turski (1908–1979) of Poland for his *Olympic Symphony*, the BBC judged the standard to be so lamentable that none of the compositions were either broadcast or performed in London.⁴⁵¹ Her most proficient Irish art songs are those in which Boyle uses a narrow harmonic language and are relatively short, owing more to the style used by Stanford rather than Harty.

v. **Rhoda Coghill**

Rhoda Coghill was born in Dublin in 1903 and attended Alexandra College in Earlsford Terrace in Dublin. She initially learned the piano from her mother at home, before being enrolled in the Patricia Read Leinster School of Music.⁴⁵² Coghill would later become a member of the teaching staff at The Read School of Pianoforte Playing.⁴⁵³ She was self-taught as a composer, studying for the Mus.B. from TCD with Charles Kitson.⁴⁵⁴ She gained employment playing double bass with the Dublin Philharmonic Society and Radio Éireann.⁴⁵⁵ In 1927, on the advice of Fritz Brase (1875–1940) who directed the Free State Army Bands, Coghill travelled to Berlin to study piano with Austrian pianist Artur Schnabel (1882–1951) on his four week artists' holiday course.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁴⁹ Maconchy, *Ina Boyle: An Appreciation with select list of her music*.

⁴⁵⁰ Boyle, 'Diary extracts of Selina (Ina) Boyle,' 15.

⁴⁵¹ Janie Hampton, *The Austerity Olympics: When the Games Came to London in 1948* (London: Aurum Press, 2008), 194.

⁴⁵² Watson, 'Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet,' 4.

⁴⁵³ Fleischmann (ed.), *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, 128.

⁴⁵⁴ Axel Klein, 'Rhoda [Sinclair] Coghill,' in White & Boydell (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, 213.

⁴⁵⁵ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, 37 & 92.

⁴⁵⁶ 'I have my own notion of how things should be: Coghill, Rhoda,' *The Irish Times* (19 February 2000), 8; E. M. Clarke, 'Miss Rhoda Coghill,' *The Irish Times* (9 January 1939), 7.

Coghill worked chiefly as a piano accompanist, with Richard Pine writing that she had remarkable sight-reading capabilities and ‘perfect pitch.’⁴⁵⁷ Her most famous piece is her cantata *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking* based on the poem by Walt Whitman. Although it was written in 1923, it was first performed in the 1950s on a reduced scale with no choir or tenor soloist, and only fully performed in the 1990s.⁴⁵⁸ This and her *Gaelic Phantasy*, which she arranged for orchestra in 1979, were the only two orchestral works Coghill composed, highlighting the limited conditions composers based in Ireland had to contend with. Coghill also told Axel Klein of how she was forced to rewrite some of the chromatic sections of the piano version of her *Gaelic Phantasy* in 1937 to appease the Irish Government Publisher *An Gúm*.⁴⁵⁹

Coghill was successful at the Feis Ceoil, where she won prizes as both a pianist and a composer. This included a Composer’s Prize in 1924 for her arrangement of ‘Air No 62’ from the *Feis Ceoil Collection*, ‘Creeven Cno,’ to a text by Patrick Joseph McCall of the same name.⁴⁶⁰ In 1926, she wrote another arrangement of ‘Air No 10’ from the Feis Ceoil Collection ‘An Súistín Bán’ (The White Flail), to a text by Dion Boucicault entitled ‘Peasant Woman’s Song.’⁴⁶¹ In the same year, she wrote an arrangement of the old Irish air ‘Among the Heather’ to a text by William Allingham (1824–1889), which was published by Pigott & Co. in Dublin. ‘Creeven Cno’ and ‘Among the Heather’ were Coghill’s only works to be published in the 1920s, and while her success in the Feis Ceoil was undoubtedly a factor, it perhaps illustrates a preference by the publisher (Pigott & Co.) for songs that used traditional Irish melodies.

Coghill also set five poems by Padraic Colum to traditional Irish airs between 1923 and 1926, including ‘At the Fore of the Year,’ which is reported to have won a Feis Ceoil prize in 1926.⁴⁶² Coghill only wrote a small number of original songs, principally because the annual

⁴⁵⁷ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, 93.

⁴⁵⁸ ‘Rhoda Coghill,’ *Contemporary Music Centre* (<https://www.cmc.ie/composers/rhoda-coghill>, 28 April 2016).

⁴⁵⁹ Axel Klein, Unpublished Interview with Rhoda Coghill, 1994.

⁴⁶⁰ Creeven Cno is an anglicised form of the Gaelic ‘Craoibhin Cnó,’ which means ‘a little cluster of nuts.’ This air was originally published in *The Darley & McCall Collection of Traditional Irish Music* in 1914; Rhoda Coghill, ‘A Little Cluster of Nuts,’ Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 11111.

⁴⁶¹ Rhoda Coghill, ‘A Peasant Woman’s Song,’ Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 11111.

⁴⁶² Laura Watson argues that it is more likely that ‘Among the Heather’ won the Feis Ceoil prize in 1926 rather than ‘At the Fore of the Year,’ as this would explain why it was published by Pigott & Co.; Watson, ‘Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet,’ 13.

syllabi of the Feis Ceoil in the 1920s show that in composition competitions, competitors were required to arrange airs from the 1914 *Feis Ceoil Collection of Irish Airs Hitherto Unpublished*. Coghill's only original song to a piece of Irish poetry in this period was 'Mary Moriarty,' a setting of a text by Winifred Mary Letts which was composed in 1925. This, like Boyle's Irish art songs, was not published. She would later compose four original songs using poems by George Æ Russell dating from 1941, three of which she performed in 1950 with baritone Tomás Ó Súilleabháin (1919–2012).⁴⁶³

While it is difficult to establish Coghill's writing style from one song, 'Mary Moriarty' indicates that she was developing a more advanced type of writing. While her arrangements of Irish airs use a simple harmonic language, this was possibly to fulfil the criteria for the Feis Ceoil. The piano accompaniment is initially sparse with block chords, but the vocal line is far more active. As a result, the opening of the song has a quasi-recitative feel. The notation of the song is somewhat unusual; the majority of what is written in 12/8 time could more conventionally be notated like the opening in 4/4. While the song is essentially in F minor, again the way in which this is articulated is sometimes unconventional; for example, the tonic appears in bar 3 under the vocal entry but is a second inversion chord and also has an added seventh:

Fig. 51. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 1–3].

The cadence at the close of the song is similarly unorthodox, with an open fifth chord of C and G progressing to a $i7^b$ chord, which is followed by a staccato quaver of F in the bass to finish:

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

Fig. 52. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 26–28].

The musical score for 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 26–28] is presented in two systems. The top system shows the vocal line in a treble clef with a key signature of three flats and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are 'my long fa - mi - ly.' The vocal line features a triplet of eighth notes on the word 'fa'. The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and is marked 'p poco sostenuto' and 'pp'. The piano part consists of block chords in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

The passage between bars 19 and 21 is also unusual. The piano part drifts above the vocal line, but perhaps to counterbalance any lack of support for the vocalist the three-quaver pattern frequently begins on the same note as the vocal line creating bare octaves:

Fig. 53. Coghill, 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 19–21].

The musical score for 'Mary Moriarty' [bars 19–21] is presented in two systems. The top system shows the vocal line in a treble clef with a key signature of three flats and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are 'moi - dered with my care, Ra - rin' chil - dren, fee - din' fowl, what way would I be?'. The vocal line features a triplet of eighth notes on the word 'Ra'. The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and is marked 'p poco sostenuto' and 'pp'. The piano part consists of a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a simple bass line in the left hand.

While it is clear from this song that Coghill is willing to engage with a more advanced language than she used in her arrangements, like Boyle she is overambitious for a song of simple form. However, given her 1923 rhapsody *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking* was described by Axel Klein as 'the most original contribution to Irish musical impressionism,' 'Mary Moriarty' is indicative of her exploratory approach at this time.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ Klein, 'Roots and direction in twentieth-century art music,' 173.

vii. **John Larchet**

John Larchet holds an important position in the history of Irish music as he was the first musician of stature in the modern era whose education and working life were spent exclusively at ‘home.’ Furthermore, he has a key role in this study, given that he not only wrote art songs thematically similar to those written in London by Stanford and Harty, but because he significantly improved the standard of training available as a teacher. Larchet was born in Dublin in 1884 and studied at RIAM with Michele Esposito, taking the Mus.B. and Mus.D. from TCD. Larchet could remain in Ireland, given that he received a number of high profile positions, which sustained him financially throughout his compositional career. Between 1907 and 1935, Larchet was the director of music at the Abbey Theatre, and in 1920 he was appointed to the staff of RIAM, succeeding Michele Esposito as senior lecturer in composition, harmony and counterpoint.⁴⁶⁵ In 1921, he succeeded Charles Kitson as professor of music at University College Dublin. In his role as music adviser to the Irish Army, he developed the Army School of Music and he served as principal examiner for the Irish Department of Education and for the local centre examinations of RIAM.⁴⁶⁶

Larchet’s compositional output was relatively small, as he devoted much of his time to teaching, and is predominantly remembered as an arranger of Irish airs. Many of the arrangements derive from his work at the Abbey theatre, and he re-scored some of them in later years. His *Irish Airs* for piano and violin were published in Dublin in 1926 and he paid particular attention to Moore and Stevenson’s *Irish Melodies*, but Harry White argues that his art songs are among the best examples of his original voice.⁴⁶⁷

While some of his theatrical music for the Abbey Theatre is undated, a number of his early art songs were published in London; one is a setting of a text by Jane Taylor (1783–1824), ‘In Sweet Humility,’ and there were two songs to texts by an unknown writer H. Wyles; ‘Love, and a Garden’ and ‘Love’s Question.’⁴⁶⁸ However, Larchet found it difficult to get most of his songs published and as a result enlisted the help of his friend, John McCormack. He showed

⁴⁶⁵ Clarke, ‘John Francis Larchet,’ 579.

⁴⁶⁶ Harry White, ‘John F. Larchet,’ Oxford Music Online (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 12 May 2016).

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ John Larchet, *In Sweet Humility* (London: Moore, Smith & Co, 1906); John Larchet, *Love, and a Garden* (London: C. Woolhouse, 1906); John Larchet, *Love’s Question* (London: C Woolhouse, 1906).

McCormack his setting of the Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) text ‘Love’s Philosophy.’ McCormack told Larchet that he would show it to his friend Arthur Boosey (1857–1919) when he was next in London and this led to the 1908 publication of the song by Boosey & Co.⁴⁶⁹ Another publication of ‘In Sweet Humility’ followed in 1910 and his first distinctly Irish piece was published by Weekes & Co. in 1911; namely, his *Irish Dance No 1* for violin and piano. Larchet’s next significant publications were three art songs based on the texts of Ulsterman Padraic Gregory. The first of these, ‘Padraic the Fiddler,’ was published by Boosey & Co. in London in 1919 and was brought to international prominence when it was recorded by John McCormack. ‘An Ardglass Boat Song’ was soon to follow in 1920, published by Stainer & Bell and ‘A Stóirín Bán’ was published by Boosey & Co. in 1922.

Padraic Gregory was an architect by trade, but is remembered as a founding member of the Ulster Theatre, the Northern wing of the Irish Literary Revival. He and composer Charles Wood would later edit and arrange *Anglo-Irish Folk Songs: Volume One* in 1931. His poetry was motivated by a desire to capture the stories, ballads and songs he had heard throughout the counties in the North of Ireland, and it was written in an Ulster-Scots dialect, as Gregory would have heard it spoken.⁴⁷⁰

Fig. 54. Larchet’s Irish Art Songs to 1930.

Year	Song
1919	Padraic the Fiddler
1920	An Ardglass Boat Song
1922	A Stóirín Bán

Larchet’s ‘Padraic the Fiddler’ was written for voice, piano and violin *obligato*, which is how John McCormack recorded it in 1924, with Austrian violinist Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962). The original publication also has an arrangement for just voice and piano, with the violin part incorporated into to the right hand of the piano, with some chords in brackets, which Larchet instructs should not be played if there is a violin *obligato*.⁴⁷¹ The song is often performed like this and was recorded in this format by Bernadette Greevy and Hugh Tinney for their *A Sheaf of Songs from Ireland* album in 1998. The song is quite simple, with four

⁴⁶⁹ Raymond Foxall, *John McCormack* (London: Robert Hale, 1963), 115.

⁴⁷⁰ ‘Biography,’ *Padraic Gregory* (http://www.padraicgregory.com/?page_id=16, 19 September 2016).

⁴⁷¹ John Larchet, *Padraic the Fiddler* (London: Boosey & Co, 1919), 2.

verses in ABAB form and it follows a basic harmonic structure. The vocal line is lyrical, with a pause on a high G in bar 38, generating a typical sentimentality as the song approaches its conclusion:

Fig. 55. Larchet, ‘Padraic the Fiddiler’ [bars 37–38].

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Padraic the Fiddiler' from bars 37 to 38. It is written in 4/4 time. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: 'me; For if I go out he'. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment, featuring a 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking and a 'f' (forte) marking. The bottom staff is the violin part, which includes a fermata over the final note. The score is presented in a standard musical notation format with treble clefs for the vocal and violin parts, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) for the piano accompaniment.

While Larchet was critical of such conventions in his ‘A Plea for music’ article, the song appears to resemble the popular Irish ballad, a type of song that McCormack regularly recorded. What slightly distinguishes the song from this format is its ‘violin part,’ which contains flourishes of chromaticism in the interludes between verses. The ‘original’ piano part consists mainly of homophonic chords that provide a bass part for the more animated voice and ‘violin’ parts. Interestingly, McCormack is much more rhythmically free than the written vocal line and Kreisler’s part is more virtuosic than the printed violin part in the 1924 recording, adding longer descents and playing at different octaves.⁴⁷² This either suggests that Larchet’s score was written for a much less accomplished violin player, and he was therefore happy for Kreisler to improvise, or that Larchet wrote another version for the recording. However, as this does not appear to have been published, it is more likely that Larchet was happy for McCormack and Kreisler to elaborate upon his score. While the song is far more harmonically simple than Stanford and Harty’s art songs, staying in A minor, it is more coherent than any of O’Brien Butler’s songs, and the voice, piano and ‘violin’ parts are well balanced.

With his two other songs from this period there is a definitive move away from the ballad format to a more sophisticated type of song. ‘An Ardglass Boat Song’ which is also in A minor is in 6/8 time, presumably to imitate the gentle rocking of the boat. The piano part is initially sparse and semiquaver figures are established from bar 22, probably replicating the

⁴⁷² *McCormack and Kreisler in Recital*, John McCormack (tenor), Fritz Kreisler (violin), Edwin Schneider (piano), compact disc Prima Voce N17868, 1995.

waves of the Irish Sea, as the song moves to F major.⁴⁷³ Larchet's writing at this point is quite contrapuntal; the right hand of the piano has a clear upper melody, which harmonically follows the vocal line, and a lower part of semiquavers. From bar 26 the piano resembles an accompaniment by Hamilton Harty, with constant semiquaver figures in the right hand, and harmonically there is a chromatic shift upwards:

Fig. 56. Larchet, 'An Ardglass Boat Song' [bars 25–29].

The accompaniment in the second verse is varied, with the use of semiquavers interspersed with dotted crotchet chords, until bar 47 when a similar idea to that in bar 26 reoccurs. This is followed by a move to A major in bars 52–55, before Larchet returns to A minor and winds the song down with the semiquavers gradually dissipating. The vocal line is predominantly in a duple metre throughout, except for the end of each verse, where the ornamentation in the vocal line affords the singer an opportunity for rubato. In this song Larchet is successful in creating a romantic harmonic language, similar to that used by Hamilton Harty. While 'An Ardglass Boat Song' was written some years after Harty wrote songs of this nature, it is the first published Irish art song from a composer in Ireland to replicate the style of song that was popular in England, and Walter Starkie (1894–1976) asserted that 'Padraic the Fiddler' and 'An Ardglass Boat Song' were 'true evocations of the Irish spirit.'⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Ardglass is a coastal village in Co. Down.

⁴⁷⁴ Joseph Ryan, 'Music in Independent Ireland since 1921' in J.R. Hill (ed.), *A New History of Ireland VII: Ireland 1921-1984* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 644.

‘A Stóirín Bán’ is similarly themed and is typical of the Irish hush song or lullaby.⁴⁷⁵ It is again harmonically basic, entirely in D minor and with modal inflections that create an air of melancholy, similar to that of a folk ballad. It begins with a two-bar figure in the piano in 2/4 time, which is repeated for the first 16 bars, though it is slightly altered at times. The vocal line initially imitates this, but becomes more elaborate, constantly moving between upper and lower registers. Larchet creates a refrain, where there is a change in metre from 2/4 to 6/8 time in each verse at the text ‘A leinbh mo chroidhe,’ (bar 19, 56, 89) creating a rocking effect, commonly found in lullabies.⁴⁷⁶ Larchet creates an attractive interplay between voice and piano in the middle of this refrain with the ‘A leinbh mo chroidhe’ melody (bars 19–21) prefigured in the piano part at bars 27–29 before it reappears in the vocal line in bars 28–30:

Fig. 57. Larchet, ‘A Stóirín Bán’ [bars 19–21, 27–30].

The figure displays two systems of musical notation for the song 'A Stóirín Bán'. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff).
 The first system, labeled 'Bars 19-21', shows the vocal line in 2/4 time with lyrics 'A leinbh mo chroidhe, a'. A triplet of eighth notes is marked above the first three notes of the vocal line. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand.
 The second system, labeled 'Bars 27-30', shows the vocal line in 6/8 time with lyrics 'dawn, A leinbh mo chroidhe, a'. The piano accompaniment continues with a similar eighth-note bass line and a more active right hand.

Larchet has also in his vocal line incorporated stylised forms of vocal ornament associated with traditional singing such as can be seen at the word ‘twilight’ to evoke an Irish flavour:

⁴⁷⁵ A literal translation of the Gaelic title means ‘sweet little white one.’ The song is sometimes referred to in its Hiberno-English form ‘Asthoreen Bawn’ and also ‘Sleep Song.’

⁴⁷⁶ ‘A leinbh mo chroidhe’ is a Hiberno-English expression that means ‘child of my heart;’ T.P. Dolan, *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English: The Irish use of English* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 2004), 6.

Fig. 58. Larchet, ‘A Stóirín Bán’ [bars 6–8].

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, 2/4 time. The lyrics are: 'fall an' the twi - - - light dies, A'. The middle and bottom staves are the piano accompaniment in treble and bass clefs respectively. The piano part features a prominent falling seventh interval in bar 7, which is highlighted as an integral part of the melodic line.

The song is carefully structured and the use of a falling seventh (bar 7) is an integral part of the melodic line, whereas with the songs of Ina Boyle, such leaps are usually a result of poor harmonic progressions. Although his contribution to the genre is small, Larchet’s songs are of a high standard and in ‘An Ardglass Boat Song’ and ‘A Stóirín Bán’ he successfully incorporates a stylised Irish sound to original art song.

viii. **Frederick May**

The other notable composer in Ireland at this time who wrote similarly themed Irish art songs was Frederick May, who was a student of John Larchet. May was born in 1911 in Donnybrook, Co. Dublin. His first music studies were privately studying theory with John Larchet and piano with Larchet’s wife. He later transferred to RIAM, where he continued studying harmony and counterpoint with Larchet and piano with Michele Esposito.⁴⁷⁷ He was a regular attendee of concerts given by the RIAM Student’s Music Union, and was particularly inspired by a performance of ‘On Wenlock Edge,’ writing that it was his first introduction to both poet (Houseman) and composer (Vaughan Williams) and that both would have a lasting influence.⁴⁷⁸ In July 1930, he took his preliminary examination for the Mus.B. at TCD, before departing for London on a scholarship of £100 he received from the Feis Ceoil for further study in piano.⁴⁷⁹ He enrolled in the RCM and chose composition as his principal study, and his teachers included Charles Kitson, Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gordon Jacob (1894–1984). He would complete his examinations at TCD in 1931.⁴⁸⁰ May’s talent was evident and he

⁴⁷⁷ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, iv.

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Frederick May’ in Richard Pine and Charles Acton (eds.), *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 1998), 391.

⁴⁷⁹ ‘Feis Ceoil Minutes 29 May 1930,’ National Library of Ireland, IE NLI MS 34915/5.

⁴⁸⁰ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, iv.

received a number of scholarships at RCM, travelling to Vienna in 1933 to study with Egon Wellesz (1885–1974).

While May is best remembered for his few instrumental works, most notably his String Quartet in C minor, he wrote many songs throughout his career, including some during his time studying with Larchet in Dublin. May's papers in the Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library include a large amount of student works, including exercises in compositional technique. These include settings of Yeats's 'The Stolen Child' and 'Sheep and Lambs' by Katharine Tynan.⁴⁸¹ May set a translation of a Gaelic poem circa 1929, which he called 'Irish Love Song.' This was published in 1930 by Pigott and Co., presumably on the recommendation of Larchet. May also set 'Hesperus' by James Stephens (1825–1901) when he was eighteen (1929), according to an interview he gave to Donncha Ó Dúlaing in 1975.⁴⁸² The song was scheduled to be performed at RIAM's Students Music Union in 1930, but the singer was taken ill.⁴⁸³

Although Frederick May did not write in a style synonymous with the 'Irish ballad,' he chose poets with strong Republican connections. This reflected his own ideology and interest in cultural nationalism, which he developed from reading Irish history.⁴⁸⁴ 'Irish Love Song' is based on the closing lines of 'The Narrow Road,' a poem in Gaelic by Douglas Hyde from his *Love Songs of Connaught* in 1904. The version used by May is a reworking by Lady Gregory which appears in *Poets and Dreamers: Songs and Translations from the Irish*, rather than a direct translation that appeared in Eleanor Hull's (1860–1935) *Poem Book of the Gael*.⁴⁸⁵ Although Gregory was born in Galway into a class that identified closely with Unionism, she became a supporter of Home Rule and Irish nationalism, writing that she held a 'dislike and distrust of England.'⁴⁸⁶ Hyde was a prominent figure in the Gaelic revival, and Lady Gregory wrote that beneath Gaelic nature there is a 'melancholy spirit' and that 'grief and trouble' can be found in many of Hyde's love songs.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁴⁸² The score of Hesperus examined in this study is the version that appears in: Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, 4–6.

⁴⁸³ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May.*, ix.

⁴⁸⁴ RTE Radio Libraries and Archives, Interview with Frederick May.

⁴⁸⁵ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, ix.

⁴⁸⁶ Gina Sigillito, *The Daughters of Maeve: 50 Irish Women who Changed the World* (Kensington: Citadel Press, 2007), 66.

⁴⁸⁷ Isabella Augusta Gregory & Douglas Hyde, *Poets and Dreamers: Studies and Translations from the Irish* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis & Co., 1903), 84.

‘Hesperus’ is a translation of a Sappho text by James Stephens and is of a higher standard than that of ‘Irish Love Song.’ Stephens was a close friend of Thomas McDonagh and began his studies in writing with George Æ Russell. His first book of poetry *Insurrections* was published in 1909.⁴⁸⁸ In 1916, his influential book *The Insurrection in Dublin* was published, which vividly described the scenes of the 1916 Easter Rising.⁴⁸⁹ ‘Hesperus’ appeared in his 1915 poetry collection *Songs from the Clay* and May received permission from Stephens in person to set the text.⁴⁹⁰

It is fair to assume that May was not aware of Boyle’s setting of Yeats’s ‘The Stolen Child’ in 1926. It is noteworthy though that this Yeats text was chosen independently by two composers in this study. As May’s setting was a student work, it is possible that the text was prescribed by Larchet; however, the romantic imagery of a child being led to the ‘faeries’ in Yeats’s verse clearly provided creative inspiration. ‘Sheep and Lambs’ by Katharine Tynan was best known as a hymn, which was arranged by Hugh S. Robertson (1874–1952) in 1911.⁴⁹¹ Again it is possible that the text was chosen by Larchet for his student to write his own setting.

Fig. 59. May’s Irish Art Songs to 1930.

Date	Song
1927–8	The Stolen Child
c.1928–9	Sheep and Lambs
1929	Hesperus
1930	Irish Love Song

Reviewing Frederick May’s student songs not only provides an insight into his development, it forms an interesting comparison to Ina Boyle, and the standard of education available to May, twenty years after Boyle was at this stage of her career. May’s setting of ‘The Stolen Child’ is at first glance far less adventurous than Boyle’s; it is predominantly in C-sharp minor, with a piano part that is based mainly on repeated triplet figures. May uses an attractive

⁴⁸⁸ Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 338.

⁴⁸⁹ Patricia McFate, *The Writings of James Stephens: Variations on the Theme of Love* (London: MacMillan Press, 1979), 142.

⁴⁹⁰ James Stephens, *Songs from the Clay* (London: MacMillan and Co, 1915), 30; Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, x.

⁴⁹¹ Angela Bourke (ed.), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Volume 4: Irish Women’s Women and Tradition* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 567.

refrain for the close of each verse (starting ‘Come away oh human child’) for which the triplets are replaced by semiquavers and there is a shift from duple to triple metre:

Fig. 60. May, ‘The Stolen Child’ [bars 13–16].

The musical score for bars 13-16 of 'The Stolen Child' is presented in two systems. The top system is the vocal line, starting at bar 13. It features a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The lyrics are: 'red - est sto-len che - rries Come a-way, O hu - man child to the'. The music includes a *mp* (mezzo-piano) dynamic marking and a triplet of eighth notes at the end of bar 16. The bottom system is the piano accompaniment, starting at bar 13. It features a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a key signature of three sharps. The piano part includes a triplet of eighth notes in the bass line at the beginning of bar 13 and another triplet of eighth notes in the right hand at the end of bar 16. The piano part is marked *mp*.

Within these confines there are attempts to illustrate some parts of the text in the music; for example, at the opening of the second verse which depicts the line ‘Where the wave of moonlight glosses the dim grey sands with light,’ the triplet figure in the right hand shifts up an octave. To vary the third verse May adds some tentative chromatic writing to the vocal line particularly at bars 60–62:

Fig. 61. May, ‘The Stolen Child’ [bars 60–62].

The musical score for bars 60-62 of 'The Stolen Child' is presented in two systems. The top system is the vocal line, starting at bar 60. It features a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps. The lyrics are: 'pools a - mong the ru - shes that scarce could bathe a'. The music includes a *mp* (mezzo-piano) dynamic marking. The bottom system is the piano accompaniment, starting at bar 60. It features a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a key signature of three sharps. The piano part consists of a continuous triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass line.

The final refrain is also reshaped slightly to fit the change in words to ‘For he comes, the human child.’ Despite these attempts to vary the verses the song is quite repetitive, and the constant homophonic chording in the piano inhibits the song’s lyricism. Some of the problems may be caused by the length of the text, which provides a major challenge to an inexperienced composer. However, it is a proficient work from his time as a student.

It should be noted that Boyle was at a more advanced stage in her career when she wrote ‘The Stolen Child’ and was trying to engage with a more mature writing style. However, her attempts in the song to match the otherworldliness of the verse make her song harmonically incoherent. Perhaps a better analogy between the two composers’ formative years could be

ascertained with a comparison with Boyle’s earlier ‘Sea Wrack,’ which was effectively a student song. While May’s song is slightly lacklustre in its response to the text and the piano part is somewhat immature, it was probably intended as a functional exercise to establish the basics of song writing. However, it demonstrates a more systematic harmonic approach than is found in Boyle’s early song.

May’s ‘Sheep and Lambs’ is in A major and the vocal line is simple, with much step by step movement and most phrases usually end on an E, the dominant. While the piano part is active, it is repetitive with a consistent motif of two semiquavers followed by a quaver rest in the piano. The most attractive section of the song is found in the piano in bars 42–49 where the right hand replicates the pattern of the vocal line over a B minor chord in the left. This might be a reaction to a Christian image of ‘the Cross’ in the preceding text:

Fig. 62. May, ‘Sheep and Lambs’ [bars 38–49].

While both ‘The Stolen Child’ and ‘Sheep and Lambs’ are of a higher standard than the songs of O’Brien Butler, and are more secure than Boyle’s early songs, neither was considered to be of a high enough standard for publication.

‘Irish Love Song’ differs from the published songs of his teacher Larchet as, although it is simple relative to May’s later works, it follows a less conventional structure. Even though the song is only 27 bars in length and would take little more than ninety seconds to perform, there are three clear sections; first the *Andante con moto* (bars 1–10), then the *Meno Mosso* (11–18) and a closing section of bars 22–28. The first section begins with bare quaver chord

progressions in the piano part, with the vocal line beginning in bar three. The piano continues in the same manner, leading the song to the *Meno Mosso* section, where there is more interaction between voice and piano. The piano contains a series of chords and semiquaver figures on the last beat of bars eleven and twelve, which is similar to an ornament or roll used on the violin. This is repeated in the vocal line, possibly to imitate the style of ‘sean nós’ singing, and is reminiscent of the stylised ornaments used by Larchet. In bars 15–18, the piano combines this ‘roll’ with block quaver chords, and a *rallantando* in the second half of bar 18 indicates the end of the second section. The third section returns to the original tempo and is a variant of the first. Harmonically, the song begins in A minor, yet recurring F-sharps give the song a modal quality. In the latter part of the song, May sporadically introduces a G-sharp, mixing tonalities of E minor and E major. He finishes the song on a first inversion chord of E major, which leaves a sense of unresolved tension.

In ‘Hesperus’ May adopts a clearer strophic form, with the third verse being a direct repeat harmonically of the first. However, there is less repetition than is found in his ‘student’ songs, and it demonstrates a more assured technique. The piano accompaniment is well written, with subtle quaver chords that do not overpower the vocal line. May has written *quasi recit* over the vocal line, indicating that the singer has a certain freedom with their delivery. Harmonically, the song is relatively uncomplicated in E-flat major, with constant flattened sevenths giving it a modal quality. May establishes a relationship with the flattened mediant, often using chords of G-flat (e.g. the first beat of the bars 2, 19 and 35) and he also uses chords of B-flat minor as a dominant chord, in bars 12–13 for instance. Another moment of harmonic colour is shown in bar 26, when a chord of C major acts as a secondary dominant to F minor, which itself acts as a chord of ii for a Ic–V–I progression in E-flat major in bars 27–28:

Fig. 63. May, ‘Hesperus’ [bars 26–28].

The musical score for 'Hesperus' [bars 26–28] is presented in a two-staff format. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom staff is the piano accompaniment. The key signature is E-flat major (three flats), and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line begins with the lyrics: "And to the moth-er's breast the Ti-red child doth come and take his rest." The piano accompaniment features block quaver chords and semiquaver figures. A "sonore" marking is present in the piano part. The score is numbered 26 at the beginning and 29 at the end.

While 'Hesperus' does not display anything particularly innovative, it and 'Irish Love Song' give an early indication of May's independent attitude towards composition as the songs do not follow any of the conventions commonly used by many of his contemporaries. It should be noted too that these songs were written before May studied abroad and matured as a composer; however, they are indicative of the move May was to make in the 1930s to a more complex type of art song.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

i. School of Irish Art Song

In the first years of the twentieth century, a wide range of Irish themed art songs were produced, some in keeping with the prevailing Victorian art song culture in England, while others tried to either recreate an Irish folk song, or use distinctly Celtic themes. The type of Irish art song that developed over the next thirty years was largely dictated by the maturing writing styles of the individual composers, particularly in England. Both Stanford and Harty initially produced Irish art songs suitable for performance in the Victorian drawing room. While Stanford's approach to song writing remained unchanged, capturing an idyllic Ireland by using a traditional harmonic language, Harty's songs became more complex as he incorporated a wider harmonic palette. The Irish art song in London could, therefore, be divided into two broad models: the short conventional song written by Stanford and initially by Harty, and the more elaborate late romantic song, which Harty would write as he matured as a composer.

The Gaelic art songs composed by Annie Patterson and Thomas O'Brien Butler at the turn of the century were largely unsuccessful. Both composers consciously tried to create an overtly Irish type of song inspired by the Gaelic Revival, but they were limited by their restricted view of what elements could signify 'Irishness' in their compositions and in O'Brien Butler's case by his grasp of technical matters. Patterson seemed intent on replicating the type of sound made by a harp, while O'Brien Butler uses effects such as drones on the piano and attempts at modality in the vocal line. Neither Patterson's nor O'Brien Butler's songs however had any significant history of being performed. John Larchet was the first Ireland-based composer to successfully portray a distinctive Irish type of art song. While his 1919 'Padraic the Fiddler' catered to a taste for the popular ballad, 'An Ardglass Boat Song' (1920) shows a greater influence from Harty's type of writing. With his use of flattened sevenths and vocal ornaments in this and 'A Stóirín Bán,' Larchet is more successful in creating a type of sound associated with Irish folk music than either Patterson or O'Brien Butler.

Rhoda Coghill, like Harty, engaged with a later harmonic language than Stanford and composers such as O'Brien Butler and Patterson. This was in contrast with the relatively uncomplicated arrangements of folk tunes she had provided for the Feis Ceoil. However, it is difficult to extrapolate a larger commentary on her style from one original Irish art song in the

period. Coghill had engaged with a more impressionist harmonic style for her cantata *Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking* in 1923, but she did not entirely successfully transfer this technique to song writing in this instance.

Ina Boyle's Irish art songs vary over the course of her career, both in form and in their standard. For her early songs, she was studying with Samuel Myerscough and after the early effort 'Sea Wrack,' in which she was still establishing her technique, she became relatively proficient at producing drawing room songs. Her style did not particularly change when she began studying with Percy Buck from 1910, but in the 1920s Boyle began to follow in the mode of Harty's later songs, with her piano parts and harmonic process becoming increasingly varied. These songs were unsuccessful and after Ralph Vaughan Williams warned her against over-sophistication, she turned to a more simple pastoral style of song setting.

The songs by Frederick May covered in this study indicate the advancements in education in Ireland. While his first student songs could be considered relatively mundane, May's proficiency at song writing is clear from his more accomplished songs, which display a competence and imagination that is arguably missing from Coghill's 'Mary Moriarty' and some of Boyle's songs. 'Irish Love Song' in particular suggests the influence of Larchet's work in the genre, with its distinctly Irish ornaments in the vocal line.

ii. Ireland post-1930

While the works of Stanford and Harty largely disappeared from twentieth-century British composition, with Stanford's contribution to Anglican liturgical music proving the most enduring part of his output, both composers benefited from the foundation of a newly established national broadcaster in 1926, 2RN. This was particularly significant as it would make music performance universally accessible, rather than just the pastime of an elite minority. The importance of music in this new venture was emphasised by Douglas Hyde at 2RN's inauguration, who said:

A nation is made from the inside itself, it is made, first of all, by its music, songs, games and customs.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² Maurice Gorham, *Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1967), 24.

Clearly, broadcasting was seen as a method of asserting a culture in what had become a fractious society. Irish society was deeply divided between the pro-treaty party Cumann na nGaedheal and the newly formed ‘anti-treaty’ party Fianna Fáil. There was little or no broadcasting of any material that would be potentially inflammatory and as a result, the radio station could not provide any sort of comprehensive news service.⁴⁹³ In the absence of any current affairs programmes, the station was dominated by live music.⁴⁹⁴ Vincent O’Brien was the station’s first musical director and classical music was regularly featured in broadcasts. Irish art music had little advancement in infrastructure and education, meaning that there was very little engagement with musical modernism, so nineteenth-century romantic idioms remained popular. An orchestra was established, initially in the form of piano and string trio and most of its music broadcasts were in studio; however, larger ad hoc orchestras were used for outside broadcasts.⁴⁹⁵ O’Brien conducted the first public concert of a specially augmented 2RN Orchestra in November 1927 in Dublin’s Metropolitan Hall.⁴⁹⁶

Recent research by Patrick Joseph Kehoe indicates that from 1929 on, works by Stanford and Harty were regularly performed by the 2RN Orchestra, which ultimately became the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra in 1948.⁴⁹⁷ During the 1930s, apart from more general broadcasts, some of their Irish art songs were performed as part of the orchestra’s concerts; Stanford’s ‘Cushendall’ and ‘Did You Ever’ (both from *Cushendall*) were performed on 6 January 1936. The performance in 1936 was conducted by Hamilton Harty, who included a number of works by both himself and Stanford. Harty was also the conductor on 13 May 1939, when his own songs ‘The Wake Feast,’ ‘Lookin’ Back’ and ‘At Sea’ were performed with piano alongside his 1938 collection *Five Irish Poems*. Stanford’s ‘Chapel on the Hill’ (*A Fire of Turf*) was also performed with piano in a programme conducted by Arthur Hammond (1843–1919) on 31 March 1937.⁴⁹⁸ Stanford’s overture to *Shamus O’Brien* and his *Irish Rhapsody No. 1* and Harty’s *With the Wild Geese* and ‘Scherzo’ from *An Irish Symphony* were commonly performed by the orchestra during the 1940s and 1950s. This meant that works by Stanford and

⁴⁹³ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland*, 2.

⁴⁹⁴ The large amount of live music broadcast was also a result of its poor resources and understaffing issues; Brian O’Neill, ‘Lifting the veil: The Arts, Broadcasting and Irish Society,’ *Culture and Society*, 22/6 (2000), 763–785 (778).

⁴⁹⁵ Pine, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* 51.

⁴⁹⁶ Joseph Ryan, ‘Music and the Institutions,’ in Pine (ed.), *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*, 107.

⁴⁹⁷ Patrick Joseph Kehoe, ‘The Evolution of the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra 1926–1954’ (DIT 2017), Appendix A.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

Harty were heard by a wider Irish audience than at any stage during either composer's career and indicates that their music was well received in the Irish Free State.

Works by John Larchet also received occasional performances and 'A Stóirín Bán' was performed on 7 December 1934, in a Symphony Orchestra programme conducted by Vincent O'Brien, and on 13 February 1936 Larchet conducted a programme that included his 'Padraic the Fiddler.'⁴⁹⁹ Both Larchet and O'Brien were important figures within Irish music and while their compositional output was relatively small, their employments in RIAM and St Mary's Pro-Cathedral meant that they could function within Ireland's limited musical scene. Ita Beausang also notes that between 1936 and 1955, music by Ina Boyle was broadcast by Radio Éireann on twenty-one occasions.⁵⁰⁰ However, after her death, Boyle's works were rarely performed and as none of her Irish art songs were published, they disappeared from Ireland's music scene.

After attempts to establish herself as a composer in Ireland, Coghill turned her attention to poetry in the mid-1940s, with publications of *The Bright Hillside* in 1948 and *Time is a squirrel* in 1956.⁵⁰¹ While it is possible that this move to poetry took place because Coghill felt that there was not a sufficient audience in Ireland for her music, Axel Klein suggests that she did not promote her music sufficiently. Klein wrote that Coghill was too modest, pointing to the fact she was a practicing Quaker, which may have accounted for this.⁵⁰² Due to its quality, 'Mary Moriarty' was unlikely to be published, so Klein's theory is perhaps more relevant in establishing why she was not a more prolific composer.

While Frederick May showed much promise in his early songs, he would suffer several personal setbacks. He was suspended from the Abbey Theatre for a period in 1937 and would suffer from a series of mental health issues, including a severe breakdown in 1938.⁵⁰³ He also struggled with alcoholism and an Abbey Theatre minute book records that on 14 March 1939, May was given a notice of suspension for appearing in the orchestra pit in a state of intoxication on two occasions.⁵⁰⁴ Further breakdowns throughout his life would lead to his

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

⁵⁰⁰ Ita Beausang, 'Ina Boyle (1889–1967),' 29–30.

⁵⁰¹ Laura Watson, 'Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet,' 20.

⁵⁰² Axel Klein, *Die Musik Irlands im 20. Jahrhundert*, 185.

⁵⁰³ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, vi.

⁵⁰⁴ 'Minute Book of the Abbey Theatre 1 September 1937 – 26 May 1939,' 41, *National University of Ireland Galway* (<http://www.nuigalway.ie/abbeytheatreminutebooks/>, 15 February 2017).

eventual abandonment of composition.⁵⁰⁵ While personal circumstances undoubtedly affected his career, his style as a progressive twentieth-century composer did not suit the musical scene in Ireland; Ireland did not have the standard of musicians to facilitate the performance of his works. For instance, although he completed his String Quartet in C Minor in 1936, it did not receive its first Irish performance until 1949 when it was performed by an English quartet, and when his works were performed they were poorly received, probably due to the fact that most music critics had little knowledge of twentieth-century musical trends.⁵⁰⁶

Although May's later Irish art songs did not achieve acclaim in Ireland, they do demonstrate the progressive direction in which Irish musical composition was heading. In 1931, May set another text by Katharine Tynan, 'Drought,' which contains far more chromaticism than his earlier songs. It was composed for a broadcast in memory of Tynan who had died that year, and the fact that May composed a new song rather than submit 'Sheep and Lambs' indicates the advancement in his compositional technique in three years.⁵⁰⁷ In 1940, May used a less conventional harmonic process for 'North Labrador' and 'Garden Abstract.' Both these songs use a chromatic language and while May would have been influenced by Ralph Vaughan Williams, with whom he studied in RCM, they demonstrate his desire to engage with more 'modern' styles.⁵⁰⁸ By the 1940s, the Irish art song had advanced beyond romantic representations of Ireland. Brian Boydell (1917–2000), also a student of Larchet and Aloys Fleischmann (1910–1992) emerged, which represented a further move away from nineteenth-century taste.⁵⁰⁹ In 1946, Boydell set five poems by James Joyce, and while they are still more conservative than contemporary styles in Europe, they represent a clear move away from drawing room styled songs, using an expanded diatonic range, and they were composed purely for the concert stage.⁵¹⁰ Furthermore, the choice of poetry for these types of Irish art song reflects another move away from popular verse and pastoral styles; as well as

⁵⁰⁵ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, vii.

⁵⁰⁶ Mark Fitzgerald, 'Inventing Identities: The Case of Frederick May,' in Fitzgerald & O'Flynn (eds.), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond*, 99.

⁵⁰⁷ Fitzgerald, *The Songs of Frederick May*, vii.

⁵⁰⁸ Fitzgerald, 'Inventing Identities: The Case of Frederick May,' 89–90.

⁵⁰⁹ Klein, 'Roots and directions in twentieth-century art music,' 176.

⁵¹⁰ Axel Klein, 'The distant music mournfully mourneth... – The influence of James Joyce on Composers,' *Contemporary Music Centre* (<https://www.cmc.ie/features/distant-music-mournfully-murmereth-influence-james-joyce-irish-composers>, 3 February 2017).

Boydell setting Joyce's poetry, in 1945 Fleischmann wrote the song collection *The Fountain of Magic* using a text by contemporary writer Frank O'Connor.⁵¹¹

iii. Problems of Texts

The poetry used throughout the genre was chosen for a variety of reasons; some texts captured an idealised Ireland that the composer wished to recreate in their songs, some poets were personally known to the composer, while in other cases the poetry simply appealed to the composer. The choice of poet, in many cases, caused the songs to become quickly dated, and appear very old fashioned when considered in a contemporary light. This is specifically relevant to the poetry of Moira O'Neill and Winifred Letts, prominently found in Stanford's collections, but also in songs by Harty, Boyle and Coghill. Firstly, the localised dialect of O'Neill's text can be problematic for the singer who could either attempt to manufacture such an accent, or incorporate these colloquialisms with their own accent. The latter option was chosen by virtually all who recorded the works, resulting in a strange hybrid of 'Received Pronunciation' with contrived Irish overtones. For example, soprano Sarah Leonard sings 'Corrymeela' from *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* on the album *A Century of English Song, Volume 2*, and pronounces the words as written in an English accent.⁵¹²

'Corrymeela' also demonstrates how wedded to Victorian culture O'Neill's poetry was, and presents difficulties to a modern-day sensibility. Verse three for example begins with the line: 'The people that's in England is richer nor the Jews.' Referencing the Jewish community in this manner was not uncommon in Victorian literature. Charles Dickens (1812–1870), for instance, often stigmatised foreign cultures with the most famous example being the use of Jewish stereotypes in his portrayal of Fagin in *Oliver Twist*, repeatedly referring to him as 'the Jew.'⁵¹³ While Dickens claimed that this was incidental to the character, it highlights how casual anti-Semitic clichés were commonplace in Victorian literature.⁵¹⁴ Furthermore, at

⁵¹¹ 'Compositions by Aloys Fleischmann – Chronological Order,' *Cork City Library* (<http://www.corkcitylibraries.ie/fleischmann100/aloysfleischmann-the-works/scoresonline/compositionsbyaloysfleischmann/compositionsbyaloysfleischmann-chronologicalorder/>, 3 February 2017).

⁵¹² *A Century of English Song, Volume 2*, Sarah Leonard (soprano), Paul Leonard (baritone), Malcom Martineau (pianist), compact disc, Somm:SOMMCD 214, 1999.

⁵¹³ David Scott Kastan, *Oxford Encyclopaedia of English Literature: Volume One* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 157; Deborah Heller & Derek Cohen, *Jewish presences in English Literature* (Montreal / Ontario: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1990), 43.

⁵¹⁴ In later editions of the book, Dickens removed many references to Fagin as a Jew; Amy Watkin, *Bloom's how to write about Charles Dickens* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009), 79.

the time of publication of this poem in 1901, the ‘Dreyfus Affair’ in France, where a Jewish officer Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) was incorrectly sent to prison for treason, demonstrated a widespread prejudice against Jews.⁵¹⁵ It is probable that Stanford may not have considered that this text could be regarded as anti-Semitic, further demonstrating how embedded he was in this type of culture.

The text of ‘Little Peter Morrisey’ also contains quite a negative depiction of Irish people, with Peter Morrisey’s parents described as drunk and lazy: ‘His mother’s supping porter till she’s like to get a fall, /And all the work his father does is propping up a wall.’ In English literature, the Irish peasant often represented barbarism and savagery, to the extent that a principal function of the Irish literary revival was to dismantle this image, and turn the Irish peasant into a spiritual figure, with Lady Gregory writing in 1901:

Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment as it has been represented but the home of an ancient idealism.⁵¹⁶

Stanford generally represented Ireland in a positive light in his songs and it is possible he simply was not aware of the racial element of this text, which again illustrates his attachment to English Victorian culture.

The problem of poor texts is more acute in the poetry of John Stephenson (*Cushendall*). The poem ‘Daddy-Long Legs’ contains nonsensical text, such as: ‘You might ha’been a bummin’ clock, /Responsible, refin’d, Wi’ ottium cum - thingumbob, /You might - well never mind.’⁵¹⁷ While Stanford chose this text for a humorous song, the nature of the text renders the song particularly stilted when studied in a contemporary light. The patter songs ‘Thief of the World’ and ‘The Bold Unbiddable Child’ both contain old-fashioned lyrics, with Stephen Banfield writing that the lyrics of these songs wear thin so quickly, it is difficult to judge if they ever had an appeal.⁵¹⁸ ‘I mind the day’ (*Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim*) is another poem that suffers due to its stylised text, with words such as ‘saygulls,’ ‘trouble’ and ‘beyont,’ as well as the recurring acclamation ‘Achray.’⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ ‘Dreyfus Affair’. *Britannica Encyclopaedia* (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Dreyfus-affair>, 11 January 2017).

⁵¹⁶ Hana Khasawneh, ‘An Aestheticising of Irish Peasantry,’ *Journal of Franco-Irish Studies*: 3/1, Article 12, 143–159, 149; Isabella Augusta Gregory (ed.), *Ideas in Ireland* (London: Unicorn, 1901), 67.

⁵¹⁷ A clock is a type of beetle. *Ottium cum dignitate* is a Latin term meaning ‘dignity with leisure,’ to which presumably Stevenson is referring when he wrote ‘Wi’ ottium cum.’

⁵¹⁸ Banfield, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century*, 34.

⁵¹⁹ Probably a Hiberno-English version of ‘a chroí,’ meaning my heart.

Harty's songs are not as affected as Stanford's, as he combined the maudlin poetry of O'Neill, with some nationalist writers who had connections with Republican movements, such as Cahir Healy, or Cathal O'Byrne. The texts Harty chose, though, were largely without an overtly nationalist agenda. This could possibly be because of his Anglican upbringing, or perhaps he wished to appeal to publishers in both Dublin and London. His 1910 orchestral work *With the Wild Geese* is a typical example of a nationalistic Irish work that avoids Republican sentiment. The poetry he set by nationalist writers however was rooted in a more real Ireland. This probably appealed to Harty, unlike the idyllic Ireland found throughout Stanford's Irish art songs. Stanford, who was a Unionist, depicted a romantic Ireland unaffected by overt nationalism. Given that Stanford's music was played by the 2RN Orchestra and his opera *Shamus O'Brien* was popular in Dublin in both 1896 and when it was revived in 1906, his political convictions seemingly did not affect the reception of his music.⁵²⁰ However, they did affect the type of Ireland he sought to portray. Stanford's main criterion for his choice of text seemed to be how they evoked an Irish landscape that he either remembered from his youth or imagined from his years of absence. He also favoured texts that created an Irish accent in words, producing a type of register that an upper middle class English audience would recognise as Irish. It also appears that this form of poetry appealed to Stanford. In a letter to the Provost of TCD, John Pentland Mahaffy (1839–1919) in 1917, Stanford wrote that Letts and Stevenson are 'rare birds,' and 'the ones who smell of the real turf are rarer still.'⁵²¹

Neither Stanford nor Harty used texts by leading Irish writers of the day, such as W.B. Yeats. While Stanford had expressed his personal fondness for poets who describe pastoral Ireland, it seems implausible that nearly every composer writing in this genre would overlook the poetry of an Irish Nobel Prize winner and leading figure of the Literary Revival. Thomas O'Brien Butler had probably intended to set Yeats's texts to music given that he had made himself known to the poet, but Yeats was unimpressed with O'Brien Butler's talent and the composer had not set any of his texts before his death in 1915. It is more likely that composers were unable to use his poetry due to copyright reasons, either because of Yeats's agreements with his publishers, or possibly because Yeats himself refused permission.

⁵²⁰ Stanford withdrew performances of *Shamus O'Brien* in Dublin in 1910 as he feared it would encourage nationalist sympathies amid ongoing calls for Home Rule; Harry White, 'Professor and Celt doing Battle,' *The Irish Times* (10 May 2003), 12.

⁵²¹ Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, 330.

Yeats expressed his disdain towards musical interpretations of texts with his prefatory remarks to a series of programmes on BBC Radio in 1937 in which his poems were recited and sung, stating that:

There must be no speaking through music... and there must be no accompaniment to what is sung: the words need all our attention.⁵²²

In a subsequent broadcast, he commented that when listening to a rendition of 'Into the Twilight' and a song from *Countess Cathleen* by the actor and singer Marguerite Ruddock (1907–1951):

if you listen, as a trained musician listens, for the notes only, you will miss the pleasure you are accustomed to and find no other.⁵²³

It is clear from these comments that Yeats felt that performances by trained singers compromised the text. There are some examples of Yeats's poetry being used during his life: Hamilton Harty was granted permission to set 'The Fiddler of Dooney' as the finale to his *Five Irish Poems* in 1938. Herbert Hughes set 'Down by the Sally Gardens' to the old air 'The Maids of Mourne Shore' in 1909, and Peter Warlock's *The Curlew* used four poems by Yeats. Yeats's verse was largely untouched by his contemporaries and was not commonly used by composers until a generation after his death.⁵²⁴ Another potential reason for his omission is that the textual depth of his poems did not fit with the sentimental evocations of rural Ireland that were commonly used in published Irish song collections.

iv. Songs for Performance Today

Very few of Charles Villiers Stanford's Irish art songs have been performed on the concert platform in recent years, and while some have been recorded, they are still not part of popular repertoire. However, even during his career, the songs were generally performed as part of collections and only very few were ever available as individual publications. The nature of the

⁵²² William Butler Yeats, 'In the Poet's Pub,' BBC Radio Broadcast, 2 April 1937, typescript published in Colton Johnston (ed.), *W.B. Yeats, Later Articles and Reviews, Uncollected Articles and Radio Broadcasts Written After 1900* (New York: Scribner, 2000), 265–75 (266–7).

⁵²³ White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, 80.

⁵²⁴ Alan Wade & K.P.S. Jochum, *W.B. Yeats: a classified bibliography of criticism: including additions to Allan Wade's Bibliography of the writings of W.B. Yeats and a section of the Irish literary and dramatic revival* (Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1978), 524; White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland*, 89.

songs meant that they did not have the immediacy of the songs of Harty, and they were possibly too subtle for popular consumption.

Stanford's best Irish art songs are those that recreate the Irish landscape or represent nature. 'At Sea' from *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* and his solo song 'Sea Wrack' recreate the waves of the sea in their piano parts and could easily be performed as nautically themed songs in another context. 'The Fairly Lough' and 'A Soft Day' have often featured when Stanford's Irish themed works or songs are recorded. While this is partly due to their portrayals of nature, the vocal lines are both lyrical and quite simple, which would probably appeal to most singers, particularly if they wanted to include a mixture of heavy repertoire and lighter songs. The musical unity of the collection *A Fire of Turf* is echoed in the strong sense of place in the songs. It is also the most tightly organised of his collections with a thematic consistency throughout. The songs are of a good quality and are not inhibited by sentimentality, with the possible exception of 'Scared.' 'Cowslip Time' and 'Blackberry Time' give the collection charm while the final song 'The West Wind,' provides a dramatic and highly effective conclusion. This would be the most suitable entire collection for the recital platform, provided the singer does not entertain some of the literal spellings or the artificial Irish accent O'Neill's lyrics suggest.⁵²⁵

Stanford's songs about death are probably not suitable for modern day performance, due to the fact that there is an underlying Victorian sentimentality. While 'Grandeur' from *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* is a good example of a type of soliloquy, Stanford's treatment of child mortality with the idea of a happy death is no longer part of modern culture. Infant mortality rates were high throughout the nineteenth century and death was not necessarily an association with old age in the same manner as today.⁵²⁶ Song cycles which deal with the theme of death in a more realistic and unsentimental manner, such as Schubert's *Winterreise* or Gustav Mahler's (1860–1911) *Kindertotenlieder* are more effective in modern day performance. Unfortunately, most of the 'humour' songs have dated poorly, and an indication of their reliance on Victorian culture may be that even slightly later composers such as Boyle and Larchet did not write such songs. The poor standard of texts in *Cushendall* undermines

⁵²⁵ This is problematic for baritone Stephen Varcoe in his 1999 recording of the collection. Stanford, *Stanford: Songs, Vol. 2*.

⁵²⁶ Claire Wood, 'Death,' *Oxford Bibliographies* (<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>, 13 March 2017).

each song in the collection, however 'Irish Skies' from *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* is one of Stanford's stronger songs, with a clever dialogue between major and minor.

Stanford's songs largely disappeared from popular repertoire after his death, primarily because the British music scene in which he functioned engaged with more modern forms, and Stanford's music echoed an era that had gone out of fashion. However, this is not as pertinent an issue in modern day times, as songs from previous periods are now judged purely for their musical qualities. Furthermore, any questions about Stanford's political beliefs or identity as a Unionist are now irrelevant. It is likely, then, that more of his Irish art songs will be recorded at some point in the future, given that Stanford's songs were proficiently written.

While Hamilton Harty's early Irish art songs were more conventional, his first song 'Sea Wrack' has proved to be his most successful, and has been performed on the Irish concert scene in recent years. The song's appeal comes from its narrative structure; Harty gradually increases the intensity of the piano accompaniment in each verse, replicating the stormy conditions of the sea, leading to a vocal climax in the final verse. However, this is the only song by Harty to have survived on the performance platform, as all of his other songs have long disappeared from the popular repertoire. While his other early songs had limited appeal, his *Six Songs of Ireland* and *Five Irish Sketches* were particularly well-received when first performed, so their complete disappearance is somewhat surprising. This is probably due to a combination of the old-fashioned texts and Harty's compositional style. While he engaged with a later language than Stanford, his songs were still behind the latest trends in neo-classicism in Europe and the emerging modernist scene in England. However, *Five Irish Sketches* contain his most accomplished songs, and the collection could be performed on the modern day professional concert stage. 'A Drover' presents an aspect of Irish life not commonly found throughout Irish art song, and considering the challenges posed by the form and depth of Emily Lawless's 'The Stranger's Grave,' Harty's setting is probably his finest song. The vocal line is lyrical and quite simple, and the song would also be suitable for performance by students. The more realistic portrayals of women's lives in 'Across the Door' and 'The Rachray Man' would have a greater contemporary resonance than some of the more sentimental songs found in a collection like *Antrim and Donegal*.

Some of Ina Boyle's more conventional song settings would be suitable for modern day performance. Her setting of 'Sea Wrack' can be discarded as it is effectively a student work,

however, 'Roses' would successfully function as a lighter song in a concert. While Boyle's piano accompaniment in 'A Soft Day, Thank God!' is probably overly ambitious in trying to recreate a stormy day, there is greater consistency to her piano part in 'The Joy of Earth.' Unfortunately, 'The Stolen Child' and 'They Went Forth' contain too many faults for performance and can also be set aside. 'Sleep Song' has been her most regularly performed song in recent years. This is probably due to the fact that it is one of the few Boyle songs that is available since David Rhodes typeset the song from Boyle's manuscript in 2014. However, it is not of a particularly high standard as there is tonal ambiguity between C minor and E-flat major for most of the song. A more proficient song is 'A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep,' which would be more effective as a type of lullaby in a concert programme. 'Blessing,' is also proficient and again is of a high enough standard to be performed. It is hoped that this study may assist in returning these songs to the repertoire.

Rhoda Coghill's 'Mary Moriarty' is also flawed, with its concluding section undermining the effect built up by the opening section, while most of Thomas O'Brien Butler's songs fail to demonstrate any level beyond that of a student. 'Kincora,' the first song of his *Seven Original Irish Melodies* is probably the most attractive of his songs; however, it compares poorly to songs by Stanford and Harty. Likewise, Anne Patterson's attempts to recreate the sound of the harp in *Six Original Gaelic Songs* are not particularly effective.

While John Larchet's output was small, his songs were of a high standard, and even though his songs are not often performed, the songs in this study would be suitable for contemporary performance. They successfully combine folk-like qualities with a late romantic art song form. Axel Klein wrote that John Larchet was 'the last heir to the music of Stanford and Harty' and that his songs 'bridge the gap' between traditional Irish and classical music.⁵²⁷ While this is probably an overstatement, it could be argued he bridged the gap between Harty and the next generation of Irish composers. Larchet uses a romantic language that had largely gone out of fashion in England but suited the Irish musical scene of the time perfectly. 'Padraic the Fiddler' may seem over sentimentalised in a contemporary context, but both 'An Ardglass Boat Song' and 'A Stóirín Bán' would provide a distinctive Irish voice within art song. Larchet's further contribution to the genre was in his teaching of Frederick May. While May would later engage with more complex compositional trends, 'Irish Love Song' and 'Hesperus'

⁵²⁷ Axel Klein, *Irish Classical Recordings: A discography of Irish Art Music*, 100.

provide a clear link between Larchet and the more adventurous approach that was to follow from May and younger composers in the 1930s and 1940s.

v. **The Case for the Irish Art Song**

Leaving aside the issue of musical quality in comparison with more prominent European schools of song-writing, one of the main reasons why there is not a more widespread acknowledgement of the Irish art song is that in both textbooks and recordings, Stanford and Harty's Irish art songs are usually presented as part of the overall genre of English art song, or if they are considered as Irish they are generally grouped with arrangements of folk songs without any differentiation between the two forms. If the Irish art song is to be adequately evaluated it needs to be considered separately from both arrangements of folk songs and from popular Irish ballad songs. The songs of Stanford, Harty, Boyle, Larchet and May demonstrate a greater harmonic sophistication and invention of melodic line than are found in the ballads written for a popular audience and illustrate the fact that it is possible to create something which has an Irish resonance without having to recourse simply to arrangement or direct imitation.

That the amount of songs written in this style during this period is limited is in part due to the changing political situation in Ireland and the role the Gaelic League played in Ireland's artistic landscape; however, a more significant reason is the historic lack of investment in Ireland's musical infrastructure. The lack of interest shown by the British Government in the administration of Ireland throughout the nineteenth century meant that the condition of music received little, if any consideration.⁵²⁸ Ireland was unable to develop facilities from which a native compositional school could flourish until well into the twentieth century. The flaws found in some of the songs of Ina Boyle indicate the lack of resources available to Ireland's budding young composers. John Larchet further illustrates how a lack of sufficient education affected all aspects of Ireland's musical scene, writing in his 'A Plea for Music' article that it was responsible for Dublin audiences' 'impoverished taste,' and noting that the songs of Brahms, Wolf or Schubert were rarely heard.⁵²⁹ It was only with the foundation of 2RN in 1926 that the songs of Stanford, Harty and others had a significant platform on which to be performed.

⁵²⁸ Dwyer, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland*, 39.

⁵²⁹ Larchet, 'A Plea for Music,' 2.

While the disappearance of the Irish art songs by Harty and Stanford from England's music scene beyond 1930 can to an extent be attributed to their dependency on a late nineteenth-century harmonic language, they were also affected by the changing nature of music consumption. Stanford's songs were suitable for domestic music making, which was effectively wiped out with the development of gramophones and radio. Another factor was that much of the poetry chosen by Stanford, and some by Harty, attached their songs to Victorian culture, causing them to seem dated as the century progressed. This was also problematic in Ireland, where revivalist figures such as Yeats advanced literature beyond the saccharine representations of Ireland found in Victorian literature. Stanford's representations of idyllic Ireland probably had little relevance to a country that had just undergone political upheaval, while some of the more challenging themes in the songs of Harty and Boyle may have been too controversial for the new Free State. Harty's 'Across the Door' and 'The Rachray Man' examine the loss of innocence of a woman and women's status in society, while Boyle set three texts by feminist writer Eva Gore-Booth. From 1922, many elements of Catholic moral code, particularly in the areas of sexual morality and family relations were enshrined in law, resulting in conservatism in most aspects of Irish life and a marginalisation of women in society.⁵³⁰ Some of Harty's other songs, such as 'The Stranger's Grave,' which refers to a grave of unbaptized babies, may also have been too provocative for Ireland of this time.

However, this and many of the issues that caused the songs to disappear from the concert platform are irrelevant when we consider the songs today. While their harmonic language was behind the contemporary trends in European composition and the more progressive styles used in England, the songs can now be considered as products of a late nineteenth-century romantic tradition. Though the musical standard found throughout the genre varies, and the standard of poetry renders some unsuitable, the strongest songs of Stanford, Harty, Boyle, Larchet and May would merit a place on the concert platform today. The songs highlighted in this chapter form a corpus of Irish romantic art song, which would be suitable for performance either in Ireland or on the international stage. Recent recordings, particularly of Stanford's songs by the Hyperion label and continuing interest among musical scholars and audiences in the lives and compositions of neglected Irish composers indicates that there is an

⁵³⁰ Colin Barr and Daithí Ó Corráin, 'Catholic Ireland, 1740–2016,' in Mary E. Daly and Eugenio F. Biangi (eds.), *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 79.

enthusiasm for romantic expressions of Ireland in art song form, and a revival of the genre would be well received.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Byron Adams and Robin Wells (eds.), *Vaughan Williams Essays* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2003).
- Allis, Michael, *British Music and Literary Context: Artistic Connections in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012).
- Anderson, Robert, 'Surveying Stanford,' *The Musical Times*, 144/1882 (2003), 48–50.
- Atlas, Allan W., 'Vaughan William's [sic] 'Silent Noon': Structure and Proportions,' *The Musical Times* 150/1907 (Summer 2009), 71–82.
- Audley, Brian, 'The Provenance of "The Londonderry Air,"' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 125/2 (2000), 205–247.
- Banfield, Stephen, *Sensibility and English Song: Critical Studies of the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Bardon, Jonathon, *A History of Ulster* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992).
- Bartlett, Thomas, *Ireland a History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Bax, Arnold, *Farewell My Youth: An Autobiography* (London: Longman Green & Co, 1949).
- Beausang, Ita, 'Ina Boyle's Symphonic Journey: From Glencree to Amalfi,' *The Symphony and Ireland: A Symposium*, DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, 20 April 2013.
- Beckett, James Camlin, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603–1923* (Dublin: Faber Publications, 1966).
- Bellingham, Jane, 'Drawing Room Ballad,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 2 August 2016).
- Bewerunge, Heinrich, *The Irish Musical Monthly: a journal devoted to the interest of music in Church and School* (1 July 1902).
- Bliss, Arthur, 'Some Aspects of the Present Musical Situation,' *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 49th Session (1922–1923).
- Boorman, Stanley, et al., 'Publishing and Printing of Music: II Publishing,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 26 August 2016).
- Borsay, Peter and Proudfoot, Lindsay (eds.), *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Bourke, Angela (ed.), *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Volume 5: Irish Women's Women and Tradition* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

- , *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Volume 4: Irish Women's Women and Tradition* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).
- Boyd, Earnest Augustus, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (Dublin: Maunsell, 1916).
- Boydell, Brian (ed.), *Four Centuries of Music in Ireland* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1979).
- 'Dublin,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 21 March 2017).
- Boylan, Henry, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1979).
- , *A Dictionary of Irish Biography, Third Edition* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1998).
- Boyle, Ina, 'Diary extracts of Selina (Ina) Boyle,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 10959.
- , 'Exercises with Dr. Wood,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archives Library, IE TCD MS 4049.
- Brady, Deirdre, 'An Irish Literary Set that was more Bloomsbury than Barstool,' *The Irish Times* (<http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/an-irish-literary-set-that-was-more-bloomsbury-than-barstool-1.2203909>, 16 January 2017).
- Breen, Denis, 'School-Music – Its Place in National Life,' *The Irish School Weekly*, 77 (1 May 1926).
- Burton, Nigel and Halligan, Ian, 'Balfe, Michael William,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 20 September 2016).
- Burwick, Frederick, *Playing to the Crowd: London Popular Theatre, 1780–1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
- Bužga, J., Simpson, Adrienne & Slavíková, Jitka, 'Prague,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://oxfordmusiconline.com>, 11 December 2017).
- Byers, David, 'Ina Boyle's String Quartet,' *David Byers Website* (<http://www.byersmusic.com/ina-boyles-string-quartet.php>, 12 February 2017).
- Byrne Bodley, Lorraine, 'Art Song in Ireland,' in White, Harry, and Boydell, Barra (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013).
- C., 'Hamilton Harty,' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 61/926 (1 April 1920), 227–230.
- Caldwell, John, *England*, Oxford Music Online (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016).
- Campion, Paul, *Ferrier: A Career Recorded* (London: Thames Publishing, 2005).
- Clarke, E. M., 'Miss Rhoda Coghill,' *The Irish Times* (9 January 1939).

- Clive, Peter, *Brahms and his world: A Biographical Dictionary* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2006).
- Colles, H.C., and Turner, Malcolm, *Buck*, 'Sir Percy (Carter),' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 17 September 2016).
- Cooke, Philip and Maw, David, *The Music of Herbert Howells* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).
- Copley, Ian, *The Music of Charles Wood: A Critical Study* (London: Thames Publishing, 1978).
- Cox, Gareth, and Klein, Axel (eds.), *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003).
- Cox, Gareth, and Stevens, Robin, *The Origins and Foundations of Music Education* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010).
- Craig, Maurice, *Dublin 1660–1860* (Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co, 1969).
- Daly, Mary E., *Dublin The Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860–1914* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1985).
- , and Biangi, Eugenio F. (eds.), *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
- Danuser, Herman, & Tobias, Plebuch (eds.), *Musik als Text: Bericht Über den Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1993* (2 vols., London, c. 1998), vol. 2, 560–62.
- Davies, Walford, et al., 'Charles Villiers Stanford by some of his pupils,' *Music & Letters*, 5/3 (July 1924), 193–207.
- Deane, Raymond, 'Exploding the Continuum - The utopia of unbroken tradition,' *Raymond Deane* (http://www.raymonddeane.com/articles_results.php?id=11, 13 March 2013).
- de Barra, Séamus, 'Into the Twilight: Arnold Bax and Ireland,' *The Journal of Music* (<http://journalofmusic.com/focus/twilight-arnold-bax-and-ireland>, 18 September 2016).
- Dervan, Michael, *The Invisible Art: A century of music in Ireland 1916–2016* (Dublin: New Island Books, 2016).
- Devlin, Patrick, 'Cathal O'Byrne (1876–1957): Writer and Poet,' *New Ulster Biography* (<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/1273> 19 July 2016).
- Dibble, Jeremy, *Charles Villiers Stanford: The Man and Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

- , *Hamilton Harty: Musical Polymath* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2013).
- , *Michele Esposito* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010).
- , ‘Moeran, E J Ernest John,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 7 August 2016).
- , ‘Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 24 October 2016).
- , ‘Wallace (William) Vincent,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>, 20 September 2016).
- Dickenson, Peter, et al., ‘Art Song,’ *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 March 2016).
- Dolan, T.P., *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English: The Irish use of English* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 2004).
- Domville, Eric, and Kelly, John, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats: Volume 1: 1865–1895* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Dorney, John, ‘Casualties of the Irish Civil War in Dublin,’ *The Irish Story* (<http://www.theirishstory.com/2012/06/19/casualties-of-the-irish-civil-war-in-dublin/#.V6luKesrLIX>, August 2016).
- Dowling, Martin, *Traditional Music and Irish Society: Historical Perspectives* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014).
- ‘Dreyfus Affair,’ *Britannica Encyclopaedia* (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Dreyfus-affair>, 11 January 2017).
- Drury, Richard, ‘Robert Louis Stevenson’s Critical Reception,’ *The Robert Louis Stevenson Archive* (<http://robert-louis-stevenson.org/>, 6 December 2017).
- Dwyer, Benjamin, *Different Voices: Irish Music and Music in Ireland* (Hofheim: Wolke Verlag, 2014).
- Ehrlich, Cyril, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).
- Fitzgerald, Mark, *The Songs of Frederick May* (Dublin: DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, 2016).
- , and O’Flynn, John (eds.), *Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).
- Fitzpatrick, David (ed.), *Terror in Ireland: 1916–23* (Dublin: Lilliput Press / Trinity History Workshop, 2012).

- Fitzsimons, Bob, *Arthur O'Leary and Arthur Sullivan: Musical Journeys from Kerry to the Heart of Victorian England* (Tralee: Poghouse, 2008).
- Fleischmann, Aloys, *Music In Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952).
- Flood, William Henry Grattan, *William Vincent Wallace: A Memoir* (Waterford: Waterford News, 1912).
- Foreman, Lewis (ed.), *Ralph Vaughan Williams in Perspective: Studies of an English Composer* (Colchester: Albion Press, 1998).
- , 'Bax, Sir Arnold,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 7 August 2016).
- Foster, R.F. (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland* (London: Guild Publishing, 1989).
- Foxall, Raymond, *John McCormack* (London: Robert Hale, 1963).
- Friesenhagen, Andreas, 'Joseph Haydn – Folksong Arrangements of Scottish and Welsh Songs,' Susan Doering (trans.), *Trio Van Beethoven* (http://www.triovanbeethoven.at/cms_site_en/Projects/Folksong-Arrangements-by-Haydn-and-Beethoven/Folksong-Arrangements-by-Haydn, 25 March 2007).
- Frances, Gerard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New* (London: Hutchinson, 1898).
- Frogley, Alain, 'Williams, Ralph Vaughan (1872–1958), composer and folk song collector, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography' (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 15 August 2016).
- , and Karpeles, Maud, 'English Folk Dance and Song Society,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 18 August 2016).
- , and Thompson, Aidan J. (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Vaughan Williams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- Glock, William, 'Schnabel, Artur,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 28 April 2016).
- Gibson, Chris and Connell, John, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place* (London: Routledge, 2003).
- Gorham, Maurice, *Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1967).
- Gosset, Adelaide, *Lullabies of the four nations: a coronal of song with renderings from the Welsh and the Gaelic* (London: De La More Press, 1915).
- Graham, Brian, *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003).

- Greer, David (ed.), *Hamilton Harty: His Life and Music* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1979).
- Gregory, Isabella Augusta, *Ideas in Ireland* (London: Unicorn, 1901).
- , and Hyde, Douglas, *Poets and Dreamers: Studies and Translations from the Irish* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis & Co, 1903).
- Guernsey, Wellington, ‘William Vincent Wallace,’ *The New York Musical World and Journal of the Fine Arts* (1852).
- Gwynn, Stephen, *Irish Literature and Drama* (London: Nelson, 1936).
- Hachey, Thomas, & McCaffrey, Lawrence (eds.), *Perspectives on Irish Nationalism* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989).
- Hampton, Janie, ‘*The Austerity Olympics: When the Games Came to London in 1948*’ (London: Aurum Press, 2008).
- Harmon, Maurice, *Austin Clarke, 1896–1974: A Critical Introduction* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1989).
- , ‘Clarke, Austin,’ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge University Press (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 1 April 2015).
- Harrington, Elaine, ‘Lost at Sea: Thomas O’Brien Butler and the RMS Lusitania,’ *University College Cork* (<http://blogs.ucc.ie/wordpress/theriverside/2015/05/20/lost-at-sea-thomas-butler-obrien-and-rms-lusitania/>, 20 July 2015).
- Heller, Deborah and Cohen, Derek, *Jewish presences in English Literature* (Montreal / Ontario: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1990).
- Howell, Christopher, ‘Stanford, Edmond Holmes and “The Triumph of Love,”’ *MusicWeb International* (http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2003/Oct03/Triumph_love.htm, 12 October 2016).
- Howes, Frank, ‘Songs of Travel by Vaughan Williams,’ *Tempo*, 58 (Summer 1961).
- Jackson, Alvin (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Johnson, Glen, and Stokes, Richard, *A French Song Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Johnston, Colton (ed.), *W.B. Yeats, Later Articles and Reviews, Uncollected Articles and Radio Broadcasts Written After 1900* (New York: Scribner, 2000).
- Kastan, David Scott, *Oxford Encyclopaedia of English Literature: Volume One* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

- Khasawneh, Hana, 'An Aestheticising of Irish Peasantry,' *Journal of Franco-Irish Studies*: 3/1, Article 12, 143–159.
- Kelly, A.A. and Saunders, Norah, *Joseph Campbell: Poet & Nationalist 1879–1944, a Critical Biography* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1988).
- Kennedy, Brian, *Dreams and Responsibilities: The State and the Arts in Independent Ireland* (Dublin: The Arts Council, 1990).
- Kennedy, Michael, 'Harty, Sir (Herbert) Hamilton,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 28 August 2014).
- , *The Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams, Second Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Kehoe, Joseph Patrick, 'The Evolution of the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra 1926–1954,' (DIT 2017).
- Keogh, Sonya, *Ina Boyle: A Life and Work* (M.Phil. dissertation, University College Cork, 2002).
- Klein, Axel, *Die Musik Irlands im 20 Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1996).
- , 'A Daughter of Music – Alicia Adelaide Needham's Anglo-Irish Life and Music,' (https://www.axelklein.de/app/.../AxelKlein_Needham-paper_Dublin+July+2009.pdf, 24 March 2017).
- , *Irish Classical Recordings: A discography of Irish Art Music* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001).
- , 'The distant music mournfully mourneth... – The influence of James Joyce on Composers,' *Contemporary Music Centre* (<https://www.cmc.ie/features/distant-music-mournfully-murmereth-influence-james-joyce-irish-composers>, 3 February 2017).
- , Unpublished Interview with Rhoda Coghill, 1994.
- Larchet, John, 'A plea for music: an analysis of the present position of music in Ireland, and the needs of the future,' *National Archives of Ireland*, IE NAI FIN/1/2794 (1923).
- Lamb, Andrew, *William Vincent Wallace: Composer, Virtuoso and Adventurer* (West Byfleet: Fullers Wood Press, 2012).
- Langfield, Valarie, 'Quilter, Roger (Cuthbert),' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 16 September 2016).
- Lawler, Gary Michael, *A Critical Analysis of "On Wenlock Edge" by Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Central Washington State College, 1966).

- Lee, Joseph, *Ireland 1912–1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Leslie, J. B. and Wallace, W. J. R., *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough* (Dublin and Glendalough: Dundalgan Press, 2001).
- Linehan, Hugh, ‘Nothing radical: the rebuilding of Dublin,’ *The Irish Times* (<http://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/nothing-radical-the-rebuilding-of-dublin-1.2663237>, 3 August 2016).
- Maconchy, Elizabeth, *Ina Boyle: An Appreciation with select list of her music* (Dublin: Dolman Press, 1974).
- Mason, Ellsworth and Ellmann, Richard, *Critical Writings* (New York: Viking Press, 1966).
- McCarthy, Marie, *Passing it On: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999).
- McKervey, Henrietta, ‘The search for Josephine Rowe,’ *Henrietta McKervey Blog* (<https://henriettamckervey.com/2015/01/25/the-search-for-josephine-rowe/>, 19 November 2016).
- McFate, Patricia, *The Writings of James Stephens: Variations on the Theme of Love* (London: MacMillan Press, 1979).
- Moore, Jerrold Northrop, *Edward Elgar: A Creative Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).
- Moore, Thomas, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore: Collected by Himself, In 10 Volumes, Volume 5* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1853).
- Motherway, Susan H., *The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance* (London: Routledge, 2016).
- Mulhall, Daniel, ‘Ireland at the Turn of the Century,’ *20th Century / Contemporary History: Features*, 7/4 (Winter 1999) (<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/ireland-at-the-turn-of-the-century/>, 2 August 2016).
- Mullaney-Dignam, Karol Anne, ‘State, Nation and Music in Independent Ireland, 1922-51,’ (Ph.D. diss. NUI Maynooth, 2008).
- Murphy, Lizz (ed.), *Wee Girls: Women Writing from an Irish perspective* (Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 2000).
- Murphy, Michael and Smaczny, Jan (eds.), *Music in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).
- Murphy, William, ‘Patterson, Annie Wilson,’ *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge University Press (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 24 August 2016).

- Newmann, Kate, 'Cahir Healy (1877–1970): Politician,' *Dictionary of Ulster Biography* (<http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/655>, 13 July 2016).
- Newman, Roger Chatterton, *Brian Boru: King of Ireland* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2011).
- O'Braonain, Cathair, 'Poets of Insurrection II - Patrick H. Pearse,' *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 5/19 (Sept 1916), 339–50.
- O'Connor, Jennifer, 'The Role of Women in Music in Nineteenth-Century Dublin,' (Ph.D. diss. NUI Maynooth, 2010).
- O'Flaherty, Gerry, 'Reading Ulysses, James Joyce: Lestrygonians,' *RTÉ* (<http://www.rte.ie/readingulysses/episode8.html>, 13 July 2016).
- Ó Hallmhuráin, Gearóid, review of 'Passing It on: The Transmission of Music in Irish Culture by Marie McCarthy,' *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, 5/1 (Spring 2001), 146–49.
- O'Laughlin, Michael C., *Irish Song, Singers & Sheet Music: An Illustrated History* (Missouri: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 2010).
- O'Neill, Brian, 'Lifting the veil: The Arts, Broadcasting and Irish Society,' *Culture and Society*, 22/6 (2000), 763–785.
- O'Rourke, Maureen and MacKillop, James, *Irish Literature: A Reader* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987).
- Ottaway, Hugh and Frogley, Alain, 'Vaughan Williams, R.,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 13 August 2016).
- Palmer, Christopher, *Herbert Howells: A Centenary Celebration* (East Sussex: Thames, 1992).
- Patterson, Annie, 'Feis Composers of 1900: Mr. Herbert Harty,' *Weekly Irish Times* (7 July 1900), 3.
- Pearse, Padraig, *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse* (Dublin: Maunsel & Co. Ltd, 1922).
- Perkins, Pam, 'Lawless, Emily (1845–1913), novelist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 18 July 2016).
- Pine, Richard, *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005)
- (ed), *Music in Ireland 1848–1998* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998).
- , *The Disappointed Bridge: Ireland and the Post-Colonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2004).

- , and Acton, Charles (eds.), *To Talent Alone: The Royal Irish Academy of Music 1848-1998* (Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 1998).
- Plummer, Declan, 'Hamilton Harty's Legacy with the Hallé Orchestra (1920–1930): A reassessment,' *Journal for the Society of Musicology in Ireland*, 5 (2009–10), 55–72.
- Plunket Greene, Harry, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (London: Edward Arnold, 1935).
- , and Moira O'Neill *Music and Letters*, 2/2 (April 1922), 96–106.
- Powerscourt, Sheila, *Sun Too Fast* (London: 1973).
- Quinn, James, 'Lane, Denny,' *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<http://dib.cambridge.org>, 12 September 2016).
- Quinn, John, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Girl* (London: Methuen, 1986).
- Rayborn, Tim, *A New English Music: Composers and Folk Traditions in England's Musical Renaissance from the Late 19th to the Mid-20th Century* (North Carolina: McFarland, 2016).
- Reed, Willian Henry, *Elgar* (London: JM Dent and Sons, 1949).
- Riley, Matthew (ed.), *British Music and Modernism: 1895–1960* (Farnham: Ashgate Press, 2010).
- Rodmell, Paul, *Charles Villiers Stanford* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2002).
- , *Opera in the British Isles 1875–1918* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016),
- Ross, David, *Critical Companion to William Butler Yeats: A Literary Reference to his Life and Work* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009).
- Ryan, Joseph, 'Nationalism and Music in Ireland' (Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Ireland, 1991).
- , 'Hughes, Herbert,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 20 July 2016).
- Saddlemeyer, Anne (ed.) *The Collected Letters of John Millington Synge: Volume One* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).
- Schreibman, Susan, 'Irish Women Poets 1929-1959: Some Foremothers,' *Colby Quarterly*, 37/4, December 2001, 309-326.
- Scott, Derek, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour, Second Edition* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001).
- Self, Geoffrey, 'Moeran, Ernest John Smeed (1894–1950), composer,' *The Oxford Dictionary of Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 7 August 2016).

- Shaw, George Bernard, 'Music in London,' *London Constable and Co.*, 2 (1932).
- Shaw, Watkins, 'Charles Herbert Kitson,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 17 September 2016).
- Sigillito, Gina, *The Daughters of Maeve: 50 Irish Women who Changed the World* (Kensington: Citadel Press, 2007).
- Slonimsky, Nicolas (ed.), *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians, Fourth Edition* (New York: Schirmer, 1940).
- Smith, Stephen, *An Inkwell of Pen Names* (New York: Xlibris Corporation, 2006).
- Stanford, Charles Villiers, *Interludes, Records and Reflections* (London: John Murray, 1922).
- , 'On Some Recent Tendencies in Composition,' *The Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 47th Sess. (1920–21), 39–53.
- , *Pages from an unwritten diary* (London: Edward Arnold, 1914).
- , 'Sanity (?) in Composition,' *The Musical Herald*, 828 (1917).
- , and Forsyth, Cecil, *A History of Music* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1916).
- Steane, J. B., 'Agnes Nicholls,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19867>, 27 September 2016).
- Stephens, James, *Songs from the Clay* (London: MacMillan and Co, 1915).
- Sternlich, Sanford, 'Colum, Padraic, formerly Patrick Collumb (1881–1972),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62943>, 18 July 2016).
- Stevenson, John, *Pat M'Carty, Farmer, of Antrim: His Rhymes with a Setting* (London: E. Arnold, 1903).
- Taruskin, Richard (ed.), *The Oxford History of Western Music, Volume 3: the nineteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Thompson, Mary Shine, 'Clarke, Joseph Augustine,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 6 July 2016).
- Thorne, John, 'In the Footsteps of Plunket Greene,' *The Gramophone*, 15/3 (June 1937).
- Tierney, Michael, *Eoin MacNeill: Scholar and Man of Action 1867–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

- Tilmouth, Michael, 'Table Entertainment,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, August 2 2016).
- Townshend, Charles, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).
- , *The Republic: The Fight of Irish Independence* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).
- Trotter, Mary, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement*. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001).
- Tyldesley, William, *Michael William Balfe: His Life and his English Operas: Music in 19th Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
- Unknown Author, 'Biography,' *Padraic Gregory* (http://www.padraicgregory.com/?page_id=16, 19 September 2016).
- , 'Compositions by Aloys Fleischmann – Chronological Order,' *Cork City Library* (<http://www.corkcitylibraries.ie/fleischmann100/aloysfleischmann-the-works/scoresonline/compositionsbyaloysfleischmann/chronologicalorder/>, 3 February 2017).
- , 'Composing the Island: Songs of Erin, An Irish Song-Book (Volume 2),' *The Journal of Music* (<http://journalofmusic.com/listing/04-09-16/composing-island-songs-erin-irish-song-book-volume-1>, 11 July 2016).
- , 'Composing the Island: Songs of Erin, An Irish Song-Book (Volume 2),' *Contemporary Music Centre* (<https://www.cmc.ie/events/2016/sep/composing-island-songs-erin-irish-song-book-volume-2>, 11 July 2016.)
- , 'Feis Ceoil Minutes 29 May 1930,' National Library of Ireland, IE NLI MS 34915/5.
- , 'I have my own notion of how things should be: Coghill, Rhoda,' *The Irish Times* (19 February 2000).
- , 'Ina Boyle and World War I,' *Ina Boyle Composer* (<http://www.inaboyle.org/articles/2015/8/25/ina-boyle-and-world-war-1>, 16 September 2016).
- , 'Irish Opera at the Theatre Royal, "Muirgheis,"' *Weekly Irish Times* (12 December 1903).
- , 'Irish Opera, "Muirgheis,"' *Weekly Irish Times* (14 June 1902).
- , 'Life in 1916 Ireland: Stories from Statistics,' *Central Statistics Office* (<http://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-1916/1916irl/introduction/>, 8 November 2016).
- , 'Killaloe: Places of Interest,' *Clare Library* (<http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/places/kointerest.htm>, 22 July 2015).

- , ‘Minute Book of the Abbey Theatre 1 September 1937 – 26 May 1939,’ 41, National University of Ireland Galway (<https://digital.library.nuigalway.ie/islandora/object/nuigalway%3Aa25629b6-65ab-4d2d-8b31-74695205cad3>, 15 February 2017).
- , ‘Obituary: Father Myerscough,’ *The Cottonian*, 43/1/92 (1954).
- , ‘Occasional Notes,’ *The Musical Times*, 63/957 (Nov 1, 1922).
- , ‘Rhoda Coghill,’ *Contemporary Music Centre*, (<https://www.cmc.ie/composers/rhoda-coghill>, 28 April 2016).
- , ‘Royal Engineers’ Comfort Fund: Successful Concert at Bray,’ *The Irish Times* (May 6 1915).
- , *Royal Irish Academy of Music* (<http://www.riam.ie/page/18/?id=2161-12>, 11 July 2016).
- , RTÉ Radio Libraries and Archives, Interview with Frederick May.
- , ‘Seven Songs of Ireland,’ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 43/7 (1 January 1902).
- , *St Patrick’s College, Drumcondra, Lunchtime Concerts* (<https://www.spd.dcu.ie/site/news/documents/ImeldaDearbhla.pdf>, 11 July 2016).
- , ‘Sundays@Noon: John F. Larchet Remembered,’ *Hugh Lane Dublin* (<http://www.hughlane.ie/past-sunday-concerts/1740-sundaysnoon-john-f-larchet-remembered>, 16 June 2017).
- , ‘The Blackpool Syllabus,’ *The Musical Times*, 64/965 (1 July 1923).
- , ‘The Butler Clan,’ *Irish Gathering* (https://www.irishgathering.ie/clan_info.asp?clanID=112, 22 July 2015).
- , ‘The Fairy Tree, Clogheen,’ *Clogheen - Hidden Heart of Ireland* (<http://www.clogheen.net/the-fairy-tree-clogheen/>, 6 January 2017).
- , *The Houseman Society* (<http://www.housman-society.co.uk/wenlock-edge-woods-trouble.htm>, 6 December 2017).
- , ‘The Music of Ina Boyle,’ *Hugh Lane Dublin* (<http://www.hughlane.ie/all/262-the-music-of-ina-boyle>, 26 February 2017).
- , *The National Archives of Ireland* (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/dublin/main.html>, 2 August 2016).
- , ‘The Royal Academy of Music,’ *The Musical Times*, 59/906 (1 August 1918), 374.

- Van de Kamp, Peter, 'Tynan [married name Hickson], Katharine (1859–1931), poet and novelist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 12 July 2016).
- Vaughan Williams, Ralph and Holst, Gustav, *Heirs and Rebels: Letters written to each other and occasional writings on music* (London: Cooper Square Publishers, 1959).
- Vaughan Williams, Ursula, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Wade, Alan, and Jochum, K.P.S., *W.B. Yeats: a classified bibliography of criticism: including additions to Allan Wade's Bibliography of the writings of W.B. Yeats and a section of the Irish literary and dramatic revival* (Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1978).
- Walsh, Basil, 'Ireland's Magnificent Seven – Irish Music Pioneers of the 19th Century,' (<http://basilwalsh.wordpress.com/tag/michael-w-balfe/>, 23 October 2013).
- , *Michael William Balfe: A unique Victorian composer* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008).
- , 'Michael William Balfe,' (<http://www.britishandirishworld.com/>, 20 September 2016).
- Walsh, Thomas Joseph, *Opera in Old Dublin: 1819–1838* (Wexford: The Wexford Festival, 1952).
- Watkin, Amy, *Bloom's how to write about Charles Dickens* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009).
- Watson, Laura, 'Epitaph for a Musician: Rhoda Coghill as Pianist, Composer and Poet,' *Journal of the Society of Musicology in Ireland*, 11 (2015–16).
- Webb, Paul, 'Novello, Ivor, [Davies, David Ivor],' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 15 August 2016).
- Welch, Robert, *A History of Verse Translation from the Irish, 1789–1897* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1988).
- White, Harry, 'John F Larchet,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 12 May 2016).
- , 'Professor and Celt doing Battle,' *The Irish Times* (10 May 2003).
- , *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770–1970* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).
- , and Boydell, Barra (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2013).

- , and Nicholas Carolan, 'Ireland,' *Oxford Music Online* (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 5 August 2016).
- Williams, William, *'Twas Only an Irishman's Dream: The image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics 1800–1920* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1996).
- Wood, Claire, 'Death,' *Oxford Bibliographies* (<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>, 13 March 2017).
- Worth, Paul and Cartwright, Jim, *John McCormack: A Comprehensive Discography* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986).
- Yeates, Pádraig, 'The Dublin 1913 Lockout,' *20th Century / Contemporary History: Features*, 9/2 (Summer 2001) (<http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/the-dublin-1913-lockout/>, 3 August 2016).
- Zaslaw, Neal (ed.), *Man and Music: The Classical Era from the 1740s to the end of the 18th Century* (London: The MacMillan Press, 1989).

DISCOGRAPHY

- A Century of English Song, Volume 2*, Sarah Leonard (soprano), Paul Leonard (baritone), Malcom Martineau (pianist), compact disc Somm:SOMMCD 214, 1999.
- An Irish Songbook*, Ailish Tynan (soprano), Ian Burnside (piano), compact disc Signum Classics: SIGCD239, 2011.
- English Orchestral Songs*, Christopher Maltman (baritone), Martyn Brabbins (conductor), BBC Symphony Orchestra, compact disc Hyperion: CDA67065, 1998.
- I Am Wind on Sea: Contemporary Vocal Music from Ireland*, Aylish Kerrigan (mezzo-soprano), Derbhla Collins (piano), compact disc méteir: msv 28558, 2016.
- Ireland's own John McCormack*, John McCormack (tenor), compact disc Emerald Echoes, B011KCF2B8, 2015.
- Macmurogh, Dermot, *Macushla*, John McCormack (tenor), Victor Orchestra, compact disc Memoir Classics: CDMOIR 418, 1993.
- McCormack and Kreisler in Recital*, John McCormack (tenor), Fritz Kreisler (violin), Edwin Schneider (piano), compact disc Prima Voce N17868, 1995.
- McCormack, John, *The McCormack Edition, Vol. 10: Victor Talking Machine Company - Gramophone Company Ltd*, compact disc ADD: CD8.111401, 2012.
- Needham, Alicia Adelaide *Husheen*, Clara Butt (contralto), compact disc Columbia: DX729, 1930.
- O'Brien, Vincent, *The Fairy Tree*, John McCormack (tenor), Edwin Schneider (pianist), compact disc ASV: CD AJA 5224, 1997 (recorded 1930).
- Songs at Eventide*, Richard White (tenor), Stephen Hough (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: CDA 66818, 1995.
- Stanford, Charles Villiers, *Songs from the Elfin Pedlar*, James Griffett (tenor), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: A 66049, 1982.
- , *Stanford: Songs, Vol. 1*, Stephen Varcoe (baritone), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: CDA 67123, 1999.
- , *Stanford: Songs, Vol. 2*, Stephen Varcoe (baritone), Clifford Benson (pianist), compact disc Hyperion: CDA 67124, 1999.

LIST OF WORKS

- Boyle Ina, 'A Mountain Woman Asks for Quiet that her Child May Sleep,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4121, 28–30.
- , 'A Soft Day, Thank God!' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4161, 278–281.
- , 'Blessing,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4132, 19–20.
- , 'Himself and his Fiddle,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4132, 21–24.
- , 'If you let sorrow in on you,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4121/3, 14–15.
- , 'Joy of Earth,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4119, 7–10.
- , 'Roses,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4050, 278–279.
- , 'Sea Wrack,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4050, 345–348.
- , 'Sleep Song,' typeset by David Rhodes, Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4121, 28–30.
- , 'The Lost Water,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4050, 274–277.
- , 'The Stolen Child,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4130, 2–9.
- , 'They Went Forth,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 4130, 15–19.
- Coghill, Rhoda, 'A Little Cluster of Nuts,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 11111.
- , 'A Peasant Woman's Song,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 11111.
- , 'Mary Moriarty,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, IE TCD MS 11111.
- Harty, Hamilton, *A Cradle Song* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).
- , *Across the Door* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).

- , *A Drover* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).
- , *An Irish Love Song* (London: Chappell & Co., 1908).
- , *Antrim and Donegal* (London: Boosey & Co., 1926).
- , *A Rann of Wandering* (London: Novello & Co., 1914).
- , *Bonfires* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1905).
- , *Rose Madness* (London: Augener & Co., 1903).
- , *Sea Wrack* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1905).
- , *Six Songs of Ireland* (Boosey & Co., 1908).
- , *The Rachray Man* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).
- , *The Song of Glen Dun* (London: Boosey & Co., 1902).
- , *The Stranger's Grave* (London: Novello & Co., 1913).
- , *The Wake Feast* (London: Novello & Co., 1914).
- Larchet, John, *An Ardglass Boat Song* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1920).
- , *A Stóirín Ban* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1922).
- , *In Sweet Humility* (London: Moore, Smith & Co, 1906).
- , *Love, and a Garden* (London: C. Woolhouse, 1906).
- , *Love's Question* (London: C Woolhouse, 1906).
- , *Padraic the Fiddiler* (London: Boosey & Co, 1919).
- Macmurrough, Dermot, *Macushla* (London: Boosey & Co., 1910).
- May, Frederick, 'Hesperus,' as appears in: Fitzgerald, Mark, *The Songs of Frederick May* (Dublin: DIT Conservatory of Music and Drama, 2016).
- , 'Irish Love Song,' (Dublin: Pigott & Co., 1930).
- , 'Sheep and Lambs,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, 11495/7/3/4/1–2.
- , 'The Stolen Child,' Trinity College Manuscripts and Archive Research Library, MS 11495/7/3/2, 1–3.

- Needham, Alicia Adelaide, *Husheen* (London: Boosey & Co., 1897).
- O'Brien Butler, Thomas, *Seven Original Irish Melodies: Kincora Edition* (Dublin: Piggott & Co, Gaelic League Offices, McGill & Son Ltd, 1903).
- , *My Little Red Colleen* (Dublin: Pohlmann & Co, 1900).
- O'Brien, Vincent, *The Fairy Tree* (London: J&W Chester: 1930).
- Patterson, Annie, *Go mairidh ár nGaedhilg slán. Rallying song of the Gaelic League* (Dublin: Conradh na Gaedhilge, 1905).
- , *Six Original Gaelic Songs* (London: Boosey & Co., 1896).
- Stanford, Charles Villiers, *A Fire of Turf* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1914).
- , *An Irish Idyll in Six Miniatures* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1901).
- , *A Sheaf of Songs from Leinster* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1914).
- , *Cushendall* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1910).
- , *Songs of a Roving Celt* (London: Enoch & Sons, 1919).
- , *Six Songs from The Glens of Antrim* (London: Boosey & Co., 1914).
- , *The Monkey's Carol* (London: J.B. Cramer & Co., 1921).
- , *The Songs of Old Ireland: A Collection of Fifty Irish Melodies Unknown in England* (London: Boosey & Company, 1882).