

THE ENGLISH FOLK MUSIC MOVEMENT 1898 – 1914

A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hull

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To the Memory of Roy Judge

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## **ABSTRACT**

The folk music movement was an important influence on English cultural life in the years immediately before the First World War. From remote origins in the 1830s and 1840s and small beginnings in the 1880s and 1890s, it suddenly caught the public mood between 1904 and 1914 and for a brief moment it seemed as though a genuinely indigenous and unifying cultural force might have been found. This proved to be a false hope, but nevertheless the movement has survived and has a continuing place in English cultural historiography.

This movement, however, has never been provided with a general history, still less one which has tried to analyse what actually happened. Instead, over the past thirty years since 1970 an interpretation has developed based on Marxist political thought and cultural theory. Coming as it does from a political position based on class conflict and hostility towards nationalism, this interpretation is profoundly antipathetic to the phenomenon it has sought to analyse and has been more concerned to condemn than to understand. It has seen folk song and dance in terms of material expropriated from the working class, misrepresented and transformed in order to reflect 'bourgeois' ideology, and then fed back to the working class via their children in the state education system.

Its weakness is that it has never been able to prove these propositions. This thesis attempts to undermine the Marxist interpretation and to provide a firm foundation of research for future analysis. Chapter One is a historiographical survey of the literature showing how it has developed and exposing its lack of a research base. Chapter Two is a narrative intended to provide a connecting thread for the analytical material which follows. Chapter Three examines the folk music organisations. Chapters Four and Five challenge the central assumptions of the Marxist interpretation by showing that the material was not exclusively 'working class', that folk music collection and publication was careful and scrupulous, and that the movement never succeeded in penetrating the state education system to any significant extent before 1914.

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## Abbreviations and Conventions

### Abbreviations

<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>	<i>DNB</i>
<i>Folk Music Journal</i>	<i>FMJ</i>
Manuscript Collection of Lucy Etheldred Broadwood, Williams Memorial Library	LEB
<i>Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society</i>	<i>Jefdss</i>
<i>Journal of the Folk Song Society</i>	<i>Jfss</i>
Papers of Lucy Etheldred Broadwood, Surrey History Centre	SHC
Vaughan Williams Memorial Library	VWML
<i>Who Was Who</i>	<i>WWW</i>

### Conventions

Italics are my own unless they appear in quotations, in which case they are the author of the quotation's. x

### Monetary Values

All values are given in 'old' (i.e., pre-decimal) coinage. Before 1971, there were 240 pence to the pound. Twelve pence made one shilling, and there were twenty shillings to the pound. Values correspond to modern coinage as follows:

	<b>Pre-decimal</b>	<b>Modern</b>
One Pound	£1-00-00	£1-00
Ten shillings	0-10-00	0-50 pence
One shilling	0- 1-00	0-05 pence
Sixpence	0- 0-06	0-02 pence (closest equivalent)

## PREFACE

This thesis represents an attempt to get down to the historical bedrock and to draw no conclusions which cannot be supported in strictly historical terms. It is likely that some people will find this a very limited and inadequate approach. To them I can only say that for the present it is a very necessary one. The essential task is to remove the accretion of unfounded assumptions which has accumulated over the past thirty years and to provide a firm foundation for future work. I realise also that I may seem perverse in preferring interpretations advanced by Cecil Sharp more than ninety years ago to those arrived at by modern analysis: social historians, no less than the members of other disciplines, are expected to keep up-to-date in their reading and thinking. But interpretations do not become convincing because they are modern: they have to be assessed on the depth of the research and the quality of the thought behind them, and the fact here is that Sharp did his primary research while his modern critics have failed to do it, preferring to rely on political dogmas and cultural theory. Problems of space and resources have also affected the shape and content of this thesis. This was a big project – probably, too big – and in addition I did not appreciate the extent to which I could challenge the existing interpretations until I had been at work for more than a year. After that realisation, the thesis became a specific rebuttal of the Marxist interpretation, and in the process some aspects of the revival – folk music’s influence on art music; the development of scholarship; the collection and editing of folk dance – were overlooked or consciously left out. I can only say that I could not cover everything within the compass of a Ph.D. thesis which had to be kept close to a limit of 100,000 words.

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This thesis has been a long time in the making. Its history began when I started to go to folk clubs in the later 1960s. I tried to find out something about the folk music movement’s history, but all that the local public library could afford me was Maud Karpeles’ *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work*, and A.L. Lloyd’s *Folk Song in England*, books which were obviously telling two very different stories and which fixed in my mind the need for an overall history. At that time I



was bookish but not particularly well educated, and it took more than fifteen years, a very serious illness, and a spell of unemployment to make me think about writing anything myself. In 1986-7 I wrote about 15,000 words of a history of the folk dance movement. It was juvenile stuff and I shudder to think about it now, but the experience taught me two things: that I could write at length, but before I tried to do so again I needed to get an education. I eventually went to evening classes in 1990 and entered Hull University in 1991.

The list of those to whom I am indebted for making this thesis possible must start with those who provided the money. I have always been poor and I would not have been able to make a beginning in 1986 but for a timely loan, and I would never have been able to afford postgraduate work without funding. So my thanks go first to Aubrey Essery for helping me out in 1986, and to the University of Hull for awarding me a postgraduate scholarship in 1995.

Dr Rod Ambler was my first supervisor, but Dr Douglas Reid took over in January 1996 and has borne the burden since then. Relations between us have not always been smooth but in general he has been the best of supervisors, letting me go my own way but ready with advice and support when I needed it. I have also had a number of other 'supervisors' in those who have read and commented on my thesis in draft. Lewis Jones has read practically everything I have written in the past two and a half years and has provided a personal printing and copy-editing service invaluable to someone like myself without computing expertise or much knowledge of grammar.

Every researcher incurs great debts to those in the same field of work, and here one name is pre-eminent – that of Roy Judge, who died on 17 November 2000, and to whom this thesis is dedicated. In a field in which scholarship has often been sadly lacking, Roy set a standard of excellence and integrity. He was that most rare of combinations – a researcher of great ingenuity and meticulousness who was also approachable and always willing to share his discoveries. My debts to him are incalculable, and it is probably true to say that this thesis would not have been possible without Roy's work. Dorothy de Val and Chris Heppa have provided me with valuable additional perspectives on my work – Chris from his biographical work on the friends of Harry Cox, Dorothy from the point of view of musicology. Chris has been with me from the start of my educational adventure, because he taught me at evening classes in 1990-1. I met Dorothy in 1996 and I am indebted to her for access to the Broadwood

diaries and for detailed commentary on my work. David Bland is one of the few people I still know from the folk clubs of the 1960s, and I am very grateful to him for permission to use his material on the Somerset singers. Another Somerset researcher is David Sutcliffe, who has been working on Charles Marson and singers' genealogies, and I am grateful for his help and for copies of his unpublished work.

Librarians and archivists are the unseen heroes of research work. All the possible superlatives have already been used about Malcolm Taylor of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library and I am not going to try to add to them, except to say that when the EFDSS gets around to honouring Malcolm's work they should think of something equal to his stature – not so much a Gold Badge but something like a golden equestrian statue on the grass in front of the Kennedy Hall. I am particularly indebted to the staffs of: Cambridge University Library (particularly Kathleen Cann), the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, University Of Sheffield (particularly to Professor John Widdowson and to Robin Wiltshire), Essex Record Office, King's College Library, Cambridge (particularly Elizabeth Stratton), the Royal College of Music (particularly Peter Horton), Somerset Record Office (particularly T.W. Mayberry), Surrey History Centre, and West Sussex Record Office (particularly Mr Iden). For access to material in private collections I would like to thank Mr R.C. Barden (the Headteacher) and the governors of White Styles Middle School, Sompting, and Mrs Elizabeth Chamberlain.

I also have to thank the following for replying to research enquiries: Mr G.W.P. Barber (Ludgrove School); Margaret Clarke (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge); Peter Copeland (British Library National Sound Archive); Mrs M.V. Cranmer (Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge); Stephen Crook (Berg Collection, New York Public Library); David Doughan (Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University); Alison Derrett (Royal Archives, Windsor); Clare Fleck (Knebworth House); Richard Perceval Graves, Judith Hayton (Divisional Central Library, Lancaster); Suzanne C. Johnston (Clare College Archives); Adam Johnstone (Broadwood Trust); the Earl of Lytton; Jonathan Smith (Trinity College, Cambridge). My apologies to anyone I have inadvertently omitted from these acknowledgements.

Finally, a very personal debt of gratitude – to A.L. Lloyd, who fired my interest in this subject as he fired that of many others.

## CHAPTER ONE

### HISTORIOGRAPHY

#### Introduction

This survey traces the progress of literature on the history of the English folk music movement from the publication of A.H. Fox Strangways' and Maud Karpeles' *Cecil Sharp* in 1933 to Georgina Boyes' *The Imagined Village* in 1993.<sup>1</sup> It must be made clear from the beginning that its subject is the history of the movement – specifically, the movement from the foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1898 – and not the history of folk song in England. Therefore, it touches on questions of the origin and definition of folk music only insofar as these have affected the perceptions of commentators on the motives of the collectors and the accuracy of their work, and thereby the motivation and value of the folk music revival.

These perceptions have been very important. Until the 1960s it was generally accepted that there was such a thing as 'folk music', a concept shaped during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, defined in the English-speaking countries by Cecil Sharp in 1907, and crystallised (or petrified) by the 'Sao Paulo definition' of 1954.<sup>2</sup> With this went critical attitudes which concentrated on the origins and history of folk music, its aesthetic enjoyment, its use in public life, and a view of the folk music movement as essentially a Good Thing, a noble and beneficent cause pursued by honourable men and women whose motives were beyond question. Since the late 1960s the concept of folk music has been under attack from commentators who have criticised the weak historical, sociological, and ethnological base on which it rests, and with this attack on the concept has gone a much harsher view of the folk music collectors, their methods, and their motives in initiating the twentieth century revival.

These much harsher attitudes have gone with a wholesale politicisation of the subject in one direction – that of the Left, and specifically of the Marxist Left. Very few of the contributors to folk music studies since the late 1960s do not have a stated political commitment or an allegiance which is explicit in their writing. This almost universal allegiance has affected commentary in several general and very important ways. The late Victorian and Edwardian folk music movement was profoundly nationalistic and most of its leading figures were fervent patriots, though in an innocent cultural sense rather than an aggressively chauvinist one. Marxism has a fundamental hostility towards nationalism, and a more generalised antipathy towards the concept of tradition. Revolutionaries, whether of the Che Guevara or armchair variety, tend to dislike traditions because established practices of any kind are a bar to the folk

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<sup>1</sup> A.H. Fox Strangways and Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).  
Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> For the 'Sao Paulo definition', see n.21.

music movement was profoundly ruralist in sympathy (if not always in practice) and many of its supporters saw it as a means of recovering something lost or overlaid in English life through the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of the nineteenth century. The hope of theoretical Marxism is in an industrialised and urbanised proletariat, and from the time of Marx himself Marxists have displayed a fairly obvious and open hostility towards and contempt for rural life and rural values.<sup>3</sup> A further aspect still of this hostility is that Marxists and the Left in general show a fairly obvious disappointment with the *kind* of material which was recovered from oral tradition in the countryside. Elements of protest were present, but nothing like the general and explicit denunciations of capitalism and bourgeois society which socialists would like to find on the lips of the working class. The result is an unstated but fairly obvious regret that, firstly, there was a folk music revival at all, and secondly that the material ever got into public circulation, thus giving the general public the 'wrong' ideas about the working class. Some Marxist commentators display an unpleasant and insulting not-in-front-of-the-children obscurantism, coupled with ludicrous attempts to claim that debate in scholarly journals and expensive academic books is in some way more valid and liberating for the material than the public dissemination aimed at by the revivalists.<sup>4</sup> One aspect of this preference may be that many Marxist commentators are academics and so have an obvious preference for the decencies of scholarly debate: another is that some commentators do not seem to have any great knowledge of or liking for the material they are dealing with. As one of the reviewers of Dave Harker's *Fakesong* commented:

This book is therefore ... a socio-political analysis of the distortions produced in the real history of working peoples by the activities of the largely middle class folksong and ballad industry, using the industry as an example; Harker could just as easily have used architecture or visual arts or sculpture to demonstrate his hypothesis ... it is because Dave Harker is not interested in reconstructing or rehabilitating folksong as we know it and love it, and thus has no interest in its survival or revival.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels congratulate capitalism for one achievement at least - that of having delivered at least some of the proletariat from 'the idiocy of rural life'. See Eugene Kamenka (ed), *The Portable Karl Marx* (Harmondsworth, 1983) p.208.

<sup>4</sup> For obscurantist attitudes, Dave Harker, *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980) p.148: 'All this [i.e., Cecil Sharp's collecting and publications] was bad enough; but so long as "folksong" was kept within bourgeois culture, not much damage could be done to the live culture from which Sharp had taken his "raw material". Unfortunately, Sharp did not stop there: as early as 1907 he produced a book of what he termed "theory" ... and set about trying to use this highly mediated folksong as "an instrument of great value"'. For an unusually clear and pompous attempt to claim the material for academic use and to denigrate anything else, see Michael Pickering, *Village Song and Culture: A study based on the Blunt Collection of Song from Adderbury, North Oxfordshire* (London: Croom Helm, 1982) pp.1-2: 'the mere printing of songs without reference to the contexts in which they were performed is an activity as laudable and valuable, historically, as the collection and display of Victorian pince-nez or Edwardian monocles ... Such recent publications as Maud Karpeles' edition of Sharp's English Folk Song Collection, though useful as repositories of material for reference, are only coffins for the songs themselves'.

<sup>5</sup> Review of Dave Harker, *Fakesong: the manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985) by Ian Olson, *FMJ* 5,2 (1986) p.223.

The folk music movement has been judged by its opponents, and the result is an extremely negative literature which is more concerned to condemn than to understand. Further, Marxist and left-wing commentary generally is more concerned with ideas than with substance; with theories and personalities rather than with the detail of the folk music collectors' work or the administration and activities of the various folk music societies. These ideas have raced ahead without keeping touch with their historical foundations, and the result is a literature full of wild assertions and statements which owe more to political prejudice and wishful thinking than to research and dispassionate analysis, coupled with assumptions that it is sufficient to 'debunk' ideas to disprove them and that cultural theory in itself can solve historical problems.<sup>6</sup>

Not all of this carelessness can be blamed on political prejudice and wishful thinking. Almost alone among musical forms, folk music is not considered worthy of academic study in England. Consequently, its scholarship is 'amateur' in the sense that its practitioners are usually obliged to do something else for a living. It has never had the academic resources available to the cognate fields of art music, English literature, or social history. This has meant that research has tended to be scrappy and directed towards the matter immediately at hand, and there has never been the broad research base, developed over decades or even centuries, which is available to musicologists or social historians or literary critics. With this lack of general and detailed scholarship has gone a lack of enquiry into possible source materials. This in itself has deeply affected the direction of commentary, since until very recently the only appreciable archive deposit was the resources of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (VWML), an archive founded on Cecil Sharp's books and papers, with the addition of materials gathered for the Fox Strangways and Karpeles biography. This has been among the chief reasons for the preoccupation with Sharp so often displayed by work in this field. This situation has begun to change with the cataloguing of other collections held in the VWML, with the availability of Lucy Broadwood's material at Surrey History Centre, the acquisition by Cambridge University Library of Rolf Gardiner's papers, and the pioneering work of scholars and researchers such as Roy Judge and David Sutcliffe.<sup>7</sup> The result of these ideological directions and practical constraints has been that very few general works have appeared, and even those books which cover a large span of years (such as Dave Harker, *Fakesong*, and Boyes' *The Imagined Village*) have been more concerned to argue a case than to provide a history. Much of the material which is the subject of this survey is scattered over a wide range of specialist commentary on individual collectors and specific aspects of the folk music movement. It has been impossible to draw together so many strands into a linear survey, so this chapter is divided into thematic sections: firstly, that relating to the nature and definition of folk music; secondly, that attempting to analyse the ideological

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<sup>6</sup> This appears to be the general assumption behind Michael Pickering's 'Recent Folk Music Scholarship in England: A Critique', *FMJ* 6,1 (1990) pp.37-64.

<sup>7</sup> I have attempted to give a rough chronological guide to the availability of source material in Appendix C (Archive Sources).

aspects of the movement; thirdly, that dealing with the history of the Folk Song Society and the other organisations and fourthly the treatment of the folk music collectors, especially Cecil Sharp. Inevitably, this means that the general works appear in more than one thematic section.

## **Part One:**

### **English Folk Song: Some Definitions.**

When the Folk Song Society was founded, the term 'folk song' was a new one and its meaning was a matter of dispute.<sup>8</sup> Broadly, the debate was between collectors who used fieldwork methods and wanted to reserve the term for material recovered, tune and words, from oral tradition, and editors who wanted to use the term in a more general way to cover any material which was distinctively 'national' in character and had survived through frequent printing. 'Folk song' was an extension and refinement of the earlier term 'National Music' which could encompass all the variations on this theme, and the printed music party tended to use the terms interchangeably. Largely due to the sheer volume and quality of the material recovered from oral tradition, and aided by the existence of the Folk Song Society and the policy of its *Journal* – which was not to publish music which had previously appeared in print – the field collectors won the day and 'folk song' came to mean material from oral tradition. But although the 'National Songs' party lost the war they had won the battle within the Folk Song Society caused by the appearance in 1905 of the Board of Education's *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*. At the 1906 AGM Cecil Sharp and his few allies suffered a heavy and ignominious defeat.<sup>9</sup> This led Sharp to begin *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, a book intended to clarify what precisely was meant by 'folk song'.<sup>10</sup>

The principle Sharp wished to establish was the communal origin of folk song, on which his claims for its popularity and unique value rested. His thesis was:

The assumption that folk music is generically distinct from ordinary music; that the former is not the composition of an individual and, as such, limited in its outlook and appeal, but a communal and racial product, the expression, in musical terms, of aims and ideas that are primarily national in character.<sup>11</sup>

Sharp believed that folk music 'must have a beginning, and that beginning must have been the work of an individual', but he argued that the means of transmission – oral culture – then transformed the individual composition so that it became a communal product.<sup>12</sup> He believed that it did so through the three principles of Continuity, Variation, and Selection.<sup>13</sup> Continuity was chiefly a literary principle while Variation and Selection were musical: Continuity and Variation

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<sup>8</sup> For the development of the term and some discussion, Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843-1914', *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980) p.72.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapters 2 and 5 for the *Suggestions* controversy.

<sup>10</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, Novello, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1907).

<sup>11</sup> *ibid* p.x.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid* p.10.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid* pp.16-31.

acted in opposition to one another, the one representing the eternal stream of tradition, the other the eddies, irregularities and changes of direction resulting from individual contribution.

Sharp saw folk culture as the raw material of a nation's art, demonstrating the aptitude of a people which might be developed by education, so that: 'The gift of epigram, for instance, will be foreshadowed in the peoples' proverbs; the talent for literature and poetry in the tales and proverbs of the common people; the spiritual and mystic sense in their myths and legends'.<sup>14</sup> This insistence meant that folk culture had to be regarded as quintessentially the product of people uninfluenced by outside culture, a people who in his own time and recent past he defined as the 'unlettered classes' or 'common people'. This term he said he used:

strictly in its scientific sense, to connote those whose mental development has been due not to any formal system of training or education, but solely to environment, communal association, and direct contact with the ups and downs of life. It is necessary that a sharp distinction should be drawn between the *un*-educated and the *non*-educated. The former are the half or partially educated, i.e. the illiterate. Whereas the non-educated, or the 'common people', are the unlettered, whose faculties have undergone no formal training whatsoever, and who have never been brought into close enough contact with educated persons to be influenced by them.<sup>15</sup>

The only definition which Sharp felt obliged to offer of the 'common people' was that they had once been a large class, 'fairly evenly distributed' between urban and country districts, but that they were in his own time an exceedingly small class, 'one to be found only in those country districts, which, by reason of their remoteness, have escaped the infection of modern ideas'.<sup>16</sup> Even here, Sharp believed, folk culture was dying, its vital thread having been broken some sixty or seventy years before he was writing.

These aspects of Sharp's book, over which so much ink has been spilt in more recent times, were not controversial in 1907. The evolutionary theory of music had been expressed by Hubert Parry in *The Art of Music* (1893), and the idea of folk music as the preserve of isolated country-dwellers by Carl Engel in *The Literature of National Music* (1878). The intellectual opinion of the time accepted that the 'deep' countryside – namely, that beyond everyday walking distance of the nearest railhead – was a place whose customs and values remained relatively untouched by the *mores* and values of the city. This assumption was the staple of a good proportion of the humour in *Punch*, of the plots of novelists and short story writers, and was the common stuff of serious social commentators such as George Sturt.<sup>17</sup> It was accepted that a new class of 'common people' was growing up among the urban sprawl of the cities and their suburbs and in the industrial north, but beyond these areas a deeply traditional England was believed to slumber on. Partly because of the controversy over the Board of Education's *Suggestions* list Sharp was not a popular figure either in the folk music movement or the musical establishment, and in the specialist musical press *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* was received

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<sup>14</sup> *ibid* p.1.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid* p.3.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*, p.4.

lukewarmly or openly attacked by other members of the Folk Song Society.<sup>18</sup> But the critics based their attacks on the detail of Sharp's musical arguments, not on his broad assumptions about folk song, or about its singers and the social structure in which they lived.<sup>19</sup>

Sharp believed that his book was a beginning for folk music scholarship rather than an end, but, with the exception of a short and lightweight half-book by Frank Kidson written in 1912, it was the only specialist study to appear and it dominated the field for the next sixty years.<sup>20</sup> Even when, in 1954, the international folk music conference at Sao Paulo arrived at a definition, it was essentially that set out by Sharp with two supplementary clauses.<sup>21</sup> When challenges at last began to be mounted in the 1960s, they came from attitudes and perceptions which had been formed in a very different world to that of Sharp. The pre-1914 movement had been perceived as vaguely radical but had been directed at the broad middle class public of its time. During the 1920s the English Folk Dance Society lost whatever radicalism it had ever had (there seems to have been a general failure of nerve after Sharp's death) and it and its successor the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) carried on into the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s in the same genteel sort of way, accepting folk music's place as a minority interest among gentlefolk. The so-called 'Second Revival' which began in the 1950s and gathered pace in the 1960s through the folk club movement came from a very different social and cultural direction. It was demotic, with little time for genteel sensibilities. It was radical and 'agin the government' in a left-wing but otherwise vague and undefined way; and its primary appeal was to young people and in particular to the intelligent and radical young. It had its roots in American popular music and accepted material composed in a vaguely-defined 'folk idiom' alongside traditional song. It owed little or nothing to the EFDSS and did not recognise many of the distinctions made by Sharp and repeated at Sao Paulo.

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<sup>17</sup> 'George Bourne' [George Sturt] *Change in the Village* (London: Duckworth, 1912).

<sup>18</sup> The reviews in the *Musical Times* (2, 9, 16 November 1907) and the *Times Literary Supplement* (23 January 1908) were by T.L. Southgate and J.A. Fuller Maitland respectively, and were decidedly hostile. Frank Kidson in the *Musical Times* (1 January 1908) was lukewarm.

<sup>19</sup> For further discussion of how realistic Sharp's assumptions about the 'common people' were, see Chapter 4 Part Two.

<sup>20</sup> Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk Song and Dance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915).

<sup>21</sup> The 'Sao Paulo definition' was as follows:

Folk Music is the product of a musical tradition that has evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.

(1) The term can be applied to music that has evolved rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of the community.

(2) The term does not cover composed popular music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community which gives it its folk character.



The prophet of the Second Revival was A.L. Lloyd, and his book *Folk Song in England* resurrected a subject in which scholarly enquiry had become moribund.<sup>22</sup> A.L. Lloyd became interested in folk music during the course of an adventurous life which took him to Australian sheep stations and to the Antarctic on board a whaler. Later, he made a precarious living on the fringes of the media and as artistic director of a record company.<sup>23</sup> Lower-class by background, he associated himself with the Communist Party in the 1930s and never wavered in this allegiance. This benefited him in one important way: he was *persona grata* in the Eastern Bloc countries, able to go on collecting expeditions there as well as in Britain, and so to have experience in cultures not unlike those in which Sharp and the other Edwardian collectors worked. Being something of a linguistic phoenix, with command of at least seven European languages, he was able to read widely in the folk music literature of other countries, and this, together with his experience, gave him a background far wider than the insular British norm.<sup>24</sup>

Lloyd re-defined folk music in two ways, both of which were to have lasting consequences. In the light of subsequent developments, his most important departure was to give the material a political stance. He transmogrified Sharp's description of folk song as 'the song created by the common people' into 'lower-class song', originating in poverty and the expression of a common identity amongst this class. Lloyd quoted E.P. Thompson's explanation of why different social classes arise and stated that 'folk songs are lower-class songs specifically in so far as they arise from the common experience of labouring people and express the identity of interest of those people, very often in opposition to the interests of their masters'.<sup>25</sup> Sharp had defined folk music in terms of his sources' *culture*. Lloyd defined it in terms of their *class*, and with a further change of emphasis. Sharp's definition and that of the Sao Paolo conference accepted that folk singers might do no more than transmit their material. Lloyd's definition implied a view of the singers as the *originators* of the songs, and therefore that folk song could be the cultural property of the 'lower class'. It followed from this that folk song could have an important role as the expression of otherwise-suppressed class experience in the new kind of social history – 'history from below' – which was being pioneered by E.P. Thompson and his disciples.

This new role placed the emphasis on song texts rather than song tunes. The primary concern of the collectors had been the music: the Folk Song Society had been founded to preserve

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(Quoted in R.S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its influence upon the Transmission of English Folk Songs', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1975, pp.18-19).

<sup>22</sup> A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1967).

<sup>23</sup> No biography of Lloyd (1908-82) has appeared. The best memoir is the obituary by Dave Arthur in *FMJ* 4,4 (1983) pp.436-439.

<sup>24</sup> For Lloyd's languages, *ibid*, p.438.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, p.179. (NB: pagination is different in other editions. For example, in the 1975 paperback [St Albans: Paladin] the passage is on p.169). For Thompson's explanation of the origins of class, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Gollancz, 1980), pp.10-11 [first published 1963].

tunes rather than texts and never accepted responsibility for them.<sup>26</sup> Attitudes varied widely between collectors (and in fact Sharp was one of the more conscientious recorders of texts) but the consensus was that with few exceptions the texts were far inferior to the tunes.<sup>27</sup> Much of the blame for what the collectors regarded as the ‘vulgarisation’ of folk poetry – either indirectly, through the corruption of what was assumed to be its unsophisticated charm, or more directly through the introduction of sensational elements or indecent words – was laid on printed ballad sheets, garlands, slipsongs and ‘flimsies’ which may be treated under the general heading of ‘broadsides’. Broadsides had been produced in vast quantities from the sixteenth century onwards and were still being printed in the early twentieth century. Folk song collectors were far from ignorant of broadsides, which provided a natural starting-point for an interest in traditional music and an invaluable resource for complete and publishable texts when singers’ words were fragmentary or garbled, and they acknowledged the role broadsides had played in preserving the songs.<sup>28</sup> The generation which came after the collectors, however, inherited their dislike of broadsides but not their appreciation of their role and use, and the emphasis on oral transmission and the assumption that printed material was inferior produced an atmosphere in which broadsides were ignored whenever possible and despised when they were noticed.

Attitudes had begun to change. In 1958 James Reeves published *The Idiom of the People*, which treated texts from the Sharp MSS collection as folk poetry, and incidentally showed up the degree to which Sharp had bowdlerised the texts of the school versions which were the ones in common use.<sup>29</sup> Lloyd himself had written an introduction to Leslie Shepard’s pioneering study *The Broadside Ballad* in 1962.<sup>30</sup> Lloyd emphasised the role of broadsides in song transmission and in stabilising the forms of songs which had been collected all over the English-speaking world. This emphasis was not entirely disinterested: Lloyd had made valiant but unconvincing efforts to prove his thesis about folk song expressing a lower class identity of interest by placing socially-conscious interpretations on the words of some songs.<sup>31</sup> Broadsides and the work of labourer-poets provided material which was much more suitable for this purpose, and Lloyd had drawn heavily on such material for his pioneering collection of ‘industrial’ folk song, *Come All*

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<sup>26</sup> Review of *Folk Song in England* by ‘MD-S’ [Margaret Dean-Smith], *Music and Letters* 49,3 (1968) p.250.

<sup>27</sup> Sharp, *Some Conclusions* pp.101-102.

<sup>28</sup> For the collectors’ knowledge of broadsides generally, see Chapter 4. For an example of individual acknowledgement of the broadside’s role, Cecil Sharp, lecture at Hampstead Conservatoire, 26 November 1903, Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/5/1.

<sup>29</sup> James Reeves (ed) *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse* (London: Heinemann, 1958). In her review of the book (*JFDSS* 8,3 [1958] p.168), Violet Alford said that ‘In the early days we were accustomed to sing our songs in the form prepared for schools’.

<sup>30</sup> Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962).

<sup>31</sup> See for example Lloyd’s discussions of ‘The Bitter Withy’ and ‘The Cutty Wren’, *Folk Song in England* pp. 124, 96.

*Ye Bold Miners*, published in 1952.<sup>32</sup> More generally, Lloyd condemned Sharp's view of the singers as 'primitive romanticism' and, drawing on his own experience in eastern Europe, declared that the best folk singers were the best educated and most socially conscious of their class. Here it is necessary to remember that Marxism has no use for an ignorant peasantry unable to master its tenets.

Lloyd introduced *Folk Song in England* as 'as a book for beginners not specialists', and as such it was a triumphant success which informed and gave shape to the interest of a whole generation of folk music enthusiasts, including the present writer.<sup>33</sup> But what was avowedly a popular book addressing a non-specialist audience was made to carry the weight of a radical re-definition of folk song from two perspectives, and the result falls short on the arguments and evidence which should have sustained Lloyd's assertions. His description of the singers as 'lower-class' and his endowment on them of a common identity did not rest on any base of fresh research, and his arguments about the influence of broadsides rely on unsubstantiated assertions and the doubtful proposition that a widely-diffused text *must* have a common ancestor and literary support, rather than on any research into song transmission.

Lloyd was a late survival of the amateur tradition in folk music scholarship. With a grammar school education, backed up by what was then the Reading Room of the British Museum, he was in approximately the same position as Lucy Broadwood, Anne Gilchrist, Percy Grainger, and Frank Kidson, people who made immensely valuable contributions to folk music studies without having been to a university. Lloyd's scholarship was also the product of maturity and wide experience of life: he was 36 when his first publication on folk music, *The Singing Englishman* appeared, with his youthful adventures behind him, and 59 on the appearance of *Folk Song in England*.<sup>34</sup> Lloyd's book, however, marked an end to this admirable tradition of self-improvement and of writing with the benefit of experience and maturity. The future belonged to the professionals, and those who have developed and criticised Lloyd's ideas from a Marxist perspective have usually come from the opposite direction, and have been young, with excellent formal educations, but little experience outside academic life.

At Cambridge in the early 1970s, two postgraduates were working on Ph.D. theses on different aspects of folk and popular music. David Harker had gone from a grammar school to Jesus College, taking his first degree, in English, in 1969. He then moved to Wolfson College for postgraduate work, and his Ph.D. thesis was accepted in 1976.<sup>35</sup> R.S. Thomson had not gone straight from school to university and was an EFDSS 'insider' with some experience in field

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<sup>32</sup> A.L. Lloyd, *Come All Ye Bold Miners*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1952). A revised and expanded edition appeared in 1978.

<sup>33</sup> Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, p.5.

<sup>34</sup> A.L. Lloyd, *The Singing Englishman: An Introduction to Folk Song* (London: Workers' Music Association, 1944).

<sup>35</sup> D.I. Harker, 'Popular Song and Working-Class Consciousness in North-Eastern England', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976.

work. From circumstantial evidence, it appears that he was taken on as a research assistant by Professor John Holloway, who, in collaboration with Joan Black, was working on a collection of broadside ballads.<sup>36</sup> Thomson's Ph.D. thesis, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its influence upon the transmission of English Folk Songs', was accepted in 1975. In his preface, Thomson acknowledges the 'help, advice, and hospitality [which] has always been generously extended by ... D. Harker', and both Thomson's and Harker's help is acknowledged in Holloway and Black's book.<sup>37</sup> Thomson's thesis has been enormously influential, though for the most part at second hand and as interpreted by Harker and other commentators.

Thomson's thesis sets out to demonstrate that English folk songs were in fact derived from and supported by urban composed music and by the broadside ballad trade. In its essentials, this was not a new argument and most of it would not have been contested by the folk music collectors: since the very beginning of the concept of folk music in the later eighteenth century there had always been those who argued that the peasantry were incapable of artistic expression, and must have received at least their raw material from educated sources. Baring-Gould certainly believed that this was the case, and Sharp and most other collectors never denied the role of broadsides.<sup>38</sup> But Thomson was writing a thesis: he needed a clear and original argument and an established position to argue against, and he found it in Sharp's insistence that folk song was the result of 'the spontaneous and intuitive exercise of untrained faculties'. Thomson comments that:

Central to such a statement was the conviction that the folk itself creates rather than adopts. Thus is (*sic*) necessary to deny the possibility that folk song could originate in the cultivated songs of a previous age; that the once popular songs of town and city, having permeated to the countryside, had been taken up and utilised by the folk singer. As evidence that this transference could not have taken place Sharp points to the technical differences between folk and cultivated music and the lack of original sources amongst the sheet music and song-books of the past.<sup>39</sup>

It will be noticed that Sharp's argument, as Thomson summarises it, is purely a *musical* one. Sharp never denied that broadsides could support folk song by offering reminders of texts, and it is doubtful whether he would have denied that folk tunes could originate with what Thomson calls 'cultivated sources'. Sharp's argument was that the process of oral transmission had then transformed the tunes so that they became, in effect, folk compositions. If Sharp had been in any doubts he only had to refer to the Folk Song Society's *Journal* in which the published tunes were frequently related to printed music of the past. To use a culinary metaphor, folk song was not conceived as a made dish cooked and served on a specific occasion, but as a sort of eternal stock-

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<sup>36</sup> John Holloway and Joan Black (eds) *Later English Broadside Ballads* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

<sup>37</sup> Holloway and Black, *Broadside Ballads*, p.11.

<sup>38</sup> Rev. S. Baring-Gould and Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West*, 4 vols (London: Patey & Willis, Methuen, 1889-1891). Vol. 4, p.ix declares that the songs are 'an heirloom of the past, from a class of musicians far higher in station and culture than those who now possess the treasure. In many cases, probably, our West of England song-men are the lineal descendants of the old minstrels or gleemen put down by Act of Parliament in 1597'.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid* pp.14-15.

pot like a legendary French *marmite* in which various ingredients are thrown in over the course of years and gradually merge in a cultural soup.<sup>40</sup> Having artificially created an opposition, Thomson then changed the nature of his argument from a musical to a literary one. To justify doing so, he attempted to discredit two of Sharp's three principles, those of Variation and Selection, and argued that the only valid principle was Continuity, which Sharp himself had stated to be mainly literary in its basis.<sup>41</sup> Thomson had begun by doubting the principle of oral transmission on the ground that its prerequisite is a non-literate community, and asserted that this condition had not existed in England for 'upwards of two hundred years'.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, he assumed, the means of transmission *must* have been literary.

This thesis faces a number of general questions, most of which are ignored or evaded rather than discussed. The main question is the link between texts and music. Broad-sides were very seldom provided with music, beyond a suggestion of which tune they might be sung to. Folk-singers might hear the ballad-seller sing the song, or they might know the named tune, but beyond that they were on their own. Further, there was never any fixed relationship between tunes and texts: in the notes to *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Sharp records many minor and some major variations in the tunes to which a single text could be sung, and indeed he printed several songs twice to different tunes.<sup>43</sup> Further still, broad-sides were not necessarily the same thing as the 'cultivated songs' of past ages. There were in fact three separate issues which Thomson tried to roll into one very big and over-simplified one. His only attempt to deal with the question of the music was to make a bold attempt to claim that 'both tunes and texts were found to exist in cultivated sources back to the earliest liturgical music and in a recognisably kindred state which put the cross relationship beyond question'.<sup>44</sup> But the only evidence Thomson could provide for this large assertion was two melodic parallels between tenth and eleventh century Masses and ballad tunes first recorded in the early eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> Given that Thomson doubted the possibility of accurate oral transmission of tunes, it would be interesting to hear him explain how such liturgical music could have been transmitted, bearing in mind that the Mass could not legally be celebrated in England after the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> There are also very many minor points to which one would like an answer, for example the question of what the peasantry sang

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<sup>40</sup> A metaphor used by Sharp himself. In his lecture to the Society of Somerset Men in London (in May 1904: Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/5/2) he said that 'You cannot then apply the old adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth" to the making of a folk song, for it owes its particular flavour first of all to the large number of people who have stirred the pot'.

<sup>41</sup> Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade', pp.20-22.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid* p.5.

<sup>43</sup> For example, Cecil J. Sharp (ed) *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Series Four (London: Simpkin & Co., Schott & Co., and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1908), p.75 (notes to song No.83 'The Cruel Ship's Carpenter'): 'I have taken down eight versions of it. It is usually sung to some simple ballad-air of the "Villikins and his Dinah" type ... Mr. Tucker's tune is far more elaborate'.

<sup>44</sup> Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade', p.15.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>46</sup> For Thomson's doubts about the possibility of accurate oral transmission of tunes, 'Broadside Ballad Trade' pp.21-22.

before the broadside trade came into existence during the sixteenth century, and before the spread of literacy had made possible its penetration into rustic communities. Even if one accepts Thomson's arguments of literary transmission for the twentieth, nineteenth, and eighteenth centuries, there must have been *some* historical point at which oral transmission was the rule and communities created their own songs – unless, of course, they never sang anything at all. Further, elements of purely oral culture survive even in highly literate societies such as our own. Jokes – especially the rude or politically incorrect type – circulate almost entirely by word of mouth over wide geographical areas, often developing variations while retaining a recognisable basic structure. These seem to illustrate Sharp's three principles quite well.

Thomson also ignores the existence of folk song in other areas. In 1916-1918 Cecil Sharp and Maud Karpeles explored in the Southern Appalachian mountains of the U.S.A. a folk song tradition which, beyond all doubt, was descended from English and Scottish originals, conveyed to that area by emigrants during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> There was a broadside trade in America, but it has yet to be shown that it penetrated the mountain region, or could have originated the very many Scottish and English songs the mountain people sang.<sup>48</sup> The obvious corollary is that if an oral tradition could exist in the U.S.A. there is no theoretical reason why one should not exist in England.

But the major objection to this thesis insofar as it deals with song transmission is the lack of research and evidence-based argument. Thomson's axiomatic assumption that oral transmission is incompatible with a literate society led him to ignore or try to discredit the large body of evidence to the contrary. When folk song collections made in the first revival period up to 1914 are examined, the vast majority of singers claimed to have received their songs by oral transmission. Very few told the collectors that they had learned songs from broadsides, or even demonstrated any knowledge of them.<sup>49</sup> Quantifiable evidence in this field is very hard to come by: indeed, the only survey of the prevalence of literary as against oral transmission appears to be my own and is given in Table 4:7 in Chapter 4 Part Two. Thomson seemed to be aware of the lack of evidence for his assumptions, since he fell back on an argument which might be thought both ludicrous and presumptuous. He drew on his own experience with a modern singer (Harry Cox, 1885-1971), and argued that because Cox had a collection of printed material, such collections must have been widespread but were never divulged to the collectors of the first revival. He then argued that the singers suppressed their knowledge of printed material because the collectors 'privileged' the tunes and praised the singers' retentive memories. It seems almost

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<sup>47</sup> Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (New York: Putnam, 1917), p.iv.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid*, p.xxviii 'None of the singers I [Cecil Sharp] visited possessed any printed song-sheets, but some of them produced written copies, usually made by children, which they called 'ballets', a term which the English singer reserves for the printed broadside'. In the notes to the 1932 edition, two songs are traced to American broadsides – no.97, 'The Sheffield Apprentice', and no. 101 'The Brisk Young Lover', both by H. de Marsan of New York.

<sup>49</sup> C.J. Bearman, 'The Lucy Broadwood Collection: an Interim Report', *FMJ* 7,3 (1997) p.362.

beyond belief that a modern postgraduate could produce an argument which is at once so arrogant, patronising, and blatantly self-serving in supporting a weak position, so perhaps Thomson's own words ought to be quoted almost in full:

What is plainly true is that a great deal of the folk song repertoire in use at the time of Sharp, Vaughan Williams, Grainger, etc, was never disclosed to or discovered by these enthusiasts ... There appears to be (sic) two main reasons why such treasures were never disclosed to the collectors; firstly the main emphasis at the turn of the 20th century was directed towards the recovery of tunes not texts alone, secondly the collectors tended to impress upon the singers their great regard for the ability of the singers to remember so many long ballads and songs.<sup>50</sup>

Except for Thomson's own experience with Harry Cox – if accurately reported (it has been challenged) and the known existence of a few MSS collections – there is not a shred of evidence to support this conjecture.<sup>51</sup> One wonders whether Thomson visited Cox as often as the twenty-plus times Cecil Sharp visited Lucy White and Louisa Hooper. Both claimed to have learned songs from literary sources and even on the beach at Weston-super-Mare, but neither produced a collection of broadsides.<sup>52</sup> There are other examples which could be cited. In general, singers appear to have been well aware of the provenance of their songs and had few hesitations about declaring it.<sup>53</sup>

One of Thomson's few attempts to argue directly from the evidence was in his treatment of Henry Larcombe's song 'Robin Hood and the Tanner' collected by Cecil Sharp in 1905.<sup>54</sup> Sharp showed that the first eleven stanzas of Larcombe's song matched a seventeenth century broadside almost word for word, and argued that although the words had appeared in several ballad books, they had never done so in a form likely to reach people such as Henry Larcombe, and that a 200-year continuity of oral tradition was thereby demonstrated.<sup>55</sup> Thomson challenged this on the basis that 'the ballad version in question had been circulated in the form of a broadside or garland well into the nineteenth century'.<sup>56</sup> He buried away in a footnote the intelligence that the broadsides in question were printed between c.1790 and 1850 at London, Kidderminster, York, Stirling, and Newcastle, and so were not particularly likely to have reached rural Somerset, and he showed his ignorance by continuing:

In other words it is not inconceivable that Larcombe himself may have been in possession of a printed copy at one time or another, or alternatively his informant may have owned such a sheet. Certainly the idea of a two hundred year continuity by purely oral transmission must be questioned.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade', p.20.

<sup>51</sup> For the nature of Harry Cox's collection of printed material, see letters from Leslie Shepard, *FMJ* 2,3 (1972) p.241, and from Michael Grosvenor Meyer and Bob [R.S.] Thomson, *FMJ* 2,4 (1973) pp.319-320.

<sup>52</sup> For Lucy White and Louisa Hooper and the number of Sharp's visits to them, see Chapter 4 Part One.

<sup>53</sup> Bearman, 'Broadwood Collection' p.362.

<sup>54</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Charles L. Marson (eds) *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Two* (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1905) pp.34-37 (tune and text) pp.70-71 (notes).

<sup>55</sup> Sharp, *Some Conclusions* p.17.

<sup>56</sup> Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade' p.20.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.* For the footnote, p.26 n.20.

The need to question seems to have been stronger than Thomson's curiosity or his grasp of the evidence. Larcombe was blind – a fact conveniently omitted here. There is no mystery about how he learned the song or who 'his informant' was. Larcombe told Sharp that he learned the song from his father as a boy of ten (c.1834), but had not sung it since coming to live in Haselbury Plucknett in the 1860s.<sup>58</sup> All this information is in Sharp's Field Note Books or in the published notes to *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and all of it was available to Thomson, who, as he reminds us, was actually on the Library Committee of the EFDSS while at work on his thesis and so had full access to 'the VWML and its many treasures' - all of which he ignored in pursuit of his neat little theory.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, this supposed 'proof' of the fallacy of Sharp's claims for oral transmission keeps turning up, like the proverbial bad penny.<sup>60</sup>

One other feature of Thomson's thesis must be noticed, though he himself ignored it. His own table showing the numbers of broadside printers who operated in each county demonstrates that broadside production was not evenly distributed throughout England but was concentrated in the north. Yorkshire had sixty-three printers operating at one time or another, but Devon only five. Lancashire had fifty-one, but Hampshire eleven, almost all of them in Portsmouth and Portsea. Cumberland and Durham had eleven and twelve respectively, but there was only one each in Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, and Surrey, and none at all in Bedfordshire, Middlesex, or Rutland. The only large centres of broadside production in southern England were London and Bristol.<sup>61</sup> What is true of southern England, therefore, may not be true of the industrial north, and vice-versa.

The value of Thomson's thesis lies in its history and analysis of the broadside trade, though even here he did not pursue obvious lines of enquiry such as the relative number of printers in each county. In pursuit of his thesis on folksong transmission, he reversed the priorities of the collectors and ignored easily available evidence. It is possible to prove that a high proportion of 'folk songs' were available as broadsides. It can be demonstrated that broadside printers operated in most English counties at one time or another during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With less certainty, it can be argued that their wares were widely distributed through informal retailers such as pedlars and ballad singers at fairs. But what cannot be demonstrated is that folk singers actually learned their songs from broadsides. This is the Missing Link of the argument for literary transmission, and an important question which Thomson addressed only by ignoring the available evidence or dismissing it as unreliable.

Harker's first attack on Sharp came in his 1971 edition of *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, and it was already characteristic in its rambling nature, its incoherent rage, its belief in conspiracy

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<sup>58</sup> Cecil Sharp, Field Note Books (Words) 18 August - 2 September 1905 (570-632). Sharp and Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Two p.70.

<sup>59</sup> Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade', p.2.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Richard Sykes, 'The Evolution of "Englishness" in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', *FMJ* 6,4 (1993) pp.457-458.

<sup>61</sup> Tabulation of printers by county, Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade', pp.149-164.



theories, and what were either gross misrepresentations or tacit admissions that he had not so much as glanced at material with which he claimed familiarity.<sup>62</sup> In *Rhymes of Northern Bards* Harker made it clear that he believed the printed tradition to be the true popular one, claiming that ‘the chief criterion for popularity, as regards songs for working people from 1800 onwards, was repeated printing’.<sup>63</sup> In the context in which he was writing – that of an early-to-mid-nineteenth century collection made in north-eastern England – that statement probably contained some truth. As we have seen through Thomson’s thesis, broadside production was concentrated in the north, where urban and industrial conditions provided the best and most profitable environment for the trade. But Harker then simply assumed that broadsides provided the *universal* means of transmission, in rural Somerset as well as in the industrial north-east. He was then engaged on an analysis of Sharp’s work in Somerset which was published in 1972.<sup>64</sup> In this, Harker identified broadsides with popular culture, and argued that Sharp was ignorant about broadsides and secondly that the inhabitants of rural Somerset had by the late nineteenth century become ‘proletarianized’ (in a curious process involving the *absence* of trades unions) with a culture indistinguishable from that of the towns.<sup>65</sup> There is no doubt about which culture Harker believed to be superior, or about his contempt for rural life and rural values:

But when these starling-singers [referring to a metaphor Sharp used in *Some Conclusions*, p.30] had recourse to print, to the fairground, market-place, music-hall, professional status, then they became town-birds, with minds of their own – individuals: complex, unique, wilful – to be organised, feared, “educated”, bullied, resisted by the upholders of the “pure” culture of the minority.<sup>66</sup>

In order to integrate Harker’s ‘rural proletariat’ into urban-based proletarian culture it became necessary to assert that the broadside sellers were the transmitters of both words *and* music. So Harker invented a ballad-seller who was: ‘almost certainly one of the many ... who attended the fairs, merry-makings, markets, weddings, races and dances in Somerset towns and villages, selling broadsides and singing the songs, spreading words and music like seed-corn in the country, but town-oriented for her material, for her livelihood’.<sup>67</sup> It is good to see that there is at least some poetry even in the lives of Trotskyites, but the woman about whom Harker weaves this romantic fantasy was in fact the wife of an agricultural labourer, 66 years old in 1891, living in Barrington (she was born in the adjoining parish) with three children still at home. There are few

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<sup>62</sup> John Bell (ed) *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, facsimile edition with an introduction by David Harker (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Frank Graham, 1971). For an example either of gross misrepresentation or ignorance of work with which he claimed familiarity, the statement on (p.l [p.50]) that Cecil Sharp’s theories ‘rested complacently on his trips to a few people of particular ages and occupations, living in one small corner of Somerset’. On the following page (p.li [p.51]) he makes an implicit claim to close acquaintance with the various editions of Sharp’s *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* in pretending to compare the 1907 edition with later ones. On p.ix Sharp states that he has met ‘upwards of 350 singers and instrumentalists’. This number is not ‘a few’.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid* p.li.[p.51].

<sup>64</sup> David Harker, ‘Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions’, *FMJ* 2,3 (1972) pp.220-240.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid* pp.225-226.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid* pp.233-234.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* p.231.

traces of a career as a professional ballad seller, and none whatsoever of any contact with metropolitan culture.<sup>68</sup>

Harker's 1972 paper re-appeared as a chapter in his 1976 Ph.D. thesis, was integrated into another paper published in *History Workshop Journal* in 1982, and made up most of Chapter Eight of his book *Fakesong* in 1985.<sup>69</sup> During this time he did not, apparently, feel the need to re-visit his research or present fresh material, but instead re-worked it so that there are many inconsistencies between one version of the paper and another, and assertions which change as the needs of his argument require.<sup>70</sup> By 1985 Harker was stating that the singers did not merely learn their melodies from ballad-sellers, but then religiously repeated them absolutely unchanged, so that what Sharp described and admired as 'variations' in their singing they would describe as 'mistakes'.<sup>71</sup>

In Chapter 4, Part Two I have dissected Harker's attack on Sharp and shown it to be an absurd farrago of unsubstantiated assertions, untrue statements, fundamental misunderstandings of the material, statistics which have no base, and numbers that do not add up. What is of immediate concern is the evidence Harker offered for the prevalence of broadsides, beyond the abuse of Sharp and the romantic fantasies about 'spreading words and music like seed-corn in the countryside'. The only hard statistic he offered was the assertion that: 'Seventeen of the songs in *Folk Songs from Somerset* have local broadside equivalents'.<sup>72</sup> Seventeen of what? Of the 25-27 songs in each of the five volumes? Or the 105 songs in the four volumes Harker analysed? Or of the 130 songs in all five volumes? Here as elsewhere, the lack of any base for Harker's statistics makes his assertions wild and meaningless. Further, of the 'local' broadside printers he named, not one actually worked in Somerset.<sup>73</sup>

The thesis of folk song as the cultural property of the working class and of literary transmission developed by Lloyd, Thomson and Harker has never been properly researched or demonstrated, and the literature has never gone beyond the work of destruction and continued to a discussion of what 'folk song' is if it is not as Sharp defined it. All that has been suggested are academic disciplines or concepts such as 'vernacular song' which are so vague that what they amount to is no more than 'folk song' writ large. The result is that the folk music concept, though subjected to as many indignities as poor John Barleycorn, keeps inexplicably springing up

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<sup>68</sup> Her name was Sarah England: Public Record Office, copies of Census Enumerators' Returns, Hambridge, RG12/1890. Sarah England was born in Puckington.

<sup>69</sup> Dave Harker, 'May Cecil Sharp be Praised?', *History Workshop Journal* 14 (1982) pp.44-61.

<sup>70</sup> For examples of inconsistencies and changing interpretations: in 'Sharp in Somerset', p.224 n.11, Harker claimed to have analysed Sharp's work 'up to 31 August 1907'. In *Fakesong*, p.189, he claims to have studied Sharp's collecting 'up to the end of 1907'. This latter statement is not true. In 'Sharp in Somerset', p.232 Harker alleges that the cause of the quarrel between Sharp and Marson was Sharp's 'poking his nose into the other's business', but in *Fakesong*, p.200 [to provide an innuendo that Sharp was greedy over royalties] he says that Sharp 'managed to ease Marson out of any involvement with the last two parts of *Folk Songs from Somerset*'.

<sup>71</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p.188.

<sup>72</sup> Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset' pp.230-231.

again, to the confusion of those who want it to lie down and accept the death to which they have consigned it. Neither have the contradictions of these arguments been examined. Harker himself pointed out that not all of Sharp's Somerset singers could reasonably be described as 'working class'.<sup>74</sup> In a paper published in 1980, Vic Gammon refers to folk singers as 'working people', 'rural poor', 'labouring poor', 'working person', and 'rural working class' at least eleven times in twenty-five pages of text, but the singers he named were only doubtfully covered by these terms.<sup>75</sup> In *Folk Song in England* Lloyd attributed the popularity and wide distribution of 'Green Bushes' to Buckstone's play of that name, which, Lloyd says, was 'spread by theatre companies travelling ...in 1845' [and in which snatches of the song were sung].<sup>76</sup> Assuming that Lloyd's assertion is true, at what point does 'Green Bushes' cease to be an artefact of bourgeois metropolitan culture and become 'lower-class' song, expressing the common identity of that class? Lloyd would have squared this circle by pointing, as Sharp did, to the transforming power of oral transmission. He would probably have pointed out in addition that the song pre-dated Buckstone's play, and was sung to other tunes than the one used in the play.<sup>77</sup> But Harker asserts that the singers got their songs, words and music, directly from broadside sellers who in turn were directly dependent on metropolitan sources. So, in Harker's view, the singers did not make any contribution whatsoever, whether in originating or transforming the songs: they were merely the consumers of metropolitan material, just as to-day's working class are the consumers of *The Sun*, professional football, or television soap operas. But if this argument is accepted, it makes nonsense of the assertion that the songs were the cultural property of the working class, since they were not created by that class, any more than *The Sun*, or professional football teams, or television soap operas, are created – conceived, financed, produced – by working class people. But it seems that these ideas went unquestioned because they provided the necessary first stage for the developments which followed.

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<sup>73</sup> *ibid* p.230.

<sup>74</sup> 'William Nott ... and William King were both tenant farmers, and Mrs. Lock was a tenant farmer's wife ... William Spearing was a miller'. Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset' p.228.

<sup>75</sup> Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting', p.63. Folk singers named in Gammon's text are Henry Burstow, the brothers James and Tom Copper, Samuel Willett, Henry Hills, Mr. Grantham, the Searle brothers, Mr. Hoare, John Burberry and Mr. Ansfield. A radical shoemaker and the author of a published book, a farm foreman, a publican, a baker, a tenant farmer, a carter, three quarrymen, an agricultural labourer, and two gamekeepers may be representative of 'rural working people' at the widest definition, but they are not all of the 'rural working class', still less the 'labouring poor'.

<sup>76</sup> Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* p.34. Harker's treatment of this episode demonstrates the way in which he frequently took over and exaggerated Lloyd's statements. Harker says (*Fakesong*, p.197) that 'Green Bushes' 'went the rounds in Somerset in 1845'.

<sup>77</sup> Frank Kidson (ed) *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs* facsimile edition (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1970) [first published 1891], p.47. Kidson's informant remembered it being sung in Stockport in 1838. See also Kidson's comments on the number of tunes it could be sung to.

## Part Two

### Inventing Hegemonic Traditions

The other part of Harker's 1972 attack on Sharp was comprised of a number of assertions that Sharp (with his collaborator Charles Marson) had misrepresented their sources. Harker alleged that Sharp and Marson had done this on three levels: by making an artificial distinction between 'folk song' and the rest of their repertoire (based on Harker's assumption that everything they sang came from the same source – the ballad seller, or otherwise from metropolitan culture), by further selecting within the 'folk song' category to present a more rural image and to minimise contributions from towns and 'industrial' areas, and by bowdlerising or otherwise altering the song texts in the process of editing and publication. Harker presented this as conscious policy to indoctrinate the working class through its children in patriotic and imperialist ideals. In the closing pages of his 1972 paper, the discussion of Sharp's and Marson's editing practice runs into a condemnation of Sharp's and Baring-Gould's *English Folk Songs for Schools* (1906), with an implied association between it and the Board of Education's 1905 *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* and on to the assertion that:

There you have it, "folk song" as mediated by Cecil Sharp, to be used as "raw material" or "instrument", being extracted from a tiny fraction of the rural proletariat and to be imposed upon town and country alike for the people's own good, not in its original form, but, suitably integrated into the Conservatoire curriculum, made the basis of nationalistic statements and bourgeois values.<sup>78</sup>

Harker assumed that 'folk song', as Sharp defined it, was the same thing as what the Board of Education and its Inspector of Music, Arthur Somervell, were offering in their 1905 *Suggestions* list. But the facts were that Sharp's Somerset collecting had little to do with *English Folk Songs for Schools*, and neither had any connection whatsoever with the 1905 *Suggestions* list. Harker assumed guilt on the flimsiest of associations. As we have seen, the Board of Education's conception of 'folk song' was that of the 'National Songs' party: it was utterly rejected by Sharp and there was a public controversy about it, but nevertheless Harker's nonsense marched with recent developments in Marxist thought.

For Anglophone Marxists, the event of the 1970s was the discovery of the work of Antonio Gramsci. Collections of his fragmentary work began to appear in English translation from 1971.<sup>79</sup> They were eagerly seized on because they seemed to offer a solution to Marxism's most intractable problem – the question of why the working class itself showed so little interest in Marxism. Gramsci developed the concept of cultural 'hegemony' by which the working class become half-willing supporters of their own repression through enlistment into 'bourgeois'

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<sup>78</sup> Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset', pp.238-240. Quotation on p.240.

<sup>79</sup> English translations of Gramsci's writings had been appearing in English translation since the 1950s, for example *The Modern Prince and other writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1957), but the first popular statement of his central theses was *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* ed. and trans. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971).

culture, and specifically the doctrine of ‘hegemonic renewal’, by which ‘dominant groups ... revitalise a hegemonic culture by incorporating what they imagine to be the instinctive vitality of the lower orders’.<sup>80</sup> If Lloyd’s and Harker’s re-definition of folk music as ‘lower-class’ song or as ‘worker’s song-culture’ was accepted, and if Harker’s assertions about the ‘mediation’ of material and the identity of Sharp’s aims with those of the Board of Education were believed, the Gramscian theory fitted the Edwardian folk music movement like a glove. The theory came pat: here was material expropriated from the working class, transformed into something else to suit ‘bourgeois’ *mores* and subtly inculcate their values, and fed back to the workers via their children in the state education system. By 1985 too, Harker had emerged from the chrysalis-state of merely being a ‘socialist’ to the butterfly of Trotskyite member of the Socialist Workers’ Party, and in *Fakesong* he offered a full-blown conspiracy theory.<sup>81</sup>

In a separate but related development, there appeared in 1983 a collection of essays, *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by the veteran Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm in collaboration with Terence Ranger.<sup>82</sup> The essays fell into two parts, practical and theoretical: Hobsbawm’s contribution was theoretical and closely related to the Gramscian thesis. He stated that the ‘Invented Tradition’ is ‘taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past’.<sup>83</sup> This too fitted some aspects of the folk music movement. For example, in the first edition of Cecil Sharp’s and Herbert MacIlwaine’s *Morris Book* of 1907 a localised custom was assumed to be national and was linked to some aspects of the ‘traditional’ English character: it was described as:

a formula based upon and arising out of the life of man, as it is lived by men who hold much speculation upon the mystery of our whence and whither to be unprofitable; by men of meagre fancy, but of great kindness to the weak: by men who fight their quarrels on the spot with naked hands, drink together when the fight is done, and forget it, or, if they remember, then the memory is a friendly one. It is the dance of folk who are slow to anger, but of great obstinacy – forthright of act and speech: to watch it in its thumping sturdiness is to hold such things as poinards and stilettos, the swordsman with the domino, the man who stabs in the back – as unimaginable things. The Morris dance, in short, is a perfect expression in rhythm and movement of the English character.<sup>84</sup>

If the Lloyd – Thomson – Harker thesis was accepted, the ‘Invented Tradition’ thesis fitted the folk music movement, and attempts have been made to demonstrate it by Richard Sykes and

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<sup>80</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, ‘The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities’, *American Historical Review* 90,3 (June, 1985), p.567.

<sup>81</sup> For Harker’s political transformation, see the potted autobiography in *Fakesong*, pp.256-257. For the conspiracy theory, see ‘Introduction’ to the same volume, pp.ix-xii.

<sup>82</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>83</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, *ibid* p.1.

<sup>84</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book: a history of Morris Dancing with a description of eleven dances as performed by the Morris Men of England* (London: Novello, 1907) p.31. This section was almost certainly written by MacIlwaine and was dropped when Sharp revised the book in 1912.

Georgina Boyes.<sup>85</sup> First in the field, however, was the Gramscian ‘hegemony’ thesis, with the work of Vic Gammon.

Gammon went to university as a mature student and completed an MA under the supervision of Peter Burke, the pioneer of the concept of ‘mediation’, by which is understood a witness who reports an event but colours the report with his or her own preconceptions and prejudices. Gammon’s first major publication was ‘Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843-1914’, which appeared in 1980, and he used it to apply the concept of ‘mediation’ to the work of the folk song collectors.<sup>86</sup> In comparison with Harker and the other assorted ideologues, Gammon is Hyperion to a satyr. He did original research in the Broadwood and other collections in the VWML and his other work placed folk music in an historical and cultural context, for example through his research into the rise and fall of the ‘West Gallery’ style of music in parish churches.<sup>87</sup> He is able to relate his material to what is at least an arguable historical background, far removed from the lurid political landscape imagined by Harker and his followers. But nevertheless his thesis was related – that the folk music collectors ‘mediated’ by misrepresenting their material and idealising their sources, so that their work amounted to an imposition of meaning ‘on certain aspects of the musical activities of the rural working class’, which, in Gammon’s view ‘fostered a spurious myth of “Englishness” divorced from class experience and culture’.<sup>88</sup> Further, he asserted, this was done ultimately in the collectors’ own interests and that of the upper and middle classes generally. This is a point to which this survey will return.

Gammon’s implicit argument was that there was no such thing as ‘folk song’, only an artificial category created by the collectors themselves. This argument centred on misrepresentation, and specifically on the means by which the collectors – in this case, Lucy Broadwood – selected their ‘folk songs’. Gammon argued that the main means of selection was the modal nature or otherwise of the tunes, and attempted to demonstrate this by an analysis of the tunes collected from two singers – Henry Burstow and Samuel Willett – which showed that Broadwood published far more of Burstow’s tunes than Willett’s.<sup>89</sup> This was a clever and sophisticated argument which at least relied on primary research and statistical analysis, but it also ignored the realities of Broadwood’s collecting methods. Burstow was a direct source who could reasonably be described as a ‘folk singer’. Broadwood met him and collected directly from him. That was not the case with Willett. He was a reporter to Broadwood of songs he had learned in his youth, not the purveyor of an active repertoire as Burstow was. Broadwood never

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<sup>85</sup> Sykes, ‘Evolution of “Englishness”’, Boyes, *Imagined Village*.

<sup>86</sup> Vic Gammon, ‘Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843-1914’, *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980), pp.61-89.

<sup>87</sup> Vic Gammon, “‘Babylonian Performances’: The Rise and Suppression of Popular Church Music, 1660-1870”, in Eileen and Stephen Yeo (eds.) *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981) pp.62-88.

<sup>88</sup> Gammon, ‘Folk Song Collecting’ pp.84-85.

<sup>89</sup> *ibid* pp.68-71.

met him and never collected directly from him.<sup>90</sup> She therefore had good reasons for ‘privileging’ the material received from Burstow because it was markedly more authentic. Gammon also ignored the realities of publication and the practical constraints on collectors. Julian Onderdonk has demonstrated with regard to Ralph Vaughan Williams that the policy of the Folk Song Society’s *Journal* – not to publish tunes which had already appeared in print – placed increasingly severe restrictions on which tunes could be published, and naturally favoured the unusual. It is therefore unreasonable to expect collectors to accurately represent their sources.<sup>91</sup> Published collections such as Broadwood’s *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (1908) placed still greater restraints on their editors. Songs intended to be sung in the drawing room or the concert hall had to be popular, singable, and enjoyable, and had to avoid too much duplication of what had already appeared in other collections.

In his D.Phil. thesis, which appeared in 1985, Gammon continued to deny the folk music concept by repeating Thomson’s assertion about folk tunes being derived from metropolitan sources, though in the same vague and unsatisfactory way, without any attempt at detailed argument or demonstration. He asserted: ‘That the popular tunes in traditional use can be traced back to printed metropolitan sources is one statement of a recurring theme in this study ... The point may seem trivial, yet it has been implicitly and explicitly denied so much by writers on folk music that it needs stressing’.<sup>92</sup> If the point needed to be stressed, perhaps Gammon should have provided some evidence for his assertion. Further, what does he mean by ‘popular’? *All* the tunes in traditional use, or only the most common ones? And what does he mean by ‘traced back’? That the melodies were precisely the same, or were easily recognisable? Or does he mean that experts could tease out melodic parallels between tunes which the ordinary listener would miss? The lack of any detail or qualification makes Gammon’s assertion meaningless and dubious in its intention: he wants to plant an idea in the reader’s mind which, he must know, lacks any support from published research.

The Gramscian and ‘Invented Tradition’ propositions advanced by Gammon and Hobsbawm were developed by Georgina Boyes in *The Imagined Village* and by Richard Sykes in a long article published in the 1993 *Folk Music Journal*.<sup>93</sup> Neither of these depended on primary research, and both were a digest of what had been published over the twenty-five or so years before they appeared. Both uncritically accepted the Lloyd-Thomson-Harker thesis of folk music as the cultural property of the working class: material expropriated, misrepresented, and transformed by the collectors.<sup>94</sup> The areas in which they went beyond the Harkerian thesis were

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<sup>90</sup> For discussion of Broadwood’s collecting methods with direct reference to Burstow and Willett, see Chapter 4 Part One.

<sup>91</sup> Julian Onderdonk, ‘Vaughan Williams and the Modes’, *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.609-626.

<sup>92</sup> Gammon, ‘Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914’, unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Sussex, 1985 p.119.

<sup>93</sup> Sykes, ‘Evolution of “Englishness”’.

<sup>94</sup> Boyes has or had close links with Harker. In *Fakesong* p.xvii she is one of four people acknowledged for ‘having spared considerable time from their own work to make mine [i.e., Harker’s] better’.

the exact means by which the ruling class had effected this capture, transformation, and use of folk music. Sykes was the more cautious, and while he alleged wide penetration of folk music into the national consciousness by the time of the First World War, he was vague about the exact means by which this had been achieved.<sup>95</sup> But Boyes felt no such inhibitions. For her, it was all an Establishment plot to avert national catastrophe by presenting English life as that of a fantasised rural community rather than as the industrialised, urban experience of the majority.

The major contribution of the Gramscian and 'Invented Tradition' theses was firstly to see the folk music collectors as a united body and secondly to deny that their prime concern was folk music. Allegations that their 'real' aims were directed towards different ends had been made before, but were usually directed against individuals. Harker treated Sharp's interest in the educational application of the material as an aspect of his special wickedness.<sup>96</sup> But Gammon grouped the collectors together as 'a well-heeled lot of musicians and musical amateurs' and implied that the real motive for their work was to heal or at least conceal divisions within late Victorian and Edwardian society.<sup>97</sup> Certainly, Gammon made crises of one sort or another his explanation for the 'genesis of the folk song movement':

Secondly a crisis in the musical profession in the late Victorian period which related to the status that foreign, particularly German music and musicians, held in England. Thirdly a middle-class crisis of confidence in the achievement of industrial capitalist society.

And he attributed this 'middle-class crisis of confidence' to:

the polarised problems of urban degeneration and rural depopulation, the worried prophecies of the eugenicists foretelling the decay of the race, the diligent collecting and classifying of the social investigators, the difficulty of finding fit soldiers, and the general feeling that *laissez faire* was not an adequate way to run a society.<sup>98</sup>

Gammon's need to link the folk music movement with social tensions led him to push forward in time the beginnings of the revival to the end of the nineteenth century: his reference to 'the difficulty of finding fit soldiers' related specifically to the Boer War of 1899-1902.<sup>99</sup> These developments were the evident starting point for *The Imagined Village*, and one can read Boyes' work without realising that there had been considerable folk music activity before 1898.<sup>100</sup> She

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<sup>95</sup> Sykes, 'Evolution of "Englishness"' p.484.

<sup>96</sup> Harker, *One for the Money*, p.148.

<sup>97</sup> For 'a well-heeled lot...', Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting' p.62. Allegations of group involvement had been made before, eg by R.S. Thomson, 'Broadside Ballad Trade' p.266, but without the specific political dimension.

<sup>98</sup> Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting' p.80.

<sup>99</sup> While the alleged 'degeneracy' of the urban population was being discussed in the 1880s and 1890s, it did not become a matter of public debate until recruiting procedures during the Boer War revealed that a large proportion of the population was unfit for military service. See Richard Soloway, 'Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Degeneration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (1982) pp.137-164.

<sup>100</sup> On pp.42-43 of *The Imagined Village* Boyes implies that the early membership had done very little folk song collection and had little experience. In fact, some fifteen of the 110 members (in 1899) are known to have collected material or to have edited published collections: see Chapter 2 for material published before 1898.



attributed the revival to 'a coterie of upper-middle-class collectors', and transformed Gammon's 'crisis of confidence' into her own rather startling analysis of British society in 1898.<sup>101</sup> She specifically attributed the foundation of the Folk Song Society to a 'concatenation of developments':

From the viewpoint of the founders of the Revival at the turn of the century, a concatenation of developments threatened England (sic) as an imperial nation, undermining its pre-eminence as a political and cultural power. Externally, German manufacturing, expansionism, military strength, intellectual and cultural influences were seen as imposing increasing dangers. From within, the inter-relation of industrialisation, urbanisation and mass production were widely felt to have produced a cultural crisis in which refined aesthetics were being overwhelmed by a tide of vulgarity ... A biological time bomb in the shape of the degenerating inhabitants of the towns was widely believed to form the next step in the inexorable march of evolution ... In the face of a catastrophe of this magnitude, a ferment of actions and writings ensued ... In this climate, it is perhaps not surprising that a 'seasonable enterprise' aimed at remedying the cultural effects of the 'science of heredity' was inaugurated in the early summer of 1898. The Folk Song Society was founded.<sup>102</sup>

And this summary of the 'concatenation of events' concludes with the apocalyptic assertion that 'All that constituted the British way of life was believed to be in imminent danger. And undoubtedly, those with most invested in society's current form also had most to lose'.<sup>103</sup>

So what did the bourgeoisie and the ruling class do about this dreadful crisis? To take the immediate answer provided by Georgina Boyes and developed upon by her Series Editor, they founded the Folk Song Society! As the response to events of such magnitude, this would seem to be taking the famous *sang-froid* of the English ruling class a little too far, and precisely what the Society's 110 members (in 1899) could do to save the Empire and protect their investments is not immediately clear. This wild nonsense has got nothing to do with history. For Boyes, as with others of her political persuasion, the need to identify a more-or-less continuous crisis within 'bourgeois' society, which is only averted by this, that, or the other timely measure or deep-laid plot, serves as the surrogate for the revolution which never actually happened. It is a sort of intellectual self-abuse which provides comfort for the Left in an otherwise comfortless political situation. It seems to be forgotten here that in 1897, less than a year before the Folk Song Society was founded, Queen Victoria had celebrated her Diamond Jubilee in the midst of a tremendous outpouring of national pride and imperial self-confidence. It is true that within a few years national pride and imperial self-confidence had been badly shaken by the Boer War, and that Germany had emerged as a potential enemy by 1905, but these events were in the future in 1898.<sup>104</sup> Further, and although Boyes claims to have an intimate knowledge of the Folk Song Society's founders' intentions ('From the viewpoint of the founders of the Revival at the turn of

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<sup>101</sup> For 'a coterie ...', Boyes, *Imagined Village* p.47.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid* pp.23-24.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid* p.24.

<sup>104</sup> For changes in international relations between 1895 and 1905, Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History 1867-1995: Democracy and Decline* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.168-175.

the century ...') she is unable to present any evidence that such a national crisis was their chief concern. The actual founders of the Folk Song Society were A.P. Graves and Kate Lee.<sup>105</sup> Graves left a published autobiography and Kate Lee gave a paper to the first meeting of the Society, published in the first number of its *Journal*.<sup>106</sup> Surely, if these worthies had been shaking in their shoes with fear of imminent national collapse, they would have made some mention of it? More widely, research methods were available for putting Boyes' thesis to the test. It would have been very easy to check the membership of the Folk Song Society for any attempt to recruit prominent politicians, financiers, newspaper editors, or other leaders of national opinion, and to check its accounts (audited and published) for any evidence of large donations from such luminaries for this vital work of national preservation. But the major fault of *The Imagined Village* is its lack of research and the failure to provide any substance for Boyes' wild assertions. The facts were that the Society had few members, little money in the bank, restricted its activities to the occasional 'conversazione' and to the private circulation of its *Journal*, and in any case had become moribund by 1904 due to the illness of its Secretary.

Boyes was obliged to admit these facts, but she got around them by borrowing Harker's implied statement about the common identity of 'folk song' as Sharp and others defined it with the Board of Education's 1905 *Suggestions* list, and by giving it a further and more fantastic twist by alleging positive involvement by the Folk Song Society and an association with Sharp. According to Boyes:

In 1903 the Folk Song Society appeared to be ... moribund. By 1904, however, it had members whose 'active work as collectors brought the society into considerable prominence with the general public', and in 1905 was bringing 'the idiom of the people' to pupils in schools throughout the country. The catalyst responsible for initiating this dramatic change ... was Cecil James Sharp.<sup>107</sup>

This is undoubtedly a neat thesis and it enabled Boyes to get around the inconvenient admission that the Folk Song Society was indeed moribund by 1903. Unfortunately it is completely untrue. Although persons closely involved with the Board of Education and the *Suggestions* list were members of the Society or friends of its officials, the Society never directly involved itself with the Board, and indeed it rejected or took no action upon several direct approaches by Arthur Somervell, the Board's Inspector of Music.<sup>108</sup> It is even more ridiculous to associate Sharp with the *Suggestions* list.

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<sup>105</sup> For an assessment of their roles, C.J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk Song Society', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.627-643.

<sup>106</sup> Alfred Perceval Graves, *To Return to All That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930). Kate Lee, 'Some Experiences of a Folk Song Collector', *JFSS* 1,1 (1899) pp.7-12.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid* p.44.

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter 5.

### Part Three

#### 'A tightly knit group of politically motivated men ...'.

Closely associated with the flights of fancy indulged in by the proponents of the Gramscian and 'Invented Tradition' theses is the nature of the three organisations which had appeared within the folk music movement by 1914: the Folk Song Society, founded in 1898, the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music in 1907 (re-founded and renamed the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers in 1910), and the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS) in 1911. There are no modern histories of these societies, in the sense of work which gives some account of the nature of these organisations, their memberships, and how they were financed and administered.<sup>109</sup> The only aspect which has attracted attention from the left-wing commentators of the past thirty years is the reason why the societies were founded, and the only attempt at analysis has been that of Georgina Boyes. Another of the intellectual influences on *The Imagined Village* appears to have been John Carey's *The Intellectuals and the Masses*, published in 1992.<sup>110</sup> This was an attempt to combine literary criticism with social history, and its thesis was that a literary movement – 'Modernism' – was born out of the elite's fear and hatred of mass culture.<sup>111</sup> Faced with this threat to their position, Carey argued, 'the intellectuals' had carried out an act of expropriation disguised as a rescue; like Perseus with Andromeda, they had carried off the vulnerable maiden, Culture, from the jaws of the monster, 'the Masses', which was about to devour her. Carey's implicit message was that this rescue was really no more than an excuse for private possession.

Boyes' version of this fable was that the folk music movement was also a response to the elite's fear of the proletariat and had carried out a similar act of expropriation, making a 'conscious choice to replace the folk by a new, knowledgeable, aware group of performers'.<sup>112</sup> In a later chapter she went on to assert that the elite wanted this cultural transfer to take place because folk culture had fallen into 'unreliable' hands; she explained these concerns as:

The Folk, it was authoritatively maintained, had imperilled the existence of their own culture. When they moved into towns during the Industrial Revolution, they abandoned their priceless heritage of folk traditions.<sup>113</sup>

Boyes went on to write about 'the case against the Folk', and that 'The common people had proved unsuitable heirs of the national culture'.<sup>114</sup>

The devil, as always, is in the detail. The only evidence Boyes could offer for these grand and wide-ranging theories was a speech delivered by Sir Hubert Parry at the Folk Song

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<sup>109</sup> The only attempt to do so was by Frederick Keel, more than half a century ago: see 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', *JEFDS* 5,3 (1948) pp.111-126.

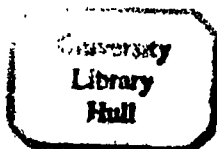
<sup>110</sup> John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939* (London: Faber, 1992).

<sup>111</sup> This was not an entirely new theory. For a statement of the thesis before Carey wrote it, and a good discussion of its difficulties, Noel Annan, *Our Age: The Generation that made Post-War Britain* (London: Fontana, 1991), Chapter 4 pp.70-89.

<sup>112</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village* p.36.

<sup>113</sup> *ibid* p.63.

<sup>114</sup> *ibid* pp.63-64.



Society's first public meeting; a relatively small and semi-private gathering.<sup>115</sup> When Boyes stated that 'The Folk ... had imperilled the existence of their own culture', the only evidence she could offer was the titles of five books published between 1949 and 1980, only one of which was written by an actual participant in the pre-1914 movement, and even this person – Douglas Kennedy – was born in 1893 so was hardly a senior figure.<sup>116</sup> One of the books she solemnly cited was *The Observer's Book of Folk Song in Britain*.<sup>117</sup> Further, it is by no means certain that 'the Masses' referred to in *The Intellectuals and the Masses* were the proletariat: an examination of Carey's text shows that 'the Masses' against whom the intellectuals fulminated were those on the lowest rung of the middle class.<sup>118</sup>

But nevertheless these misconceptions, half-truths and inadequate references formed the background to Boyes' assessment of the folk music societies. After her dramatic description of the Folk Song Society's rescue of English culture, folk song disappeared from the picture to be replaced by the folk dance movement. Once again, Boyes' analysis is conducted in terms of conscious decisions made on political grounds; according to her, 'between 1904 and 1911, the main cultural form chosen for revival was switched from folksong to dance', and on the following page she stated that 'To gain control of the Revival was, therefore, of major cultural and political significance'.<sup>119</sup> This set the scene for the appearance of the heroine of *The Imagined Village*, Mary Neal.

Until the end of the 1980s the only commonly available material on Mary Neal and the organisations she controlled was contained in the 1933 biography of Sharp and its 1955 re-issue. A substantial body of material relating to Neal and her organisations had come to the VWML after 1968, but it was not arranged until 1982-85 and the first major use was by Roy Judge in 'Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris'.<sup>120</sup> Interest in Neal had been growing since the Morris dance revival of the 1960s. Initially (and in accordance with the policy of the Morris Ring, by then the dominant authority) dance sides were all male, but this did not suit the rebellious and egalitarian spirit of the times and from the late 1960s onwards mixed and all-women teams began to appear. These naturally searched for an authenticating tradition in the face of some hostility from male dancers, and they found it in the activities of Neal and the Esperance Club. Considering the fragmentary and diverse nature of the sources, Roy Judge's article was a remarkable piece of detective work and detailed scholarship which pieced together a very full

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<sup>115</sup> For Boyes' coverage of Parry's speech, *Imagined Village* pp.25-27. The meeting was on 2 February 1899. It was held in the salon of a Mayfair house, so it is difficult to believe that more than 100-200 people can have been present. See Chapter 3 for further detail.

<sup>116</sup> For the five book titles, Boyes, *Imagined Village* p.86 n.2.

<sup>117</sup> Little did the present writer think, when with childish fingers he scanned and annotated his *Observer's Book of Railway Locomotives*, that he was dealing with authoritative source material.

<sup>118</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion and some examples.

<sup>119</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village* pp.64-65.

<sup>120</sup> Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris', *FMJ* 5,5 (1989) pp.545-589. The material which arrived in the VWML after 1968 was the Clive Carey Collection. For further details, see Appendix C (Archive Sources).

account of Neal's life and work. But inevitably it concentrated on personalities and on the quarrel with Sharp rather than on administrative detail. Further, while Dr. Judge accepted and repeated many of the current criticisms of Sharp, he was very reluctant to subject Neal's actions to the same critical standard. The result has been to allow free rein to fantasy and to the uncritical adulation of Neal as a 'socialist' heroine. The complete lack of any criticism of Neal will be noticed in the next section of this chapter, and stands in stark contrast to the wholly negative and destructive treatment of Sharp. Meanwhile, it provided the starting-point for Georgina Boyes' interpretation of the relationship between the Esperance Guild and the EFDS.

Neal's work enabled Boyes to claim that there had been an alternative to the expropriation of working class culture which she observed in the activities of the Folk Song Society and the EFDS. She acknowledged that Neal's approach had initially relied on upper-class philanthropy but her emphasis was on the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers and on the supposedly liberal, democratic, and socialist affiliations of Neal herself and her organisations. Through her membership of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) Neal was associated with 'struggles for greater democracy', and through its literature the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers was presented as a 'socialist' organisation, its: 'Invitation to membership from "All men and women of goodwill who wish to see a fairer and a happier life for the people of England" [its] choice of name highlighting its socialist approach', and Boyes goes on:

For Neal and the group associated with the Esperance, the Revival was to be instrumental in initiating a revolution, transforming the whole of English culture and establishing a new basis for class relations ... The working class were to be the new Folk and provide the performance vanguard of the Revival.<sup>121</sup>

This allegedly 'socialist' and 'working class' organisation was then contrasted with the EFDS. Boyes presented Sharp himself as a narrow authoritarian concerned to use folk song and dance to develop a 'patriotic consensus'. She endowed him with an 'autocratic personality' and alleged that: 'Acolytes, rather than co-workers, were to assist him in popularising the Revival'.<sup>122</sup> These attitudes, according to Boyes, carried over into the EFDS which, she said, was a conservative, authoritarian organisation, 'its title and stated objectives reflecting the language of control, authority and nationalism which characterised his [Sharp's] philosophy of revival performance'.<sup>123</sup> These interpretations formed the background to an account of the struggle between Sharp and Neal in which Neal was the wholly innocent victim of Sharp's unscrupulous conduct and of misogynistic prejudices on the part of the various authorities who decided the issues between them.<sup>124</sup>

As with Boyes' interpretation of the Folk Song Society's foundation, the fault here is in her limited or non-existent research. There was never any conscious decision to 'switch' the

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<sup>121</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village* pp.80-82. The indented passage is on p.81.

<sup>122</sup> *ibid* p.77.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid* p.82.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid* pp.83-86.

direction of the revival from folk song to dance. The evidence Boyes offers is based on an assertion first made by Harker in 1982 (and repeated in 1985) that Sharp turned to dance collection because of the opposition he encountered within the Folk Song Society. This is nonsense.<sup>125</sup> Her analysis of the WSPU's activities and of Neal's organisations does not seem to have gone beyond the propaganda statements made by those bodies. Had she done so, she would have come across the fact that the WSPU was itself an extremely undemocratic organisation, and this predilection for autocracy was fully shared by Mary Neal. The first cause of the quarrel between Sharp and Neal was Neal's refusal to accept a democratic constitution and form of committee for the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music. She ran the Esperance organisations on her own, without an executive committee or elected officials. Their appointees were all peers or (like Neal herself) middle-class people and no working class person ever had a vote or a voice in the way the Esperance Guild was run. It was funded by a somewhat unsocialistic combination of philanthropy from wealthy and titled people, high fees for teaching which working-class people would not have been able to afford, and a membership subscription which was only marginally less than that of the Folk Song Society.<sup>126</sup> Sharp's EFDS, by contrast, was a membership-based, self-funding organisation run by a democratically-elected executive with a policy of offering cheap membership and public classes at low fees through its branch membership scheme.<sup>127</sup> Ignorance and a complete failure to investigate the sources are no doubt the reasons for Boyes' ludicrous and totally unrealistic assessment of the characters of the two societies.

The chief means by which Boyes attempted to illustrate the differing approaches of Sharp and Neal was by reference to their views on the necessity or otherwise of a regulating body and their approaches to the use of folk dance in education. In pursuit of her thesis Boyes alleges that Neal was opposed to 'Sharp's system of assessment and enforced standards', and that 'the inclusion of morris dance in the Board of Education's Syllabus of Physical Exercises for public elementary schools, which Sharp had used all his influence to bring about, did not recommend itself to her'.<sup>128</sup> This is complete fantasy. At the Goupil Gallery conference in November 1907 Neal was the foremost advocate of the introduction of folk dance to educational use, not only for

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<sup>125</sup> Dave Harker, 'May Cecil Sharp be Praised?', *History Workshop Journal* 14 (1982) p.59. Harker alleges that: 'He [Sharp] did little song-collecting after *Conclusions* [i.e., *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, completed at the end of August 1907]. Instead, he concentrated on the dance, a domain where he had no serious establishment rivals to contend with'. The facts are that between 1 September 1907 and 6 January 1909, there are 592 entries in Sharp's books of 'Folk Tunes' (Vols. 7,8,9, and 10: entry Nos. 1454-2046). Only 67 of these 592 entries represent dance tunes collected by Sharp - 22 morris tunes and 45 country dances. The rest are songs. For the 1985 claim, *Fakesong* p.200.

<sup>126</sup> For details, see chapter 3.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid*

<sup>128</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village* pp.78-79. The quotation which immediately follows this passage is completely unrelated and out of context.

elementary school children but for the inmates of workhouses and industrial schools as well.<sup>129</sup> She certainly expected this teaching to be done through the orthodox official sources. A start had already been made in West Sussex; Neal mentioned approaches to the county councils, and the provisional committee appointed by the conference included several persons professionally concerned with education and/or local government.<sup>130</sup> Further, Neal was the first person to suggest assessment and enforced standards with regard to folk dance: she told the Goupil conference that:

Another thing we want a Society for is this – to guard the purity of the Folk-Music ... If we had a Society, we should send out all teachers under the auspices of that Guild or Society and grant certificates; we should not allow anyone to use our name unless they taught really Folk-Music (sic).<sup>131</sup>

It is true that Neal made no attempt to put these ideas into practice, but it is ridiculous and totally untrue to assert that she ever opposed the educational use of folk music.

## Part Four

### Fascist Beasts

By any standard, Cecil Sharp is the colossus of the English folk music movement. He collected nearly 5,000 tunes, approximately four times the volume of material associated with any other collector.<sup>132</sup> This material covered almost the whole range of folk activity – songs, children’s singing games, morris, sword, and country dancing. He published far more than anyone else – between seventy and eighty volumes, by himself or in collaboration, covering this range of interests, plus analytical books devoted to folk song and folk dance.<sup>133</sup> Although he was a reluctant latecomer to organisational work he founded a successful folk dance society which by 1914 had proved its worth by seeing off a powerful rival. The scope and range of Sharp’s work were partly due to the fact that he was the only one among the Victorian and Edwardian collectors to make folk music his profession and livelihood, but this did not happen until quite late in his career and his prodigious energy and work rate were apparent well before he gave up other employment.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Verbatim transcript of Goupil Gallery conference, 14 November 1907, in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML. Boyes claims familiarity with this transcript in *The Imagined Village*: see p.90, n.34.

<sup>130</sup> For the ‘West Sussex campaign’, see Chapter 5. For the provisional committee, see Chapter 3. See also the testimonials, some of them from working teachers, in Mary Neal, *The Esperance Morris Book: A manual of Morris Dances, Folk Songs, and Singing Games* (London: Curwen, n.d. [1910]) p.58.

<sup>131</sup> Goupil Gallery conference transcript.

<sup>132</sup> George Gardiner appears to have made the second largest collection of English material, with 1,460 items (1,165 tunes): see Frank Purslow, ‘The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection’, *FMJ* 1,3 (1967) p.140. The form of words I have used is intended to accommodate the fact that collectors often worked with amanuenses or collaborators.

<sup>133</sup> See the Bibliography in Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* pp.221-223.

<sup>134</sup> Sharp was Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire and music master at Ludgrove, a preparatory school then situated at Cockfosters. The evidence appears to be that he devoted about three days a week to each job. He resigned from the Conservatoire job in 1905 but continued teaching at Ludgrove until the summer of 1910.

Before 1914 his reputation was uncertain and official recognition was slow in coming. In part, this was due to Sharp's own combative and uncompromising nature: since the moment of his arrival on the folk music scene in 1903-1904 he had been engaged in controversies of one sort or another – with fellow members of the Folk Song Society, with the Board of Education, with Mary Neal and her influential supporters – and he had made many enemies. The first sign that he was becoming an establishment figure was the award, in 1911, of a Civil List pension, but even in 1914 the heads of two national music academies refused point-blank to employ him.<sup>135</sup> Ironically, it was this failure to find work in Britain which drove Sharp to America, initially to work on his co-production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (with Harley Granville Barker) but later to crown his collecting career in the Appalachian mountains, work which brought him international standing and repute. At the same time, attitudes were changing in Britain with the arrival of H.A.L. Fisher as President of the Board of Education, which at last opened the educational doors to folk song and dance. Between 1916 and his death in 1924, Sharp became relatively prosperous and secure for the first time in his working life.<sup>136</sup>

The obituaries were not extravagant. *The Times* summed him up as 'If he was not what is called a great man, he was, what some people think quite as highly of, a very real one'.<sup>137</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* took him to task for his 'feeble and unimaginative' folk song settings and concluded that 'it is as a scholar, folk-lorist and teacher rather than as artist that the name of Cecil Sharp will surely find an enduring place in English history'.<sup>138</sup> On Sharp's death a fund was set up to provide the EFDS with a permanent home, and in 1930 its purpose-built headquarters was opened and named Cecil Sharp House. In 1932, as a consequence of Lucy Broadwood's death in 1929, the Folk Song Society found itself no longer able to continue an independent existence and merged with the EFDS, thus reducing the extant folk music organisations to one and bringing everything under Sharp's name. To add to this emphasis, Sharp became the subject of what is still the only full biography devoted to work in folk music: A.H. Fox Strangways' and Maud Karpeles' *Cecil Sharp* of 1933. Karpeles had accepted the duty of producing a biography on Sharp's death, but she had little confidence in her own abilities and put off the job until she approached A.H. Fox Strangways in 1931.<sup>139</sup> Together, they contacted Sharp's friends, some of his enemies, and the institutions in which he had worked. The result was a rich crop of correspondence and memoirs which joined Sharp's own personal papers.

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<sup>135</sup> For the award of the pension, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.85. For the refusals to employ Sharp in 1914, see letters from Sir Alexander Mackenzie, 23 October 1914, and Landon Ronald, 26 October 1914 (Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc). Mackenzie and Ronald were heads respectively of the Royal Academy of Music and the Guildhall School.

<sup>136</sup> Sharp left £6273. Calendar of Probate, 1924.

<sup>137</sup> *The Times*, 24 June 1924. On stylistic evidence this obituary was almost certainly by A.H. Fox Strangways.

<sup>138</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 24 June 1924. Obituary by Robin H. Legge.



Fox Strangways was an excellent choice as Sharp's co-biographer. He was an exact contemporary of Sharp and his career pattern had been similar. He met Sharp in the 1890s, soon after the latter's return from Australia, and remained a close friend for some thirty years, but he also knew Lucy Broadwood and was not identified as a partisan of Sharp.<sup>140</sup> Further, he was an argumentative man, in the best sense of the term. Maud Karpeles wrote of him that 'Argument was the breath of life to Foxy [as he was known, rather unimaginatively, to his friends] and he indulged in this not from contentiousness, but because he wanted to get at the truth of a subject and examine it in all its aspects'.<sup>141</sup> Sharp was a frequent partner in these rigorous but good-tempered contests, and it can be reasonably assumed that they knew one another's minds as well as close friends are able.

The biography was well received on its appearance and has not been seriously challenged: until the 1990s Sharp's sternest critics were content to accept it as an accurate transmission of the evidence. The book's reputation is well deserved: it is a solid and responsible book which does not try to hide some of Sharp's faults or to criticise some aspects of his collecting and publishing activities. It is notably even-handed in dealing with Sharp's many controversies. Part of this even-handedness was undoubtedly due to the fact that some of Sharp's enemies – for example, Arthur Blackwood and Mary Neal – were still very much alive and had powerful friends, but this fairness also extended to those, like Sir Hubert Parry, whom death had placed beyond recourse to the law of libel. The faults of the biography are largely those of its time and of circumstances beyond the control of its authors. The conventions of the 1930s were more reticent and less intrusive than those which have become established since the 1960s.<sup>142</sup> Cultural theory and highly politicised interpretations were things as yet unthought of: Fox Strangways and Karpeles make the point that the folk dance movement crossed social and political boundaries by writing that:

The temptations to get side-tracked were many. Some thought folk-dance an opportunity for dress reform; some for obtaining or maintaining health; some thought it an antidote to communism, as keeping the proletariat content, others a step towards communism as bringing them together in a common purpose. Against all these Sharp was on his guard.<sup>143</sup>

There were gaps in the book's research, of which the most regrettable was the failure to get material from Mary Neal. In addition, neither Fox Strangways nor Maud Karpeles could spare the time or resources to visit Australia and research Sharp's ten years there. Instead, they relied on replies to newspaper advertisements, and the deficiencies of this approach have lately been

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<sup>139</sup> Maud Karpeles, 'Autobiography' [unpublished typescript in VWML] pp. 18, 46, 52. A.H. Fox Strangways to Maud Karpeles, 14 July 1931. Formal agreement 31 August, 1 September 1931. Karpeles Collection MK/3/82, 83, 84.

<sup>140</sup> For the length of time he knew Sharp, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.13. On Christmas Day 1912 both Fox Strangways and Mary Neal had dinner with Lucy Broadwood. Broadwood diaries 25 December 1912. I am very grateful to Lewis Jones for providing me with copies of his notes on the Broadwood diaries 1912-1914.

<sup>141</sup> Karpeles, 'Autobiography' p.176.

<sup>142</sup> The first 'modern' biography is often stated to be Michael Holroyd's *Lytton Strachey* (1968).

<sup>143</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.92.

exposed by Hugh Anderson.<sup>144</sup> But the conclusion which Anderson draws – that the faults he finds with the Australian section leads him to doubt the rest – is unjustified. The neglect of the Australian years, to which Anderson ascribes sinister motives, is only part of a general neglect of Sharp's early life and career. Only 32 of the book's 220 printed pages are devoted to Sharp's life before his discovery of folk song in 1903 (when he was 43), with the rest going to his remaining twenty-one years. Fox Strangways and Karpeles can be forgiven for assuming that their readers would be chiefly interested in Sharp's folk music activities. It must be borne in mind, too, that they could draw on living memory of Sharp as teacher and lecturer.

A second edition with some very minor changes appeared in 1955, but in 1967 Maud Karpeles substantially re-wrote the book and published it under her own name alone as *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work*.<sup>145</sup> Her intention was no doubt to inform the new generation of folk music enthusiasts, but apart from good intentions the revision has only old age to excuse it – Maud Karpeles was in her eighties when it was published – since it dropped most of the criticism of Sharp, removed nearly all of the material about Mary Neal and the battle between Sharp and the Esperance organisations, and generally attempted to force Sharp into the ill-fitting mould of a plaster saint. In the long term, Karpeles' revision did Sharp's reputation considerable harm, since it enabled later critics to associate any defence of him with hagiography and to imply that the book was a sort of establishment cover-up for Sharp's real nature.<sup>146</sup>

Hagiography, however, is no excuse for what has been done to Sharp's reputation since 1967, and the chief – almost the sole responsibility – lies with Harker, and particularly with his later output. Harker's main difficulty in trying to portray Sharp's work as reactionary and imperialist was the known association of Sharp and some of his friends with radical causes and the inconvenient fact that many socialists of the period regarded Sharp as being on their side. Sharp was for some years a member of the Fabian Society and in practice he supported the

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<sup>144</sup> Hugh Anderson, "'Virtue in a Wilderness': Cecil Sharp's Australian Sojourn, 1881-1891', *FMJ* 6,5 (1994) pp.617-652.

<sup>145</sup> Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work* (London: Routledge, 1967).

<sup>146</sup> It has to be said that the 1933 biography may have been more Karpeles' work than is generally acknowledged. She was officially no more than a helper, and only the two chapters VII and VIII (pp.142-177) on Sharp's time in America and his Appalachian collecting are acknowledged as hers. But according to Karpeles' MS autobiography:

I had intended to restrict my collaboration [with Fox Strangways] to the assembling and sorting of documentary material, and to the communication of my memories of Cecil. However, as time passed it became evident that the book was not progressing, presumably because of Foxy's many other commitments. I therefore suggested and Foxy gladly agreed that I should provide a rough written account of Cecil's life which might serve as the basis for the final biography. I had intended that my contribution ... would serve merely as raw material from which Foxy would extract what he required, but instead of telling his own story he was for the most part content to patch up and modify my crude statements.

And to back up this claim there are letters from Fox Strangways apologising for delays due to a combination of bronchitis, 'flu, and gout, and from Maud Karpeles offering to produce the rough draft, which was sent to Fox Strangways in October 1932: Karpeles, 'Autobiography' p.177. A.H. Fox

Liberal and later the Labour Party. He held vaguely collectivist opinions and told his son that 'the mob in the long run was nearly always right'.<sup>147</sup> Charles Marson, Sharp's friend and co-editor of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, was a Christian Socialist who helped to found an Independent Labour Party branch in the deeply hostile territory of rural Somerset and was brave enough to chair its rowdy attempts to hold public meetings.<sup>148</sup> Contemporary socialists such as Georgia Pearce, music correspondent of the *Clarion* newspaper, believed that 'Mr. Sharp is preaching socialism as eloquently as our best orators'.<sup>149</sup> Later socialists had accepted these facts: A.L. Lloyd in 1967 criticised Sharp's and Marson's definition of folk song and their view of its singers but accepted that they were socialists with their hearts in the right places.<sup>150</sup>

Harker's task was therefore to dissociate Sharp and the folk music movement from political radicalism and he chose to do this by pushing Sharp to the Right in political terms. In 1972 Harker implied that Sharp was an armchair radical who may have held progressive views in his youth but had sold out to the establishment over his 1902 *Book of British Song for Home and School*.<sup>151</sup> Needless to say, Harker had made no attempt to study the *Book of British Song*, to compare its contents with the other collections of the time, or to look at contemporary opinions about Sharp's work; he simply assumed that the book's contents were 'militaristic, monarchistic, nationalistic, and socially conservative'.<sup>152</sup> During the 1970s Harker had the political experiences which severed his connections with mainstream politics – tenuous though these connections must have been – and transformed him into a Trotskyite member of the International Socialists (later the Socialist Workers' Party).<sup>153</sup> At about the same time, Maud Karpeles began to release to the VWML some of the more private portions of the Sharp MSS, including the diaries which Sharp had kept while in America between 1915 and 1919.<sup>154</sup> They were apparently held under an embargo until Karpeles died in 1976, but someone made a set of transcripts and gave them to Harker.<sup>155</sup> These enabled Harker to convict Sharp of 'racism', and in 1980 he asserted that there had been 'a conspiracy of silence about the man [Sharp] and his work'. On the basis of Sharp's use of the word 'nigger' and his dislike of 'squalling children and nigger music' he convicted

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Strangways to Karpeles, 17 April 1932, Karpeles to Fox Strangways 18 April, 2 October 1932. Karpeles Collection MK/3/88-89.

<sup>147</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.33.

<sup>148</sup> For Marson's involvement with the ILP, see Chapter 4 Part One.

<sup>149</sup> *The Clarion*, 24 May 1907, quoted in Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting' p.81.

<sup>150</sup> Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* pp.14, 18.

<sup>151</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *A Book of British Song for Home and School* (London: John Murray, 1902).

<sup>152</sup> Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset', p. 223. For contemporary reactions to the *Book of British Song*, see Chapter 5.

<sup>153</sup> Harker, *Fakesong* p.256.

<sup>154</sup> It is not known exactly when the diaries went to the VWML. The present Librarian, Malcolm Taylor, believes they were released soon after Karpeles completed her biography of Sharp in 1967: personal communication, 5 September 2000. They are now at Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/7/21-24.

<sup>155</sup> For the fact of the illicit transcripts, Harker, *Fakesong* p.270 n.16. It is not difficult to arrive at the identity of the person who committed this breach of trust. He is named elsewhere in this chapter.

Sharp of 'chauvinism, mysticism, racialism and fundamental conservatism'.<sup>156</sup> This, for Harker, meant that Sharp's ideas were 'disabling in the second folksong revival, for all its populist – even socialist – rhetoric'. Sharp's opinions 'vitiating not only his own "theory" but also that of those many others who have taken up where he left off'.<sup>157</sup> By the time *Fakesong* was published in 1985 Harker had received the revelation (so sadly lacking in 1972) that 'Sharp's ideological tendency was towards those attitudes we would now characterise as "hard" right', and nearly two pages of direct untruth and highly selective and out-of-context quotation from Sharp's American diaries was provided to support this allegation.<sup>158</sup> All this was to support the idea that Sharp's work was part of a right-wing plot to avert class warfare through 'Nationalism in art'.<sup>159</sup> To suit Harker's political ends, his assault on Sharp had shifted from condemnation of his work to assassination of his character. Harker was making moral judgements on political grounds and inviting his readers to do the same. He was still at it in 1995, using the opportunity of a book review to denounce Sharp as 'sexist, racist, militarist, and nationalist'.<sup>160</sup>

Did this abuse matter? Yes, it did. Since the later 1960s one of the persistent cries of the Left had been 'no platform for racists', with the inevitable effect that to brand a person as a 'racist' became the most effective way of silencing them, whatever their actual political beliefs or personal practice. Harker's name-calling, and his use of irrelevant moral judgements made on political grounds therefore had a clear political purpose. What he wanted to do was to shut Sharp up, to silence his opinions by planting preconceptions in the minds of his readers so that they too would write off Sharp as a 'racist' and political reactionary and associate his ideas and work with political principles which are not tolerated in the modern world. Other commentators have also tried to condemn Sharp through these unpleasant innuendoes. In 1988, Vic Gammon used a book review to associate Sharp with the Nazi party.<sup>161</sup>

Compared to Sharp, other individuals within the folk music movement were let off very lightly. Where the material was available, *Fakesong* provided Harker with the opportunity to pass snap and universally pejorative moral judgements, almost invariably relying on guilt by association.<sup>162</sup> Exceptions prove the rule, and the best way of demonstrating the gross partiality of this literature and the irrelevance of its judgements is to look at those who do *not* come in for such condemnation. Percy Grainger is mentioned by Harker but without any pejorative

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<sup>156</sup> Dave Harker, *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980) p.148.

<sup>157</sup> *ibid* pp.148-149. This passage was a veiled attack on A.L. Lloyd, who was alive in 1980 and therefore could not be labelled as Harker labelled the dead Maud Karpeles.

<sup>158</sup> Harker, *Fakesong* p.202-203.

<sup>159</sup> *ibid* p.200.

<sup>160</sup> Review of Stefan Sczcelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste* by Dave Harker, *FMJ* 7,1 (1995) p.109.

<sup>161</sup> Review of James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld, *German Volkskunde: A Decade of Theoretical Confrontation, Debate and Reorientation*, by Vic Gammon in *FMJ* 5,4 (1988) pp.496-497.

<sup>162</sup> For example, Harker's comments on Ralph Vaughan Williams: 'Though he saw himself as a "Radical" at school, he got only so far as Fabian pamphlets at Cambridge, and was virulently anti-Soviet. In the late 1930s he accepted a prize from an institution in Nazi Germany'. (*Fakesong*, p.199).

comments. Given the grounds upon which Harker attacked Sharp, it is not easy to see why he and his followers have failed to savage Grainger. One aspect of his many eccentricities was an all-embracing racist view which eclipsed anything ever uttered by Sharp.<sup>163</sup> As to 'militarism' Grainger actually volunteered to serve as a military bandsman. The reason why Grainger has passed largely unscathed is because one aspect of his collecting methods – his use of the phonograph – can be used as a stick with which to beat Sharp and other collectors.<sup>164</sup> More generally, Grainger's work in the pre-1914 period was 'scholarly' and he did not publish for the general public (a point in his favour with the obscurantists) and he can be presented according to the stereotype of the young, enthusiastic, brash Australian frustrated by conservative British attitudes.

However, the major and outstanding case is that of Mary Neal. Harker passed her by in *Fakesong* with the comment that she was 'trying to disseminate dances among working-class women'.<sup>165</sup> That may have been both the extent of his knowledge and the limit of his ignorance, but Georgina Boyes has no such excuses. Between the appearance of *Fakesong* and of *The Imagined Village*, Roy Judge had published the first detailed study of Neal's life and work. In addition the bibliography of Boyes' book provides evidence of her knowledge of Neal's publications. Boyes had condemned Sharp explicitly or implicitly on many grounds, of which several main themes may be selected. By implication he was one of what Boyes describes as 'a coterie of upper-middle-class collectors' who 'profited financially and in status' from taking 'the cultural products of the rural working class' from them.<sup>166</sup> Boyes specifically accused Sharp of misrepresentation and suggested that his entire work in Somerset could be invalidated because of his description of his sources as 'the remnants of the peasantry'.<sup>167</sup> She accused Sharp of carelessness and unscholarly practice, alleging that he 'hastened round the country, collecting as quickly as possible, then [rushed] precipitately from collection to print'.<sup>168</sup>

If these are the grounds for condemnation, it is not easy to see why Mary Neal's name is not on the charge sheet with the rest. She came from the commercial middle class, from a family at least equal in wealth and social status to Sharp's.<sup>169</sup> She too collected (or 'expropriated', if one sees it in those terms), songs and dances for which she probably received substantial royalties, and headed a national organisation which certainly brought her 'status' and some material

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<sup>163</sup> For examples, John Bird, *Percy Grainger*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp.59-61, 250-1. I fully accept that Grainger's views were harmless and that he was tolerant in practice. The point about his 'racism' is made here only to emphasise the difference in the way Marxist critics have treated his views, compared with those of Sharp.

<sup>164</sup> As Harker does in *Fakesong*, pp.194-195, 208.

<sup>165</sup> *ibid*, p.202.

<sup>166</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village* p.47. See also her comments, directly below a mention of Sharp, on p. 54. See also her exaggeration of Sharp's income (approximately tenfold) on p.50.

<sup>167</sup> *ibid* p.15. Boyes says in this connection that 'what we know of Cecil Sharp's collecting in rural Somerset hardly supports his published contentions'.

<sup>168</sup> *ibid* p.84.

benefits not shared by Sharp.<sup>170</sup> She also applied the term 'peasant' loosely, claiming in one instance to get dances from the 'peasant' dancer even when the 'peasant' in question was employed in a railway carriage works.<sup>171</sup> Her publications were hasty, derivative, and demonstrably less scholarly than Sharp's.<sup>172</sup> She headed a national organisation which was blatantly culturally interventionist and used the resources and philanthropic motives of wealthy people to change the culture of the working class. If Sharp is to be condemned on these grounds, so must Neal be. She is even known to have made a 'racist' comment, which is mentioned but not developed upon by Boyes, and it can be shown that her attitudes towards 'niggers' and their culture were shared by some of her most prominent supporters.<sup>173</sup> So why isn't Neal arraigned and condemned with Sharp and the rest? The answer is that Neal had socialist and suffragette sympathies and made the right noises to get support from the modern Left. It was apparently all right to belong to an upper-middle-class coterie, expropriate material, profit financially and in status as a result, misrepresent your sources, and even make racist comments, so long as you were a supporter of Keir Hardie and a member of what passed as the executive committee of the Women's Social and Political Union. It is obvious that the standards by which Sharp is being judged are political and have nothing to do with the reliability or otherwise of his work.

## Conclusions

With a few outstanding exceptions such as the work of Roy Judge, the major literature of the folk music movement since c.1970 presents a dismal picture. It is an essentially political literature which has made its judgements according to political requirements which are demonstrably irrelevant to the ostensible subject, and indeed it can be shown to be more interested in politics and in political tools such as cultural theory than in the matter at hand. Next to gross politicisation and the absence of positive research the most depressing thing about this literature is the lack of scepticism and the spirit of inquiry. Harker had not gone completely unchallenged: Leslie Shepard wrote a long letter of protest about his 1972 attack on Sharp, and John Anthony Scott of Rutgers University protested when a re-worked version of Harker's paper was published in 1982.<sup>174</sup> Both men made the same essential point: that Harker's obvious political bigotry

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<sup>169</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.546

<sup>170</sup> She either owned, or, more probably, had the use of a motor car, mentioned in letters to Clive Carey, 21 October 1910 and 10 November 1910, Carey Collection pp.168-169.

<sup>171</sup> One of Neal's 'peasant' dancers was Thomas Cadd, who was employed in the foundry of the railway carriage works at Wolverton. See *JEFDSS* 8,1 (1956), pp.44-45.

<sup>172</sup> See the discussion of Neal's *Esperance Morris Book* in Chapter 2.

<sup>173</sup> Neal said in 1906 that 'I don't think we ought to depend for our songs and dances upon niggers': Boyes, *Imagined Village*, p.74. One of her most prominent supporters was the Hon. Neville Lytton, who in his book *The English Country Gentleman* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1925) p.179 referred to contemporary popular dancing as 'the syncopated tremblings of amorous niggers'. I am not trying to suggest that Neal or Lytton were candidates for National Front membership or Paki-bashers, any more than Grainger was. The point is made here only to contrast the treatment of Sharp with that of Neal and her supporters.

<sup>174</sup> Letter from Leslie Shepard, *FMJ* 2,4 (1973) pp.318-319. Letter from John Anthony Scott, *History Workshop Journal* 16 (1983) p. 191.

misrepresented Sharp, ignored his achievements, and was devoid of historical understanding: the real ground of Harker's condemnation was not Sharp's work but his politics. But these questioning voices have been ignored by the people who purported to criticise Harker's work. Vic Gammon produced the only published article devoted to the Harker *opus* in 1986.<sup>175</sup> He noticed that Harker's treatment of Ewan MacColl was 'character assassination masquerading as criticism' but failed to notice that this was Harker's whole method.<sup>176</sup> He also failed to notice the inconsistencies, errors of fact and gross misrepresentations which litter Harker's work and which should be obvious to anyone who knows the literature, and his only response to its consistent hysteria was to allege a slight diminution in *Fakesong*.<sup>177</sup> Gammon's criticism of Harker simply ignored the main issues, like a policeman who books a motorist for speeding without noticing the dented bonnet and blood on the front wing which betoken a hit-and-run five miles back. Michael Pickering, while noticing Harker's output in his 1990 survey of recent scholarship, merely provided uncritical gush about 'the best example of this kind of work to date [*Fakesong*] ... Harker has provided a firm foundation for future work'.<sup>178</sup> One can only conclude that political allegiances are blinding these critics to the faults of the work they are meant to be assessing.

The real questions have not merely gone unanswered but unasked. The re-definition of folk music from the music of the common people to the cultural product of the rural working class has gone unsupported by any attempt at biographical research into known groups of folk singers or resolving the problems inherent in this thesis. The re-assessment of the means of song transmission from oral tradition to a combination of 'cultivated' or 'metropolitan' music and broadside literature has gone without any attempt at public demonstration, and indeed one of its main propositions – that knowledge or actual possession of broadsides was never disclosed by singers – depends on R.S. Thomson's own alleged experience with *one singer*. It is almost beyond belief that such important transformations in the popular perception of folk music can have been made with so little attempt at research and demonstration. The assumptions about the intention and policies of the folk music organisations (particularly the Folk Song Society) and the role of government have likewise been made without the slightest research effort. One leap of faith has justified and provided a reference point for the next, so that this literature is now wandering wildly out of sight of any research base. It is no use trying to rescue this literature. It is too far gone. In the 1970s folk music scholarship took a wrong turning which seemed promising at the time but has now become a dead end. That is why this history notices the work of Harker and Boyes only to criticise it. The work of this thesis is to provide a firm basis of research upon which a fresh start can be made.

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<sup>175</sup> Vic Gammon, "'Two for the Show": David Harker, Politics and Popular Song', *History Workshop Journal* 21 (1986) pp.147-156

<sup>176</sup> *ibid* p.151.

<sup>177</sup> *ibid* p.153.

<sup>178</sup> Pickering, 'Recent Folk Music Scholarship' p.54.

## CHAPTER TWO

### NARRATIVE OF EVENTS TO 1914

#### Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide an overview to which the analytical chapters which follow can be related. Inevitably it concentrates on 'politics' and public events: on the tensions and machinations within the Folk Song Society and later in the dispute between Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal. I have tried to weave into the narrative some digressions on the positive progress of the folk music revival, its scholarship, and the differences in philosophy and methodology which eventually came to underlie the Sharp/Neal dispute. I personally feel that this dispute has been over-emphasised, or at least given the wrong emphasis by my predecessors. The differences between Sharp and Neal were at first organisational, then personal, and only in the latter stages did a serious dispute develop over the nature of the material. The alleged class differences and differences in political philosophy between Neal's and Sharp's organisations are largely the creation of commentators with agendas of their own, as Chapter 3, 'The Societies', will show. For reasons of length I have had to exclude much background material about the remote origins of the folk music movement. Where this can be regarded as an uncontroversial orthodoxy I have summarised very briefly and referred to other people's work, and I have concentrated description and discussion on those areas in which I disagree with the prevailing orthodoxies.

#### Part One

##### Beginnings: 1898-1906

The conventional wisdom of the past thirty years has perceived a relatively smooth and linear progression of events towards a distinct English folk music revival. This wisdom has perceived remote origins in literary and antiquarian scholarship and in the low status of music and musicians in England, which at the middle and end of the nineteenth century came together with a number of other forces: the growing interest in and demand for music as a leisure pursuit; nationalism and imperial rivalries (particularly rivalry with Germany) which led to a demand for a characteristically English music; an equally characteristic Victorian enthusiasm for collecting and classification; and increasing social concerns leading to a demand for a unifying cultural force.<sup>1</sup>

Superficially, there are good reasons for the attribution of the movement to the closing years of the nineteenth century: apart from a small, privately-published collection which appeared in 1843, English folk music publication effectively began in 1877-78 with the appearance of M.H. Mason's *Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs*, continued into the 1880s with James Bruce and John Stokoe's *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* of 1882, and from 1889 onwards

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<sup>1</sup> This is intended to be a summary of the forces and motivations identified by Vic Gammon in 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843-1914', *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980), pp.61-89.



burst into life with several major and a number of minor collections.<sup>2</sup> H.F. Birch Reynardson's and Lucy Broadwood's *Sussex Songs* appeared that year, and in 1893 Broadwood collaborated with J.A. Fuller Maitland to produce *English County Songs*.<sup>3</sup> W.A. Barrett published *English Folk Songs* in 1891, and in the same year appeared Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes*.<sup>4</sup> Most prolific of all was the Revd. Sabine Baring-Gould: with the assistance of H. Fleetwood Sheppard and F.W. Bussell he produced the four-volume *Songs and Ballads of the West* (1889-1891) and *A Garland of Country Song* (1895).<sup>5</sup> This activity can be seen as culminating in the foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1898.

However, much of the material *published* from the 1870s onwards was either actually *gathered* earlier in the nineteenth century or drew on a steadily developing interest in traditional music which can be perceived from the 1840s and 1850s onwards. Birch Reynardson's and Broadwood's *Sussex Songs* was a re-publication of John Broadwood's *Old English Songs* of 1843, plus further material from the family archive collected in the 1830s.<sup>6</sup> This in turn stemmed from the Broadwood family's long-standing interest in traditional music and traditional culture.<sup>7</sup> In *English County Songs* Broadwood continued to use material from the mid-nineteenth century which had been contributed by friends and mentors such as A.J. Hipkins.<sup>8</sup> In *Songs and Ballads of the West* Baring-Gould drew on the pioneering field work of a number of other people, datable from the 1830s to the 1870s, including the Crossing family of South Brent (Devon) and T.S. Cayzer, who was collecting tunes at public-house sing-songs on Dartmoor in the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>9</sup> Bruce and Stokoe's *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* similarly

<sup>2</sup> Revd. J. Collingwood Bruce and John Stokoe (eds) *Northumbrian Minstrelsy: A Collection of the Ballads, Melodies and Small-Pipe Tunes of Northumbria* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Society of Antiquaries, 1882).

<sup>3</sup> H.F. Birch Reynardson [and Lucy Broadwood], *Sussex Songs* (London: Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co., [1889]). Lucy E. Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland (eds) *English County Songs* (London: Cramer, 1893).

<sup>4</sup> W.A. Barrett, *English Folk Songs* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1891). Frank Kidson, *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs* (Oxford: Taphouse, 1891).

<sup>5</sup> Revd. S. Baring-Gould and Revd. H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West: A Collection made from the Mouths of the People* 4 vols (London: Patey & Willis and Methuen, 1889-1891). S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *A Garland of Country Song: English Folk Songs with their traditional Melodies* (London: Methuen, 1895).

<sup>6</sup> [John Broadwood and] G.A. Dusart, *Old English Songs* (London: Balls & Co, 1843). For the Broadwood family's collecting activities in the 1830s, C.J. Bearman 'The Lucy Broadwood Collection: An Interim Report'. *FMJ* 7,3 (1997), p.360.

<sup>7</sup> For some evidence, *ibid.* For further evidence (for example, of James Shudi Broadwood's patronage of bell-ringing), Henry Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham*, ed. William Albery (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1975 p.98 [first published 1911]).

<sup>8</sup> Material from Hipkins is in the Lucy Broadwood Collection at LEB/4/76. This includes material from Hipkins's grandmother, from street singers remembered by Hipkins, and a song noted by another person in 1858.

<sup>9</sup> Baring-Gould's notes to 'Trinity Sunday' (*Songs and Ballads of the West*, 4, p.xxxii) quoted from a diary entry made by T.S. Cayzer (who collected the tune) in 1849:

This air, together with 'As Johnny walked out' [*Songs and Ballads of the West* XI] I got from Dartmoor; nor shall I ever forget the occasion. The scene was a lonely one (I think Two Bridges, but it may have been Post Bridge). It had been raining all day. There was not a book in the house, nor musical instrument of any kind, except two hungry pigs and a baby that was being weaned. Towards nightfall there dropped in several miners and shepherds, and I well remember how the appearance of those Gentiles cheered us. We soon got up a glorious fire ... and drew the benches and settles round. By the friendly aid of sundry quarts of cyder I, before long, gained the

depended on material gathered in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>10</sup> Given that this known work has survived by chance in the MS collections and through the published work of others, it is not unlikely that it represents the tip of a sizeable iceberg. Therefore, folk music collection did not begin in the 1870s and 1880s and the impulse did not come from the social conditions of the time or the recommendations of Carl Engel.<sup>11</sup>

Neither was it an exclusively *English* movement. It co-existed with and drew strength and support from a long-standing interest in traditional music from the Celtic fringe, particularly Irish music. Collections were being published from printed sources such as Arthur Somervell's and Harold Boulton's *Songs of the Four Nations* (1893). The initiative for the Folk Song Society's foundation came from the Irish Literary Society, in particular from two people, both Anglo-Irish. A.P. Graves was a friend of and collaborator with Charles Villiers Stanford (also Anglo-Irish) in volumes such as *Irish Songs and Ballads*.<sup>12</sup> Kate Lee used this material in her career as a concert singer, along with Manx songs from the collection of W.H. Gill, published as *Manx National Songs*.<sup>13</sup> Graves even declared international aims for the new Society, while Lee also used Hungarian material from the expatriate Francis (Ferencz) Korbay, who had been one of her many singing tutors. Korbay also attended the preliminary meeting to discuss the Society's foundation.<sup>14</sup>

What came into being in May 1898 was therefore not an 'English' Folk Song Society but an Anglo-Celtic one with slight but undeniable international connections and ambitions, and the folk music movement already had something of a history and a sizeable corpus of published work. The new Society was small and specialist in character. Sixteen people were present at the first meeting (not all of whom actually joined), though there may have been a larger gathering at a formal inauguration exactly a month later.<sup>15</sup> Membership had risen to 110 by the time the first membership list was compiled in March 1899.

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confidence of the whole circle, and got a song from each in turn, and noted down two that were quite new to me'.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collection, 1822-1952* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1954) p.28.

<sup>11</sup> Carl Engel (1818-1882) was a German émigré who settled in England in the 1840s. In 1866 he published *The Study of National Music*, which was revised, after a series of articles in the *Musical Times*, as *The Literature of National Music* (1879). In this work he commented on England's lack of folk music and suggested a search in the more remote regions. A number of commentators have seen in Engel's work the blueprint for the folk music collectors' work, for example Dave Harker, *Fakesong: the manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985), p.142.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Villiers Stanford and A.P. Graves, *Irish Songs and Ballads* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, 1893)

<sup>13</sup> W.H. Gill [with the Deemster Gill and John Clague], *Manx National Songs: with English Words* (London: Boosey, 1896). For Kate Lee's use of this material, C.J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk Song Society', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.629-630.

<sup>14</sup> For Graves's international aims, see letter published in *Morning Post*, 27 January 1904, quoted in Chapter 3. For Korbay's presence at the preliminary meeting, see Chapter 3.

<sup>15</sup> The evidence on this matter is very far from clear. 16 June, rather than 16 May, came to be accepted as the Folk Song Society's foundation day and this is given by some authorities such as Frederick Keel ('Folk Song Society' p.111). But no such meeting is mentioned in the society's Minute Books and the coincidence of dates seems unlikely (though it was a happy accident to couple the society's foundation with Bloomsday). However, T. Drifffield Hawkin, in 'Some Folk Song Memories for the Jubilee, by an

The initiative behind the Society's foundation was welcomed by the musical press but ignored by the national newspapers. The musical papers expressed a general feeling that the work of the 1880s and 1890s had placed scholarship in the field on a sounder footing and that this trend had to be encouraged. Reporting the meeting on 27 January, the *Musical News* stated that:

One of the best results of the improvement which has taken place in general taste during the present generation, with respect to the arts, is to be seen in the dead set which is made against tampering with, or 'improving', masterpieces of a past day, or relics of a still farther distant past whose interest lies, or should lie, in their integrity as genuine legacies from bygone days. In the work of collecting and preserving specimens of folk-song this is especially notable. The methods pursued by Sir John Stevenson earlier in this century are so far out of sympathy with our present standards of propriety, that it is surprising to find the Irish Literary Society even putting the matter to the vote last week, and it is not surprising at all to find that the suggestion to modernise old tunes in a proposed new collection was at once rejected ... Some difference of opinion seemed to exist on the question whether any 'adaptation' or 'restoration' should be countenanced, or whether everyone should rigidly set down what is heard. The latter opinion was strongly advocated by Miss Lucy Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland, and found most support amongst those present.<sup>16</sup>

So in the eyes of its contemporaries, the Folk Song Society's role was that of a scholarly association. Its function was to 'preserve' folk music by accurate notation ('everyone should rigidly set down what is heard') and by publication without 'adaptation' or 'restoration'. But this was only very doubtfully the view amongst a substantial contingent among the membership, particularly its Celtic element. The Stanford/Graves collaborations were examples of exactly the kind of 'adaptation' and 'restoration' which the preliminary meeting had rejected: Irish melodies from the Petrie Collection edited by Stanford and provided with texts wholly written or edited by Graves. Graves had been the person who had spoken of 'restoring' traditional songs at the preliminary meeting.<sup>17</sup>

'Restoration' sometimes had innocent motives, as when the words had not been collected or were in other languages. W.H. Gill's collection had new words designed, as the volume's preface made clear, to make the music accessible to non-Manx speakers. Some people genuinely believed that the heavily-adapted 'folk music' of previous collections was of better quality.<sup>18</sup> But it could also reflect political prejudices and vested interests. Stanford was a well-known Unionist and die-hard Tory who consciously used 'Old English', military, and imperialist material in the song books he edited as a means of indoctrinating schoolchildren into the 'right' values.<sup>19</sup> Graves was a prolific contributor to these.<sup>20</sup> Members of the Society and

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Original Member' (*JEFDSS* 5,3 [1948] p.148), makes a definite reference to this meeting and claims to have been present.

<sup>16</sup> *Musical News*, 3 February 1898, p.129. See also *Musical Times*, 1 March 1898, p.165.

<sup>17</sup> Broadwood diaries, 27 January 1898.

<sup>18</sup> See letter, Arthur Somervell to Cecil Sharp, 19 October 1904, quoted in Chapter 5.

<sup>19</sup> See the contents of Stanford's *Song Book for Schools: being a Graduated Collection of Sixty-four songs in One, Two, and Three Parts adapted for the use of Children* (London: National Society's Depository, 1884), or his later *National Song Book* (London: Boosey & Co, 1906). For direct and forceful comment by Stanford about the role of music in education, see his 'Music in Elementary Schools: A Lecture delivered to the Managers of the London Board Schools in 1889', printed in *Studies and Memories* (London: Constable, 1908), pp.43-61.

later members such as Boulton, W.H. Hadow, and Sydney Nicholson had already produced or were soon to produce collections of 'folk and national songs' from printed sources.<sup>21</sup> They had no interest in having their material supplanted through a stricter definition of what a 'folk song' was. Some of the tensions this difference of opinion caused are apparent in a letter which Fuller Maitland wrote to Lucy Broadwood just before the preliminary meeting on 27 January 1898.

He had been in Rome and had arrived home the night before:

After I had read and pondered yours and Mrs. Lee's letter of last night, there came another letter from her. It seems that she offended Mr. A.P. Graves by putting herself down as Hon. Sec., that he wrote her so rude a letter that she can only withdraw from the concern altogether; and that (according to her) H. Boulton is to act as Secretary! Of course we must take all this for what it is worth, and I do not think it very materially alters our position with regard to the ostensible objects of the Society. But I think it does indicate that the 'faking' party is stronger there than we thought. This being so, I think our action should be (meaning by 'our' you, Kidson, and I) to show that we are willing to co-operate if things are to be carefully and 'cleanly' done. It would not do to hold aloof from it because there are fakers on the committee ...<sup>22</sup>

By 'fakers', Fuller Maitland clearly meant the National Songs party. Underlying this dispute was a further difference between those whose like Broadwood, Fuller Maitland and Kidson whose interest was predominantly scholarly or antiquarian and those like Graves who were prepared to countenance concessions to public taste and wanted a more public and open organisation along the lines of the Gaelic League, which gave regular *ceilidh* performances.<sup>23</sup> This was further complicated by a strong and apparently instinctive and irrational dislike felt by Broadwood for Kate Lee, and by Broadwood's further dislike for some members of the committee, chiefly E.F. Jacques but also including Graves and Dr. John Todhunter.<sup>24</sup>

The Folk Song Society in its early years was a weak and lacklustre body, underfunded, uncertain about its function, and deeply divided among its membership. Some of its problems were beyond its corporate control: comparatively little collecting was being done at the turn of the century, and still less of it being done in a way likely to catch public attention. Others were self-imposed. The subscription had been set at a low figure in the hope of attracting a larger membership. It had failed to do so and the resulting income was insufficient to finance its publications, let alone provide for large public meetings.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps because of the division about aims and methods, the membership was unenthusiastic and even the most prominent of

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<sup>20</sup> Graves provided the words for no less than 47 of the 200 songs in the *National Song Book*.

<sup>21</sup> Somervell and Boulton, *Songs of the Four Nations* (London: Cramer, 1893), W.H. Hadow, *Songs of the British Islands: One Hundred National Melodies selected and edited for the use of Schools* (London: Curwen, 1903), Sydney Nicholson, *British Songs for British Boys: A Collection of One Hundred National Songs: Designed for the use of Boys in Schools and Choirs* (London: Macmillan, 1903).

<sup>22</sup> Fuller Maitland to Broadwood, SHC, 2185/LEB/1/67. This letter is not dated but from internal evidence was written on 21 January 1898. For further discussion see Bearman, 'Kate Lee' p.642 (n.63).

<sup>23</sup> For the Gaelic League, see John Hutchinson and Alan O'Day, 'The Gaelic Revival in London, 1900-22: limits of an ethnic identity', in Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds) *The Irish in Victorian Britain: the local dimension* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999) pp.254-276.

<sup>24</sup> For Broadwood's dislike of Lee, Bearman, 'Kate Lee', p.638. For her dislike of Jacques, Graves and Todhunter as committee members, Broadwood to Sharp 2 February 1904 (Jacques), 11 May 1904 (Graves and Todhunter). Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder I.

the later supporters failed to offer help or to take the lead when things went wrong. By 1900-1901, Kate Lee had begun to suffer from the illness or illnesses which led to her death (at the age of 45) in 1904.<sup>26</sup> There were seven Committee meetings in 1899, and eight in 1900, but only three besides the AGM were held in 1901. After the AGM, the Committee did not meet again until 1904. The Society published nothing after 1902: its subscriptions were not collected in 1903, and it became effectively moribund. The question must be why such enthusiastic pioneers and later mainstays of the Society such as Lucy Broadwood and Fuller Maitland allowed this to happen, and the most likely cause lies in the hostility between Broadwood and Lee, which probably reflected a wider disagreement about the Society's purpose. Broadwood and Fuller Maitland were apparently quite prepared to see the Society go under, and they did not intervene until Cecil Sharp appeared on the scene in late 1903 and, by his public criticisms of the Folk Song Society's inactivity and the lack of interest shown by other bodies such as the Musical Association, galvanised everyone into action. It looks as though Broadwood and her party only intervened when there was a danger that a new society might form around Sharp and that matters would be taken out of their hands altogether.

In 1898, Cecil Sharp was a music teacher of some position but modest means.<sup>27</sup> His entry into the profession had been unorthodox. His family was of the commercial middle class and his parents were conventionally fond of music – Sharp received his Christian name because he was born on St. Cecilia's Day – but music was evidently not suitable in their minds as a career for their eldest son; Sharp himself did not show the outstanding natural talent which might have made it so, and because of his family's wealth he did not need the musical scholarships which could provide an education for the more indigent. At Cambridge he took only the first part of the Mus. Bac. degree and his main study was the Mathematics Tripos. The degree he took – a Third – probably reflects the amount of interest he took in his studies. Whether through a robust Victorian dedication to the doctrine of self-help, or as an appeal to the Colonies as the last refuge of the incompetent, Sharp's family decided to send him to Australia.<sup>28</sup> Sharp settled in Adelaide and in the course of a varied career gradually drifted towards music, in particular towards teaching. This continued to be Sharp's main occupation when he returned to England in 1892. A beginning in lecturing and private pupils led to posts as music master at Ludgrove, a new preparatory school opened in 1893, and from 1896 as Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire, one of the many private music academies in London at that time.<sup>29</sup> Sharp was an excellent teacher and lecturer, popular with his pupils and an

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<sup>25</sup> For the dispute about the subscription, see J.A. Fuller Maitland's speech at the inaugural meeting, 16 May 1898. Folk Song Society Minute Book 1 pp.2-4. The Minute Books are unpublished MSS held in the VWML.

<sup>26</sup> According to her death certificate she died of 'carcinoma uteri' or cancer of the womb. For further discussion of her medical condition, Bearman, 'Kate Lee' p.638.

<sup>27</sup> The standard biography is A.H. Fox Strangways and Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).

<sup>28</sup> The example of Lord Lundy irresistably comes to mind.

<sup>29</sup> For Sharp's occupation and finances, see Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, pp.16-24, and C.J. Bearman, 'Cecil Sharp at Marlborough House: A Chapter of Biography', *English Dance and Song* 60,2 (1998) pp.16-18.

advocate of the more advanced educational theories of the period. In 1897-8, he took a leading part in the foundation of King Alfred's, Hampstead, a progressive school intended to be run according to the principles of the German educationalist Froebel.<sup>30</sup> Sharp's philosophy was that music had to be enjoyable and that his pupils, especially children, had to gain experience and foster a genuine taste and appreciation before they moved on to more difficult matter and to academic considerations.<sup>31</sup> This led him to the study of folk music, which, in accordance with the accepted philosophy of his time, he accepted as the product of an unforced natural taste.<sup>32</sup> Sharp was enthusiastic about early collections such as Somervell's and Boulton's *Songs of the Four Nations*, and in an effort to find material which his Ludgrove pupils enjoyed he also used Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1884-1889), John Farmer's *Gaudeamus* (1890), *English County Songs*, and the Baring-Gould collections.<sup>33</sup> Then at Christmas 1899 Sharp had what was to become the transforming experience of his life. With his family, he was spending Christmas with his mother-in-law, Mrs Birch, at Headington Quarry (Oxon).<sup>34</sup> The winter had been a severe one and many Headington residents employed in the brickmaking and building trades were out of work and in need of money. Among these were the members of a morris dance side which had lately been revived for a performance in Oxford. Mrs. Birch at Sandfield Cottage had learned about this side and expressed an interest in having them call when they next danced, so on Boxing Day Cecil Sharp looked out of the window to see a strange procession coming down the drive: men dressed in white, with ribbons and bells on their legs. The concertina-player struck up a tune which Sharp did not know, and the men began a dance equally strange to him, followed by several more. Before the men left, Sharp had arranged for the musician, William Kimber, to call the following day.<sup>35</sup>

But for the moment the matter went no further. Sharp arranged the tunes for small orchestra, and no doubt the students of the Hampstead Conservatoire became familiar with the melodies of Headington.<sup>36</sup> At about the same time – 1900-1901 – Sharp conceived the idea of publishing a book based on the Ludgrove songbook he had compiled, and he began to do research for this purpose, investigating song texts in the British Museum and probably beginning a correspondence with Sabine Baring-Gould.<sup>37</sup> In May 1901, he joined the Folk Song Society, almost certainly in order to receive its *Journal*.<sup>38</sup> The result of Sharp's efforts

<sup>30</sup> For Sharp's involvement with King Alfred's, Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England, 1872-1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp.142-143.

<sup>31</sup> See for example Cecil Sharp, unpublished lecture at Hampstead Conservatoire [entitled 'Musical Morals' by A.H. Fox Strangways], Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/4/47.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> For Sharp's enthusiasm about *Songs of the Four Nations*, extract of letter, Cecil Sharp to Constance Birch [his future wife], 28 January 1893: Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/7/6.

<sup>34</sup> For a general account of this incident, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, pp.26-27. For greater detail, Bob Grant, 'When Punch met Merry', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.644-655.

<sup>35</sup> *DNB, Missing Persons*, p.377.

<sup>36</sup> Sharp made two arrangements of the tunes, for string orchestra in 1900 and for 'small' orchestra in 1903. See Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/1/80-81. It seems to have been the latter arrangement which was played at Sharp's lecture on 26 November 1903.

<sup>37</sup> For Sharp's research, notebooks in Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/6/2-5.

<sup>38</sup> Sharp was proposed and accepted as a member at the committee on 23 May 1901: Minute Book No.1, p.127.

was *A Book of British Song for Home and School*, published in autumn 1902 and dedicated to Arthur Dunn, the founder of Ludgrove who had died earlier in the year.<sup>39</sup> This differed from the other 'National Songs' collections of the time in taking all its material from native and traditional sources, and by making much more use of folk song. Further, the folk songs Sharp published were not taken from older printed sources but from recent collections from oral tradition such as *English County Songs*, *Songs and Ballads of the West*, and R.R. Terry's MS collection of sea songs.<sup>40</sup> Sharp's book was generally welcomed though criticised in the specialist educational press for some of the texts he printed, which by the standards of the time were at the margins of acceptability for children.<sup>41</sup>

Sharp's activities between 1899 and 1903 had therefore been a sort of approach march towards folk song, but he had not yet heard the real thing for himself. This happened in August 1903 in the garden of Hambridge vicarage, Somerset, where the Sharps were staying with their friends Charles and Chloe Marson.<sup>42</sup> The story of Sharp's encounter with John England is too well known to need to be repeated here.<sup>43</sup> As with others such as Vaughan Williams, the experience immediately fired Sharp into a determination to collect systematically in collaboration with Marson, and by the time he returned to London he had collected forty tunes and was planning to return at Christmas. Sharp gave his first lecture on folk song on 26 November 1903, and it was widely reported by a newspaper industry which gave the same sort of coverage to such middle-class cultural events as is now given to television soap operas and the activities of minor 'celebrities'.<sup>44</sup> Publicity was assisted by Sharp's acquaintance with T. Lennox Gilmour, a barrister and leader-writer on the *Morning Post*, which in turn was owned by Lord Borthwick, whose son was interested in music and in editorial work and dabbled in both.<sup>45</sup>

For a complicated tangle of reasons whose more knotty problems cannot be unravelled, Sharp's lecture and subsequent activity attracted public attention in a way that the Folk Song Society's foundation had failed to do. In part, this was through sound reasons of newsworthiness: Sharp had gone out and done some reasonably extended field work, rather than make speeches in a London *salon*, at a time when expeditions into darkest England – whether to the agricultural counties or to London slums – were still 'news'. It was a different kind of activity to weekend or one-day raids into the country to collect in the comfortable surroundings of the 'big house', which was the preferred method of most members of the Folk Song

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<sup>39</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *A Book of British Song for Home and School* (London: John Murray, 1902).

<sup>40</sup> The *Book of British Song* contained 78 songs. 32 of these were from the published collections of Broadwood, Baring-Gould, and Samuel Reay, or from the unpublished MS of Terry

<sup>41</sup> For further discussion of the *Book of British Song* and educational attitudes at the time, see Chapter 5.

<sup>42</sup> Mrs Marson's actual name was Clotilde. Not surprisingly, she was usually known as Chloe.

<sup>43</sup> For the details, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.33. This says that the encounter between Sharp and John England took place in September. But the extract of letter, Sharp to T. Lennox Gilmour, 23 August 1903, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A, makes it clear that it happened the previous day, 22 August.

<sup>44</sup> *Morning Post* 27 November 1903, repeated in many other newspapers.

<sup>45</sup> T. Lennox Gilmour to Maud Karpeles, 12 June 1933, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

Society.<sup>46</sup> Further, Sharp did not shrink from publicity and had no hesitations about capitalising on his more picturesque experiences or airing his theories. In part the attention was due to educational interest in the material which had been aroused by Sharp's own *Book of British Song* and by the collections of W.H. Hadow and Sydney Nicholson, although these were far more conservative in their composition. In 1898, folk song had been conceived as something for the concert hall and drawing room: in 1903-4, its educational use almost immediately became the main focus of attention. There may have been a reason for this in that between 1899 and 1902 British self-confidence had been badly dented by the Boer War and by the appearance of a new, aggressive, and greedy rival across the North Sea. Germany was emerging as a likely enemy, and the Second Navy Bill of 1900 was a major step in the diplomatic game and armaments race which led ultimately to war in 1914.<sup>47</sup> Social tensions and the need for a unifying cultural force were therefore present in 1903-1904 as they had not been present in 1898.

Sharp gave his lecture on 26 November 1903. Lucy Broadwood first met Sharp on 3 December.<sup>48</sup> The same day, Kate Lee wrote to Sharp, apologising for not replying to a previous letter and saying that she was in London for X-ray treatment.<sup>49</sup> Broadwood visited Kate Lee in 1 February 1904, and began to do some of the Society's secretarial work. On 6 February she went to supper at the Vaughan Williams's home to meet Sharp and to discuss how to revive the Folk Song Society's 'dying embers'.<sup>50</sup> The Committee met again on 18 March. Kate Lee was induced to resign and to recommend Broadwood as her successor.<sup>51</sup> Broadwood worked hard on the Society's papers all through April and she held her first Committee on 6 May. There is no mistaking the note of triumph in her diary when she records the congratulations of Sir Hubert Parry and others.<sup>52</sup> The congratulations were deserved. Whatever Lucy Broadwood's human failings, for the Folk Song Society it was a case of 'Came the hour, came the woman'. It is impossible to think of anyone better able at that point to take over the Society's affairs. Without, apparently, much formal education, Broadwood had become a formidable scholar and linguist.<sup>53</sup> She had gained wide experience as a folk song collector and, as a correspondent of Baring-Gould and Kidson, she was in touch with the other leading authorities of her time. She was a capable amateur musician, at home both in folk and art music, and known in the *salon* culture of Edwardian London. But at the same time she was no society butterfly: she was

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<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of collecting methods, see Chapter 4 Part One.

<sup>47</sup> For the Second Navy Bill, Holger H. Herwig, *'Luxury' Fleet: The Imperial German Navy 1888-1918* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980) p.42.

<sup>48</sup> Broadwood diaries, 3 December 1903.

<sup>49</sup> Kate Lee to Cecil Sharp, 3 December 1903, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder I.

<sup>50</sup> Broadwood diaries, 6 February 1904.

<sup>51</sup> Minutes of committee 18 March 1904. Minute Book No.2 pp.6-7.

<sup>52</sup> *ibid* 6 May 1904.

<sup>53</sup> There is as yet no comprehensive account of Lucy Broadwood's life and work, and the most illuminating material is unpublished at the time of writing. See Dorothy de Val, 'The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong', an essay to be included in a forthcoming book on nineteenth century English music, and Lewis Jones 'Lucy Broadwood 1858-1929: her scholarship and ours', a paper given to the 'Folksong: Tradition and Revival' conference, University of Sheffield, 10-12 July



methodical in her approach and prepared to work all hours of the day and night at a project. To help her do so, she had adequate independent means and needed neither a job nor a husband. As Frederick Keel says: 'Miss Broadwood's knowledge and deep-rooted interest, her scientific method, her tact and orderly management of the Society's affairs were reflected in a new growth and prosperity, and one still visible in the scrupulous care with which she recorded the activities of the Society in its Minute Books'.<sup>54</sup> Broadwood also took care to have a committee more suited to her requirements. At this stage, Sharp was working closely with Broadwood, and he was co-opted to it on 18 March. At the AGM on 24 June, with 24 members present, there was for the first time a contested election, and while Broadwood could not get rid of Graves her particular bugbear, E.F. Jacques, was not elected. On to the committee came Walter Ford and Ralph Vaughan Williams, both of them mutual friends of Sharp and Broadwood.<sup>55</sup>

The Society had been revived but Broadwood was a scholar rather than a populariser and it remained resolutely a private and special interest body. However, moves towards popularisation were being made through the music festival movement and through local revivals. The festival movement was largely the work of Mary Wakefield, an acquaintance of Broadwood. Categories for folk song were added to Wakefield's own Kendal Musical Competition and to the Mid-Somerset Music Festival in 1904, and the North Lincolnshire Musical Competitions at Brigg in 1905. These competitions attracted intense local interest: they were widely reported in local and regional newspapers and attended by hundreds of enthusiastic competitors and listeners. Broadwood attended the competition at Brigg in May 1906 and recorded: 'Fine singing of good, fresh clear Lincs voices ... Much 'go' and vivacity amongst people, [and] great heartiness and geniality. Most pestilential air in crowded hall (hundreds turned away)', and indeed Broadwood attributed the violent sickness which overtook her that night to 'air-poison'.<sup>56</sup> Some local revivals were also in progress. Sharp's collecting work in Somerset had attracted local attention and from the end of 1904 the material was being introduced into local concerts by amateur singers and semi-professionals such as Ethel Barnicott.<sup>57</sup> Some of the people from whom Sharp collected already had an acknowledged role in such local music making: George Templeman, the prosperous Hambridge farmer who gave Sharp 'The Irish Bull', was a renowned comic singer who also organised concerts.<sup>58</sup> Other, more humble singers found their material 'legitimised' by *Folk Songs from Somerset*. At a social evening in Muchelney schoolroom in December 1904, Mrs. Lock, the farmer's wife from

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1998, to be published in the volume(s) of the conference proceedings. I am very grateful to Dorothy de Val and to Lewis Jones for sharing their research with me and for copies of their unpublished work.

<sup>54</sup> Keel, 'Folk Song Society', p.115.

<sup>55</sup> Walter Ford sang several of the illustrative songs at Sharp's Hampstead Conservatoire lecture on 26 November 1903.

<sup>56</sup> Broadwood diaries 7 May 1906.

<sup>57</sup> Ethel Barnicott sang material from *Folk Songs from Somerset* at almost all her engagements, for example at the concert of the Curry Rivell Orchestral and Choral Society, reported in the *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 23 December 1905.

<sup>58</sup> For 'The Irish Bull', Cecil J. Sharp and Charles L. Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Two* (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1905) p.48. For George Templeman, see Chapter 4 Part Two. For an example of a concert organised by Templeman, entertainment in aid of Hambridge Sunday School Treat, reported in *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 6 May 1905.

whom Sharp had collected 'High Germany', sang it 'inimitably' and was followed by Mr. W Sandford singing 'The Barley Mow'.<sup>59</sup> Elsewhere in Somerset, more conscious revivals were under way sponsored or patronised by some of the more prominent people Sharp had been in contact with, such as the Kettlewell family of East Harptree.

In July 1905, Sharp resigned from the Hampstead Conservatoire after an acrimonious dispute with its proprietor, Arthur Blackwood. The work had been poorly paid but nevertheless Sharp could not afford the loss of income and began to look for and take more lecturing work.<sup>60</sup> While winding up his affairs at the Conservatoire, he was visited by Mary Neal, secretary and organiser of the Esperance Club for working girls based at Cumberland Market in north London. An interview with Sharp had been published in the *Morning Post* on 29 July, and this had been drawn to Neal's attention by Herbert MacIlwaine, the Club's Musical Director. Neal had been running the Esperance Club for ten years.<sup>61</sup> She came from a comfortably-off middle-class family in Birmingham – from a background similar to that of Sharp, in fact – but she grew dissatisfied with home life and was not attracted to marriage, so in 1888 she joined the West London Mission, a Methodist establishment set up in the previous year to help and evangelise the poor of Soho, Fitzrovia, and Marylebone, and was put in charge of the Mission's club for working girls. In 1891 Emmeline Pethick joined the Mission and began to help Neal with the club, so beginning a lifelong friendship. They became dissatisfied with the institutional framework of the Mission and with the restrictions it placed on the use of dance and drama, so in 1895 they left to form their own Esperance Girl's Club. Their personal means were very limited but they had moneyed backgrounds and useful contacts to draw on, and their practical ventures included a tailoring establishment known as Maison Esperance and the purchase of a house at Littlehampton (Sussex) for the girls' holidays, which became known as the 'Green Lady Hostel'.<sup>62</sup> Emmeline Pethick was in charge of music, but she married in 1901, becoming Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, and was replaced by Herbert MacIlwaine, a novelist and publisher's reader who had lived in Australia and who was in sympathy with Neal's political outlook and social aims.

The Esperance Club was a charitable concern and besides singing and dancing for their own pleasure the girls put on displays for the Club's patrons. Consequently, Neal and MacIlwaine were always on the lookout for good material which was also popular with the girls, and from that point of view were in the same position as Sharp at Ludgrove. Up to that time, the material in use had been the 'school cantatas' which were the standard fare for young peoples' choirs without specialist musical training, plus the 'national dances' of Scotland,

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<sup>59</sup> *ibid* 31 December 1904. 'Mr W. Sandford' may have been the Henry Sandford who was the Lock family's 'farm servant' in 1891 (Census Returns, Muchelney, RG12/1889). Sharp did not collect from Sandford and did not publish 'The Barley Mow' until 1909, so presumably he sang it from tradition.

<sup>60</sup> Between November 1903 and the end of 1905, Sharp delivered 9 lectures. He gave 24 in 1906 and 25 in 1907. The most he delivered in a single year was 51 in 1913. Number of lectures calculated from material in Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/5.

<sup>61</sup> This account follows Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris', *FMJ* 5,5 (1989) pp.545-591.

Ireland, and more exotic regions.<sup>63</sup> At the Pethick-Lawrences' wedding twelve of the girls 'dressed in the costume of Ancient Greece' had performed a series of 'cymbal dances'.<sup>64</sup> MacIlwaine's motive was almost certainly to find suitable material for the Club's Christmas Party for its patrons. Sharp dispelled Neal's anxiety about the possible difficulty of the music in *Folk Songs from Somerset* by telling her that the girls would learn it 'by a sort of spiritual sixth sense', and so it proved. Within a fortnight, Neal was able to tell Sharp that the Club appeared to have gone mad and that the girls were 'perfectly intoxicated' with the music.<sup>65</sup> She went on to ask whether Sharp knew of any dances which would be 'in harmony', and he told her of William Kimber and the Headington dancers. In October 1905, Neal sought out Kimber and arranged for him and his cousin to come to the Esperance Club and teach.

The girls first performed morris dances at the Club's 'Christmas' party, which in fact seems to have been held in February 1906 and was attended by representatives of 'literally every element in contemporary society'. Neal received strong encouragement to give a fully public performance, so one was arranged in the Queen's (Small) Hall on 3 April 1906. It took the form of a brief introductory lecture by Sharp followed by a 'Pastoral' arranged by MacIlwaine which included songs from *Folk Songs from Somerset*, singing games collected by Alice Gomme, and dances from the Headington material. The performance was an immediate success. The ground had been prepared for it by the gradually increasing interest in folk music during the 1890s and 1900s, and specifically by the publicity surrounding Sharp's collecting and the Folk Song Society's new lease of life from 1904. As we have seen, an important aspect of this revived interest was the educational use of the material, especially among elementary school pupils, and here indeed were girls of the working class singing and dancing with every sign of keen enjoyment. The show seemed to bear out fully the note of visionary idealism and promise which Sharp had struck in the conclusion to his introductory lecture:

Let [the Board of Education] introduce the genuine traditional song into the schools and I prophesy that within a year the slums of London and other large cities will be flooded with beautiful melodies, before which the raucous, unlovely and vulgarising music hall song will flee as flees the night mist before the rays of the morning sun.<sup>66</sup>

The educational note was particularly apt because in December 1905 the Board of Education had published its *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others involved in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*, the closest thing to a 'national curriculum' to be permitted in that more liberal and decentralised age.<sup>67</sup> The appendix to the section on music education provided a list of 200 'national and folk songs' approved for school use – a list compiled by

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<sup>62</sup> For a limited amount of information about Neal's and Pethick-Lawrence's incomes and how they were able to afford schemes requiring sizeable capital, see Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence's autobiography *My Part in a Changing World* (London: Gollancz, 1938), pp.112, 120.

<sup>63</sup> Mary Neal, 'Set to Music', a pamphlet reprinted as Chapter 1 in Mary Neal, *The Esperance Morris Book: A Manual of Morris Dances, Folk-Songs and Singing Games* (London: Curwen, 1910), pp.1-2 ['Set to Music' was first published privately in 1907].

<sup>64</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.549.

<sup>65</sup> Extract from 'Set to Music' printed in Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.69.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.551.

<sup>67</sup> London: HMSO, 1905.

Somervell and over which he had sought the Folk Song Society's advice – and it represented the outcome of a long-running campaign by Somervell and others to get 'national songs' into elementary school use.<sup>68</sup> There had been much opposition to songs which contained 'unsuitable' texts or sentiments, and so the choice of songs was a safe and conservative one with an overwhelming emphasis on composed material. The list contained 'folk songs' in the sense of popular material which had stood the test of time, but presented nothing from the living oral tradition. Further, the folk songs of the list were mixed with composed national songs and not distinguished from them. To Sharp, the *Suggestions* list was a travesty, and it was a travesty which threatened the whole future of folk music in education because the distinctive character of folk song would go unrecognised. He made his opinions known in the press and an angry correspondence ensued with Stanford (since 1902, Sir Charles Stanford) who had been appointed editor of the *Suggestions* list for publication: it appeared in 1906 as *The National Song Book*.<sup>69</sup> Sharp believed he had the better of this exchange, but it antagonised many among the Folk Song Society's leaders and membership who regarded the *Suggestions* list as a constructive beginning, and, as the Society's President put it to Sharp, did not 'want the whole system of teaching National Music destroyed at the start'.<sup>70</sup>

## Part 2

### Progress: 1906-09

In the summer of 1906 the gospel of folk song and dance, as practised and disseminated by the Esperance Club, seemed to be carrying all before it. Mary Neal was soon being asked to send her girls all over England to teach the songs and dances, so that by November 'the girls had been teaching in Somerset, Devon, Derbyshire, Monmouth, Norfolk, and Surrey', besides in London.<sup>71</sup> Enquiries were even coming in from abroad. It was Sharp's policy to publish material as soon as possible after collection: the contents of the volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset* were decided on the hoof, while he was actually at work in the county, assisted by the speedy publishing methods of those days when a volume could be made up at the end of August and be on sale before Christmas.<sup>72</sup> So it is likely that Sharp and MacIlwaine had collaboration on a book of morris dances in mind even before June 1906, when they were invited to a performance by the Bidford morris dancers at Foxlydiate House, near Redditch (Worcs), an encounter which expanded their repertoire, gave them the experience of a different style of dancing, and (perhaps most importantly of all) showed them a full side in costume.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> For further discussion of the 1905 *Suggestions* list and Somervell's motives, see Chapter 5.

<sup>69</sup> London: Boosey, 1906.

<sup>70</sup> Letter, Lord Tennyson to Sharp, 10 June 1906. Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder I.

<sup>71</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' pp.551-552.

<sup>72</sup> For example, *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Series Two, published in December 1905, contained material which Sharp collected on 2 and 3 September that year. The method had the advantage that Sharp could work on texts with Marson, the Literary Editor, while in the county.

<sup>73</sup> Foxlydiate House was the home of Lady Margesson and the invitation had come through Neal. See Neal to Sharp, 7 April 1909. For the tunes Sharp collected, 'Tune Books' Vol.5 Nos. 947-954.

At the end of 1906, then, Sharp could look back on a successful year in which much had been done, but which seemed to promise much more. The third series of *Folk Songs from Somerset* was to be published in December: the *Morris Book* had been completed and sent to the press; while in July a chance encounter with two sewer men had, apparently, given Sharp some valuable contacts which he intended to explore during the Christmas holidays.<sup>74</sup> Then, at the end of November, he received the Folk Song Society's Annual Report, preparatory to its AGM on 6 December. The Committee had been ambivalent about the Board of Education's list and early in 1906 had agreed to send a resolution which welcomed the principle of introducing the material into schools but regretted that more genuine folk songs had not been included in the list. It also recommended that a 'clear distinction' should be drawn between folk and national songs.<sup>75</sup> This was a compromise which Sharp could endorse. But the Society's Annual Report – compiled by Lucy Broadwood – abandoned the resolution's ambivalence and simply congratulated the Board of Education. This report was passed by a sub-committee of which Sharp was not a member, and he was not sent the minutes.<sup>76</sup> When he found out what had been done he was furiously angry, since as a member of the general committee he was associated with a position which was completely contrary to his own, and which indeed was hardly in the spirit of the resolution sent in January. With the co-operation of Vaughan Williams (who had drafted the January resolution) he proposed that the Society should withdraw its endorsement of the list and substitute a critical motion. This motion was heavily defeated.<sup>77</sup>

The 1906 AGM demonstrated just how little support Sharp had within the Folk Song Society, and the complete lack of sympathy between the Society and the more populist movement which was emerging via the activities of the Esperance Club. Despite the successes of the populist approach the Society was not prepared to support this radical use of folk music, but preferred the safe, conservative approach and official support, however lukewarm that support may have been. Lucy Broadwood feared that this controversy would destroy the Society, but her prognosis was unduly pessimistic and the immediate danger passed. No-one resigned, Sharp remained on the committee, and things went on very much as before. Nevertheless, the 1906 AGM marked a turning-point for both Sharp and the Society. Sharp's immediate reaction was to begin his book *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*.<sup>78</sup> In the longer term, he must have known that he could not carry the Society with him in promoting a popular revival, so the logical response would be to found another organisation or to join in founding one. In more personal terms, Sharp had already made enemies among the musical establishment through his controversies and his outspoken and unsparing criticism of the Folk Song Society and other bodies such as the Musical Association. Lucy Broadwood had initially

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<sup>74</sup> Sharp collected from two men, both named Mr. Stagg, on 5 July 1906. They were father and son. See Sharp, 'Tune Books' Vol.5 Nos. 957-958. I am indebted to Roy Judge and Paul Burgess for the identity of the Staggs.

<sup>75</sup> A copy of the letter expressing this Resolution is pasted in Minute Book No.2 p.85.

<sup>76</sup> The Committee was on 4 July. For Sharp not being sent the minutes, letter, Broadwood to Sharp, 22 November 1906, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder I.

<sup>77</sup> Thirty-five members were present and the voting was 30-5. Minute Book 2, pp.102-103.

<sup>78</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.64.

welcomed Sharp's criticism and had worked closely with him, but he had never been a particular friend of Broadwood – one invited to her tea parties and musical gatherings, as, for example, Vaughan Williams and Percy Grainger were. After the AGM, Sharp seldom met Broadwood except at committee meetings, and, though they continued to correspond, Broadwood was moving from friendship with Sharp to the strong dislike which she later expressed. Some of her intimate friends shared these views. Fuller Maitland gave *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* a damning review and went so far as to omit Sharp's name from the 1904-1910 edition of *Grove*, which he edited.<sup>79</sup>

Folk music had failed to gain an entrance through the Board of Education's front door, through portals guarded by Arthur Somervell and Stanford. But no sooner had this door been closed than another opened, showing a back way into the educational fortress. C.W. Kimmins, Chief Inspector of the education department of London County Council (LCC) got in touch with Sharp in November 1906 to get his opinion on the educational use of folk dance and Sharp had referred Kimmins to Neal.<sup>80</sup> There was an existing connection in that Kimmins's wife was a former colleague of Neal at the West London Mission, and she was involved with the Bermondsey Guild of Play which had already performed morris dances in public.<sup>81</sup> There was a further connection with the LCC in that Alice Gomme's husband was its Clerk. It is virtually certain that Kimmins, or Gomme, or both provided the contacts through which administrators and educationalists such as Montagu Harris became associated with Neal at the Goupil Gallery conference. A more direct contact was Edward Burrows. The Shakespeare Club of Stratford-upon-Avon had developed an annual festival around the time of Shakespeare's birthday: the Bidford morris dancers had appeared at these festivities in 1904 and 1905, and in 1907 a side trained by an Esperance instructress appeared.<sup>82</sup> Their performance was seen by Burrows, a visitor to Stratford who was HM Inspector of Schools for Portsmouth and West Sussex.<sup>83</sup> Burrows was a member of a progressive group among the school inspectorate whose leader was E.G.A. Holmes, who had become Chief Inspector for Elementary Schools in 1906. Another member of this progressive group was A.P. Graves.<sup>84</sup> Burrows immediately recognised the

<sup>79</sup> For the damning review, *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 January 1908. Fuller Maitland's failure to name Sharp in the 1910 *Grove* supplement was criticised in reviews by the *Academy*, 23 July 1910, and the *Review of Reviews*, 19 August 1910.

<sup>80</sup> Sharp to Kimmins, 10 November 1906, Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc. I owe these insights to Roy Judge and I am very grateful to him for sharing his research with me.

<sup>81</sup> At the Bermondsey May Day Festival, 12 May 1906. Mrs Kimmins had been Grace Hannam.

<sup>82</sup> For the presence of the Bidford dancers in 1904 and 1905, Roy Judge, 'D'Arcy Ferris and the Bidford Morris', *FMJ* 4,5 (1984) p.475. For 1907, Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.552.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

<sup>84</sup> A.P. Graves, in *Return to All That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), p.248, says that he shared the educational ideals at which E.G.A. Holmes had arrived by the early 1900s. Holmes's *In Quest of an Ideal: An Autobiography* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1920) p.117 states that 'It was in response to an invitation from an old friend and colleague that I first visited Egeria's school ...'. 'Egeria' was the name given by Holmes to Harriet Johnson, the Head Teacher of Sompting School, West Sussex, which was in Burrows's inspectorial district. For Holmes's background and influence, see Chapter 5.

educational potential of the Esperance Club's material: he approached Neal and MacIlwaine and they stayed at Burrows' house in June.<sup>85</sup>

The result of this encounter was the 'West Sussex experiment', the first – and, as it turned out, the only – attempt to use folk music in education on a large scale before 1914. In July 1907, following Neal's and MacIlwaine's visit to Burrows, the Esperance Club gave a display at the Assembly Rooms in Chichester, with Sharp as lecturer and Mattie Kay as singer. The *Chichester Observer* reported that the meeting had been well attended, 'by many hundreds of teachers'.<sup>86</sup> At about the same time Florrie Warren, by now the Esperance Club's chief instructress, spent a week at the Chichester Training College for teachers, and in early December Sharp and the Esperance returned to give displays at Chichester, Midhurst, and Horsham.<sup>87</sup> More than ninety teachers gave in their names to learn the material – in their own time, it must be added – and the experiment showed every sign of being an outstanding success.<sup>88</sup>

In fact, the West Sussex experiment was to be a one-off, 'A preface without any book/A trumpet uplipped, but no call', but that was not how things appeared to the leaders of the folk music movement in the summer and autumn of 1907.<sup>89</sup> At Chichester in July, Burrows had spoken of forming a local folk music association, and he appears to have taken it for granted that within a relatively short space of time all the counties would be organised 'on the West Sussex model'.<sup>90</sup> If that happened, there was likely to be an enormous demand for teachers of folk dance and song, for which the existing organisation of the Esperance Club would be inadequate. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1907 Mary Neal made plans to call an informal conference with the aim of setting up a national folk music association, and this conference was held at the Goupil Gallery, Regent Street, London, on 14 November 1907.<sup>91</sup>

To keep to the language of the poem just quoted, the collaboration of Neal and Sharp had been 'A Two-Years' Idyll'. The first part of the *Morris Book*, published in April 1907, was dedicated to 'our friends and pupils, the members of the Esperance Club', and a warm tribute was paid to Mary Neal personally.<sup>92</sup> Neal reciprocated these sentiments towards Sharp: in the late summer or autumn of 1907 she wrote a pamphlet, 'Set to Music', about the progress of the movement and dedicated it to 'C#'. And although in later years Neal was to claim that she had

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<sup>85</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.552.

<sup>86</sup> *Chichester Observer*, 24 July 1907.

<sup>87</sup> This sequence of events is reconstructed from *ibid* and from *West Sussex County Times*, 7 December 1907.

<sup>88</sup> For the 92 teachers, *West Sussex Daily News*, 7 December 1907.

<sup>89</sup> For 'A preface without any book ...', Thomas Hardy, 'A Two-Years' Idyll', in David Wright (ed) *Thomas Hardy; Selected Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) pp.345-346.

<sup>90</sup> For Burrows's proposal of a local association, *West Sussex Gazette*, 25 July 1907. For the idea of county organisations 'on the West Sussex model' letter, Burrows to Sharp, 14 January 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F.

<sup>91</sup> For further details of this conference, see Chapter 3.

<sup>92</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book: A History of Morris Dancing with a Description of Eleven Dances as Performed by the Morris Men of England* (London: Novello, 1907), pp.3, 10.

expected conflict all along, she showed no sign of doing so at this stage.<sup>93</sup> The Goupil Gallery conference did what Neal expected of it and established a new society, soon to be given the rather clumsy title of 'The Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music' with Neal and MacIlwaine as joint Hon. Secretaries and a provisional committee of twelve, probably under the chairmanship of Neville Lytton who had chaired the conference.

The first signs of friction between Sharp and Neal appeared before the Goupil conference, and were almost certainly expressed because Sharp felt that Neal was going too far in proposing a public society with herself in control. Characteristically, Neal attributed Sharp's resistance to a single moment of change due to wounded personal vanity: in her autobiography, written in old age nearly thirty years later, she attributed the initial breach to the flattering cartoon which had appeared in *Punch* the day before the conference was to be held (see Fig. 2.1). As Neal told the story, 'I took [*Punch*] to Sharp and as he looked at it I saw a sort of blind come down over his face'.<sup>94</sup> Roy Judge comments that: 'This moment she later saw as being a kind of watershed in their relationship'.<sup>95</sup> It was not a version of events, however, which Neal felt able to retail at the time or while Sharp was alive. She evidently reproached him with the *Punch* cartoon story in correspondence which is now lost, but Sharp had specifically repudiated it, saying that:

With regard to [the] other point in your letter will you allow me to remind you that the interview which you [and] MacIlwaine had with me after supper preceded by several weeks the appearance of the *Punch* cartoon ... As I told you all along I did not think a Society was wanted at that stage ...<sup>96</sup>

Sharp did not like Neal's plans but was prepared to give them a cautious welcome and a fair trial: he spoke at the Goupil conference, accepted a place on the provisional committee, and his correspondence with Francis Etherington accepted the new society as his interest.<sup>97</sup> The first actual breach with Neal came a few weeks later when the committee got around to discussing its own constitution. The committee members were Edward Burrows, Mr. Ellis, Alice Gomme, Mr. Harper, Montagu Harris, Mr. Hunt, Herbert MacIlwaine, Lady Constance Lytton, Neville Lytton, Mary Neal, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and Sydney Spalding. Sharp was not immediately nominated to this body but was soon co-opted to it. The difficulty was firstly that the constitution and procedure of the new Society had not been thought through by Neal, and secondly that the committee was an uneasy mixture of officials and administrators such as Harper, Harris and Hunt, personal friends of Neal such as Constance Lytton and Pethick-Lawrence, and only two or three folk music specialists such as Gomme and Sharp.

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<sup>93</sup> For Neal's claim that she had expected conflict all along, *Morning Post* 5 May 1910.

<sup>94</sup> Mary Neal, 'As A Tale That Is Told: The Autobiography of a Victorian Woman', unpublished MSS quoted in Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.553.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid*

<sup>96</sup> Sharp to Neal, 7 March 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A. The letters from Sharp in this correspondence sequence exist only as handwritten drafts to be typed up, and are full of abbreviations, hence the editorial interpolations. For general discussion of the Sharp Correspondence, see Appendix C (Archive Sources).

<sup>97</sup> Sharp to Etherington, 22 November 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.



Fig.2:1  
'Merrie England Once More!'  
Punch 13 November 1907.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—NOVEMBER 13, 1907.



### MERRIE ENGLAND ONCE MORE!

[In consequence of the great success of the Esperance Girls' Club in promoting the revival of English Folksongs and Morris Dances in country villages, a Conference is to be held, on November 14, at the Goupil Gallery for the purpose of furthering this admirable scheme. (See article on page 347..)]

In the Folk Song Society as in most of the scholarly and special interest societies of the time, a portion of the committee was obliged to retire each year, although there was provision for re-election.<sup>98</sup> In the Society, this scheme of variable committee membership produced admirable results: a constant stream of fresh talent came into the committee while the provision for re-election ensured that continuity was maintained where it was needed. Lucy Broadwood was re-elected year after year: so was Sir Ernest Clarke; so were Sharp himself and Vaughan Williams. This was the form of committee on which Sharp insisted and which he was later to adopt in the English Folk Dance Society, but Neal refused to consider it and insisted on a fixed membership.<sup>99</sup> In the letter to Neal which has already been quoted, Sharp followed his assertion that he did not think a society was wanted at that stage by saying that: '... but I was quite certain that if there was to be one it [would] admit and attract those who were best qualified to advance its interests. It turned out that you wanted a closed door [and] I wanted an open one'.<sup>100</sup>

Besides the democratic and constitutional proprieties involved in the creation of any public society, there was also the question of authority: who was to be in charge of the movement? With a variable committee membership, Sharp could hope that in time the committee would recruit more people actively involved in folk music collection and publication: with a fixed membership, he would have had to accept the permanent authority of people whose knowledge of the subject was far inferior to his own. Sharp spelled out his stand in a letter to Lucy Broadwood in November 1908, and Neal herself endorsed this version of events by writing in 1912 that 'in 1907 Mr. Cecil Sharp and I disagreed over the constitution of a committee'.<sup>101</sup> In making his stand, Sharp had experience, common usage and the best practice of the time on his side. Neal's motives in insisting on a fixed membership are more difficult to explain, but the general point must be made that she never worked with an executive committee. She preferred co-operation with a small group of friends and subordinates and had a known and self-admitted preference for wanting to be in sole command of any scheme in which she was involved.<sup>102</sup> Neal almost certainly had a different conception of committee work to Sharp's: Sharp saw a committee as an active executive composed of equals who resolved their differences by discussion and a vote; Neal's conception was of a group of friends gathered to help her and accepting her authority.<sup>103</sup> The exceptions to her general rule – the committees she is known to have served on without being in control and without having an executive function – are significant ones. Neal had been on the London Committee of the Women's

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<sup>98</sup> The Folk Song Society's Rule VI stated that 'At each General Meeting half of the members of the Committee shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election'.

<sup>99</sup> For Neal's version of these events, see typescript extracts from her autobiography ['As A Tale That Is Told'] in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS. For general comments on the relationship of these MSS to the extracts quoted in Judge, 'Mary Neal', and on the general reliability of Neal's memoirs, see Archive Sources Appendix.

<sup>100</sup> Sharp to Neal, 7 March 1909.

<sup>101</sup> Sharp to Broadwood, 10 November 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F. Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk Song and Dance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p.165. This book was commissioned and written in 1912.

<sup>102</sup> Neal to Clive Carey, 23 June 1917, quoted in Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.574.

<sup>103</sup> In her autobiography Neal says that after the collapse of the committee 'I [Neal] called a few friends together and we did start a small association ...'. Typescript in Dean-Smith MSS

Social and Political Union since it was founded early in 1906.<sup>104</sup> This was not an active executive and only existed to approve the actions of the WSPU's inner circle which consisted of Emmeline Pankhurst, her daughter Christabel, and the Pethick-Lawrences. In September 1907, only two months before the Goupil conference, this inner circle had exercised its power in an arbitrary and unjustified way to repudiate the democratic and constitutional proprieties which the Pankhursts and Pethick-Lawrences had initially promised, to pre-empt a delegate conference arranged for October, and to expel a group of dissidents led by Mrs. Despard and Teresa Billington-Greig who would not sign a loyalty pledge.<sup>105</sup> Neal remained on the committee which endorsed the inner circle's dictatorship and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, one of the inner circle, was a member of Neal's provisional committee. It is difficult to prove, but it looks as though Sharp had no intention of surrendering himself and the movement's future to people so arbitrary and dismissive of constitutional proprieties as Neal and her friends. In 1912 he wrote that 'My rupture with Miss Neal was not due to any single cause. It is true that I very naturally objected to a society ruled by an autocratic non-selected executive after the model of the W.S.P.U.'<sup>106</sup>

Sharp fought hard for his position in committee. In December 1907 he told Francis Etherington that:

The meeting lasted until 7.45 and I was on the rack the whole time. I eventually made three converts including chairman and would have won but one of my converts had to leave before the crucial vote was taken and we were consequently beaten. But I rather think it will all come to nothing as they will have to call a general meeting again and I fancy the opposition will be pretty strong there. It is very annoying to have this rupture and all the attendant unpleasantness but there was no other course to pursue except the craven one of staying away.<sup>107</sup>

Neal's autobiographical account alleges that Sharp's proposals for the committee were unworkable and that 'From that day [i.e., the break-up of the provisional committee] began a bitter attack by Sharp on the work we were trying to do'.<sup>108</sup> The reality was that Sharp's influence and arguments were powerful enough to administer to Neal an effective defeat. The provisional committee broke up and Neal and her remaining supporters did not care to risk holding a public meeting to decide the issue. Instead, Neal pressed ahead without public support: as she put it 'I called a few friends together and we did start a small private association'.<sup>109</sup> Neal's 'small private association', however, retained the title of the

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<sup>104</sup> Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up, Women! The militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p.63.

<sup>105</sup> See the account of the 'Essex House conference' of 10 September 1907 in *ibid.*, pp.89-91.

<sup>106</sup> Sharp to Lionel H. Franceys [Hon Sec of the Blackpool Festival] 4 December 1912, Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc. The other committee on which Neal is known to have served was the Advisory Council of the Kibbo Kift Kindred, an organisation founded after the First World War by John Hargrave. Its original devotion was to woodcraft and mysticism but it rapidly became political and authoritarian, with Hargrave as its *fuhrer*. For Neal's membership of the KKK and its Advisory Council, material in Rolf Gardiner Papers boxes 16 and 17, Cambridge University Library. For Hargrave and the KKK generally, J.L. Finlay, 'John Hargrave, the Green Shirts, and Social Credit', *Journal of Contemporary History* 5,1 (1970), pp.53-71.

<sup>107</sup> Sharp to Etherington, 13 December 1907. Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc

<sup>108</sup> Typescript ['As A Tale That Is told'].

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*

'Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music', so she was somewhat unethically claiming the authority of the abortive committee and of the Goupil Gallery conference.

Sharp remained willing to appear with Neal, for example at the Stationers' Company in May 1908, though he had nothing further to do with the Association.<sup>110</sup> But as he put it to Broadwood: 'I have however tried to influence 2 of its members Burrows and Lytton in what I am sure you would agree is the right direction'.<sup>111</sup> Burrows came over to Sharp's side almost at once. In January 1908 he was agreeing with Sharp that the Goupil conference and the provisional committee had not been sufficiently representative to control and organise a national movement.<sup>112</sup> Neville Lytton was a harder nut to crack: he chaired the Goupil conference and was probably the committee chairman whom Sharp had converted; but he had a politician's sense of what was possible and felt that Sharp's expectations of the Esperance Club and its staff were unreasonable.<sup>113</sup> The main points at issue at this stage, besides the constitutional proprieties and the composition of any organising committee, were standards of performance and giving credit where it was due. Sharp was becoming impatient with the low standards of the Esperance girls and the relegation of the material to children and young people. He also 'deprecated very strongly the impertinent assumption of the Esperance society that they had originated the whole folk-song movement'.<sup>114</sup> This question of attribution became the major point of conflict. The trouble was that Neal was careless and self-aggrandizing in her interviews and statements to the press and constantly presented herself as the prime mover in events, without any acknowledgement or recognition of others. In October 1906 she had allowed the *Morning Post* to state that: 'searching for more novelty, and inspired by certain articles and letters in the *Morning Post* Miss Neal last year conceived the idea of having folk song and morris dances. Mr Cecil Sharp, who was consulted, took a keen interest in the plan, and to obtain correct dancing Miss Neal brought from Oxfordshire two men ...'<sup>115</sup> Without actually committing any untruths, this account suppressed MacIlwaine's contribution altogether and marginalised Sharp's. The readers of the *Morning Post* were given to understand that Miss Neal had done it all off her own bat. Anyone familiar with the habits of press reporters would overlook this sort of thing two or three times and would disregard the garbled repetitions from the national press which appeared in local papers. The trouble was that Neal kept repeating these assertions when there was no question of misunderstanding or misattribution: she never learned the lesson of guarding her tongue, claiming no more than was her due, and giving credit to others, but constantly pushed at the limits of what she could get away with, like a naughty child. In March 1908 Lucy Broadwood recorded receiving two indignant letters from Sharp about 'the folly of the Esperance Club', and Neal had apparently managed to offend Broadwood

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<sup>110</sup> For the entertainment at the Stationers' Company, 25 May 1908, programme in file AS11, VWML.

<sup>111</sup> Sharp to Broadwood, 10 November 1908.

<sup>112</sup> Burrows to Sharp, 14 and 22 January 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F.

<sup>113</sup> Lytton to Sharp, 7 January 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F.

<sup>114</sup> Sharp to Broadwood, 10 November 1908.

<sup>115</sup> *Morning Post* 10 October 1906.

as well, for which she was obliged to offer an apology.<sup>116</sup> But there, for the moment, matters rested.

Broadwood had for some time been feeling the strain of doubling as the Folk Song Society's Secretary and editor of its *Journal*, and she resigned as Secretary in February 1908, giving the committee adequate time to find a replacement in Mrs. Walter Ford.<sup>117</sup> Broadwood was also busy in producing her collection *English Traditional Songs and Carols*, and Arthur Somervell was making his last attempts to interest her in collaborating in the educational use of folk music.<sup>118</sup> By now, Percy Grainger was a firm friend: in January Broadwood introduced him to Henry Piggott, a mathematics tutor at Dartmouth Naval College who had come to talk about the remarkable shantyman and singer of sea songs, John Perring.<sup>119</sup> This led to Grainger's collaboration in collecting from Perring and eventually to his glorious setting of Perring's shanty 'Shallow Brown'. On 31 March, Broadwood went to 'the Beecham concert [and] heard Mr. Delius' clever interesting Rhapsody on the Lincs folk tune "Brigg Fair" [collected by Grainger] and she noted that 'the old singer Mr. Taylor was present, sitting with the Percy Graingers'.<sup>120</sup> Grainger used Taylor's visits to London to coerce the Gramophone Company (later HMV) into making the first recordings of a traditional singer. Revivals at a local level were continuing. In central Somerset, Sharp's collections were now part of the repertoire performed by amateur and semi-professional singers at schoolroom concerts, the entertainments and musical evenings of local societies, and more formal occasions. The response of audiences was enthusiastic. In January 1907 Ethel Barnicott sang at a concert at the Langport Arms Hotel (in aid of the District Nursing Association) and 'won the hearts of the audience with the delightful little folk song 'Dabbling in the Dew' ... the room fairly rang with applause. Miss Barnicott in response to repeated calls sang 'I'm Seventeen come Sunday' and so captivated the audience that she was compelled once more to respond'.<sup>121</sup> Because of Sharp's contacts with the county there was also a local morris dance revival. Most of the dance groups were ephemeral, but there was a semi-permanent side in the 'Weirfieldians', senior pupils of a girls' school who appeared at such events as the Diamond Jubilee of the Somerset Archaeological Society in August 1908.<sup>122</sup> Elsewhere, the revival continued to 'legitimise' folk song and encourage traditional singers to perform for a new public. Henry Burstow sang two songs at a concert of the Horsham Recreation Silver Band at the King's Head Hotel in March

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<sup>116</sup> Broadwood diaries 21, 23-25 March 1908.

<sup>117</sup> Broadwood resigned as Secretary at the Folk Song Society committee on 26 February. Mrs Ford was elected on 4 March and held her first committee on 3 July. Broadwood diaries 26 February, 4 March, 3 July 1908.

<sup>118</sup> Broadwood took the MS of her book to her publisher on 10 April 1908. It was published in September. Somervell came to see her on 19 July 'to talk about Folk Songs for Schools and evolve a scheme'. Broadwood diaries 10 April, 19 July, 15, 29 September 1908.

<sup>119</sup> Broadwood diaries 11 January 1908. John Bird, *Percy Grainger*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp.126-127. Bird alleges that Grainger 'discovered' Perring. Here as elsewhere he exaggerates and dramatises Grainger's role to the detriment of others who were equally important.

<sup>120</sup> Broadwood diaries 31 March 1908.

<sup>121</sup> *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 5 January 1907. For further examples, see *ibid* 9 February, 20 July, 2 November, 14 December, 21 December 1907.

<sup>122</sup> *Western News*, 24 August 1908.

1908.<sup>123</sup> At Dartmouth (Devon), John Perring had been encouraged to form a group, based on the 'Bayard's Cove Mission', which gave concerts of sea songs and shanties. Creative talents were being unlocked by the revival: Perring suggested to H.E. Piggott the idea of a musical play 'dealing with the life of a sailing ship' to be performed at the naval college.<sup>124</sup>

Until 1907, Sharp's experience of folk dance had been limited to his initial encounter with the Headington side in 1899, with Kimber's and his cousin's teaching at the Esperance Club, and the meeting with Bidford in June 1906. Sharp was still spending every school holiday in Somerset, through which he had decided to work in a systematic manner. But the encounter with the two sewer-men in July 1906 apparently gave Sharp the direction of two ex-morris musicians, John Mason at Stow-on-the-Wold and William Hathaway at Cheltenham who had connections with a number of former morris dance sides.<sup>125</sup> Sharp eventually met both men in March 1907, and from that time onward spent an increasing amount of time in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire.<sup>126</sup> Sharp's main field of operation remained Somerset, but in November 1906 he quarrelled with Charles Marson. The details are obscure: the main reason may have been Marson's criticism of *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Three*, or it may have been Marson's infidelity and/or mental cruelty to his wife, who remained on good terms with the Sharps.<sup>127</sup> But the result was to remove Sharp's main base in Somerset and the only opportunity he had to have his family near him when collecting.<sup>128</sup>

At this stage, Sharp's role in dance collection was limited to the music. Dance notation was done by MacIlwaine, working with the Esperance Club's chief instructress Florrie Warren, and the two men were working on Part Two of the *Morris Book*, and, apparently, coming to be on better terms with one another.<sup>129</sup> But MacIlwaine also appears to have been suffering from increasing ill-health, and this was probably the factor which led Sharp to collect on his own at Winster (Derbys) in June 1908 (the first time he noted steps) and from George Simpson, formerly of Sherborne (Glos) in July.<sup>130</sup> Sharp's increasing experience led him to question the

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<sup>123</sup> A.E. Green and Tony Wales, 'Foreword' to Henry Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham*, ed William Albery (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1975), p.ix.

<sup>124</sup> Notes by 'H.E.P.' [H.E. Piggott], *JFSS* 5,3 (1916) p.308.

<sup>125</sup> This sequence of events is reconstructed from Cecil Sharp 'Tune Books' Vol.5 Nos. 957-958, and from letter, Sharp to Neal 7 March 1909.

<sup>126</sup> Sharp first collected from Mason and Hathaway between 27 and 30 March 1907. *Tune Books* Vol.6, 1249-1276.

<sup>127</sup> Marson's version was that they quarrelled after he offered some 'frank but friendly criticism of Series 3' (letter, Marson to Miss Bertha Clarke, quoted in David Sutcliffe, 'Revd. Charles Latimer Marson, 1859-1914', a paper given to the Somerset Archaeological Society, 27 November 1999). I am very grateful to David Sutcliffe for a copy of his script and for sharing his research with me. For Marson's infidelity or mental cruelty to Chloe, see record of conversation between Maud Karpeles and David Bland, 27 September 1973, in David Bland MSS, VWML.

<sup>128</sup> From 1907 Sharp's base seems to have been rented rooms in Taunton.

<sup>129</sup> From the context of Lytton's letter to Sharp, 7 January 1908, Sharp had complained to him about MacIlwaine, and Neal's letter to Sharp, 7 April 1909 (Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A), refers to previous ill-feeling between them. However, the surviving correspondence between Sharp and MacIlwaine from 1908 and 1909 is affectionate and Sharp was able to offer radical criticisms of MacIlwaine's introduction to Part 2 of the *Morris Book* (see below) without causing offence.

<sup>130</sup> MacIlwaine's ill-health in the summer of 1908 is speculative, but he was certainly ill in September (see letter, Lady Constance Lytton to Adela Smith, 10 September 1908, quoted in Betty Balfour, *Letters of Constance Lytton* [London: Heinemann, 1925] p.136) For Sharp's collecting at Winster and from Simpson, Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.556.

assumptions of 1906 embodied in the first *Morris Book*, and in August 1908 he replied to MacIlwaine's invitation of criticism by declaring the proposed introduction to *Morris Book Part Two* to be 'too flamboyant and decorative'. Sharp wanted something 'much more dignified and reticent'.<sup>131</sup>

Sharp wrote to MacIlwaine immediately before leaving for Somerset and his last extended period of collecting there. In 1907 he had begun to think he was exhausting his sources: the Preface to the fourth series of *Folk Songs from Somerset* (compiled in August 1907, published in January 1908) warned that it would probably be the last.<sup>132</sup> However, Sharp was still searching for new material and found it through Revd. A.A. Brockington, then curate of St. Mary's parish in Taunton. Sharp introduced himself to Brockington, perhaps in the hope of getting the same sort of help as he had received from Revd. W.K. Warren in Bridgwater.<sup>133</sup> In the event, however, Brockington helped Sharp in the Quantocks north-west of Taunton. Sharp returned to Somerset in December 1908 and January 1909 only to resolve some matters in the fifth (and last) volume of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, published in April 1909.<sup>134</sup> His main concern in the autumn of 1908 and spring of 1909 was song collection at Marylebone Workhouse in London.<sup>135</sup> In the summer of 1909, he turned seriously to dance collection, spending almost the whole of his summer holiday in the Cotswolds.

The events of 1908-1909 combined to bring matters between Sharp and Neal to a head. Neal's Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music had made a slow start but by the autumn of 1908 had begun to make headway: satellite associations were being formed in the provinces, leading to intense suspicion on the part of the Folk Song Society's luminaries and a flurry of correspondence between them. In the midst of this activity, in November 1908, MacIlwaine resigned from the Association. His official ground was ill-health and this was genuine enough, but the main reason for his departure was his objection to the political activities of Neal and her friends, meaning their devotion to the Suffragette cause.<sup>136</sup> MacIlwaine was in fact replaced by Mabel Tuke, the widow of a South African policeman who had met the Pethick-Lawrences on the journey back to England and became the Secretary of the WSPU.<sup>137</sup> To see MacIlwaine's attitudes in context – also those of Sharp, who was 'for a long time opposed to women's suffrage by prejudice' – it is necessary to look at the suffrage question as it appeared at the time. The WSPU's activities were in theory non-party political, but in practice it supported the Conservatives through its campaign against the Liberals who

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<sup>131</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.556.

<sup>132</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Four* (London: Simpkin & Co, Schott & Co, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1908), p.ix.

<sup>133</sup> For Brockington, see 'Recollections of Cecil Sharp', unpublished MSS in Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A. For Sharp's association with W.K. Warren, see Chapter 4 Part One.

<sup>134</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset, Series Five* (London: Simpkin & Co, Schott & Co, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1909). A sixth volume was projected but never got beyond the preliminary planning stage. See Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/3/70-73.

<sup>135</sup> Sharp collected at Marylebone Workhouse on at least twenty-three occasions between September 1908 and April 1909. See Cecil Sharp, 'Tune Books' Vols. 9 and 10, Nos. 1933-2184.

<sup>136</sup> Neal to Sharp, 7 April 1909.

<sup>137</sup> For MacIlwaine's resignation and replacement, Mary Neal, *The Esperance Morris Book: A Manual of Morris Dances, Folk-Songs and Singing Games* (London: Curwen, n.d.[1910]), p.60.

were in power, and the organisation was drifting towards the Right, having abandoned its working-class and Independent Labour Party roots. The WSPU campaigned for the vote on the same terms as men, but before 1918 the suffrage depended on property and residential qualifications which ensured that only about sixty per cent of adult males had the vote.<sup>138</sup> Further, plural voting was possible through additional franchises available to property-owners, business people, and university graduates. The system offered the appearance of mass democracy but was in fact heavily weighted towards property, so to enfranchise women on the same terms as men would have increased this bias and helped the Conservatives. The Liberal leadership therefore had sound if cynical political reasons for not desiring the enfranchisement of women on these terms: they would have preferred a general extension of the franchise, but there was no possibility of such a measure getting through the unreformed House of Lords, dominated by the Conservatives. So the result was an impasse which offered the spectacle of progressives and socialist sympathisers such as Neal and the Pethick-Lawrences campaigning against a progressive Liberal Government which was trying to push through far-reaching social and humanitarian reforms such as Old Age Pensions, and helping the Conservatives to gain by-election victories such as those at Manchester N.W. and Peckham in March-April 1908.<sup>139</sup> There was also the increasingly unparliamentary nature and violence of the campaign, such as the attempt to 'rush' the House of Commons in October that year.

These were probably the activities which MacIlwaine objected to, since his initial association with Neal and his correspondence with Sharp suggests that he had socialist sympathies.<sup>140</sup> Neal claimed that the Esperance campaign was non-political, but prominent WSPU personnel such as Jessie Kenney joined the Esperance's summer holiday and lectured to the girls, and in April 1909 the Esperance danced at the Women's Exhibition at Earls Court, organised by the WSPU.<sup>141</sup> Neal, however, treated any defection from her side as personal disloyalty and in later correspondence with Clive Carey affected to believe that MacIlwaine's illness had disturbed the balance of his mind.<sup>142</sup> On the scant authorization of his refusal to remain associated with her and her friends, and despite the fact that he remained willing to lecture on the Association's behalf, she ceased to acknowledge his work, removed his name from her publicity material, and even refused to allow the Esperance girls to work with him or

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<sup>138</sup> The number of votes which could be cast represented 63 per cent of the adult male population, but 'since this statistic includes plural votes about 59 per cent of all adult males enjoyed the franchise in 1911'. Neil Blewett, 'The Franchise in the United Kingdom, 1885-1914', *Past and Present* 32 (1965), p.31.

<sup>139</sup> The defeated Liberal at Manchester NW was Winston Churchill, while the victorious Conservative was William Joynson-Hicks, later the notoriously reactionary Home Secretary 'Jix'.

<sup>140</sup> In his letter to Sharp, 4 July 1913, Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc., MacIlwaine discusses with approval the recent successes of the socialists in the Dutch elections.

<sup>141</sup> For the presence of Jessie Kenney at the Esperance holiday in autumn 1908 and for her lecturing, Constance Lytton, *Prisons and Prisoners: Some Personal Experiences* (London: Heinemann, 1914), pp.9-10. For the Esperance at the Women's Exhibition, Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.558.

<sup>142</sup> Neal to Carey, 26 September 1916: Clive Carey Collection (unpublished MSS held at the VWML) p.191. Neal was reconciled to MacIlwaine on his deathbed and later adopted his son Antony. See Judge, 'Mary Neal' pp.574-575.



with Sharp in so far as he was associated with MacIlwaine.<sup>143</sup> This set the scene for the confrontation between Sharp and Neal which followed in the spring and summer of 1909 and which led to the final breach between them.

The background to the dispute was the official approval likely to be given to folk dance by the Board of Education, following the West Sussex campaign of 1907-1908. This approval was given in the new Syllabus of Physical Exercises for elementary schools published in 1909, and though the Board was still a long way from encouraging folk dance, it meant that there would be greatly increased demand from teachers. Consequently the questions of authority, standards of performance, and the creation of a teaching and regulating body gained fresh urgency. Neal had spoken of the need for a regulating body to set and enforce standards at the Goupil Gallery conference, but she had not made any attempt to put these ideas into practice. Instead, she began to place greater emphasis on the enjoyability of the dances, the ease with which (she maintained) they could be learned, and the spiritual development to be gained through such expressions of joyous freedom. Besides this, the Esperance girls had apparently tried to make the dances more spectacular by exaggerating some features, particularly the practice of seeming to get higher off the ground by raising the knee in the morris step.<sup>144</sup> Neal had also begun to search out dancers on her own initiative, beginning with Thomas Cadd of Yardley Gobion (Northants) who taught at the Esperance Club in late 1908 or early 1909. Sharp regarded Cadd as grossly untraditional and his dances as 'faked'.<sup>145</sup> Sharp must have realised by this time that if he wanted to present folk dance as he conceived it, he would have to work on his own. He appeared for the last time with Neal and the Esperance at Cambridge in January 1909.<sup>146</sup> In February he began to give his own lecture-displays with Kimber as a demonstration dancer, and in March he engineered an agreement with Dorette Wilke, principal of the Chelsea College of Physical Education attached to the South-Western Polytechnic.<sup>147</sup> Sharp directed what was initially a private class for trainee teachers, and these trainees gave their first performance in the presence of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra at Chelsea Hospital in June 1909.<sup>148</sup>

The issue between Sharp and Neal was initially one of authority and attribution. Sharp already resented the loose and self-aggrandising way in which Neal presented her own and the Esperance Club's activities to the press. In January 1909 an article appeared in the *Morning Post* which went further than Neal had ever gone before, appropriating aspects of Sharp's and MacIlwaine's work and presenting them as though she and the Esperance girls had been directly

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<sup>143</sup> Neal to Sharp, 7 April 1909. MacIlwaine gave a lecture at St Fagans (near Cardiff) on behalf of the Association after his resignation. See *Western Mail*, 14 December 1908.

<sup>144</sup> There is no hard evidence of this practice until 1910, but Neal to Sharp, 19 April 1909 (Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A), wrote of Florrie Warren that 'I know that her enthusiasm and joy in the dances have carried her a little beyond the original instructions'.

<sup>145</sup> Cadd is mentioned in the article on the Esperance in *Morning Post*, 14 January 1909. For Sharp's views on him and the question of 'traditionality', see below.

<sup>146</sup> Judge 'Mary Neal' p.556.

<sup>147</sup> *ibid* p.557.

<sup>148</sup> *ibid* pp.557-558. For further details of the Chelsea Polytechnic and the classes, see Chapter 5.

responsible.<sup>149</sup> Sharp wrote immediately and angrily to Neville Lytton, and there must have been correspondence with Neal which is now lost, because the sequence of letters between her and Sharp begins with Sharp's letter to her of 7 March 1909 in which he refers to her desire to 'arrive at a modus vivendi'. Sharp told her that she could very easily do so by confining herself to the limits which she had set for the Esperance's and the Association's activities, and he went on:

But you are travelling far outside these limits (and incidentally far beyond the truth) when you allow the press interviewers to say such things as the following: – 'The way in which the Club discovered and adopted these old airs reads like a fairy tale' 'It was in Oxford that Miss Neal found old (?) songs and dances etc'. 'Two bricklayers willingly allowed their melodies to be harmonised' (There was only one bricklayer and his melodies I had harmonised [and] performed in public scores of times [and] for many years before I met you): 'A scissor grinder in Somerset who had learned a step-dance from the gipsies freely offered his services to the Club' (he never danced in his life [and] your club never had nothing whatever to do with him, or with his music) 'Two men working in a sewer gave the girls the benefit of dances [and] songs that had made their grandfather famous in Gloucestershire' (neither of these men could dance or sing, nor has your club ever danced or sung anything derived from their 'grandfather'); 'She occupied herself for years in teaching [and] getting up school cantatas to amuse her club members' (I thought MacIlwaine did this?).<sup>150</sup>

To understand Sharp's anger it is necessary to repeat some facts about Neal's work and experience of folk song and dance to that date. Neal was solely an organiser and administrator. She was not a musician and she had not learned the dances. The Esperance Club's musical and dance tuition had come from Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and later from MacIlwaine, plus assorted dance instructors.<sup>151</sup> Neal had by this time begun to search out dancers for herself and invite them to the Esperance Club, but the vast bulk of the material and nearly all of the contacts which had made her and the Esperance Club famous had come from Sharp and MacIlwaine, and the teaching had come from these contacts and from MacIlwaine and not from her. Neal's statements to the press were not merely 'presenting the story of the revival in heightened and romantic guise'.<sup>152</sup> She was committing a form of plagiarism, appropriating material and credit which did not belong to her. Sharp went on:

Let me say at once that it is not a matter of personal credit that I am quarrelling about. I value the success of the Cause far more than personal gain. If you choose to annex stories about folk-singers that I have told in public and apply them for the purpose of your own or your club's glorification – that is your affair. My objection is that mis-statement such as I have quoted above gives to your words and actions an authority which they would not otherwise possess, and place in your hands a weapon which, for the lack of the necessary knowledge, you cannot be expected to use wisely or well.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> *Morning Post* 14 January 1909.

<sup>150</sup> Sharp to Neal, 7 March 1909. The passages Sharp quotes are all from the *Morning Post* interview of 14 January 1909 except the final one ('She occupied herself ...') which is from the *Evening Standard*, 9 January 1909.

<sup>151</sup> For Neal's not being a musician, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.69. Her lack of musical knowledge and her ignorance of dance is demonstrated by her own statements in her letter to Sharp, 7 April 1909. Neal states that with regard to the Bidford dances she 'could have taken Florrie [i.e., Florrie Warren] to learn the steps, and got the tune taken down locally'.

<sup>152</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.556.

<sup>153</sup> *ibid*

This was the heart of the matter. Whether or not she had done so consciously, Neal was claiming for herself the expert knowledge of the tradition which could only come from careful research and close contact with it. By this time, Sharp could claim nearly ten years' experience and between five and six years of intensive field work since 1903, during which he had met more than 350 singers and perhaps a dozen traditional dancers and musicians.<sup>154</sup> The number of traditional performers Neal had seen could probably be counted on the fingers of both hands. More personally, she was striking at Sharp's position as an authority and even at his income by appropriating material he had already used in lectures – and, by 1909, an appreciable proportion of Sharp's income came from lecturing. Further, until 1908-1909 Neal had specifically repudiated the idea of the Esperance Club and the Association collecting material for itself, insisting that collection was best left in the hands of 'experts such as Mr. Cecil Sharp'.<sup>155</sup> This insistence prevented turf wars with other bodies such as the Folk Song Society. Neal was now outstripping these limits by implying that she and the Esperance Club in general had collected material and had first-hand knowledge of the tradition. Sharp concluded this section of his protest by saying that: 'So it comes to this; if you wish to pose as an expert and authority you must not ask me to support you. On the other hand if you want my help you must be very much more guarded in what you say to the newspapers and you must be content "to spread the knowledge of the music, teach the dances etc" and nothing else'.<sup>156</sup> What Sharp said was reasonable. By any standard Neal had offended against the accepted rules of attribution and her appropriations did give her an authority and appearance of expert knowledge which she did not possess. To look at it from Neal's point of view, however, the Esperance Club had been using the material for three years and had done much to popularise it: Sharp acknowledged that much of his material would have remained in his notebooks but for Neal and her club.<sup>157</sup> She was also faced with the (albeit self-imposed) problem of telling the story of the Club's early years and success without mentioning MacIlwaine, and with the problem of Sharp's increasing alienation and the non-availability to the Club of the new material he was collecting – particularly the dance material.

Neal's reply to Sharp's letter of 7 March has not survived but must have been conciliatory, since Sharp wrote again on 14 March to say that 'I hope that now there will be no more misunderstandings' and to offer his services afresh.<sup>158</sup> But Neal almost immediately offended again, and Sharp wrote to her on 3 April to protest.<sup>159</sup> This time he brought up the question of injustice to MacIlwaine, and Neal responded angrily. Neal enclosed to Sharp a letter from MacIlwaine to the Association's office and told Sharp that: 'It is well you should understand, once and for all, that in these circumstances Mr. MacIlwaine's name can never

<sup>154</sup> The number of singers is based on Sharp's statement in *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* p.ix that he had met 'upwards of 350 singers and instrumentalists'.

<sup>155</sup> Mary Neal, letter to *Saturday Review*, 11 April 1908.

<sup>156</sup> Sharp to Neal, 7 March 1909.

<sup>157</sup> Interview with Sharp. *Morning Post*. 3 May 1910.

<sup>158</sup> Sharp to Neal, 14 March 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>159</sup> Sharp to Neal, 3 April 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

again be put in anything in connection with the Club, nor shall I ever refer to him in public in that connection either, and this is in the first instance by his own expressed wish as far as I understand the position', and Neal went far into the realms of wounded vanity and personal spite by continuing: 'Circumstances having entirely changed since the publication of the first dance book and Mr. MacIlwaine being no longer musical director of the Club and joint helper with me in that work I cannot now allow my Club girls to work with him, nor in consequence with you either in so far as it means collaboration with him'.<sup>160</sup> But all that MacIlwaine had actually said was that he and Sharp were no longer connected with Neal's Association, and there was nothing in his letter to justify Neal's vicious, mean-spirited and insulting tone. Still less was there anything which justified her in contravening the law of copyright by failing to attribute published material.<sup>161</sup> Neal never seemed to grasp the point that she was in charge of what purported to be a national organisation, not a private club, and that whatever her personal feelings might be she had a duty to work with others in the field, or at least not put obstructions in their way. Sharp's reply reproached her again with injustice towards MacIlwaine and asked whether she was going to prevent Florrie Warren from associating with him and Kimber.<sup>162</sup>

This armed neutrality was broken at the Stratford festival in May, when Sharp, Neal, and Burrows officiated together at the dance competition. Neal wrote to Sharp on 6 May regretting the misunderstandings which had arisen and asking him to come and talk to her.<sup>163</sup> An interval of peace followed in which mutual co-operation once again became possible. Neal sent a prospective singing instructress, one Miss Richardson, to Sharp for his opinion on her suitability; Kimber came once again to teach at the Esperance Club and appeared with the Esperance girls at Oxford on 19 June, and on 22 June Sharp's Chelsea students appeared in one of Nellie Chaplin's concerts of 'Ancient Music' (Chaplin was an ally of Neal).<sup>164</sup> Then in July the situation changed again with the publication of *Morris Book Part Two*, which had been compiled the previous year with MacIlwaine taking an active part and noting the dances from Florrie Warren. Sharp had suggested to him that he do all the work himself and note the dances directly from Kimber, but MacIlwaine preferred to work with the Esperance girls as before.<sup>165</sup> Then Sharp had criticised MacIlwaine's proposed Introduction and had, apparently, taken over responsibility for the book. When it was published, Neal was not sent a complimentary copy, Florrie Warren was not acknowledged, and the dedication and compliments to the Esperance Club of the first volume were not repeated. Neal construed this as an insult to her and to Florrie

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<sup>160</sup> Neal to Sharp, 7 April 1909.

<sup>161</sup> The letter in question is almost certainly MacIlwaine to Miss Macdonald [the Esperance Association's paid secretary], 2 March 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc. The passage in question reads 'that Mr. Sharp and I being entirely unconnected with your association [we] must leave you to deal with the matter as you see fit'. [The 'matter' in question was almost certainly the authenticity of John Graham's book *Shakesperian Bidford Morris Dances* (London: Curwen, n.d.[1907])].

<sup>162</sup> Sharp to Neal, 14 April 1909.

<sup>163</sup> Neal to Sharp, 6 May 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>164</sup> For Miss Richardson, Neal to Sharp 20 May 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A. For Kimber's appearance at Oxford and the Chelsea students with Nellie Chaplin, Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.559.

<sup>165</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book Part 2* (London: Novello, 1909). For Sharp's suggestion, letter, Sharp to Neal, 26 July 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

Warren and an angry correspondence ensued which quickly broadened to include the other matters of dispute.<sup>166</sup> Among them was the point that MacIlwaine had apparently recommended an enquirer to Sharp's Chelsea class: this had come to Warren's ears and caused her 'much distress'.<sup>167</sup> Sharp was genuinely concerned over any possible slight to Warren, but was not prepared to offer any concessions over Neal's amazing expectations of him and MacIlwaine. Having (as Sharp told her) 'actively and tacitly repudiated all obligation to him [MacIlwaine]' and having refused to allow her girls to associate with MacIlwaine, or with Sharp in collaboration, she was expecting acknowledgements and courtesies in a book jointly compiled by them, and expecting MacIlwaine to continue to refer enquirers to her Club.<sup>168</sup> Almost inarticulate with rage, quoting a letter to Warren which did no more than repeat MacIlwaine's alleged slight, and including Sharp in her condemnation, she wrote:

... she [Warren] believed in Mr. MacIlwaine's goodwill towards her and in his sense of fair play. I had expected you both to play fair but it is just as well that I should know how matters really stand and what the Club now has to expect. I have done with the farce of expecting fair play. In the future I shall consider myself absolved from all obligations to further the interests of anything or anybody but those of the movement at large and of my club in particular.<sup>169</sup>

Four days later Sharp expressed his amazement at Neal's notion of 'fair play' with respect to MacIlwaine, insisted that his own advice was disinterested and dispassionate, and quoted her own words back to her, commenting:

That has been the trouble from the beginning of the chapter. You have striven from the first to identify the movement with your club and to limit your staff of teachers to the members of your club, to present no higher artistic standard of performance than that of which your club was capable. In the administration of your Society you deliberately isolated yourself from and refused to associate yourself with those who were better acquainted with the subject than yourself and whose artistic ideals were higher than your own.<sup>170</sup>

And Sharp went on to claim that his Chelsea trainees were now better qualified to advance the movement than the Esperance Club. Sharp remained willing to work with Neal if she would be guided by him, but at that point the correspondence ceased and the fruitful partnership which had launched the revival as a mass movement came to a final end.

### Part 3

#### Full Tide: 1909-14

Sharp's classes at the Chelsea Polytechnic became fully public in September 1909, with the establishment of a School of Morris Dancing with Sharp as its Director.<sup>171</sup> At some point during the autumn, Sharp's and MacIlwaine's publisher Novello began to insert in copies of the

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<sup>166</sup> Letter, Neal to Sharp, 22 July 1909, Sharp to Neal 14, 20 and 26 July 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>167</sup> Neal to Sharp 22 July 1909.

<sup>168</sup> For 'actively and tacitly repudiated', Sharp to Neal 26 July 1909.

<sup>169</sup> Neal to Sharp, 22 July 1909.

<sup>170</sup> Sharp to Neal, 26 July 1909.

<sup>171</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.560. Sharp's classes were now admitting people such as Maud Karpeles who were not students at the South Western Polytechnic and not trainee teachers.

*Morris Book* a circular advertising these classes. Neal's Association was still using the *Morris Book*, and distributing it through its teachers and dance groups, and she made legal representations to get the circular withdrawn.<sup>172</sup> When these failed, she began to prepare her own book of instruction, which was published as the *Esperance Morris Book* in April 1910 at the same time as the re-launch of the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music as the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers.<sup>173</sup> These actions forced the quarrel out into the open. Until then, only the inner circle of the knowledgeable had known about the breach, and Sharp was still associated in the public mind with Neal and her organisation. Sharp had long been on the lookout for anything from which he needed to dissociate himself, but so far he had kept the quarrel private, partly in the hope that Neal could be influenced by him and other moderate supporters such as Neville Lytton, partly through a chivalrous dislike of attacking a woman in the public press. Now Sharp took the opportunity of the foundation of the Guild to dissociate himself from it, and the publication of Neal's book forced him to object, partly because Neal had re-published material which had already appeared in the first *Morris Book*, partly because Sharp could not endorse the rest of the contents.

Neal had published eleven morris dances. Four of these were new material from the Abingdon tradition (though identified only as 'Berkshire'); two were apparently re-publications from John Graham's *Shakesperian Bidford Morris Dances* of 1907, and five were completely unattributed. One was from Sam Bennett's Ilmington side, and the source of the other four was clear enough from the coy note in the text that 'The evolutions in this dance are the same as those of the Headington men'.<sup>174</sup> The law of copyright on folk material was by this time fairly clear: copyright existed only on the particular version of a tune or dance published; if another collector went back to the source and collected another version, copyright was not infringed. Neal had not, at that date, done any research of her own in Headington, and she had not had any contact with William Kimber since the summer of 1909, when she had alienated him by some foolish and tactless remarks.<sup>175</sup> Her re-publication scraped past the law because the dances had been re-collected from Florrie Warren and because the tunes were either slightly altered and unattributed or taken from different and unrelated sources – one, in fact, came from Frank Kidson's collection, and one was a Bidford tune from Graham's book applied to a Headington dance. Neal had plagiarised Sharp and MacIlwaine in spirit but not in the actionable letter of the law. Her defence would probably have been that she and the Esperance Club had as much right to the material as they did, and there is something to be said for this argument. But Sharp and MacIlwaine had never tried to prevent Neal from using their material: Neal re-published on her own initiative because of the circular which Novello's were inserting in the *Morris Book*,

<sup>172</sup> Letter, Mary Neal to Hickson, Moir and Jeakes [Sharp's solicitors], 29 October 1909. Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F.

<sup>173</sup> The first press notice of Neal's book was in *Punch* on 20 April 1910.

<sup>174</sup> Neal, *Esperance Morris Book*, p.7.

<sup>175</sup> Kimber came to the Esperance Club for the last time in June 1909. When differences arose between his dancing and that of the Esperance girls, Neal's response was to tell him that they danced better than he did. See page of notes in Sharp's hand in 'The Vaughan Williams MSS Book', VWML.

and she rejected Sharp's common-sense suggestion that the circular could simply be taken out.<sup>176</sup> Further, Neal had gone to Curwens, Novellos main rival in the educational publishing market, so her action had brought commercial rivalry into the educational debate over morris dancing. Henceforward, the authorities could not opt for Neal's system of tuition or for Sharp's without offending one or other of the important, vocal, and influential publishing houses. Perhaps more serious still had been the damage done to scholarship. In using material from *Folk Songs from Somerset* and the *Morris Book*, the Esperance girls had been in the vanguard of the new and more scholarly methods used in the collection and publication of folk material: as Roy Judge says, 'the distinguishing feature about the Esperance performance ... was that the songs and dances came so much more directly from their original sources'.<sup>177</sup> Now, for reasons of wounded pride and petty rivalry, and in order to get a book out quickly, Neal had gone back to the bad old days of material being thrown together hugger-mugger. The songs in the *Esperance Morris Book* came from private sources or the collections made by Lucy Broadwood and her collaborators, and the singing games were from Alice Gillington's *Old Surrey Singing Games* of 1891. Further, there were other issues which may seem minor now but were important breaches of convention at the time. One of the conventions was that collectors did not poach on one another's territory. Neal had breached that convention and a whole series of breaches were to follow as she and Clive Carey followed in Sharp's footsteps in an attempt to keep up with the new material he was publishing.<sup>178</sup>

The new material in Neal's book and in her concert performances was no more acceptable to Sharp. His research between 1907 and 1910 had greatly extended his knowledge of the morris dance and had led him to treat the question of tradition with much greater rigour. In 1906 he and MacIlwaine had collected from the Bidford dancers without realising that the dances had been revived by D'Arcy Ferris twenty years earlier, and even in late 1910 Sharp was uncertain about William Kimber's background and credentials as a traditional dancer.<sup>179</sup> In addition, there had been a more general change in the way the morris dance was perceived. In the first part of the *Morris Book*, the derivation of 'morris' from 'Moorish' was accepted and the origin of the dances traced back to English contact with Iberian culture in the fourteenth century, through the Black Prince's and John of Gaunt's campaigns in Spain.<sup>180</sup> Correspondingly, the general advice to the would-be morris dancer had echoed the bluff, sturdy, and no-nonsense tone of such popular medieval romances as Conan Doyle's *The White Company* (1891) and *Sir Nigel* (1906). Initiates had been adjured to: 'Strap a set of bells to

<sup>176</sup> This is made clear in letter, Neal to Sharp, 8 November 1910, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>177</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.551.

<sup>178</sup> For example, Sharp met the Flamborough (Yorks) sword dancers on 22 December 1910 and published their dance in 1912: see Sharp 'Tune Books' Vol.12 Nos. 2558-9: Cecil J. Sharp, *The Sword Dances of Northern England* Part II (London: Novello, 1912). Neal (possibly with Carey) met them in September 1911 and brought one of the men to teach in London the following month: see Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.568.

<sup>179</sup> D'Arcy Ferris got in touch with the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music in the summer of 1909 and wrote to Sharp himself in June 1910: Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.558, D'Arcy Ferris to Sharp, 4 June [1910], Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc. For Kimber, see Sharp to Kimber, 7 November 1910, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

your shins, get out upon a grass-plot or the King's highway; never mind elegance or the criticism of the emasculate modern: kick and stamp upon the earth ...'.<sup>181</sup> This advice undoubtedly owed more to MacIlwaine than to Sharp, and by 1908 Sharp was uneasy about it, as witness his persuading MacIlwaine to abandon a florid introduction to the second part of the *Morris Book*. The underlying reason was that under the influence of Frazer's *Golden Bough* and the 'Doctrine of Survival' – then the orthodoxy among folklorists – it was coming to be accepted that the dances had much older origins and were founded in primitive religious rites. Neal led the way in the public expression of this new doctrine: in her *Morning Post* interview of January 1909 she had described the dance 'Bean Setting' as 'probably the survival of a priestly ceremonial danced in the spring'.<sup>182</sup> A year later, she was attributing 'Hunting the Squirrel' to ancient customs relating to Judas Iscariot and the singing game 'London Bridge' to the 'barbarous rite of the foundation sacrifice'.<sup>183</sup> In the *Esperance Morris Book* she surmised that the Abingdon dances were 'survivals of some ancient pagan festival connected with the worship of the sun', and from this it was only a short step to the sacrifice of sacred vestal virgins.<sup>184</sup> Sharp was much more restrained, more tentative and less detailed in his assumptions, but he also accepted the idea of a ritual origin for the dances, and while Neal was happy to couple a Dionysiac freedom with religious rites, Sharp's vision was of a more Church of England kind, of a ritual joyous yet performed with complete seriousness and great dignity.<sup>185</sup> In October 1909 he suggested that the morris: 'was a professional dance, the men who took part forming a sort of closed corporation ... The dancers were very serious, and the dances were never permitted to develop into a romp. It was full of grace and expressive of great strength under complete control'.<sup>186</sup>

The material which Neal was finding on her own did not live up to these heightened standards. In January 1910 Neal's programme note for 'Bean Setting' announced it as 'a ceremonial religious dance, celebrating the planting of the seeds in Spring, and dates from pre-Christian times'. This appeared directly below an acknowledgement that the dance in question had been: 'Taught by Mr. Cadd, of Yardley Gobion'.<sup>187</sup> When Sharp visited Thomas Cadd, he liked Cadd personally but found that his dances had been made up from his own imagination and from garbled memories of the Brackley (Northants) dancers, which Cadd had seen in his

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<sup>180</sup> Sharp and MacIlwaine, *Morris Book*, p.15.

<sup>181</sup> *Morris Book* p.32.

<sup>182</sup> *Morning Post* 14 January 1909.

<sup>183</sup> For 'Hunting the Squirrel' and 'London Bridge', programme notes for performance at Kensington Town Hall, 5 January 1910, Carey Collection, *Esperance* pp.1-3.

<sup>184</sup> Neal, *Esperance Morris Book*, p.3. In *The Esperance Morris Book Part II: Morris Dances, Country Dances, Sword Dances and Sea Shanties* (London: Curwen, 1912) p.xii, Neal asked whether the Kirtlington lamb was 'the last remains of a ceremony in which the sacred vestal virgin was sacrificed after the day's ceremony'.

<sup>185</sup> For examples of Sharp's acceptance of the morris as ancient religious rite, see *Morning Post* 1 June 1910 and Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book: with a description of dances as performed by the Morris Men of England Part One*, Second Edition (London: Novello, 1912) pp.10-17.

<sup>186</sup> *Retford Times* 29 October 1909.

<sup>187</sup> Programme notes, Kensington Town Hall, 5 January 1910. Carey Collection, *Esperance* p.1.



youth.<sup>188</sup> The Yardley Gobion 'tradition' was no more than a few years old and had been a deliberate revival encouraged by a prominent local family as part of the village's May Day celebrations.<sup>189</sup> There were obvious and visible dangers in coupling large claims about ancient tradition and pre-Christian religious rites with material from individuals like Thomas Cadd. The whole point of introducing folk dance into education was that it was supposed to represent an immemorial tradition and therefore to have some special attraction to the unsophisticated, particularly young people. Therefore, in Sharp's view the material had to be like Caesar's wife and above suspicion. There was no shortage of opposition to the educational use of folk dancing, and a moderately competent investigative reporter could easily reduce the whole question to ridicule.<sup>190</sup>

There was also opportunism and self-promotion at work, coupled with evidence that the revival was beginning to feed from its own earlier manifestations. The differing reactions of Sharp and Neal to Sam Bennett provide a good illustration of how Sharp's responses changed through increasing experience and critical comparison, while Neal relied more on faith than understanding. Sam Bennett was a 'fruit, bramble and potato merchant' of some local importance at Ilmington (Warwicks).<sup>191</sup> He had been the musician for the morris dance side which Burrows saw at Stratford in 1907, and the following year he raised his own side, 'The Original Ilmington Morris Dancers'; in what was both part of a general revival of traditional culture in the village and an entrepreneurial act since Bennett advertised his side's availability for fetes and other local shows.<sup>192</sup> There had been a traditional Ilmington side which had lapsed during the 1860s but enjoyed a short-lived revival in 1887 on the strength of the enthusiasm aroused by D'Arcy Ferris and the revived Bidford side.<sup>193</sup> Bennett claimed to have learned the tunes and dances then.<sup>194</sup> Sharp was the first to meet Bennett, in January 1909, and he returned in August.<sup>195</sup> Bennett and his side were also at the Stratford Festival in May: Neal met Bennett there and was 'delighted with his dancing and singing'.<sup>196</sup> At this date, Sharp seems to have accepted Bennett as a valuable contact and (according to a hostile witness) he wanted to publish one of Bennett's dances.<sup>197</sup> Then in 1910 Sharp met representatives of the older Ilmington side who dissociated themselves from Bennett and told Sharp in no uncertain terms of their contempt

<sup>188</sup> Sharp visited Cadd on 14 January 1910. See Cecil Sharp, 'Folk Dance Notes' Vol.1 pp.98-100, VWML. The Folk Dance Notes are typescript copies of MS originals held at Clare College, Cambridge.

<sup>189</sup> For a more sympathetic view of the Yardley Gobion tradition, E.D. Mackerness, 'The Yardley Gobion Morris' *JFDSS* 7,4 (1955) pp.216-217.

<sup>190</sup> For an example of influential opposition to the use of Morris dancing in schools, see letter from J. Spencer Curwen, *Morning Post* 23 January 1909.

<sup>191</sup> For Sam Bennett generally, obituary, *JFDSS* 6,3 (1951) p.105

<sup>192</sup> For an advertisement of Bennett's side, *Stratford-on-Avon Herald*, 15 May 1908. I am very grateful to Roy Judge for this reference.

<sup>193</sup> For Ilmington's history, Sharp and MacIlwaine, *Morris Book* Part One, 2nd edition, p.102. Sam Bennett, however, disputed many of the statements made: see his letter in *Stratford-on-Avon Herald*, 23 August 1912.

<sup>194</sup> Letter from Bennett, *Daily News* 29 April 1910.

<sup>195</sup> For the meetings in January and August, 'Tune Books' Vol.10, 2052-2062, Vol.11. 2320-2321.

<sup>196</sup> Letter from Neal, *Daily News* 26 April 1910.

<sup>197</sup> Letter from John Graham, *Morning Post* 17 May 1910.

for his playing and dancing.<sup>198</sup> Sharp's attitude abruptly changed, and in April 1910 he was critical of Bennett's traditional credentials while still being respectful to him personally.<sup>199</sup> Bennett was indeed suspect: he certainly borrowed some ideas from the Bidford dancers and the step which his side used was suspiciously like that taught by the first *Morris Book*.<sup>200</sup> But at this stage Neal did not see the need for comparison, and Bennett replaced Kimber as Neal's star exhibit.<sup>201</sup> In June 1910 she paid another visit to Ilmington (by car) and toured the district with Bennett standing up in the vehicle and playing tunes as they drove.<sup>202</sup>

The wider difficulty was that by the early twentieth century very little remained of morris dance tradition, and still less that was unimpeachably 'authentic' and had not been 'tainted' by revivals. Interventions of the Yardley Gobion kind had been the rule rather than the exception: the Bidford side was a deliberate revival, dating from 1886; the Winsters (Derbys) tradition had been revived several times, the Headington dances had lapsed after 1887 and had been revived in 1899; the Brackley tradition probably owed its survival to intervention from the eccentric and spendthrift second Duke of Buckingham in the 1840s.<sup>203</sup> Further, the evidence appears to be that that in the 'modern' morris dance tradition – that is, the one which developed in the Cotswold or 'South Midlands' during the eighteenth century – dance sides had been impermanent and short-lived.<sup>204</sup> But neither Sharp nor Neal knew this: both assumed that there had been an immemorial tradition belonging to individual villages or to whole counties. This incomprehension, coupled with the developing 'high' view of the morris dance as ancient religious rite, meant that the whole question of traditionality was fraught with impossible difficulties which forced Sharp and Neal into constant changes of position as they learned more, and which fashioned apparent hypocrisies out of honest intentions. Sharp's position was the more consistent and the more valuable to his successors but is the furthest from modern interpretations. He believed that there had been a universal and definitive morris dance tradition and dance style, which he identified with the style at which William Kimber had arrived by c.1909-1910: a very clean-cut, conventionally beautiful, and athletic style. Anything which fell below this was suspect: Sharp's conception could accommodate minor variations, but he dismissed major ones as evidence that the dance was 'faked' or 'degenerate'. Such traditions

<sup>198</sup> Cecil Sharp, meeting with Michael Johnson, 'Folk Dance Notes' 1, pp.133-134, 187.

<sup>199</sup> Letter from Sharp, *Daily News* 28 April 1910.

<sup>200</sup> Some of the features Bennett introduced at Ilmington, such as the hobby-horse, were undoubtedly borrowed from Bidford, while Michael Johnson's criticism of the step used by Bennett's side ('They come back on their heels directly their toes touch the ground') is remarkably like the step recommended in the 1907 *Morris Book*, p.33 ('the dancer alights upon the toe, but lets the heel follow immediately and firmly').

<sup>201</sup> In January 1910 Neal was still attributing material to Kimber on her concert programmes, for example on the programme at Kensington Town Hall, 5 January 1910 (copy in Carey Collection, Esperance, p.2). But by the next performance there on 5 May 1910 the attribution to Kimber had vanished and Bennett appeared to play and dance. See copy of programme in Carey Collection, Esperance pp.11-20.

<sup>202</sup> Mary Neal, 'The Flail Dance', *Vanity Fair* 29 June 1910.

<sup>203</sup> For Bidford, Roy Judge, 'D'Arcy Ferris and the Bidford Morris', *FMJ* 4,5 (1984) pp.443-480. For Headington, Bob Grant, 'When Punch met Merry', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.644-655. For Brackley, Micheal Heaney, 'With Scarfes and Garters as You Please: An Exploratory Essay in the Economics of the Morris', *FMJ* 6,4 (1993) pp.491-505.

<sup>204</sup> Heaney, 'Scarfes and Garters'.

might still be valuable but expert knowledge and critical comparison were necessary to sift the genuine material from what was 'faked', 'revived', or 'decadent'.<sup>205</sup>

Neal's position was based on the same ideas but depended more on practical necessities and, to a lesser extent, empirical observation. The fact was that she was far less successful as a researcher than Sharp and could not afford to be choosy about what she found, but her practice was far closer to modern interpretations based on a broader conception of tradition than Sharp would have allowed. She too believed in an immemorial tradition but she did not believe in a universal style, and so was far more willing to accommodate variations such as the dancing of the Abingdon men who used a step suspiciously like that of the Polka.<sup>206</sup> In part, too, their differences arose from methods. To Sharp, the trained musician and ex-student of mathematics, the natural method was to note down the music, codify the steps and figures, and publish them. Neal, without these skills and always having relied on rote learning, made a virtue out of necessity and developed a sort of theory of Apostolic Succession, claiming that the only valid way of learning the dances was from the traditional dancers themselves or from others taught by them. The individual credentials of Thomas Cadd and Sam Bennett did not matter because they were 'of the folk' and therefore in some undefined and inchoate way the recipients of ancient tradition. Neal acknowledged that expert knowledge was necessary with regard to folk song but dismissed it with regard to folk dance, claiming that anyone of average intelligence could collect a morris dance and see whether it had been transmitted in its traditional form. She went on to say that:

It behoves us to whom has been entrusted the guidance and the helping of this movement for the renewal of beauty in life to tread reverently, and to see that the blighting touch of the pedant and the expert is not laid upon it. As the folk music and dance and drama are communal in their origin, and the work of no one individual, and have come from the heart of the unlettered folk, so the handing on of them and the development should also be left in the hands of the simple-minded and those musically unlettered and ignorant of all techniques.

It matters not what the instrument may be so long as the deepest in the life of the nation is being touched ...<sup>207</sup>

The kindest thing which can be said about Neal's position is that she herself cannot have fully understood it: when challenged or asked to explain herself, she retreated into this kind of vague uplift as readily and naturally as a cuttlefish retreats into a cloud of its own ink. If she had tried to explain, the facts would have forced her into impossible self-contradictions because the bulk of the material the Esperance Club was using at this date did not come directly from the 'unlettered folk' but from published collections made by educated musicians such as Lucy Broadwood, John Graham, and Frank Kidson. To take one example, the Bidford dances had not been learned direct but from the books of, firstly, Sharp and MacIlwaine, and, secondly, Graham and Neal herself. To take another, William Kimber's teaching was specifically repudiated before Neal had found other contacts in Headington. Further, Esperance instructresses such as Florrie Warren could no longer be regarded as 'simple-minded ...

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<sup>205</sup> Terms used by Sharp, *Morning Post* 5 May 1910.

<sup>206</sup> Sharp, 'Folk Dance Notes' 1, pp.102-103.

musically unlettered and ignorant of all technique'. It was not a position she could easily defend in rigorous enquiry, and she refused to do so. After a first flurry of correspondence in April and early May 1910, she 'declined controversy with Mr. Sharp' and left the arguments to others, particularly John Graham, a Curwen employee.<sup>208</sup> Sharp was at least the more willing to try to explain his position and to lay himself open to criticism by admitting that mistakes had been made: after learning of D'Arcy Ferris's role in 1910 he dropped the Bidford dances from the second edition of the *Morris Book* in 1912.<sup>209</sup>

The battleground then shifted to the Stratford Festival and the educational movement. The Esperance had been successful visitors to Stratford in 1909 and had organised a dance competition there. In 1910 it was decided to hold a summer school, aimed mainly at teachers. The Board of Education had accepted the dances on to the physical training syllabus in August 1909 but had not given any guidance on books of instruction or information as to how they could be learned.<sup>210</sup> Further, at that date there were no public classes: Esperance instruction was aimed at groups specially assembled for the purpose and able to pay the (appreciable) fees for tuition and to find their own music and equipment.<sup>211</sup> Sharp's Chelsea classes did not become public until September 1909, and then were only available to London residents. Neal projected a summer school at Littlehampton in 1910, and she moved it to Stratford where it could be part of the wider Shakespearian festival, and better recreational facilities could be offered such as access to the plays performed by F.R. Benson's company. Coincidentally, King Edward VII died on 6 May 1910 and the Festival was postponed until July-August, a better time for teachers to attend.<sup>212</sup>

Stratford became the best-known and best-publicised place to learn the dances, and so to leave the Festival in Neal's hands would be to relinquish control of the educational side of the movement to her. Sharp therefore began to direct his attentions to Archibald Flower, the brewer and local magnate who, as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Memorial Theatre, had the controlling voice in the Festival. Sharp's strength lay in his standing as the undoubted leader of the scholarly and collecting side of the movement. He had concentrated on dance collection throughout 1909 and 1910 and by the end of that year could draw on a range of material which Neal could not hope to equal.<sup>213</sup> In the Chelsea classes he also had the only teaching organisation which offered assessment and certification. Flower was thus bound to take Sharp seriously when he criticized Neal's book and the Esperance's performances and teaching. Flower had the Festival's reputation to keep up, and high standards of scholarship had to be maintained in anything pertaining to Shakespeare. On a less exalted level, it cannot have done Sharp any harm to have been an *alumnus* of the same Cambridge college as

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<sup>207</sup> *Vanity Fair*, 14 April 1910.

<sup>208</sup> For the statement that Neal [declined] controversy with Sharp, John Graham, *Morning Post* 17 May 1910.

<sup>209</sup> Sharp and MacIlwaine, *Morris Book* Part One 2nd edn, p.8.

<sup>210</sup> A policy criticised in *The Times*, 10 August 1911.

<sup>211</sup> For Esperance fees and further discussion of teaching methods, see Chapter 3.

<sup>212</sup> For the 1910 Stratford Festival, *The Times* 11 August 1910, *Musical Times* 1 September 1910.

<sup>213</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' pp.564-565.

Flower.<sup>214</sup> Neal's strength lay in the fact of her organisation being the sitting tenant, in the enthusiastic partisanship of F.R. Benson, and in her organisational abilities, which everyone (Sharp included) acknowledged as excellent. Flower, besieged from both sides, tried to engineer a compromise by proposing to hold a conference before the 1911 Festival at which the question of authenticity could be thrashed out.

Neal then committed two tactical errors. The first was an attempt to undermine Sharp by an attack on his scholarly standing through the question of William Kimber's authenticity as a traditional dancer. Neal had discovered other ex-dancers at Headington who repudiated Kimber's teaching: she had, in fact, discovered Sharp's technique of critical comparison without realising it and without being willing to apply it to others such as Sam Bennett. Neal had an excellent point in that Kimber's credentials were questionable and that Sharp had taken him on trust just as she took Sam Bennett and Thomas Cadd on trust, but she threw it away by overstatement and a triumphalism that obscured the real argument which might have given her the advantage – that there were in fact a wide variety of morris dance traditions and that traditional dancers changed their styles all the time.<sup>215</sup> Neal's other tactical error was to go to America for three months from December 1910, when she should have been pressing her advantage with Flower.<sup>216</sup> This expedition was not a great success – partly, Neal believed, due to intrigue against her by Sharp – and when she came back she found that she had lost Flower's confidence.<sup>217</sup> The conference, proposed for Whitsun 1911, was postponed. Instead, Flower tried to engineer another compromise by giving the teaching side to Sharp and offering the organisation to Neal. She refused this limited role.<sup>218</sup>

The movement was now irrecoverably divided into two camps, with partisans on either side. Neal's activities in 1909 and 1910 had brought as allies the brothers Francis and Geoffrey Toye and the Curwen employee John Graham.<sup>219</sup> The most important recruit to her camp, however, was Clive Carey, who took over as Musical Director from Mabel Tuke in the second half of 1910.<sup>220</sup> Carey was a professional musician, trained at Cambridge and at the Royal College of Music, and he was beginning a distinguished career as singer and opera producer. He brought to Neal's organisation a professional expertise and commitment which it had previously lacked, and although he began without experience he quickly developed into a expert collector of songs and dances. Beyond that, he was a man of integrity, a lifelong and loyal

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<sup>214</sup> Sharp was at Clare College, Cambridge, from 1879 to 1882. Flower was there from 1883 to 1887.

<sup>215</sup> For an offensive display of triumphalism on Neal's part, Neal to Flower 25 October 1910, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>216</sup> According to the *Musical Herald*, 1 May 1911, one 'Madame Genee, the dancer' was having her portrait painted by Neville Lytton at the same time as a group painting was being made of the Esperance dancers, and the invitation had come as a consequence.

<sup>217</sup> For Neal's belief in intrigue by Sharp, Neal to Carey, 30 December 1910. Carey Collection p.170.

<sup>218</sup> For Flower's offer to Sharp and Neal's refusal to co-operate, Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.567. For further detail and Neal's point of view, see Neal to Carey, 9 May 1911, Carey collection p.172.

<sup>219</sup> Francis Toye worked for the periodical *Vanity Fair* in which a number of Neal's interviews and statements appeared in early 1910, for example 'The Revival of English Folk Music' on 14 April.

<sup>220</sup> Carey was first introduced to Neal by MacIlwaine: see Neal to Carey 26 September 1916, Carey Collection pp.190-191. The programme for the Esperance performance at Kensington Town Hall, 5

friend to Neal but not an uncritical supporter or partisan, and he remained on speaking terms with Sharp himself (whose work he admired) and others in the Sharp camp such as Vaughan Williams and George Butterworth. It was probably Carey who brought Lucy Broadwood into Neal's camp. Carey had gone to Broadwood for advice about folk song collection, and he became one of the long line of personable young men who she took under her wing: the quickest way to Broadwood's heart was to ask her advice and to accept her tuition and mild patronage.<sup>221</sup> Broadwood had initially shared the distrust of Neal and the Esperance organisation which was common among the Folk Song Society's leadership, but in 1910 she allowed the use of her material in the *Esperance Morris Book* and from 1912 Neal became an increasingly frequent visitor and associate.<sup>222</sup> Probably because of her increasing dislike and distrust of Sharp, Broadwood became a violent partisan on Neal's side and she seems to have brought Carey forward as a possible rival to Sharp. Certainly, she secured his election to the Folk Song Society's committee almost as soon as Carey joined, and in the battle between the organisations she displayed the same sort of irrational prejudice towards Sharp as she had earlier displayed towards Kate Lee.<sup>223</sup> Where Broadwood went, Frank Kidson also tended to go. He allowed his material to be used in the *Esperance Morris Book*, and he acted as a judge at the 1910 Stratford Festival, along with Tuke and Carey.<sup>224</sup>

Most of the expert knowledge of the period, however, remained on Sharp's side. Alice Gomme's material disappeared from Esperance programmes at the same time as Sharp's, and Vaughan Williams remained a loyal supporter despite his close and long-standing friendship with Broadwood. The most important new recruit was the collector and composer George Butterworth. There was a steady trickle into the Sharp camp of people who had previously supported Neal: Burrows, MacIlwaine, E.V. Lucas, Lawrence Bradbury.<sup>225</sup> As the quarrel became public property, more humble adherents of the movement were forced into making choices which some clearly found to be agonising, while there was considerable confusion in some quarters as school teams and other innocent entrants to dance competitions learned their

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May 1910, gives Tuke as Musical Director, but Carey acted as one of the judges at Stratford in August 1910 (see below) and appears to have taken over completely by the autumn of that year.

<sup>221</sup> For Carey's approach to Broadwood, see notes on paper headed 'P & O Strathnaver', [made for a Broadwood centenary celebration at Cecil Sharp House, 3 December 1958]. Carey Collection, p.110. For Broadwood's patronage of others, eg James Campbell McInnes, Dorothy de Val, 'The Transformed Village'.

<sup>222</sup> For Broadwood's initial distrust of Neal and the Association, see above and Chapter 3. Broadwood appears to have first met Neal in April 1912, when in the company of Anne Gilchrist she visited the 'Shakespeare's England' exhibition at Earl's Court and took tea with Neal and Carey. Neal came to lunch at Broadwood's home on 15 October 1912 and she went with Neal to a performance of *The Winter's Tale* on 31 October. Broadwood diaries, 16 April, 15 October, 31 October 1912. I am very grateful to Lewis Jones for copies of his notes on the diaries for 1912-1914.

<sup>223</sup> Carey does not appear on the Folk Song Society's membership lists until 1911-1912, but Dorothy Marshall to Carey, 7 October 1911, Carey Collection p.143, says 'I was delighted with Miss Broadwood's anxiety to get you on the F.S.S. committee'.

<sup>224</sup> For Carey, Kidson, and Tuke at Stratford, *The Times* 11 August 1910.

<sup>225</sup> Burrows died in March 1910. Both MacIlwaine and Bradbury attended the inaugural meeting of the EFDS and Bradbury became one of its first officials. E.V. Lucas's brother Perceval joined the EFDS and was a member of its first 'Headquarters demonstration' dance team. E.V. Lucas went on collecting expeditions with Sharp in 1912, recorded in his book *London Lavender* (London: Methuen, 1912) pp.139-150, 220-224.

material from one faction but had their performance judged by the other.<sup>226</sup> At this level there was exasperation at the antics of Sharp and Neal, and fears were expressed for the movement's future, but in the wider world the quarrel does not appear to have done the cause of folk song and dance much harm. The movement had begun to make a modest penetration into popular culture. Music-halls are associated with composed popular songs and dance routines, but in fact their managers were engaged in a constant search for material which was fresh and might prove popular, and the novelist whose caricature included performing wolves and Gloria Mustelford's 'Suggestion Dancing' was hardly exaggerating.<sup>227</sup> Managers of several halls had gone to see the Esperance performances, and in April 1908 it was reported that 'Lovers of folk-song might do worse than visit the Palace Theatre just now', where they could be regaled with items from *Folk Songs from Somerset*.<sup>228</sup> In October 1909 the Palace was still presenting this material, although it had rivals: 'the Coliseum, for example, has for some time been nourishing a public for such things'.<sup>229</sup> Not long afterwards the *Times* pointed to the success of the 'Slaviansky Russian Choir' at the Coliseum and advocated a similar use of English folk material, maintaining after Milton that there was no use in a fugitive and cloistered virtue:

Till quite recently the folk-song has been in the hands of a few collectors ... They collected and compared and theorised, and occasionally some of their treasures were brought out and exhibited to a favoured few over a cup of tea. But now times have changed ... already a few of the bolder spirits have taken their treasures out into the public places and shown them to the people to whom they rightly belong, and the people are beginning to clamour for more. Those who hold these treasures ... must give them to their rightful owners, the public, in the form in which they will most appreciate them.<sup>230</sup>

The years of greatest publicity for the movement – 1910-1912 – coincided with the period at which the quarrel was at its height, and newspaper critics revelled in the opportunity to compare one style and philosophy with the other.

The years between 1911 and 1914 saw the gradual triumph of Sharp and the eclipse of the Esperance organisation. In retrospect, it can be seen that the decisive event was giving the Stratford Festival over to Sharp's direction. Flower's decision may have been unfair to Neal but it was fully justified by events. The 1911 Festival was a success, a second vacation school was announced for Christmas, and the impetus of this and other events assisted Sharp in founding the English Folk Dance Society on 6 December 1911.<sup>231</sup> Until the summer of 1911, the issue between Sharp and Neal had remained in the balance, and at the beginning of the year Sharp – with a diminishing income and illness in the family – had even spoken of throwing everything up and returning to Australia.<sup>232</sup> But the balance of power had turned during the summer and in fact the foundation of the EFDS only consolidated a process which was already

<sup>226</sup> One of these occasions was the Blackpool festival in 1912. See correspondence from Lilian Jordan, Carey Collection p.112, and general commentary on this episode in Judge, 'Mary Neal' pp.571-572.

<sup>227</sup> Performing wolves and Gloria Mustelford appear in the programme for the Caravansery Theatre in 'Saki' [H.H.Munro], *When William Came*, printed in *The Complete Works of Saki* (London: Bodley Head, 1980) pp.741-743. [*When William Came* was first published in 1913].

<sup>228</sup> *Daily Telegraph* 4 April 1908.

<sup>229</sup> *Sphere* 2 October 1909.

<sup>230</sup> 'The Folk-Song in the Music-Hall', *The Times* 15 January 1910.

<sup>231</sup> For the sequence of events, see Chapter 3.

well advanced. The EFDS had some intrinsic advantages – it was undoubtedly a more stable, middle-class body than the Esperance Guild – and it was undoubtedly given a flying start by the organisational and publicity groundwork which Neal had been providing since 1906. But the greater part of its success was not due to in-built advantages or to reaping where others had sown. It was by far the superior organisation, with a coherent philosophy, an active executive, and adequate funding, which was planned from the first as a national body and rapidly delivered what the Esperance had only promised. The EFDS's main advantages were its secure membership base and its branch system, through which regular teaching could be offered in the provinces and which provided an organisation and social life to which people could develop loyalties. The movement as a whole had obviously been waiting for a lead from Sharp, and while the EFDS subscription was expensive – one guinea [twenty-one shillings] in comparison with the Folk Song Society's half-guinea and the Esperance Guild's ten shillings – the rapid rise in membership to 279 in 1913 told its own story. In the provinces, the policies of cheap instruction and cheap branch membership brought in recruits by the hundred.<sup>233</sup>

The Esperance Guild's main functions – performance and teaching – were gradually taken over by the EFDS. Given the circumstances of the time, the main market for folk dance was the educational one with elementary school teachers as its customers and means of further proselytisation. It did not require much penetration for teachers to see that a professional organisation which offered fixed standards, assessment, and a certificate of competence had an innate advantage over one which merely offered unconscious joy and spiritual development – qualities which have never cut much ice with school governors or with accountants. In public performances, the Esperance shows were primarily an extension of the Esperance Club's performances for its patrons. Ticket prices were comparatively high (at first the minimum was two shillings and sixpence, later one shilling, in an age when sixpence was the usual price of admission to a music-hall or theatre gallery) and the philanthropic element was emphasised: even the elaborate 'Keepsake' programme for the Esperance show at Kensington Town Hall in May 1910 carried an appeal for cast-off linen for the Esperance children's summer holiday.<sup>234</sup> The market it aimed at was a limited one, and as the novelty wore off the Esperance Guild should have seen the need either for a more professional performance or a different audience. It did not do so, and despite Neal's populist rhetoric it never tried to go down-market. EFDS performances were less pretentious, more restrained, and more professional, and as soon as critics had the opportunity to compare unflattering comparisons began to be drawn between the Esperance and the EFDS.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.85.

<sup>233</sup> For further detail on the rival societies, see Chapter 3. Major branch memberships in 1913 were Cirencester, with 280 members; Northumberland with 213, Liverpool, 169; Cheltenham, 165; Oxford, 124; and Manchester, 101.

<sup>234</sup> Copy in Carey collection, *Esperance* p.20.

<sup>235</sup> See for example the review in *New Age*, 21 November 1911 of the joint concert with Carey at the Aeolian Hall.



Neal continued to have some successes: in January 1912 she was able to tell Flower that 'We had 550 pupils last month, mainly in the North', and there were annual propaganda coups such as the 'Shakespeare's England' exhibition at Earl's Court in April-May 1912 and the 'May Day Revels' at the Globe Theatre the following year.<sup>236</sup> In 1912, the second part of the *Esperance Morris Book* was published, much improved through the professional assistance of Carey and Geoffrey Toye and offering the fruits of Neal's research at Headington. But the book also demonstrated how far Neal's organisation had fallen behind Sharp in the collection and publication of material. While Neal was publishing one book, Sharp was producing five – *The Sword Dances of Northern England*, Parts One and Two, the *Country Dance Book*, Parts Two and Three, and the *Morris Book Part Four*.<sup>237</sup> The *Esperance Morris Book* also demonstrated the way in which Neal kept repeating the same themes. The Headington dances had already been published by Sharp and MacIlwaine in 1906 and 1909. Neal had re-published some in 1910, and now she was re-publishing more in 1912 at the same time as Sharp was re-publishing with the second edition of the *Morris Book*. The public was being offered the same thing over and over again. A more solid publishing success was the commissioning in 1912 by Cambridge University Press of a book by Neal and Kidson, eventually published in 1915.<sup>238</sup> This is an obscure episode but there may be an explanation in Clive Carey's friendship with E.J. Dent, then a lecturer at Cambridge and a highly influential figure who was to become Professor of Music in 1926.<sup>239</sup>

The use of folk dance in theatrical productions had been pioneered by the Cambridge production of *Comus* in 1908. Not to be outdone, the Oxford University Dramatic Society then used morris dancers in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* in 1913.<sup>240</sup> The success of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet had made both the Esperance Guild and the EFDS conscious of the possibilities of developing folk dance as an English ballet, so there was some competition as to which side could first use it in this way. In Shakespeare production, Harley Granville Barker was beginning a distinguished and innovative career, and for his production of *The Winter's Tale* in autumn 1912 he decided to introduce folk dance in the sheep shearing festival scene. Barker had tried to contact Sharp but received no reply, so he went to the Esperance Guild and the performance was arranged by Clive Carey.<sup>241</sup> Sharp saw a performance, wrote to Granville Barker in deep distress, and arranged an EFDS demonstration at Barker's own theatre.<sup>242</sup> The

<sup>236</sup> For '550 pupils in the North', Neal to Flower, 1 January 1912, quoted in Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.569.

For 'Shakespeare's England', *Observer*, 28 April 1912, *Bystander*, 22 May 1912. For the 'May Day Revels', *Westminster Gazette* 2 May 1913.

<sup>237</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.571.

<sup>238</sup> Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk Song and Dance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915).

<sup>239</sup> For E.J. Dent (1876-1957) *DNB*. For his friendship with Carey, Hugh Carey, *Duet for Two Voices: an informal biography of Edward Dent compiled from his letters to Clive Carey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>240</sup> For *Comus*, Roy Judge, 'The "Country Dancers" in the Cambridge *Comus* of 1908', *Folklore* 110 (1999) pp.25-38. For *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, Judge, 'A Branch of May' *FMJ* 2,2 (1971) p.94.

<sup>241</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.571. For a review, *The Times* 3 September 1912.

<sup>242</sup> Sharp to Granville Barker, 29 September 1912, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc. For the EFDS demonstration at the Savoy Theatre on 2 December, *Daily Chronicle* 3 December 1912.

outcome was the collaboration of Barker and Sharp in the 1914 *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which folk song and dance were not used directly but provided the inspiration for the music and choreography of the play. The result did not please all the critics, but the pages of reviews, photographs, and discussion in the national press and the specialist weeklies told their own tale.<sup>243</sup>

By mid-1913 the controversy between Sharp and Neal had ceased to engage the attention of the press, and by that time the controversy was the only thing which was keeping Neal and the Esperance Guild in the news. Consequently the evidence is lacking for the terminal decline in support for Neal which was evidently happening, while Sharp's EFDS continued to go from strength to strength. By mid-1914 the folk music movement had emerged from controversy to face what might have been a still greater challenge – that of normality and the problems of sustaining a movement without the dubious but considerable benefits of notoriety.

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<sup>243</sup> For examples of reviews, *The Times* 7 February 1914, *English Review* 10 March 1914. The *English Review* notice compared Sharp's treatment to the Russian Ballet.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE SOCIETIES

#### Introduction

This chapter examines the folk music movement through the composition, policies, and activities of the three organisations which appeared before 1914: The Folk Song Society, the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music (later the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers) and the English Folk Dance Society.

Very little attention has been paid to these details. The only detailed history of any of the societies is Frederick Keel's 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', published more than half a century ago.<sup>1</sup> But this lack of detailed attention and analysis has not prevented a wide range of assumptions being made by commentators on the subject, chiefly concerning the intentions behind the foundation of the societies, and particularly the Folk Song Society.<sup>2</sup> All three societies have been seen as proselytising, interventionist bodies with wide and diverse aims ranging from national salvation to the indoctrination of the working class. But as this chapter will show the Folk Song Society remained a private, special interest body with little or no interest in disseminating material beyond its own membership, while the EFDS directed its attentions primarily at the middle classes. The organisation which most closely approached the culturally interventionist model was the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music and its successor the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers.

Those who allege that all three societies were culturally interventionist have also tried to treat Mary Neal's organisations as a special case, arguing that in contrast to the middle-class membership and direction of the other two societies, the Association and the Esperance Guild were somehow 'socialist' or 'working class' organisations and therefore that their cultural intervention was not class-based, but in some way 'harmless' and different both in intention and practice from the allegedly patriotic and imperialist ambitions of the other two societies.<sup>3</sup> These suggestions are wholly ridiculous and this chapter will show that Neal was an autocrat, that the organisations she directed were markedly less democratic than their rivals, and that further their controlling voices were those of middle and upper class people: no working class person was ever in a position of responsibility. But on the other hand this suggestion implies that the Folk Song Society and the EFDS were in some way homogeneous and monolithic: a group of people who might have minor differences of opinion but who were united by a common purpose and programme. This was very far from being the case. There were personal dislikes within the Folk Song Society from the beginning, and wide disagreements about its function: later, bitter quarrels arose as to the direction the Society and the movement as a whole should take. The outcome of these quarrels was that the Society eschewed a more public role and remained a

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948', *JFDSS* 5,3 (1948), p.111-126.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1, Part Three, 'A tightly-knit group of politically-motivated men ...'.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, see particularly the analysis of Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*.

body of like-minded people associating together for private study. Those who wanted a more public, propagandist, and proselytising organisation joined the Association or the EFDS, and there was little overlap between their memberships and that of the Folk Song Society. After the quarrel developed between Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal, the adherents of the Esperance Guild and of Sharp were obliged to choose between factions which hated one another, with all the bitterness that defections and broken friendships can bring.

I have treated the Folk Song Society as a special case and allowed it a disproportionate amount of space for three reasons. Firstly it differed from the other organisations in being a purely amateur body without employees or proselytising ambitions. Secondly it was in existence for much longer – for sixteen years between 1898 and 1914, as compared with seven years for Neal’s organisations and less than three years for the EFDS. Thirdly because so much more can be discovered about the Folk Song Society’s membership, which was predominantly male and professional middle class, and so represented in the standard works of reference. This membership, and the personal and institutional relationships which produced it, can be analysed much more fully than that of the EFDS (mainly young and female, so almost impossible to trace) or the Esperance organisations, of which very little is known.

The intention in writing this chapter has been to supplement rather than replace the existing sources: to provide a guide to the memberships of the societies and to discuss their administration and finance. So for example in discussing the Folk Song Society I have concentrated on the years 1898-1906, when its policies were being formed. Between 1904 and 1906 it took the decisions which decided its ultimate future, and from that point on its constitutional history is of less interest. Information on its publications, the changing membership of the committee, and other such matters may be obtained from Keel’s excellent administrative history.

### **The Folk Song Society.**

On 16 May 1898 a group of sixteen people met in the rooms of the Shire Horse Society on the premises of the Royal Agricultural Society in Hanover Square, London, to found the Folk Song Society.<sup>4</sup> They were Maud Aldis, Sir Ernest Clarke, W.H. Gill, Isobel Glover, Alice Gomme, A.P. Graves, Louis H. Hillier, Eleanor Hull, E.F. Jacques, Kate Lee, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, J.A. Fuller Maitland, J.D. Rogers, Louis T. Rowe, Laura Alexander Smith, and Dr. John Todhunter.<sup>5</sup> The Society's foundation was the outcome of five months of committees, abortive negotiation with other bodies, and canvassing for members. The actual idea came from two people, both of them Anglo-Irish. A.P. Graves was the son of the Church of Ireland Bishop of Limerick and had since 1875 worked as an Inspector of Schools. He was also a prolific minor poet and song writer, working in collaboration with the composer Charles Villiers Stanford,

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<sup>4</sup> The venue was probably arranged by Sir Ernest Clarke, then Secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society.

<sup>5</sup> List as given by Keel, 'Folk Song Society' p.111.

whose family (also Anglo-Irish) had a hereditary friendship with the Graves.<sup>6</sup> He had a strong interest in Irish and Welsh literature and in 1891 helped to found the Irish Literary Society. Kate Lee's mother was Irish and there was a further more generalised connection on her father's side of her family. She was also a member of the Irish Literary Society. Married to a barrister, she had during the 1890s developed a career of her own as a concert and opera singer.

A.P. Graves repeatedly claimed that the initiative for the Folk Song Society's foundation was his alone, expressed at meetings with various other people, and it is certain that the initiative came from the Irish Literary Society, of which Graves was Secretary.<sup>7</sup> However, after Kate Lee's early death in 1904, her obituarist called her 'the virtual founder of the Society' and said that she conceived the scheme soon after the publication of *English County Songs* in 1893.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to be certain, but circumstantial evidence suggests that she had the stronger claim to be considered as the founder, and she certainly appears to have done most of the actual work. Graves himself acknowledged her role: in a letter to the *Morning Post* in 1904 he stated that the preliminary meeting was organised by Kate Lee, 'who from that time forth has been the most active folk-song propagandist in the country'.<sup>9</sup> The first known activity of the progenitor or progenitors was to send a circular, which is mentioned by Frank Kidson, writing to Lucy Broadwood on 9 January 1898.<sup>10</sup> No copy of this circular is known, nor the identity of the sender, but on 15 January Kate Lee called on Broadwood to discuss the proposed society.<sup>11</sup> They were not close friends and did not make casual calls on one another, so the inference must be that Kate Lee sent the circular and was following it up among likely members.

The circular proposed a meeting on 27 January. A copy was sent to Alfred Nutt, President of the Folk Lore Society, and the matter was discussed at the Meeting of Council on 11 January.<sup>12</sup> It was agreed to send a deputation, so on 27 January Lucy Broadwood met Alfred Nutt and three others – Mr. Milne, Alice Gomme, and Marian Roalfe Cox – and the five then repaired to 8 Adelphi Terrace (the premises of the Irish Literary Society) to meet another party of seven – W.H. Gill, A.P. Graves, E.F. Jacques, Francis Korbay, Kate Lee, J.A. Fuller Maitland, and W. B. Squire. The twelve present were probably all known to one another and several had close professional or family ties and associations through amateur involvement. W.B. Squire was at that time the music critic of the *Globe*. He worked at the British Museum and had collaborated with his brother-in-law Fuller Maitland on collections of early music. Fuller Maitland was Lucy Broadwood's cousin and had collaborated with her on *English*

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<sup>6</sup> For Graves' friendship with Stanford, see Alfred Perceval Graves, *To Return to All That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930). p.212.

<sup>7</sup> Graves made at least three assertions that the initiative was his: in a letter to the *Morning Post* (quoted below), in *Return To All That*, p.266, and in a letter to A.H. Fox Strangways, 4 November 1931: Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder 1.

<sup>8</sup> *JFSS* 2,1 (1905), p.67. This obituary is unsigned but was probably written by J.A. Fuller Maitland. For this and further discussion of who founded the Society, C.J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk Song Society', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) pp.627-643.'

<sup>9</sup> *Morning Post*, 27 January 1904.

<sup>10</sup> Kidson to Broadwood, 9 January 1898, LEB/4/95.

<sup>11</sup> Broadwood Diaries, 15 January 1898.

<sup>12</sup> Folk Lore Society, minutes of Meeting of Council 11 January 1898. I am indebted to Roy Judge for copies of the relevant minutes.

*County Songs*.<sup>13</sup> Francis Korbay was an expatriate Hungarian known for his arrangements of Hungarian folk songs, which regularly featured in Kate Lee's concert programmes. He had also been one of her many singing tutors. W.H. Gill was a Manx musician and folk song collector, known for his lectures on 'Manx national music' and for a published collection of Manx folk music, from which Kate Lee sometimes drew in her concert programmes.<sup>14</sup> E.F. Jacques was a musician, ex-editor of the *Musical Times*, and music critic of the *Observer*.

The preliminary meeting nominated a Committee to formulate rules for the new Society, and to negotiate with the Folk Lore Society. The initial plan was for an affiliated section devoted to folk song, and Alfred Nutt had made what the *Musical Times* described as a 'generous offer'. If the folk song enthusiasts brought in a hundred members, at a subscription of one guinea [twenty-one shillings], the Folk Lore Society would admit them to membership, send them its publications, devote two of its meetings to folk song, and publish their proceedings.<sup>15</sup> The *Musical Times* considered this union 'most desirable', and negotiations were close enough for the foundation Committee to meet at Alfred Nutt's home on 8 February, but after that the Folk Song Society opted for a separate existence.

The reasons why it did so were failure to agree about the degree of independence the new Society should have, and about finance. Alfred Nutt saw the folk song enthusiasts as forming no more than a section of the Folk Lore Society. They could have their own Committee but not a President or a Secretary, and the Committee could do no more than report to the Folk Lore Society's Council. The folk song enthusiasts wanted a much looser affiliation, perhaps with the option of complete independence once the new Society was well established. There were also disagreements about finance. Alfred Nutt wanted a guinea subscription and stipulated one hundred members, and there seems to have been some agreement that an income of about £100 was a necessary guarantee to ensure that the proceedings of the Society could be published.<sup>16</sup> But the foundation Committee fixed the subscription at half a guinea. In doing so it was influenced by the interests of 'country members' – that is, those living outside London who could not easily attend 'Conversazioni' and other social events. After some mutual misunderstandings, Alfred Nutt withdrew the Folk Lore Society's offer, and the foundation committee thereafter met at the Regent Street home of the Forsyths, music publishers and friends of Lucy Broadwood, until the initial meeting on 16 May 1898.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Lucy Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland (eds), *English County Songs* (London: Cramer & Co, 1893).

<sup>14</sup> Gill published a collection made by J. Frederick (the Deemster) Gill, John Clague, and himself as *Manx National Songs* (London: Boosey & Co, 1896)

<sup>15</sup> *Musical Times*, 1 March 1898, p.187.

<sup>16</sup> See for example J.A. Fuller Maitland's speech at the inaugural meeting of the Folk Song Society on 16 May 1898. Folk Song Society Minute Book No.1 pp.2-4. The Minute Books are unpublished MSS held at the VWML.

<sup>17</sup> There were two meetings at the Forsyths, on 23 March and 4 May. Broadwood Diaries 23 March, 4 May 1898.

## The Membership

Not all of the people present on 16 May 1898 actually joined the new Society – Maud Aldis and Isobel Glover did not – while several people were elected to the Committee in their absence – Rachel Beer, Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, and W.B. Squire.<sup>18</sup> Besides Sir Alexander Mackenzie, three other vice-presidents had already been approached to join the Society: Sir Hubert Parry, Sir John Stainer, and Charles Villiers Stanford.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, at the inaugural meeting, there were perhaps twenty-one people with a direct interest in the new Society. It gained members at a steady if not spectacular rate, and when the first membership list was compiled, in March 1899, there were 110 members, 73 men and 37 women. Table A in Appendix B gives such biographical information as is available, and it has been possible to give occupations for 64 of the 73 men, which I have divided into thirteen occupational categories. The Folk Song Society's membership was overwhelmingly recruited from the professional middle classes of the time, with very few people in public life or the national media. The only exceptions among the male membership of 1899 were Lord Cobham and Charles Balfour, who made several attempts to get into Parliament until he was successful in 1900. Charles Graves was the only journalist among the members who was not a music critic, and he worked for *Punch*. Not surprisingly, musical interests dominated the membership, with twenty-six men known as prominent amateurs, academics and composers, executant artists, or music journalists, led by the heads of the four national music academies. Membership did not necessarily indicate interest. Mackenzie was the only Vice-President who attended the inaugural meeting, and Parry was the only one who took a serious interest in the running of the Society. Of the executant artists, Harry Plunkett Greene and (to a lesser extent) David Bispham were using folk music material on the concert platform. The music critics of the *Times*, the *Globe*, the *Star*, and the *Observer* were members, as was the editor of the *Musical Times* and the proprietor of the *Musical Herald*. Nearly half the male membership – 33 men – were to appear in those standard works of reference, the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *Who's Who*. And in the midst of the galaxy of professional talent were the brothers James and Thomas Copper, farm bailiff and landlord of a small public house.<sup>20</sup> Almost certainly, they owed their appearance in the membership list to Kate Lee, who had collected from them in November 1898 and probably wanted them to have the *Journal* in which their songs appeared.

A similar analysis by occupation is not possible for the 37 women, because few women had careers in 1899. There were, however, some shining exceptions and one rather startling one. Mrs. Frederick (Rachel) Beer was – nominally at least – the Editor of the *Sunday Times* and was married to the Editor of the *Observer*. She was the first woman to edit a national newspaper. Unfortunately her husband was soon to die and she was soon to lapse into insanity. The only other presence in public life was a phantom one: Kate Lee's husband had stood

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<sup>18</sup> Lucy Broadwood may have been absent because she was in mourning for her mother, who had died on 2 April.

<sup>19</sup> Minute Book 1, p.7 (16 May 1898).

unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1895.<sup>21</sup> Most of the female membership with known occupations were singers or music teachers in the awkward semi-professional state which was all that the *mores* of the time allowed to 'respectable' women. Perhaps the most successful was Helen Trust, who went on to teach at the Royal College of Music.

Much of the membership was evidently recruited through personal or institutional connections. Some nineteen members on the 1899 list were also members of the Folk Lore Society, including such prominent figures as Charlotte Burne, Marian Roalfe Cox, Alice Gomme and Eleanor Hull. Known members of the Irish Literary Society or the Gaelic League were the co-founders A.P. Graves and Kate Lee, Francis Fahy (a co-founder of the Irish Literary Society, and President of the Gaelic League), and the doctor, Celtic scholar, and minor poet John Todhunter. More minor influences on the membership included the Sette of Odd Volumes, a literary club which revolved around Thackeray's daughter Lady Anne Ritchie, and through which Lucy Broadwood seems to have met Sir Ernest Clarke.<sup>22</sup>

The known personal influences on recruitment are the acquaintances of Lucy Broadwood and Kate Lee. Some seventeen members had met Broadwood socially between 1897 and 1899, and early in 1899 (following her mother's death in April 1898) Broadwood moved into her best-known address – 84 Carlisle Mansions – and began to give large musical parties. Her acquaintance through mutual friends was much wider than that known through demonstrable contacts, and included people like Joseph Joachim who knew and admired *English County Songs*: Joachim had been shown them by his and Broadwood's mutual friend A.J. Hipkins.<sup>23</sup> Kate Lee's personal acquaintance included the music critic and author Alfred Kalisch (the Society's first Treasurer, and first editor of its *Journal*), and the barrister J.D. Rogers who was a member of the original committee.<sup>24</sup> In her concert career, and through her Irish and Manx connections she appeared with W.H. Gill, David Bispham, Florence Shee and Mary Hulburd, Joseph Joachim, and his niece Eugenie (later Mrs. Gibson) and the composer Percy Pitt. Her scrapbook shows that she also took a close interest in the careers of Helen Trust and Louis H. Hillier. She sang at the Gaelic League's concerts, whose chairman was Francis Fahy, and two of her 1897 concerts were conducted or accompanied by Cyril Miller. Her last appearance, at the Steinway Hall in 1900, was as part of a chamber concert given by the baritone Charles Phillips.<sup>25</sup> All these people were on the Folk Song Society's first membership list, and as with Broadwood there is a further 'hidden' range of acquaintance because Kate Lee's husband was a barrister and there was also a legal 'connection' which may have included the Society's first

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<sup>20</sup> The 1899 membership list has them as Thomas and William. This was probably due to a lapse of memory on Kate Lee's part.

<sup>21</sup> Bearman, 'Kate Lee' p.630.

<sup>22</sup> John Todhunter and Frederick Keel were also members of the Sette of Odd Volumes. Lady Anne Ritchie was an acquaintance of Broadwood. Broadwood was Clarke's guest at a Ladies' Night in 1914: Broadwood diaries 27 May 1914. I am indebted to Dorothy de Val for this reference.

<sup>23</sup> A.J. Hipkins to Broadwood, n.d., SHC 2185/LEB/1/39, says 'Joachim liked "Lazarus" ["Dives and Lazarus"] and "Young Herchard", and coming after a Brahms duet they gave a sense of relief'.

<sup>24</sup> For Kalisch's and Rogers' acquaintance with Kate Lee, Bearman 'Kate Lee' p.630. For Rogers' involvement with the Folk Song Society, Minute Book No.1 p.8.



President, Lord Herschell, an ex-Lord Chancellor, and people like Kalisch and Leonard M. Powell who had been called to the Bar before taking up other careers. More minor known circles of acquaintance included that of A.P. Graves. Besides his younger brother Charles, there was John Todhunter, whose works Graves later edited, the 'lyric writer' Harold Boulton, and Harry Plunkett Greene, with whom Charles Graves shared a house. Religious allegiance or occupations probably provided the link in other cases. There was a Jewish contingent, probably led by the progressive rabbi Revd. Francis Cohen, which included the philanthropist F.D. Mocatta, the academic Israel Gollancz, and Mrs. Ludwig Mond. There may even have been a chemical connection through the Mondes (whose concern later became ICI) to David Howard, a 'fine chemicals manufacturer' whose works produced the first aspirins in Britain, and less probably to Robert Maclagan, who besides being a doctor, a folklorist, and an enthusiast for the Volunteer movement also owned a chemical works.

The factor which all the members had in common was, of course, an interest in music, and specifically in folk music. Some fifteen of the 110 members are known to have collected, to have compiled or edited published collections, or to have sent material to the Folk Song Society. It was a body almost entirely composed of the professional middle classes and their wives and daughters, with a strong but not overwhelming presence by the professional music establishment, and which can be compared with the memberships of other prominent amateur societies such as its parent the Folk Lore Society. Although the vast majority of its members lived in London and south-east England, there were a few provincial members – particularly Scots – and the Manx and Irish connections provided a distinctly Celtic flavour. Foreign members like the expatriates Bispham and Louis H. Hiller, together with the more mysterious Mme. Plowitz Cavour and M. John Karlowitz were present from the first, along with Joachim who divided his time between London and Berlin, and in the first year the Society recruited its first honorary member, H.C. Mercer, an American librarian.

#### **Organisation, Finance and Activities.**

The Folk Song Society as constituted had a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Committee of twelve. With the exception of Sir Hubert Parry, the President and Vice-Presidents were figureheads who took little or no part in the actual running of the Society, and the organising and governing body was the Committee.<sup>26</sup> Its members retired in rotation (though they could be re-elected) and there were other comings and goings according to personal circumstances. The Committee met approximately once a month for the first two years of the Society's existence, though there was a long gap between July and October when fashionable people were customarily absent from London. The most regular attenders, besides the officials Kate Lee and Alfred Kalisch, were Sir Ernest Clarke, Alice Gomme, and E.F.

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<sup>25</sup> Information about Kate Lee's concert career is taken from a scrapbook in the possession of Mrs Elizabeth Chamberlain.

<sup>26</sup> Parry sometimes attended committee meetings, for example on 4 January 1899: Minute Book 1, p.36.

Jacques, and these were the people who decided on policy.<sup>27</sup> At the inaugural meeting on 16 May, the main subjects of discussion were finance and the scope of the new society. The question of whether the subscription should be one guinea, half a guinea [ten shillings and sixpence] or some lesser sum was one of the major points of disagreement with the Folk Lore Society, and was argued over lengthily.<sup>28</sup> The other main point of discussion was whether the Society should have a national title or limit its activities in any way. The preliminary committee had suggested that Rule II should begin 'The Society to have for its primary object the collection and preservation of the Folk Songs and Ballads of the United Kingdom (or British and Foreign)'.<sup>29</sup> The meeting decided to omit any national title 'with a view to leaving the scope of the Society as wide as possible'. A.P. Graves specifically declared international aims. In a letter to the *Morning Post* in 1904, he stated:

I had been a private collector of folk-songs, almost entirely Irish, until the year 1898, when my residence in London ... brought me into contact with other folk-song collectors, even more ardent than myself. I was then the first to suggest the formation, not of an English Folk-Song Society, but of one which would embrace the folk-song of the British Islands in the first instance, and eventually deal with the folk music of all countries.<sup>30</sup>

What actually came about was decided by a mixture of financial difficulties, practicalities, and the personal ambitions of and differences between the founders.

The purpose of the Society was clearly stated by its rules. As finally agreed, Rule II read: 'The Society shall have for its primary object the collection and preservation of Folk-Songs, Ballads, and Tunes, and the publication of such as these as may be deemed advisable', while Rule XI stated that 'Meetings shall be held from time to time, as may be appointed by the Committee, at which vocal and instrumental illustrations of Folk-Songs, Ballads, and Tunes shall be given, and papers written on the subject read and discussed'. This constitution gave the Society a function and role like that of other learned societies such as the Musical Association, to which a number of the Society's membership also belonged.<sup>31</sup> Its chief objects were to collect and publish, and to engage in scholarly discussion. But the provision for 'vocal and instrumental illustrations' left a loophole for performance, and in fact the Society was an uneasy mixture of those who saw it as a vehicle for scholarship and publication, and those who wanted it to have a wider role in London society along similar lines to the Gaelic League. No doubt there were also those who hoped for self-advertisement and advancement through the opportunity to associate with the leaders of their profession.

The first activity of the Society was to issue a leaflet entitled 'Hints to Collectors of Folk Music', but otherwise the emphasis was on public activity and performance.<sup>32</sup> The first AGM

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<sup>27</sup> In the first two years of the Society's existence there were 17 committee meetings besides the AGMs. E.F. Jacques attended 16; Sir Ernest Clarke 14, Kate Lee and Alfred Kalisch 13 each, and Alice Gomme 12. Some members only attended once or (like Frederick Corder and Frank Kidson) not at all.

<sup>28</sup> Minute Book No.1, p.6.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Morning Post*, 27 January 1904.

<sup>31</sup> Fourteen of the 1899 membership were also members of the Musical Association.

<sup>32</sup> This was drafted by a sub-committee consisting of Alice Gomme, Kate Lee, and Fuller Maitland, and a copy is pasted into the Minutes for 20 July 1898. Minute Book No.1 pp. 21-22.

and meeting was held on 2 February 1899 at the Mayfair home of Frederick and Rachel Beer, and was divided between a business meeting at which only nineteen members were present, and a 'Conversazione' in the salon to which large numbers of guests had been admitted.<sup>33</sup> Sir Hubert Parry's inaugural address was delivered to this 'society' crowd, and the two papers read – E.F. Jacques on the modes, and Kate Lee on folk song collecting – were public events rather than specialist commentary.<sup>34</sup> The next meeting, in the Shire Horse Society's rooms in November 1899, resembled a sort of up-market music hall in which Fuller Maitland summarised the members' achievements in collecting and called for various items to be performed. The paper given by Revd. Francis Cohen on 'Folk Song Survivals in Jewish worship-music' was, however, of a more technical nature.<sup>35</sup> After this, the Society apparently decided to hold public meetings as separate events, and two were planned: an 'Irish meeting' which eventually came off on 25 June 1901, and an evening event intended to be held at the Queen's Hall in May 1900. The 'Irish meeting' was organised by A.P. Graves and held at Londonderry House through the co-operation of Lord and Lady Londonderry, with whom Graves was familiar and may have had political connections.<sup>36</sup> At Londonderry House, 'Mr. A.P. Graves delivered a lecture on Irish songs, with the assistance of well-known vocalists and traditional dancers'. No minutes of this meeting were taken, and Graves' lecture was not printed in the *Journal*. The meeting was attended by 'only about 12' members, but by large numbers of guests – 'about 200'.<sup>37</sup>

The ostensible main business of the Society – publication of music through its *Journal* – was neglected in these early years. The probable reasons were shortage of money, the lack of any firm policy or direction for the Society, and (closely allied with this) continuing disagreements about what its function and role should be. The intention of the founders at the inaugural meeting appears to have been to issue two *Journals* a year, for which an income of about £100 would have been necessary. Because the subscription was set at half a guinea this meant recruiting two hundred members.<sup>38</sup> With the actual numbers at 110-120 the income was inadequate and the Committee reconsidered lengthily but ineffectually in 1900, reaching the lame conclusion that wealthy members should be asked to subscribe more.<sup>39</sup> The result was that only one *Journal* a year could be financed. The first two numbers were edited by a sub-committee who appear to have been jointly responsible for seeing it through the press, and the result was an amateurish publication with a haphazard format which published very little actual

<sup>33</sup> *The Times*, 4 February 1899, reported 'a very large attendance'.

<sup>34</sup> E.F. Jacques' and Kate Lee's papers, and Parry's inaugural address, are printed in *JFSS* 1,1 (1899).

<sup>35</sup> Printed in *JFSS* 1,2 (1900), pp.32-38.

<sup>36</sup> The 6th Marquess of Londonderry (1852-1915) was a prominent Unionist, and Graves also seems to have had Unionist sympathies. From 1902 they had business connections through Lord Londonderry's Presidency of the Board of Education, and from 1904 Graves collaborated with Lady Londonderry on a project to introduce organised games into elementary schools. *DNB 1912-1921*, pp.541-542; Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1952), p.137.

<sup>37</sup> Report of Folk Song Society AGM, 13 December 1901. Minute Book No.1, p.133, Minutes of Committee, 18 March 1904 (Minute Book No.2, p.5).

<sup>38</sup> Speech of J.A. Fuller Maitland at inaugural meeting, 16 May 1898: Minute Book No.1, p.3.

music.<sup>40</sup> The *Journal* was at first an entirely private affair for members only, who were the only persons entitled to receive it or even to buy copies: it was not even sent to the press for review, although the Committee graciously decided that 'members who are also members of the press [are] at liberty to act on their own discretion'.<sup>41</sup>

Although there is only circumstantial evidence, it looks as though the Society remained divided between two distinct factions with little sympathy between them. One party appears to have been led by Graves, and it was distinctly Celtic in its sympathies. It concentrated on large gatherings and public meetings and introduced elements such as Irish traditional dancers which were not part of the Society's official concerns. The other faction appears to have been the field collectors, represented by Broadwood, who were interested in solid and lasting work such as publication of the *Journal*, but who never attended the public meetings or contributed items to be performed there. Broadwood, for example, is not known to have attended any of these public events. Among the Society's leadership there may have been another 'intermediate' group including Kate Lee and Fuller Maitland who tried to keep both factions happy: Lee was unquestionably a pioneer field collector who presented material in the *Journal*, but she also sang and gave papers at the public meetings, and at the AGM held at her home in 1901 a solitary Irish dancer appeared.<sup>42</sup> To complicate matters further, there was a strong and apparently instinctive and irrational dislike between Broadwood and Lee. There had been a thaw in their relationship around the time of the Society's foundation, but this was not sustained.<sup>43</sup> The result of these tensions appears to have been that when the Society ran into difficulties with Kate Lee's increasing illness from 1901 onwards, no-one was sufficiently concerned to intervene.<sup>44</sup> The committee did not meet after December 1901, no *Journal* appeared after 1902, the subscriptions were not collected in 1903, and the Society became effectively moribund.

The catalyst for the Society's revival was the appearance on the on the scene of Cecil Sharp in late 1903 and his public criticisms of the Folk Song Society's inactivity and of the lack of interest in folk music shown by other bodies such as the Musical Association.<sup>45</sup> The agent, however, was Lucy Broadwood. Between 1898 and 1901, Broadwood had been an unenthusiastic member of the committee, attending less than half the meetings, and beyond preparing her material for publication in the 1902 *Journal* she had taken no interest in the Society's functions. It looks as though Broadwood and her party only intervened when there was a danger that a new society might form around Sharp and that matters would be taken out of their hands altogether. From February 1904 she began to take a leading role and it was

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<sup>39</sup> Raising the subscription was discussed at the Committee meetings on 15 January and 8 February 1900 and at the AGM on 22 February. Minute Book No.1, pp.92, 95, 108-109.

<sup>40</sup> For further detail, see discussion of the *Journal* in Chapter 4 Part 3.

<sup>41</sup> Minutes of Committee, 21 July 1899. Minute Book No.1, pp.82-83.

<sup>42</sup> The 1901 AGM was on 13 December 1901. The minutes record that Kate Lee 'read a short paper and sang, and traditional dances were danced by Miss Beatrice MacPherson (visitor)'. Minute Book No.1, p.133.

<sup>43</sup> For details, Bearman, 'Kate Lee' pp.638-639.

<sup>44</sup> For Lee's illness, *ibid.*

undoubtedly because of her energy and organising ability that the committee met again on 18 March. Matters improved almost immediately, in part because of Sharp's active propagandising, in part because of the educational interest which had been aroused since 1902, and in part because of an indefinable shift in public opinion. The Society and its doings were suddenly 'news' and the membership rose rapidly. By June 1904 there were 133 members, and by March 1905 this had risen to 163. It was largely a new membership, since only 66 remained of those on the 1899 list. There were now eleven 'institutional' members (public and university libraries) and the Society had begun to attract international attention. Cornell and Harvard university libraries subscribed, as did the New York Public Library, and there were also five individual American members. Of the 152 individuals, 103 were men and 49 women, almost exactly the same proportion as in 1899. The great majority were still living in the south and east of England, though there was now a more substantial Scottish membership. Such biographical details as are available for the 1905 membership is given in Appendix B, and it has been possible to give occupations for 88 of the men detailed in Table B.

The largest group of new recruits was among the clergy, but as with the 1899 membership many of the new members had come in through personal rather than institutional connections. Of the clergymen, H.C. Wright was Chaplain at Haileybury College, whose headmaster, Canon Edward Lyttelton, was also a member. Sabine Baring-Gould probably joined through his connexion with Sharp, as did Charles Marson and Alexander de Gex. Sharp's acquaintances through his collecting work also included Mrs. F.B. Kettlewell, whose house at East Harptree (Somerset) was Sharp's base for collecting in the Mendips. More of Lucy Broadwood's acquaintance had come in, including the music scholar G.E.P. Arkwright, Broadwood's sister Amy, Lord Farrar, Herbert Birch Reynardson, Mrs. Godfrey Wedgwood, and Ralph Vaughan Williams. The membership now included people who can fairly be described as 'folk song collectors'; for example, George B. Gardiner had retired from teaching and was about to spend the remaining few years of his life collecting. Some thirty members were known as collectors, or had sent material to the Folk Song Society, approximately double the number in 1899. Professional musical interests still dominated, but the membership was now much more orientated towards folk music. With the exception of George Butterworth, Clive Carey, and Anne Gilchrist, all the major collectors, and those who were to become known as such, were members.

With Broadwood in control the Society became more private and scholarly in its activities. The 'Conversaciones' and salon parties of 1899-1901 were never repeated, and neither was the the music-hall like meeting of 1899. The only meetings in 1904 and 1905 were the AGMs, and these were business-only. The main activity of the Society became the publication of its *Journal*. As Alfred Kalisch wanted to be relieved of the responsibility for the *Journal* it acquired a new editor – Lucy Broadwood – and soon had a new printer.<sup>46</sup> The

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<sup>45</sup> For details, see Chapter 2.

<sup>46</sup> Broadwood agreed to take over the editorship at the committee on 1 July 1904. Minute Book 1, p.32. For the financing and printing of the *Journal* after 1904, see Chapter 4 Part Three.

Society's work of collection was modestly expanded. 'Hints to Collectors' was revised by Broadwood and Sharp and re-issued in July 1904.<sup>47</sup> It was later decided on Sharp's initiative to send a circular letter to all the clergy in a particular district, enclosing a copy of 'Hints', asking whether there were any singers in the neighbourhood and promising to send a member of the Society to collect songs.<sup>48</sup> The Society was much more cautious about popularisation. In the first part of 1904, no less than three approaches were made to members of the Committee by Arthur Somervell, Inspector of Music to the Board of Education, and a friend of Broadwood.<sup>49</sup> Folk music was very much in the educational air at the time, and Somervell had been put in charge of compiling a list of suitable songs for schools. Nothing came of these approaches, although Somervell refused to give up and approached Broadwood again in 1906 and 1908.<sup>50</sup> The reasons why the Committee failed to grasp this opportunity remain obscure, but they were in part financial – the Society was not in a position to embark on large-scale schemes of publication – and they probably included motives which would now be called 'elitist'. Broadwood shrank from publicity, believing that it invariably spelt disrepute and ridicule, and she was afraid of the material getting into the 'wrong' hands.<sup>51</sup> These attitudes were undoubtedly shared by a majority of the membership, who viewed folk music as suitable material for the enjoyment of consenting adults but had no interest in its dissemination to schoolchildren or the lower orders of society in general.

After the committee had ignored his approaches in 1904, Somervell went ahead and compiled his own list of 'folk and national songs' with the help of W.H. Hadow. This list was published at the end of 1905 as part of the Board of Education's *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers*.<sup>52</sup> It was endorsed by one of the Folk Song Society's sub-committees, of which Cecil Sharp was not a member, and this endorsement (in the Society's Annual Report) caused the row at the 1906 AGM.<sup>53</sup> The refusal to co-operate with the Board of Education and the scene at the 1906 AGM settled the Folk Song Society's future down to 1914 and indeed down to its amalgamation with the English Folk Dance Society in 1932. Broadwood's private attitudes and concern for scholarship undoubtedly brought dividends for the *Journal* and for the Society's 'scientific' work, but they ignored the more public movement which was beginning to take off through the activities of the Esperance Club, and which

<sup>47</sup> For the re-drafting, Broadwood Diaries 7 July 1904.

<sup>48</sup> The district chosen was Buckinghamshire and the actual work of despatch was done by Sharp. See Minutes of Committee, 10 May, 4 July 1906. Minute Book 2, pp.89, 94. A copy of the circular letter is pasted in at p.95.

<sup>49</sup> Those approached were A.P. Graves, Fuller Maitland, and Lucy Broadwood. See Minutes of Committee 18 March, 7 May, 1 July 1904, Minute Book 2 pp.7, 17, 34.

<sup>50</sup> Broadwood diaries 20 June 1906, 19 July 1908.

<sup>51</sup> In a letter to Sharp, Broadwood said 'the movement for collecting and propagating folk music should proceed quietly, inostentatiously and in the control of experts devoid of vanity, commercialism and vulgarity ... I am convinced that when the 'man in the street' through the cheap press gets hold of a thing 'Fools rush in', 'the Wise' are sickened to death of it, and the movement ... ends in the *Daily Mail* and contempt'. Quoted in Lewis Jones, 'Lucy Etheldred Broadwood 1858-1929: Her Scholarship and Ours', a paper given at the 'Folksong: Tradition and Revival' conference, University of Sheffield, 10-12 July 1998. I am very grateful to Lewis Jones for a copy of this paper (copy in the VWML).

<sup>52</sup> London: HMSO 1905. For further discussion see Chapter 5.

<sup>53</sup> For details of the scene at the 1906 AGM, see Chapters 2 and 5.

represented the real future for folk music. If Graves and Boulton had emerged as the leaders of the Folk Song Society, it is very difficult to imagine them ignoring Somervell's repeated advances, and the Society might then have had some real public influence. Instead its decisions meant that it remained a small special interest society devoted to private scholarship, which would have increasing difficulties in the world after 1914.

But for the present the membership was steadily increasing, from 163 in 1905 to 248 in 1907: the 'natural' size of the Society seems to have been around 250, since the membership still numbered 251 in 1909. There was a great rise to 358 in 1911, but this increase was due to an influx of Scottish members to receive the great 'Tolmie' *Journal* of that year, which printed no less than 105 Gaelic songs and melodies, and it did not last: the numbers went down to 300 in 1913.<sup>54</sup> By then, 'institutional' membership had more than tripled to 36 and there were 21 overseas members. Once again, it was largely a new membership since only 86 remained of the 163 in 1905. Semi-public meetings for members and their guests had resumed. After the 1906 AGM Percy Grainger gave a lecture on his collecting work in Lincolnshire, with illustrations from his phonograph recordings, and from 1907 papers were regularly read to the Society. In 1909 Sharp was invited to give a lecture and demonstration of morris dancing performed by his students from the Chelsea Polytechnic; the following year the AGM was held in St George's Hall in Mount Street and was followed by a concert of folk songs, and in 1912 the meeting in Steinway Hall was followed by a concert of Gaelic and English songs.<sup>55</sup> These meetings were for members and their guests: the Queen's (Small) Hall (where the 1909 meeting was held) and the Steinway Hall were chamber-concert rooms which could accommodate about 400 people.<sup>56</sup>

Jewel

### **The Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music**

The difficulty in studying Mary Neal's two organisations, the Association and its successor the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers, is that very few materials exist. For the Folk Song Society and the English Folk Dance Society, we have minute books, membership lists, annual reports, and audited accounts, to say nothing of published histories or reminiscences by participants. None of these materials exist for the organisations run by Mary Neal, and there are two reasons for this absence: firstly, they were ad hoc affairs, without an executive Committee or a constitution or any of the paraphernalia of a public society. Secondly, such papers as did exist were almost certainly held by Mary Neal, and her private papers have never been discovered.<sup>57</sup>

The idea of a national body to control the folk dance movement grew out of the work of the Esperance Club as described in Chapter 2, and specifically out of the 'West Sussex Experiment' begun in the summer of 1907.<sup>58</sup> The interest expressed in folk dance and song by official bodies, and in particular the movement for introducing games or 'organised play' into

<sup>54</sup> The 'Tolmie' *Journal* was *JFSS* 4,3 (1911).

<sup>55</sup> Annual Report 1909-1910, *JFSS* 4,2 (1910), p.111. Annual Report 1910-1911, *JFSS* 4,3 (1911), p.ix. Annual Report 1912-1913, *JFSS* 4,4 (1913), p.ii.

<sup>56</sup> Advertisement in *The Musician's Who's Who*, 1913.

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix C (Archive Sources).

<sup>58</sup> For details of the West Sussex experiment, see Chapter 5.

elementary schools, led Mary Neal to believe that a greater degree of organisation was necessary and that she needed to speak for something more than a working girls' club. She was also overwhelmed by the work and in need of assistance. The first person to have suggested the formation of local folk music associations and their affiliation to a national body appears to have been Edward Burrows, but otherwise the project was very much Mary Neal's, and hers alone.<sup>59</sup> She called an informal conference to be held at the Goupil Gallery, Regent Street, on 14 November 1907, and by that time had already gathered around her a band of people with no previous connections with the folk music world, or whose links were extremely tenuous. There was apparently no contact with or support from the Folk Song Society: Neal never joined it, and the only members who attended were Alice Gomme and Cecil Sharp.

What comes over most clearly from Neal's opening speech at the conference is its personal tone. In discussing the future she said:

The thing has got beyond me and the few people who started it. It is impossible for me to go on working as I have for the past two years, and besides I cannot do half the things that are needed. If we get a Society started, with a name & Committee & Officers, this is what I want 1st of all. I want to approach the County Council ... I should like to go to the County Council and say "Why not have the National Dances as the Organised Play?" ... It is not enough for me to go simply as the Hon. Sec. of a Girl's Club: I must have some sort of standing.<sup>60</sup>

From the beginning, Neal saw the proposed organisation as a body set up to support her own work and she clearly intended to have the controlling voice. Besides the aim of getting morris dances into elementary schools as part of the 'Organised Play' scheme, she spoke of getting them introduced for the children in workhouses and Industrial Schools.<sup>61</sup> She even advocated teaching the dances *en masse* to crowds in the London parks. Besides teaching, Neal's organisation was to act as a regulating body: she went on: 'Another thing we want a Society for is this – to guard the purity of the Folk-Music ... If we had a Society, we should send out all teachers under the auspices of that Guild or Society, and grant certificates; we should not allow anyone to use our name unless they taught really Folk-Music (sic)'.<sup>62</sup> But beyond this concern for standards, Neal's movement was to have no academic purpose. Things were to be left at a level which children could understand. Neal ended this part of her speech by saying 'I want to ensure that this movement is kept – in the Prayer-Book sense of the word – a thoroughly "vulgar" movement. I do not want to get learned and academic and dull and stiff: we must keep it very simple and jolly and homely for the average boy and girl'.<sup>63</sup>

Herbert MacIlwaine, the Esperance's Musical Director, and then Sharp followed Neal as speakers. MacIlwaine's emphasis was on how easy the material was to learn: Sharp's was on the scope of the proposed Society. He wanted it to restrict itself to the popularisation of the

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<sup>59</sup> Burrows stated that a Sussex folk music society was being founded and suggested the formation of a national body to which it could be affiliated in Burrows to Sharp, 25 July 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

<sup>60</sup> Typed verbatim report of the Goupil Gallery Conference, in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML.

<sup>61</sup> Industrial Schools were for children who had committed criminal offences or were beyond their parents' control.

<sup>62</sup> Goupil Gallery conference transcript.



material and to leave 'the scientific part', 'the dull part' of collection to the Folk Song Society.<sup>64</sup> The Goupil Gallery conference resolved 'to form a Society for the further development of the popular practice of English Folk-Music in dance and song', and the title actually adopted was 'The Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music'. The conference appointed a committee of twelve: Edward Burrows, Mr. Ellis, Alice Gomme, Mr. Harper, Montagu Harris, Mr. Hunt, Herbert MacIlwaine, Lady Constance Lytton, Neville Lytton, Mary Neal, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and Sydney Spalding. Cecil Sharp was evidently co-opted to this body. Nothing is known of Ellis, and all that is known of Harper and Hunt comes from the context of their speeches at the Goupil Gallery. They both appear to have been professionally concerned with education or with London County Council, or both.<sup>65</sup> Montagu Harris was then Secretary of the County Councils Association. Lady Lytton, like Burrows, had been instantly captivated by the Esperance performances and was drawn into the Suffragette movement by Neal and the Esperance organisation. Her brother Neville was an artist who conducted the Goupil Gallery. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence had known Neal since the 1890s, and was one of the inner circle of four people which ran the Women's Social and Political Union. Sydney Spalding was a Kentish gentleman on whose lawn the Esperance Club had danced in September 1907.<sup>66</sup> It was obviously an organising and fund-raising committee composed of 'names' which would strike the right chords in the right places rather than people with an interest in and knowledge of folk music. Only Gomme and Sharp, and to a lesser extent MacIlwaine, had any real knowledge of folk music or experience in its collection and publication. It was also a committee heavily weighted with Neal's friends and with a distinct political bias towards the Suffragette movement.

This committee almost immediately broke up over its own constitution and procedure. The primary reason for this failure was that Neal conceived the Association and its committee as a body of friends gathered to help her, while Sharp conceived it as a public society and tried to impose the constitution and forms usual in other public societies such as the Folk Song Society.<sup>67</sup> What was implicit in Neal's speech was not a 'society' at all – in the sense of a body for like-minded people to associate with one another – but something like the Esperance Club on a much larger scale. It was to be an organisation to control a professional or semi-professional teaching and proselytising body aimed primarily at children: especially at elementary school children (whose schools came under local authority control) and those further disadvantaged by being in the Workhouse or consigned to an Industrial School. Neal's primary concern was not in fact for morris dancing or folk music in themselves but for their application

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<sup>63</sup> *ibid*

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.* Hunt spoke as though he was connected with London County Council: Harper as though with other county councils. For some suggestions as to how these contacts had been made, see Chapter 2.

<sup>66</sup> Report with photograph in *The Gentlewoman*, 28 September 1907.

<sup>67</sup> Neal's version of these events, written c.1935, was that 'a Committee was elected and a Chairman appointed. The Committee met in due time; Mr. Sharp arrived with a pile of books half a yard high and proceeded to advocate the forming of a constitution very cut and dried, and it seemed to us quite

in social work, especially among the children of the poor. Beyond a concern for standards and a consequent function as a regulating body, her movement was to have no scholarly role – indeed, scholarship was specifically repudiated in terms which leave no doubt about how Neal thought of it: she coupled ‘learned and academic’ with ‘dull and stiff’. Sharp also saw the Association as a teaching and proselytising body, but one which would escape from the limitations both of the Esperance Club and of the Folk Song Society and would recruit widely from all those interested.<sup>68</sup> This also appears to have been the view of the public men whom Neal had gathered to support her, because Sharp’s arguments were strong enough to convince a large portion of the committee and to administer to Neal an effective defeat: most of the members either went over to Sharp or disappeared from the scene altogether.<sup>69</sup>

The ‘constitutional’ thing to do in the circumstances would have been to call a public meeting, allow the differing parties to state their cases, and then allow the meeting to elect a committee – either one which would support Neal’s conception or Sharp’s, and this is what Sharp expected to happen.<sup>70</sup> But Neal and her supporters did not care to risk calling such a meeting and instead Neal pressed ahead without public support. According to her own account she ‘called a few friends together and we did start a small association’, but this small private association kept the title the abortive committee had adopted, so Neal was claiming for herself the authority of the committee and, behind it, that of the Goupil Gallery conference.<sup>71</sup> She and MacIlwaine established themselves as the Association’s joint Hon. Secretaries, with the Lords Lytton and Coleridge as President and Vice-President, Lawrence Bradbury as Treasurer, and MacIlwaine as Musical Director. There was an office in Kingsway, London, and a paid secretary. Apart from these people, the members of the abortive committee, and later adherents such as Mabel Tuke, Clive Carey and the brothers Francis and Geoffrey Toye, very little is known about the Association’s membership, and indeed it does not appear to have been conceived as a membership-based organisation, with its core income coming from subscriptions and its official positions filled by election from the membership. Neal’s conception seems to have been of a managerial organisation controlling a staff, and that staff – initially at least – was recruited exclusively from the members of the Esperance Club, who were in effect paid employees of Neal.<sup>72</sup> There was no democratic structure and there was a clear class distinction between managers and staff. At the upper or managerial level, there was little difference in

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unsuited for its purpose’. Typescript notes of unpublished autobiography [‘As A Tale That Is Told: The Autobiography of a Victorian Woman’], Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML.

<sup>68</sup> This is the implication of Sharp to Broadwood, 10 November 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F, and of Sharp to Neal, 7 March 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>69</sup> In his letter of 10 November 1908 Sharp told Broadwood that he had converted all but one of the male members of the committee. Sharp to Revd. Francis Etherington, 13 December 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc, implies that he converted an actual majority of the committee. In the event, nothing more was heard of Ellis, Harper, Montagu Harris, Hunt, or Spalding. Of the others, Burrows, Gomme and MacIlwaine eventually aligned themselves with Sharp, as did Lawrence Bradbury (not on the committee but one of Neal’s officials).

<sup>70</sup> Sharp to Etherington, 13 December 1907.

<sup>71</sup> Typescript extracts [‘As A Tale That is Told’].

<sup>72</sup> Sharp criticised Neal’s policy of recruiting exclusively from the Esperance Club’s members in Sharp to Neal, 26 July 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

social standing between the Association's (and later the Esperance Guild's) personnel and that of the Folk Song Society. Neal herself was the daughter of a Birmingham button manufacturer and came from a family wealthy enough to afford a carriage with a liveried coachman.<sup>73</sup>

Constance and Neville Lytton were children of the first Earl of Lytton. Neville was a younger son but through the deaths of his elder brothers he eventually succeeded as third Earl.

MacIlwaine was a novelist and publisher's reader, the son of a canon at Belfast Cathedral.

Clive Carey was the son of a retired businessman who was beginning a career in music after his education at Sherborne, Cambridge, and the Royal College of Music. The brothers Francis and Geoffrey Toye were the sons of a Winchester housemaster, who both received their education at that school. Geoffrey became a professional musician and Francis began a diplomatic career before giving it up to study singing and join the staff of *Vanity Fair*. Lawrence Bradbury was the proprietor of *Punch*. Mabel Tuke was the widow of a South African policeman who met the Pethick-Lawrences on the ship coming back to England and through them became involved with the Suffragette movement. Emmeline Pethick had joined the ranks of the very rich through marriage with a young lawyer, Frederick Lawrence. At the lower or staff level, the employees were predominantly girls and young women who had been employed in the clothing trade.

Florence Warren was working as a full-time dance instructress by 1907, and she came to be joined by Rose Mallett, Blanche Payling, and May Start.<sup>74</sup> Other members of the Esperance Club taught part-time or only in London. The only persons amongst the Association's 'managerial' group who participated in Esperance performances appear to have been Neville Lytton and Clive Carey.<sup>75</sup> Neal was not a musician and never learned the dances, while MacIlwaine appears to have restricted himself to teaching and lecturing for the Association.<sup>76</sup>

In 1910, Neal decided to integrate the Association's work even more fully into that of the Esperance Club, and it was re-launched as the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers.<sup>77</sup> Under this name, membership was invited, though in a somewhat minatory way, by stating that: 'It has therefore been decided to form a Guild to be called the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers, to which all men and women of good will who wish to see a fairer and a happier life for the people of England shall belong'.<sup>78</sup> There was a minimum subscription of ten shillings (only marginally less than the Folk Song Society's half-guinea) and one could become a life member by a donation of £10. Elementary school teachers in London paid five shillings and teachers in the country two shillings and sixpence. The 'privileges' of membership included: 'Attendance at one of three classes held for nine months in the year at the Esperance Club', free admission to one Esperance concert a year, and provision of a membership list and notice of local activities.

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<sup>73</sup> For this and other information on Neal's background, Judge, 'Mary Neal'. The specific reference is on p.546.

<sup>74</sup> In 1908, 'two of the Esperance girls were teaching whole time, one part time and eight were employed on evening work'. See Helen and Douglas Kennedy, 'The Revival of the Morris Dance', *English Dance and Song* 9,3 (February 1946), p.32.

<sup>75</sup> There is a reference to Lytton dancing morris at an Esperance performance in the *Morning Post*, 12 May 1912. Carey took over as Musical Director in 1910 and both danced and sang.

<sup>76</sup> For Neal's not being a musician or dancer, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.64.

<sup>77</sup> The foundation of the Guild was announced in the *Morning Post*, 29 March 1910

In 1911, the Guild was stated to have a membership of 'some 180', though since these ranged from 'mites of three or four to grown men and women', not all can have been full members and subscription-payers.<sup>79</sup> But even with a subscription-paying membership, there was still no democracy; no elected committee or indeed any participation by the membership in the running of the Guild. In practice the executive power was entirely in the hands of Neal, her paid secretary (Thyra Macdonald) and her Musical Director.

### **The English Folk Dance Society**

Neal's association was set up to administer something which never happened because of the failure of the Goupil Gallery conference initiative. Instead of the explosion in demand from the educational sector which Neal had anticipated, growth was much slower and more limited. It is an open question as to whether a more genuinely public association or society, with the influential backing of Sharp and other interested parties, might have stimulated that demand.

Sharp's support for the Association was not forthcoming but neither, in 1907-1908, was he seeking to replace Neal as an organiser. His move into administrative work was driven by events, and specifically by the events of 1909-1910 when their differences estranged them and then developed into a public row. By 1910, too, demand from elementary schoolteachers was beginning to appear, fuelled by the Board of Education's rather grudging approval, and the Stratford Festival and its associated summer school had become the best publicised place to learn the dances.<sup>80</sup> Sharp therefore had to gain control of the Festival or lose influence over the educational movement, and this in turn meant that he had to have an organisation at his disposal. The organic base for the English Folk Dance Society was the Folk Dance Club organised by Helen and Maud Karpeles, which in 1910 began to meet at their home in Bayswater.<sup>81</sup> It quickly came to provide Sharp's display teams and his experimental side to try out newly-collected dances, and it was also the first 'professional' body of folk dance teachers, in the sense of people who had passed an examination and could show a certificate of proficiency. Sharp gained control of the Stratford summer school on 1911 and by the end of the year felt that the time had come to start a national movement.<sup>82</sup>

The English Folk Dance Society came into being at a public meeting held at St. Andrews Hall, Newman Street, on 6 December 1911. The distance Sharp travelled between 1907 and 1911 is apparent from the speech he made at the English Folk Dance Society's inaugural meeting. He said that the EFDS had:

the object of preserving and promoting the practice of English folk-dances in their traditional forms [Those present at the meeting] must realise ... that the folk-dance movement was primarily an artistic movement ... it was not easy to start a thing on

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<sup>78</sup> Esperance leaflet, n.d. but c.1910, in Clive Carey Collection, Esperance, VWML p.26.

<sup>79</sup> *Morning Post*, 6 October 1911. Roy Judge referred me to a list of the Esperance Guild's organisers and teaching staff in file AS 11, VWML (personal communication, 20 July 2000). Unfortunately, this list is no longer in the file.

<sup>80</sup> For the Stratford Festival and its associated Summer School, see Chapters 2 and 5.

<sup>81</sup> For the Folk Dance Club, Mrs [Helen] Kennedy [nee Karpeles], 'Early Days', *EFDS News* 7 (1924) pp.172-177.

<sup>82</sup> For Sharp's gaining control at Stratford, see Chapter 2.

artistic lines and to keep it on those lines ... an artistic movement was very liable to suffer at the hands of philanthropy, for the philanthropists would see philanthropy in it and nothing else ... [Sharp] had always felt the deepest responsibility in going to the folk and taking their art from them, noting it, and then disseminating it. He thought that there was a very great danger that the art would suffer in the process of transferring it from the folk to another class, many of whom had an entirely different point of view. It was for these reasons that they wanted to gather people together into a society which viewed folk-dancing from a purely artistic standpoint. Their aim would be to keep that particular artistic movement on its right lines and prevent it from becoming vulgarised and popularised, although they aimed at popularising it in the best sense of the word.<sup>83</sup>

There could be no doubt about who Sharp meant by the 'philanthropists'. They could only be Mary Neal and her colleagues, who viewed the material as a means to an end rather than an end in itself, and who (in Sharp's opinion) confused their emotions with aesthetic standards. The EFDS was founded as a counter-organisation which would treat folk culture as an art form and transmit it accurately by treating it with the same degree of dispassionate, artistic rigour as a concert pianist would display towards a Beethoven sonata. It would do this by voluntary activity – by 'gathering people together into a society' – and it was acknowledged that the material did indeed have to reach a new class, who were strangers to the circumstances and attitudes which had produced it. There was no more of the 'spiritual sixth sense' of which Sharp had spoken in 1905, and to which Mary Neal still trusted.<sup>84</sup> The members of the EFDS were trustees with the Holy Grail of folk culture in their hands, and they had to look to the highest artistic ideals to keep it unsullied. They were to teach and popularise, but not on any terms; the integrity of the material had to come first.

The EFDS as constituted had an Hon Director (Sharp), a Treasurer (initially Lawrence Bradbury, a refugee from the Esperance organisation), an Hon. Sec. (Helen Karpeles), and a Committee of twelve. This Committee initially consisted of T. Hercy Denman, A.D. Flower, Alice Gomme, Helen and Maud Karpeles, Perceval Lucas, Sharp, Mrs. Arthur (Charlotte) Sidgwick, Vaughan Williams, and G.J. Wilkinson. George Butterworth and Dorette Wilke were soon co-opted to this body, which reflected the EFDS's balance of interests: scholarship and collection were represented by Butterworth, Gomme, Sharp, and Vaughan Williams; performance by the Karpeles sisters, Lucas, and Wilkinson, education by Dorette Wilke, and the provinces and branch organisation by Denman (from Retford, Notts), Flower (from Stratford-on-Avon), and Mrs. Sidgwick (from Oxford). It was a hard-working committee which met frequently, every few days in the first months of the Society's existence: there were twenty-six meetings in 1912 and sixteen in 1913, besides the AGMs. The most frequent attenders were Butterworth, Gomme, the Karpeles sisters, Sharp, and Vaughan Williams, and the chairmanship (the Chairman had a casting vote) circulated between the members. One-third of the Committee retired each year (with provision for re-election, as with the Folk Song Society), and the officials were obliged to stand for election at the AGMs. In democracy and openness of management, therefore, the EFDS compared well with the Folk Song Society and provided a

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<sup>83</sup> Report of conference, *Morning Post*, 7 December 1911.

<sup>84</sup> For 'spiritual sixth sense', Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.550.

salutary contrast with the Esperance organisations. It was also a body in which participation and performance reached to the highest levels. Sharp did not only direct and lecture but danced in the 'Quartet Show' which consisted of him, another male dancer, and two women who were often Helen Karpeles, the Hon. Secretary, and her sister Maud.<sup>85</sup> They also danced in the Society's demonstration teams, as did the committee members Butterworth, Lucas, and Wilkinson.

The EFDS was conceived from the start as a membership-based organisation. Six months after its foundation there were 144 members, and in 1913 this rose to 279. Within little more than a year of its foundation, its membership equalled that of the Folk Song Society and had left that of the Esperance Guild in the shade. The most noticeable thing about this membership is the predominance of women and their apparent youth. In the Folk Song Society in 1899 and 1905, men outnumbered women by about two to one. In the EFDS, this position was more than reversed. Only 48 of the 144 members in 1912 were male, and only 67 of the 279 in 1913. Of the 96 female members in 1912, 69 gave their title as 'Miss', and no less than 155 out of the 212 in 1913. Because of this overwhelmingly female and overwhelmingly young membership, no biographical or occupational survey has been attempted. Some general trends may be noticed, however. Unlike the Folk Song Society, very few of the members were professional musicians or prominent amateurs. Only George Butterworth, Walter Ford, Sharp, and Vaughan Williams appear to have made their living from music. Amateurs included the collector and librarian Francis Jekyll (who sometimes worked with Butterworth) and Alfred M. Hale. The only profession which made any kind of showing was that of education and teaching, with some twenty members (on the 1913 list) having known links with educational establishments. E. Phillips Barker, David Pye, and R.J.E. Tiddy were beginning academic careers at Nottingham and Oxford universities. H. Caldwell Cook was likewise beginning his experiments in the teaching of English at the Perse School, Cambridge. Hilda Fear, Pauline Starling, and Hilda Wilson were all teachers at the Greycoat Hospital School in Westminster.<sup>86</sup> The morris-dancing priest Father Ralph Kerr had introduced folk dancing at the Oratory School, Brompton. G.J. Wilkinson was Sharp's successor as music master at Ludgrove School, and A.C. Wright was a P.E. teacher at the County School, Isleworth (Middlesex). Womens' teacher training colleges were represented by Miss J. Cobbold and Helen Kennedy at Whitelands College and by Miss Edgell and Dorette Wilke at the South Western Polytechnic.

The EFDS's membership, like that of the Folk Song Society, was middle-class and more socially homogeneous than of the Association or the Esperance Guild. Its homogeneity came at a price: the EFDS subscription was expensive – one guinea [twenty-one shillings] – which would have been a burden to anyone below the lower middle class.<sup>87</sup> However, two other

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<sup>85</sup> For the 'Quartet Show' and its composition, Kennedy, 'Early Days' (continued), *EFDS News* 10 (1925) p.326.

<sup>86</sup> *The Directory of Women Teachers and other women engaged in Higher and Secondary Education* (London: The Year Book Press, 1913).

<sup>87</sup> Particularly to schoolteachers and especially to women teachers. Most male elementary school teachers earned about £3 a week. Women were paid even less. Even an established and successful teacher like

categories of membership were soon introduced. Associates paid five shillings and were only entitled to copies of the Society's publications: there were 140 Associates in 1913. There was also branch membership. As with the Folk Song Society, there was no attempt to recruit public men or leaders of opinion. One Member of Parliament – Walter Rea – joined the EFDS but he resigned on being given a junior ministerial post and became an Associate Member. The committee was slow in appointing a President and Lady Mary Trefusis was chosen because of her known connections with folk music: as Lady Mary Lygon she had been a member of the Folk Song Society.<sup>88</sup>

### Comparison – Esperance and EFDS

The rival societies may be directly compared in their branch organisations, activities and finance. The formation of branches was one of the stated objectives of the EFDS: five were formed in the first half-year, and there were twenty-one in 1913.<sup>89</sup> Branch membership could cost as little as one shilling, and it brought participation in EFDS activities within the reach of artisans and even the upper class of labourers. There is some evidence that working-class people were recruited by 1914. Writing in the first number of the EFDS *Journal*, M. Sturge Gretton claimed that 'carters and ploughmen' from the hamlet of Kelmscott were participating in the activities of the Burford (Oxon) branch.<sup>90</sup> Branch memberships could be substantial: in 1914 the Cirencester Branch claimed 280; Cheltenham 165 ('mainly elementary school teachers'), Colchester 63, Liverpool 169, Manchester 101, Northumberland 213, and Oxford 124.<sup>91</sup> By this encouragement of a mass membership at low cost, the EFDS had far wider influence and a much broader base of support than the Esperance organisation could ever claim. By 1914, it had become a genuinely national institution whose membership (at the widest definition) came from nearly every part of the country and included nearly every section of society.

The publicity for the Esperance Guild certainly envisaged a national organisation with local branches, but nothing seems to have been done to promote them beyond a feeble promise in its literature that: 'A referee will be appointed for each county, and members will be notified of their own referee and asked to keep in touch, report local progress, and so on.'<sup>92</sup> However, local societies sometimes appeared spontaneously. The earliest appears to have been Burrows' own West Sussex association, which he reported as being in the process of establishment in July 1907. There was then a long hiatus until the autumn of 1908, when there was sudden activity in

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Harriet Johnson at Sompting (Sussex), running a 90-100 pupil village school, was only earning £108 in 1908. For information on Harriet Johnson, see Chapter 5. For incomes and social stratification generally, F.G. D'Aeth, 'Present Tendencies of Class Differentiation', *The Sociological Review* 3,4 (1910) pp.267-276. D'Aeth was a member of the EFDS.

<sup>88</sup> The EFDS resolved to invite Trefusis to become President at its AGM on 9 August 1912. EFDS Minutes 1, p.77. The EFDS Minute Books are unpublished MSS in the VWML.

<sup>89</sup> For Associates and branches, see tabulation in W.D. Croft, 'Fifteen Years' Progress', *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* 1 (1927), p.16.

<sup>90</sup> M. Sturge Gretton, 'Folk Dancing In and Around Burford', *The English Folk Dance Society's Journal* 1,1 (May 1914), p.2.

<sup>91</sup> Reports from EFDS branches, *ibid* pp.28-31.

half a dozen locations. At Oxford in October 1908, 'a small committee [had] already been formed in connexion with the Oxford Teacher's Guild' before a public meeting was held at Oxford Girls' High School.<sup>93</sup> In the same month a meeting was held at Stratford-on-Avon of 'managers, teachers and friends in the Church of England schools' and addressed by Neal and Burrows, and as a result a local association was founded with Revd. F.H. Hodgson as hon. secretary.<sup>94</sup> A 'Wharfedale Folk Music Association' was announced in November 1908, immediately after a successful visit by the Esperance Club to Ilkley, and in the same month Burrows was in Leamington (Warwicks) speaking on behalf of the Association, for which a local agent had already been appointed.<sup>95</sup> A 'Fareham Folk Music Society' was in existence in January 1909.<sup>96</sup> Some of these societies, such as Burrows' in West Susséx and Hodgson's at Stratford, seem to have been oriented towards education. By 1909 the West Sussex association had developed a 'Teachers' Folk-Song and Dance Society' branch at Horsham, and when Burrows visited it in November there were about sixty teachers present. A 'short programme of folk-songs and dances' was gone through, and, remarkably, the 'aged local folk-singer' Henry Burstow was present and on invitation he regaled the company with three songs.<sup>97</sup> Others were concerned with performance and seemingly directed at adults. The Fareham society met for a weekly rehearsal 'under the conductorship of Mr. Stanley-Jones, FRCO'.<sup>98</sup> Such a local association, combining performance and teaching, was going strong at North Shields in 1910, one of its leaders claiming that 'the children in the public schools are being taught' and that: 'We ourselves are requested month after month to give performances; we are conducting a successful weekly class'.<sup>99</sup> Some were more ambitious still and had aims actually wider than those of the Esperance organisation. The object of the Wharfedale association was 'to collect folk-tunes, including therein songs, singing games, and country dances', and it was suggested that it affiliate to the Folk Song Society.<sup>100</sup> There may also have been a number of more private groups. One such was Janet McCrindell's in Liverpool, based on the Victoria Settlement.<sup>101</sup> This group learned morris dancing from Florrie Warren in 1907; the following year Warren returned for a month and on Midsummer Eve there was 'probably the first North Country Open Air Festival' before it gave its first public display in 1910. Its members could even claim to have made the first 'travelling morris' tour.<sup>102</sup> But it is doubtful whether many of these provincial societies can be regarded as branches of the Esperance organisation, which never seems to have made any attempt at affiliation or even at remaining in close touch with them.

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<sup>92</sup> Esperance leaflet, Carey Collection, Esperance p.27.

<sup>93</sup> *Oxford Chronicle*, 2 and 16 October 1908.

<sup>94</sup> *Stratford-on-Avon Herald*, 16 October 1908. I am indebted to Roy Judge for this information.

<sup>95</sup> *Leamington Courier*, 27 November 1908.

<sup>96</sup> *Yorkshire Daily Post*, 27 November 1908, *Hampshire Telegraph*, 16 January 1909.

<sup>97</sup> *West Sussex County Times*, 13 November 1909.

<sup>98</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph*, 16 January 1909.

<sup>99</sup> Letter from Lewis Johnson, *Daily Mail* 16 May 1910.

<sup>100</sup> *Yorkshire Daily Post*, 27 November 1908.

<sup>101</sup> For the Victoria Settlement, Dr Werner Picht (trans. Lilian A. Cowell), *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914), pp.215-216.

<sup>102</sup> Janet E. McCrindell, 'Twenty-Five Years', *EFDS News* 3,2 (April 1931) pp.37-38.



Some, like the Oxford Association, were independent from the start and never allied themselves with the Esperance at all.

The primary activities of the Esperance organisations and the EFDS were performance and teaching: the difference between them was that the Esperance's activities were directed primarily at children and at philanthropic activity, while the EFDS was an educational movement with a social framework aimed primarily at adults. The Esperance organisations aimed at direct contact with children and young people through their teaching staff. The policy of both the Esperance organisations and the EFDS was not to rely on books for teaching but to teach directly from instructresses who (in the EFDS) had passed a proficiency examination or (in the case of the Esperance) had – theoretically at least – learned directly from the traditional dancers themselves, but there were wide differences in the composition of dance classes and the way in which they were brought together. Until Sharp's classes at the Chelsea Polytechnic were made public in 1909, teaching was confined to members of groups associating together to learn the dances or (more usually) people – often children – who had been brought together to learn for a philanthropic purpose, and this remained the favoured model for the Esperance organisation. Its teaching did not come cheap. The fee for: 'Teachers sent into the country' was two guineas per week, plus their board, lodging, and travelling expenses. Additional capitation fees were payable for classes of more than thirty-six persons. For: 'Daily teachers in and around London' the fee was five shillings per day. Rather curiously and opportunistically, this fee was doubled for groups of: 'Elementary and other school teachers'.<sup>103</sup> In addition, the organisers of classes had to provide their own music (and someone to play it) and their own equipment of sticks and bells – all of which could be bought from the Esperance Club or from Curwens, the publishers of its literature.<sup>104</sup> The usual pattern was for an instructress to spend a week with a dance group, giving instruction daily, and concentrating on one or more of the adult pupils who could continue teaching after the instructress's departure.

The burdens of time, money, and energy ensured that these activities were dominated by the middle and upper classes. The few accounts of Esperance teachers at work emphasise the social rank of the organisers and the class differences between them and the instructresses. And although there was enthusiasm and some participation at the middle and upper-class level, the usual intention was to provide healthy recreation for the lower classes and particularly for young people. Even a sympathetic witness, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, hints at a measure of coercion and at teaching not always being well received. She says that in the early days the Esperance girls 'changed their outlook' and began to travel all over England:

They stayed very often with those county families who had the welfare of rural villages at heart; they were often entertained in the houses of very influential people and were always treated as honoured guests ... Lord Sandwich was one of the many county magnates deeply interested in this revival. One of our teachers stayed in his home for a week while she taught the villages in the neighbourhood to dance. Afterwards she gave

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<sup>103</sup> Esperance leaflet, Carey Collection, Esperance p.28.

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.* There is a Curwens' price list for morris equipment at the back of Mary Neal (ed) *The Esperance Morris Book Part II: Morris Dances, Country Dances, Sword Dances and Sea Shanties* (London: Curwen, 1912), p.64.

her experiences to my colleague in the following words: 'At first the people were a bit difficult, but me and his Lordship soon put that right!'<sup>105</sup>

The motive for philanthropy was usually to give young people something to occupy them and to control wild and anti-social behaviour where other means had failed. In an interview published in 1909, Mary Neal claimed that: 'At Knebworth, a set of rough young lads came to be taught, who could never be induced to go near any classes, and proved full of enthusiasm; and I had a letter from a clergyman that a boy who was warranted to break up any Bible class had taken to morris dancing and had become quite a reformed character'.<sup>106</sup> At Coates (Gloucs) the motive for introducing morris dancing was the 'rough character of the village lads' who were terrorising the 'schoolchildren and older girls' already involved in 'drill and dance classes'. Until these youths could be involved, 'the central problem of village life, the softening and sweetening of the country hooligan's mutinous manners, [remained] untouched and unsolved'.<sup>107</sup> Folk dance, and the character of the Esperance instructress (Bertha Maas) appear to have worked their accustomed wonders, and *The Times'* correspondent, watching a performance in Cirencester which included some of the ex-hooligans, concluded that it was 'a most striking object-lesson in the reality of a revival which is softening and sweetening the *mores* of rural England, and may in the end (but that remains to be seen) lead the cities captive in a good cause'.<sup>108</sup>

Such revivals had their undoubted short-term successes – with, as *The Times'* correspondent emphasised, obvious benefits for the community as a whole – but they depended heavily upon the energy and enthusiasm (not to mention the purses) of local organisers, and the exercise of a benevolent but nonetheless authoritarian and top-down philanthropy. What was lacking was any sort of social structure to keep the reformed hooligans interested once their patrons had lost interest or moved on to the next good cause. Where the necessary continuity could be provided, enduring organisations were sometimes the result. At Thaxted (Essex) the initiative for folk dance tuition came from Miriam Noel, the wife of the newly-arrived Christian Socialist vicar. Those taught at Thaxted were mainly children and adolescents from the small town, with their elementary school teachers. A morris dance side first performed at George V's Coronation Day celebrations in June 1911, and before long there was a sixty-strong company which danced at events like the Countess of Warwick's garden party and the Stisted Flower Show.<sup>109</sup> Conrad and Miriam Noel were to stay at Thaxted for thirty-two years and the dancing became part of a more general social and cultural revival, and so was accepted into the life of the town. But the initial price of this activity was that the dance group was closely associated with the parish church and its members were expected to observe Noel's brand of High-Church discipline – no dancing in Lent, for example.<sup>110</sup> Sometimes employers provided the

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<sup>105</sup> Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World* (London: Gollancz, 1938), pp.137-138.

<sup>106</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 26 February 1909.

<sup>107</sup> *The Times* 15 October 1910.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Reg Groves, *Conrad Noel and the Thaxted Movement: An Adventure in Christian Socialism* (London: Merlin Books, 1967), pp.70-74.

<sup>110</sup> *ibid* p.72.

philanthropy. Mary Neal referred to activity at Bournville (in Birmingham) and there was a thriving group based on the Reckitt's works at Hull.<sup>111</sup> It may be noticed that both the Cadbury family at Bournville and the Reckitts were Quakers.

Although EFDS teachers could be hired for private parties on almost exactly the same terms as those for the Esperance Guild, the emphasis was on public classes, on voluntary and adult association, and on the formation of local branches to develop folk dance as part of the regular social life of the regions.<sup>112</sup> The EFDS's objectives, summarised at its inaugural meeting, were:

The instruction of members and others in Folk Dancing  
The training of teachers of Folk Dancing, and the granting of certificates of proficiency.  
The holding of public demonstrations of Folk Dancing.  
The holding of dance meetings for members at which dancing shall be general; and of meetings at which papers shall be read and discussed.  
The publication of literature dealing with Folk Dancing and kindred subjects.  
The foundation, organisation, and artistic control of Local Branches in London, the Provinces, and elsewhere.  
The supplying of teachers and provision of lectures and other displays to schools, colleges, and other institutions.  
The technical and artistic supervision of the Vacation Schools of Folk Song and Dance at Stratford-on-Avon, organised by the Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre.<sup>113</sup>

Though there was provision for scholarly activity and publication, the emphasis was heavily on performance and proselytisation, and it was repeated by the Society's first Annual Reports. The first 'Annual' Report (which covered only the first six months of the Society's existence) stated that classes had been held at three locations in London and that 233 people had attended them. Besides that, teachers had been sent by the Society to seventeen named locations and 'other places'.<sup>114</sup> The Report for 1913 recorded two sessions of the Stratford-on-Avon Vacation School, with a total of 600 one-week courses taken, demonstrations (usually with a lecture by Sharp) at thirty-five locations (from Camborne, Cornwall, to Paris), and competitions at six locations. Classes had been held at four places in London and twenty-nine outside it, and a teacher had gone to the U.S.A.<sup>115</sup> The only publications in the first two years were two pamphlets, and while the issue of a journal was discussed it did not appear until 1914.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> In a speech reported by the *Oxford Chronicle*, 16 October 1908, Neal said that: 'The Quakers had taken up the movement with enthusiasm and everyone on Mr Cadbury's estate at Bournville had been taught', while a letter from 'M.J.' printed in the *Yorkshire Post*, 2 November 1911, stated that '200 factory girls and boys' were to be seen every Saturday evening morris dancing on the ground floor of a building in Hull while their seniors danced 'quadrilles and lancers' upstairs. For confirmatory details see *Reckitt's Magazine* (Hull), July 1911 (p.18), March (p.1) & July 1912 (p.32), July 1913 (p.135). I am very grateful to Dr. Douglas Reid, and to Gordon E. Stephenson, Manager of 'Reckitt's Heritage', for the Reckitt's references.

<sup>112</sup> For EFDS personnel teaching private parties, Maud Karpeles, 'Autobiography' [unpublished typescript held in VWML], pp.23,33. In 1911 Karpeles taught for a week at the boys' training ship 'Mercury' at Hamble (Hants) and the following year at Lew Trenchard (Devon) and Minehead (Somerset).

<sup>113</sup> Objectives as given in EFDS Annual Report, 1912, p.2.

<sup>114</sup> *ibid*, p.7

<sup>115</sup> EFDS Annual Report, 1913, pp.1-2.

<sup>116</sup> *Folk Dancing in Schools* (1912) and *Folk Singing in Schools* (1913). Hercy Denman proposed publication of a Journal at the Committee on 2 January 1913, It was initially suggested that this should

Besides social life, the EFDS also gave its recruits things to aim for. At the Goupil Gallery, Mary Neal had spoken of the need for a system of assessment and fixed standards for the Association's teachers. But she never made any attempt to put these aims into practice: rather, as she developed her own philosophy of folk dance during the quarrel with Sharp and the ensuing battle between the rival organisations, she made a virtue of rejecting assessment and fixed standards, and emphasised instead unconscious joy and freedom.<sup>117</sup> She constantly asserted that the dances were easy to learn and the idea that they could be 'picked up' in half an hour or as the result of one lesson constantly recurred in her speeches and writings.<sup>118</sup> Although there undoubtedly were some fine dancers and musicians within the Esperance ranks, there was no encouragement of excellence or even proficiency from the central organisation and no means of recognising or rewarding it. The EFDS, by contrast, established examinations for its Elementary and Advanced Certificates and rewarded those who progressed to Advanced standard by allowing them to wear a silver badge. There was a further benefit to certification, though one not fully appreciated at the time. The Board of Education had accepted morris dancing onto the physical education syllabus in 1909, but – possibly because of the rivalry between the Esperance organisation and the EFDS – it did not as yet recognise specialist teachers in the subject, pay their fees to attend classes, or reward them with increments to their salaries. These were developments of the post-war years. But when it did so recognise specialist teachers, it was certain to look more favourably on those who had taken an examination and could show a certificate of proficiency, than on those who merely emphasised spiritual development or unconscious joy and freedom. The educational authorities demanded certification in every other branch of teaching work – including the new subject of physical education – and common sense indicated that they would demand it when folk dance was fully recognised in educational practice. The failure to appreciate this need for assessment and standards was one of the failures which, in the long run, doomed the Esperance organisation.

The Esperance Club had been giving public performances since 1906, initially in the form of a 'Pastoral' arranged by MacIlwaine and performed at least fifteen times at the smaller Queen's Hall in London and at some provincial locations.<sup>119</sup> After MacIlwaine's departure, the 'Pastoral' arrangement was abandoned for a somewhat repetitive formula of songs, dances and singing games, but presented with a good deal of panache and a considerable sense of showmanship. At Kensington Town Hall on 5 May 1910 Neal presented to the public no less than four traditional performers with their paraphernalia: the Abingdon dancers James and Thomas Hemmings with their bull's mask, Sam Bennett of Ilmington with his hobby-horse, and Charles Hawtin of Kirtlington carrying a lamb. There was also an elaborate 'Keepsake'

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be a four-page leaflet under some title such as 'EFDS Chronicle'. See Minutes of Committee, 2 January 1913, p.102, and 28 January 1913, p.5 (new pagination begins with this entry).

<sup>117</sup> Expressed, for example, in unattributed and undated extract from *T.P.'s Weekly*, reprinted in Neal, *Esperance Morris Book*, Part II p.51.

<sup>118</sup> For a claim that a sword dance could be taught in one lesson, press release in Carey Collection, Esperance p.32.

<sup>119</sup> For the MacIlwaine 'Pastoral', Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.550.

programme.<sup>120</sup> Neal and MacIlwaine also took the Esperance girls *en masse* to provincial concerts. In October 1908 they took a party of forty to Ilkley (Yorks) for a concert in the Town Hall. Next day, the girls had 'a most enjoyable ramble on the moor' despite the mist and left by the 4pm train, travelling in a special carriage engaged from Shipley.<sup>121</sup> Neal even contemplated tours of particular regions. In 1910 she told the *Musical Herald* that: 'Next summer I am meditating a fortnight's tour by motor bus from London to Yorkshire and back, giving a display in a different town or village every day but Sunday'.<sup>122</sup> Her organisation acquired a permanent performance base in London, with the re-erection of Old Crosby Hall at More's Gardens, Chelsea. From November 1910 the Esperance organisation gave a once-monthly performance there at which the spectators were encouraged to join in the singing and dancing.<sup>123</sup>

Folk Dance Club and EFDS performances were more restrained and remained essentially lectures by Sharp with illustrations: the name given to them, 'Demonstrations', suggests their character. They were given to show the flag in London and to illustrate the markedly superior range of material the EFDS was able to draw upon, and in the provinces the usual intention was to arouse interest and help in setting up local branches.<sup>124</sup> The Esperance's activities were directed more at entertainment and at soliciting charity: even the elaborate programme for the Kensington show in May 1910 carried an appeal for cast-off linen for the Esperance children's summer holiday. The growing breach between Neal and Sharp from 1909 onwards also forced some changes in Esperance policy. Sharp's intensive dance collecting, and the use to which the material was put by the Folk Dance Club and the EFDS, made it imperative for the Esperance to collect its own material. The method which came naturally to Sharp – the trained musician – was to note the tunes, work out the steps and movements, codify them, and publish them. The method which came naturally to Neal, who had always relied on others to teach, and further had always used rote-learning methods, was to bring the traditional dancers and her girls together and teach direct. The Headington dancer William Kimber, sometimes accompanied by his cousin, had been making regular visits to the Esperance Club since 1905. He took Sharp's part in the quarrel and was offended by some foolish and tactless remarks on Neal's part, and these visits ceased.<sup>125</sup> Neal had already begun to invite other dancers such as Thomas Cadd to London to teach, and began to make a great propaganda point of her closeness to and personal links with the tradition.<sup>126</sup> In 1912, she told Clive Carey that she had invited sixteen country dancers to London, 'some several times', that the girls had visited seven places to learn, and that she had been to twelve locations to investigate.<sup>127</sup> Neal also used traditional performers to illustrate her contention that the dances were easy to learn: in October 1911 two of the

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<sup>120</sup> Copy in Carey Collection, Esperance pp.11-20.

<sup>121</sup> *Yorkshire Daily Observer*, 2 November 1908.

<sup>122</sup> *Musical Herald*, 1 April 1910.

<sup>123</sup> Esperance leaflet, Carey Collection, Esperance p.27.

<sup>124</sup> Karpeles, 'Early Days', p.326.

<sup>125</sup> Kimber and Sharp went to the Esperance Club for the last time in June 1909. When differences arose between Kimber's dancing and that of the girls, Neal's response was to tell Kimber that they danced better than he did. See page of notes in Sharp's hand in 'The Vaughan Williams MSS Book', VWML.

<sup>126</sup> For Thomas Cadd, see Chapter 2.

Flamborough (Yorks) sword dancers were brought to Crosby Hall to publicly teach a side which, Neal averred, had 'never before seen the dance' as 'an object lesson in the ease with which the dances can be learned'.<sup>128</sup> The proposition was doubtful, but, like most of Neal's activities, it was imaginative and colourful.

Even the most imaginative and colourful activities, however, have to be paid for. Neal's speech at the Goupil Gallery implies that she expected most of the Society's income to come from charitable donations: this was the form which came naturally to Neal, who, of course, had run the Esperance Club as a charitable concern. She had already received a gift of £1,000 from Lady Constance Lytton, and throughout the life of the Association and the Esperance Guild she was constantly appealing for funds.<sup>129</sup> In 1908 she and MacIlwaine wrote to the *Saturday Review*, saying that: 'We are urgently in need of funds for our office and secretarial expenses, for the training of teachers, and generally for the furtherance of our work'.<sup>130</sup> In 1909 she told the *Daily Chronicle* that she needed 'a guarantee of £150 a year for about five years. That would pay for the office and the secretary and the general expense of the work'.<sup>131</sup> From then on, Neal's need for money seemed to increase exponentially. By the time the Esperance Guild invited membership, her expectations had increased to £300 a year, while in June 1910 she told the readers of *Public Opinion* that: 'A thousand pounds would see us through the next year or two, when it is hoped that the work will be self-supporting'.<sup>132</sup> We are never likely to know what she actually received, but she was clearly accustomed to thinking in terms of what, for the time, were large sums of money. Besides charitable donations, Neal's organisations received money from teaching fees and from performances, from membership subscriptions (when membership was invited), and from the sale of its publications. But it was never enough. Both the Association and the Esperance Guild give the impression of living hand to mouth: their appeals for donations always stress that these are 'urgently needed'. More direct evidence of financial embarrassment comes from Mary Neal's correspondence and from what little survives from the correspondence of the Esperance Guild. In 1910 Neal told Clive Carey that the organisers of the Stratford-on-Avon festivities wanted him to be present and could pay a fee of seven guineas, but 'I am not sure if we can afford more than the return fare'.<sup>133</sup> In 1911, the Guild's paid secretary apologised to Carey for not being able to pay him a larger fee (three guineas rather than five) 'but in view of a file of unpaid bills I am stingy and I know you understand. The finances of the Guild are a fearful worry to me!'<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Letter dated August 1912, Carey Collection p.178.

<sup>128</sup> Press release, Carey Collection, Esperance p.32. The Crosby Hall performance in question was on 5 October 1911.

<sup>129</sup> For the fact of the gift, Constance Lytton and Jane Warton, Spinster, *Prisons and Prisoners: Some Personal Experiences* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), p.7. Her friend Betty Balfour, in *Letters of Constance Lytton* (London: Heinemann, 1923), p.133, says that the sum was £1,000.

<sup>130</sup> *Saturday Review*, 23 March 1908.

<sup>131</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 26 February 1909.

<sup>132</sup> Esperance leaflet. *Public Opinion*, 3 June 1910.

<sup>133</sup> Mary Neal to Clive Carey, 31 May 1910. Carey Collection p.166.

<sup>134</sup> Thyra Macdonald to Carey, 16 February 1911. Carey Collection p.127.

Perhaps the most immediately fatal weakness of the Esperance organisation was its finances, and the question must be asked – what happened to the monies which Neal is known to have received? As we have seen, in 1909 and 1910 she gave £150 and £300 a year as the guarantee sums necessary to develop her organisation. But as we have also seen, she was given £1,000 by Lady Constance Lytton in late 1906 or early 1907. At £150 a year, this would have provided the guarantee sum for more than six years – ie, until well into 1913 – and at £300 a year for more than three years – ie, until 1910-1911. And this is to take no account of other charitable donations, which Neal certainly expected to be made, or income from other sources. The basic expenses were not particularly high: the EFDS paid its secretary £102 a year and rented an office and telephone for seven guineas.<sup>135</sup> Esperance fees were much the same as those of the EFDS and the work should have paid for itself or made a small profit. In the absence of accounts or any other details of Esperance finances, we are never likely to be able to resolve this question, but the circumstantial evidence gives a strong impression that money was not wisely used. On three occasions in 1910, Neal refers to having the use of a motor car and chauffeur.<sup>136</sup> Pre-1914 motoring was very expensive and was regarded as the preserve of the rich.<sup>137</sup> Beyond this it is only possible to speculate, but the way in which Neal ran through money suggests an extravagant and top-heavy organisation, and the application of funds to other purposes than the direct benefit of the main body.

The EFDS, by contrast, had a secure financial position through its solid membership base, and although it later received grants from the Carnegie foundation and made a public appeal for funds to build Cecil Sharp House, it never relied on charity for its everyday functions. So long as it retained its membership, it had an adequate basic income, and even at the nadir of the EFDS's fortunes, in 1917, it still had 200 members. Subscriptions – £116 in the first half-year, £228 in 1913 – ensured that the basic expenses – the paid secretary's salary, the rent of an office and telephone, the costs of printing and stationery – could be met.<sup>138</sup> Teaching, performances, and publications paid for themselves or made a small profit: in 1913 the Society paid £657 for these services and received £671 from them. The result was that the EFDS always had money in hand and that there was never any need to draw on the guarantee fund which had been established at the inaugural meeting.

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<sup>135</sup> Annual Report, 1913.

<sup>136</sup> Neal to Carey, 21 October and 10 November 1910, Carey Collection pp.168-169: see also Mary Neal 'The Flial Dance', *Vanity Fair* 29 June 1910 [reporting a visit to Sam Bennett].

<sup>137</sup> Neal's personal finances are an almost complete mystery. Despite her family's wealth, she had only a tiny income in her early days in London (Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World*, p.105). In later years her father had fallen on worse times: when he died, in 1918, he left only £356 (Calendar of Probate, 1919). Neal never had a paid job except possibly during the First World War, when she may have worked for the Ministry of Pensions. But nevertheless she was able to afford a comfortable retirement in Sussex and was made a J.P. – a position not given to the indigent.

<sup>138</sup> For the figures, EFDS Annual Reports, 1912 p.13, 1913 p.4.

## Conclusions

Of all the folk music movement's several hundred known personnel between 1898 and 1914, only one – Alice Gomme – attended the inaugural meetings of all three societies.<sup>139</sup> She was also the only one of the Folk Song Society's original 110 members to join the EFDS. Only eight of the 152 individual members in 1905 did so, and in 1913, when the membership sizes were similar (300 in the Folk Song Society, 279 in the EFDS) only twenty people were members of both Societies. The folk music movement was not a homogeneous mass of people: its personnel were largely drawn from the same social class but from different age, sex, and social groups which expected different things from the movement. The membership of the Folk Song Society was predominantly of the professional middle-class, predominantly male, and predominantly in middle or old age. Although the leadership sometimes used the language of revivalism, the members were more interested in folk music as a scholarly and antiquarian pursuit than as a populist and revivalist movement. The English Folk Dance Society could be thought of as these people's daughters: predominantly young, predominantly female, and with interests which centred on performance and social life rather than scholarship.<sup>140</sup>

This lack of contact was repeated at the official level. Relations between the societies were poor or non-existent. The Folk Song Society regarded any possible invasion of its territory with deep suspicion. When the Wharfedale association was formed, with collection of material among its aims, Lucy Broadwood responded by stating that she had received no approach from the organisers, and that expert guidance was necessary in collecting work.<sup>141</sup> She asked W.H. Hadow, an Oxford don, about the Oxford society and received the following reply:

All that I know about it is this. The other day I was invited to a meeting at Mrs. Egerton, and found there an assembly of people who had evidently had some preliminary meeting before and who were anxious to form a society for collecting Folk Song round Oxford and encouraging village dances etc. ... I explained about the Folk Song Society, told them how important it was that they should work with it, and suggested your [i.e., Broadwood's] name as a Vice-President. Then someone raised the question of the Esperance Club and the 'Society for the Revival and Practice': I told them a few things about it and pointed out that it would be fatal to affiliate themselves to it in any way. The result was that they decided to start as an independent body ... The one thing clear is that the Oxford Society is not in any sense a branch of the Esperance Club or of any institution connected with it.<sup>142</sup>

Broadwood later warmed to Mary Neal personally, through the friendship of Clive Carey and because of her increasing distrust and dislike of Cecil Sharp.<sup>143</sup> The Esperance Guild and the EFDS were, of course, at daggers drawn, though there were one or two points of contact such as

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<sup>139</sup> Sharp was a member of or associated with all three organisations, but was not a founder-member of the Folk Song Society. He was elected to membership at the Committee on 23 May 1901. Minute Book No.1, p.127.

<sup>140</sup> Sometimes they actually were. Mrs. Herbert Carr's daughters, Kate Lee's nieces, joined the EFDS.

<sup>141</sup> *Yorkshire Daily Post*, 1 December 1908.

<sup>142</sup> W.H. Hadow to Lucy Broadwood, 2 February 1909, SHC 2185/LEB/1/137.

<sup>143</sup> For these shifting relationships, see Chapter 2.



Carey, who remained on speaking terms with Sharp.<sup>144</sup> The only member of the Esperance Guild known to have joined the Folk Song Society is Carey, and he also joined the EFDS after the First World War.

Modern interpretations have insisted on seeing all three societies as culturally interventionist institutions, in the sense of aiming to indoctrinate the working class. This is certainly not true of the Folk Song Society. Its early experiments in performance and public meetings ended in 1901 to leave it as a scholarly publishing society with little interest in disseminating material beyond its own membership. It never published anything except its *Journal*, and for most of the period before 1914 the *Journal* was only available to a membership which never numbered more than 358. A few individual members – most notably, Sharp and Vaughan Williams – believed in active cultural intervention, but they were hugely outnumbered, and the vote at the 1906 AGM both demonstrated this fact and settled the issue down to 1914 and beyond. The Folk Song Society not only declined a more active role by default and inaction, but actively refused it by its failure to act on Arthur Somervell's repeated initiatives. Part of the reason for this was that the Society's finances were inadequate for a public role and were in particularly low water in 1904-5, but the main reason was that the bulk of the membership was simply not interested folk music as a mass movement. This was partly due to motives which would nowadays would be termed snobbish and 'elitist', partly due to the vested interests and political attitudes of those like Stanford who already had a foot in the educational door; and partly due to the quietism of those who just wanted to be left to get on with their private enjoyment. But the result was that cultural intervention was never among the Folk Song Society's aims and it never made any effort to achieve it.

The most interventionist of the societies were Mary Neal's organisations. From the start, Neal aimed to harness the wealth, organising ability and philanthropic motives of the upper and middle classes to achieve a social transformation: to wean the working class through its children from an unhealthy lifestyle and equally unhealthy cultural tastes to a situation in which 'the boys and girls of England' would be 'what every true lover of our country would [wish to] see them, upright, clean-living, and joyous.'<sup>145</sup> To bodies which called themselves the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music and the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers, this was essentially an ulterior motive, but it was an ulterior motive which was placed above every other consideration. Neal's intentions in wanting to see the youth of England transformed in this way are debatable – she used the language of revolutionary socialism as well as that of patriotism – but she was certainly enunciating an ambition common to both the political Right and Left.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Neal to Carey, 27 April 1911, Carey Collection p.171, encloses a drawing which, Neal says, Carey might like to show to Sharp 'if you get to talking'.

<sup>145</sup> Esperance leaflet, Carey Collection, Esperance p.27.

<sup>146</sup> In 1912 Mary Neal asserted that folk song and dance belonged to the people, and went on 'It is well that we realize this to-day when all the other forces of wealth and civilization are arraying themselves against the workers, and it is well that we use this vitalizing force of music and dance and song to strengthen the people to hold their own in the days that are surely coming upon us': 'The National Revival of the Folk Dance, V: The Green Life of Spring', in *The Country Town*, 2,5 (May 1912). *The Country Town* was Conrad Noel's parish magazine at Thaxted. Copy in my possession.

The imperialists and national service propagandists, the industrialists and proponents of 'National Efficiency', had as much reason to wish the boys and girls of England to be 'upright, clean-living, and joyous' as Keir Hardie and the Christian Socialists did.<sup>147</sup> The means by which this transformation was attempted was always an authoritarian and top-down philanthropy openly intended to be for the recipients' own good. The fact that the material was often genuinely enjoyed and was often genuinely horizon-broadening should not be allowed to obscure the motives for providing it, or the means of its provision. Neal's organisations directed their attention at the working class but were never of the working class. There was no democratic provision and control was always in the hands of upper and middle class people and was usually exercised by Neal herself. If the Esperance Guild was indeed a 'socialist' organisation, it was only socialist in the sense of the former Soviet Union or the Eastern Bloc countries.

The EFDS was also a proselytising, interventionist body but one whose aims and methods were essentially different from those of the Esperance Guild. Instead of harnessing the financial power and philanthropic motives of the middle classes to employ others, its aim was to evangelise the middle classes themselves in the hope that the material would then seep through into the other levels of society. It eschewed philanthropy and placed the integrity of the material first. Its basis was groups of people brought together through interest in the subject, who would provide the basis for a national movement through a devolved branch structure. It provided centres through which the most humble and most provincial student of folk dance could feel themselves part of a national organisation, and it harnessed the talents of a formidable body of organisers up and down the country. It is probably true to say, however, that the EFDS owed its rapid growth to the centres which had been established through the Association's activities, if not directly by it. Some of the EFDS's most active centres – Oxford, Coates, Stratford – were 'inherited' as an indirect legacy from the Esperance organisation.

Mary Neal closed down the Esperance Guild on the outbreak of war. Her motives probably included the same spirit of patriotic renunciation as that which led the WSPU's leadership to suspend its activities for the duration, but it must also have been an acknowledgement of practical realities. The EFDS was beating her organisation out of the ring, and she could not have continued in peacetime, let alone under wartime conditions. The Esperance had begun with all the advantages – an established organisation with a number of loosely-affiliated 'branches' in being, supported by a number of powerful and influential people. Yet within three years an entirely new rival organisation was established which either took over the Esperance's structures or swept them aside. There is no simple explanation for the Esperance's failure, but some of the major causes can be identified. The first was the lack of a coherent philosophy. Neal was always more interested in social work than in the material

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<sup>147</sup> For the 'National Efficiency' movement, Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960). G.R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (London: Ashfield Press, 1990). [First published 1971].

and she seemed to demand of her supporters that they sign up to a complete social programme, which was in theory non-party-political, but in fact was tied closely to the women's suffrage movement, and because of the WSPU's campaign of violence the suffrage movement was becoming increasingly unpopular in the years immediately before 1914. The EFDS, by contrast, was a broader church which was not tied to any particular social or political cause. The second reason was Neal's inadequate approach to organisation. Because of her autocratic tendencies and obvious difficulties in working with other people as equals, the Association and the Esperance Guild remained tied to the Esperance Club, to a small-scale local structure which was inappropriate and wholly inadequate for a national body. The EFDS succeeded because the problems of a national organisation had been thought through and adequate structures provided to cope with them. It was an open organisation with a democratic structure, based on precisely the form of executive committee which Neal refused even to consider. Perhaps because Neal kept herself too busy, she never instituted an effective branch structure. The EFDS did so and was able to draw on the talents of a formidable body of organisers up and down the country. The failures of the Esperance organisation were failures of vision and organisation, and since no-one else had any executive responsibility they have to be laid at Mary Neal's door.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### COLLECTORS, COLLECTING AND PUBLICATION 1898 – 1914

#### Introduction

At the very beginning of Kate Lee's interest in traditional music, she was a guest at a Christmas house-party in Buckinghamshire. As she told the story, some of the villagers came to the house to sing: probably, they were carolling in a manner closer to Hardy's rustics in *Under the Greenwood Tree* than to the later tradition of *Adeste Fidelis* and 'While Shepherds watched'. Kate Lee was interested and wanted to note down the singing, but her host dissuaded her, saying that 'It would spoil the men very much if they thought they sang anything worth recording'.<sup>1</sup> Between this experience (probably in the early 1890s) and 1914, the attitude towards traditional music among educated people changed from a derisory dismissiveness at the idea that the lower orders could create or harbour anything of value, to wonder and astonishment at the quantity, variety, and quality of what had been collected from what had been assumed to be a stolid and unmusical populace. In 1912, Vaughan Williams estimated that some 7,000 tunes had been collected, from nearly every English county.<sup>2</sup> An original interest in folk song and children's singing games had developed to include morris, sword, and country dancing, and the mummers' play. A plethora of song books had been published, and the combination of dance manuals and tune books recorded the dances for posterity and enabled them to be learned by a new public.

When it is remembered that all this work was done by voluntary effort, often by busy professional people who had to fit their collecting, editing, and publishing activities into their working and family lives, and at their own expense, it was indeed a remarkable achievement. The folk music collectors were among the first real explorers of popular culture, finding out what people actually sang rather than making suppositions about what they should be singing, and the material they presented made a real contribution to the rehabilitation of country labourers and their families.<sup>3</sup> Those who sang or listened to the contents of *Folk Songs from Somerset* or who danced or watched performances of the inventive and intricate morris dances from Longborough or Sherborne (Glos) could no longer dismiss Emma Overd or George Say or Harry Taylor as being but one step higher than the beasts of the field. The common people had been given a voice; that voice surprised everyone with its beauty and humanity; and it compelled attention.

Respect for the folk music collectors' work and the appreciation of its social consequences prevailed until the early 1970s. A.L. Lloyd's *Folk Song in England* was radical and provocative for its time, but its criticism of the collectors' approach and methods was balanced by high and unreserved praise for their motivation and for the epic scale of their

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<sup>1</sup> Kate Lee, 'Some Experiences of a Folk-Song Collector', *JFSS* 1,1 (1899), p.7.

<sup>2</sup> R. Vaughan Williams, *English Folk Song* (London: EFDS, n.d.[1912]), p.4.

<sup>3</sup> This rehabilitation is explored in Alun Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob: reconstructing the English farm labourer, 1870-1914' in Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (eds) *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp.218-235. For the folk song collectors in particular, p.229.

achievement.<sup>4</sup> Lloyd's successors, however, have ignored or denigrated the collectors' achievements and have presented their work as one long catalogue of distortion and misrepresentation. Because many of the allegations made against the collectors depend specifically on David Harker's analysis of Cecil Sharp's work in Somerset, I have treated it as a special case, and Part Two of this chapter is devoted to a specific rebuttal of Harker. Part Three deals with folk music publication. Part One is a general survey of working methods with an emphasis on those of Lucy Broadwood and Cecil Sharp – these have been chosen because it is possible to document their activities much more precisely than most others. In Part One I have tried to deal with the more general preconceptions about the collectors' work which have developed as a result of the Marxist analysis. The Marxist position depends on the idea of class separation, and so it has been argued firstly that the collectors were not really interested in popular culture and so were ignorant of broadsides and other popular forms, and secondly that class differences prevented any real contact between collector and singer, so that they made only a marginal penetration into popular culture and heard only what they wanted to hear. Ian Watson provides an extreme but useful summary of these Marxist suppositions:

The false conclusions that Sharp presented ... were based ... on a bilateral censorship on class lines. Sharp censored consciously for the sake of 'decency' and unconsciously – either for 'aesthetic' reasons or because he failed to understand ambiguities. The singers 'censored' themselves out of insecurity; either shyness in front of the unknown man from an alien class, with whom they could not possibly feel free to sing erotic, political or socio-critical material, especially if the local vicar was involved in showing the collector round; or, as [A.L.] Lloyd has implied, out of a more conscious class-hostility, especially in areas where the parson was openly regarded as a representative of the class enemy.<sup>5</sup>

The immediately noticeable things here are Watson's assumptions that the singers were universally of the working class, and that they were shy, passive vessels, there only to be milked of their culture by the class enemy. This view is patronising, offensive, and based on the deep hostility and contempt for rural people and rural values endemic in Marxist thought since the time of Marx himself; but nevertheless Watson represents a widespread view and there is a grain of truth in his assertions. Attitudes towards fieldwork varied widely among collectors: some, particularly women constrained by the conventions of their time, were cautious and preferred to work in safe and controlled environments in which singers may genuinely have felt constrained. But the argument of my analysis of working methods is that there was what amounted to a revolution in folk song collection between the 1890s and 1914, with a progression from a situation in which an essentially amateur body collected in their own or their friends' homes, often from servants, retainers, or others known from personal contact, to one in which an essentially professional body of workers ranged widely about the countryside, going to the singers rather than making the singers come to them, and exploiting contacts made within the singers' own culture rather than those made through intermediaries. The Marxist interpretation may have had some validity, given the circumstances under which most collection in the 1880s

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<sup>4</sup> A.L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1967).

<sup>5</sup> Ian Watson, *Song and Democratic Culture: An Approach to Popular Culture in Social Movements* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p.33.

and 1890s was done. But it was not valid under the much freer methods of intensive field collection which developed between 1898 and 1914. So the first part of the chapter will attempt to assess the collectors' knowledge of broadsides, their professionalism, and their relationships with the singers.

## Part One:

### Collecting Methods

Cecil Sharp's work in traditional music began with William Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* and the existing collections from oral tradition, principally those of Baring-Gould and Lucy Broadwood with her collaborators. These had a practical application in Sharp's teaching work at Ludgrove, where they provided material for his pupils to sing, and at the Hampstead Conservatoire, where he was required to lecture on the history of music.<sup>6</sup> In 1900 or 1901 Sharp conceived the idea of publishing a song book based on the private collection he used at Ludgrove and began to do research at the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> He also amassed his own substantial collection of broadsides and a significant collection of older books on traditional music such as William Johnson's *Scottish Musical Museum* (4 vols, 1787-1803).<sup>8</sup> Sharp was unusual in having such a direct professional application for his research, but these beginnings were common to most collectors. Frank Kidson was pre-eminent for his knowledge of broadsides and for his magnificent library of traditional music, and Broadwood went to him for advice about books and their availability.<sup>9</sup> When the Folk Song Society was founded, Kidson's advisory role was institutionalised as all tunes submitted for publication were sent to him for vetting as to whether they were previously in print.<sup>10</sup> A number of other collectors owned substantial numbers of broadsides: Sabine Baring-Gould owned 'five thick volumes'; Broadwood used the resources of the British Museum and the Bodleian and was later given a collection made by William Albery, a friend and collaborator.<sup>11</sup> Baring-Gould worked at the British Museum on his own account and was also helped by Broadwood, who in 1905 introduced

<sup>6</sup> For the beginnings of Sharp's interest in traditional music, see the interview printed in *Musical Herald*, 1 December 1905, p.355. Some of Sharp's lectures at the Hampstead Conservatoire and elsewhere are in Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/4, VWML.

<sup>7</sup> For the idea of a songbook based on his Ludgrove collection, A.H. Fox Strangways and Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p.28. For Sharp's research, notebooks in Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/6/2-5.

<sup>8</sup> Sharp's book collection is in the VWML. He also owned four volumes of broadsides which were eventually deposited in the VWML. One has gone missing. There are 609 broadsides in the remaining three volumes. I am indebted to Annie Walker, Assistant Librarian, for this information.

<sup>9</sup> Kidson to Broadwood, 18 September 1892, LEB/4/114, gives a list of books with comments on their usefulness, likely availability, and cost.

<sup>10</sup> For Kidson's advisory role, Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898-1948' *JEFDSS* 9,3 (1948) p.116.

<sup>11</sup> For Baring-Gould's 'five thick volumes', Baring-Gould to Broadwood, 21 May 1891, SHC 2185/LEB/1/268. Albery's collection of broadsides and 'flimsies' is at 2185/LEB/2/100-197. In Broadwood's notes to her collection *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (London: Boosey, 1908) (pp.113-125) nearly every song is traced to a broadside and on p.113 Broadwood refers to a collection at the Bodleian.

Percy Grainger to the collection and showed him how to use the catalogues.<sup>12</sup> Few people tried to collect from oral tradition without some knowledge of broadsides and of the existing printed collections: they provided a natural starting-point and (for most people) a less intimidating one than direct contact with oral tradition.

Most new collectors also tried to get advice from established workers in the field or corresponded with one another. Baring-Gould, Broadwood and Kidson maintained a three-way correspondence all through the early 1890s.<sup>13</sup> Kate Lee appears to have gone to Kidson for advice on the songs she collected.<sup>14</sup> Sharp used MS material from R.R. Terry and may have approached Baring-Gould at the start of his researches.<sup>15</sup> Lucy Broadwood acted as a clearing-house for such requests for advice, and her role, like Kidson's, became institutionalised through the foundation of the Folk Song Society. Clive Carey was among those who approached Broadwood for advice when beginning a collecting career.<sup>16</sup>

The main difficulty in collecting from oral tradition was how to get in contact with it. The difficulty fell into two parts, social separation and physical separation. Given the social conditions of 1898-1914, the collectors, almost by definition, had to come from the middle and upper classes, the only contemporary social groups with the income and leisure necessary to engage in research and field work. The singers, it was assumed, would be found among the lower orders of society. The Folk Song Society's 'Hints to Collectors', compiled in 1898, advised that:

Although folk music may be preserved in different strata of society, the classes from which the most interesting specimens are most readily to be obtained are gardeners, artisans, gamekeepers, shepherds, rustic labourers, gipsies, sailors, fishermen, workers in old-fashioned trades, such as weaving, and the like, as well as domestic servants of the old school, especially nurses.<sup>17</sup>

Most but by no means all of these categories would be found in the countryside rather than in towns and cities. Some of the assumptions about the rural nature of folk music were common-sense: if you were starting a search for old and unfashionable songs, where would you begin? In part they proceeded from literary preconceptions about the *Volk* (assumed to be country-dwellers rather than the urban mob) and from the advice of musical analysts such as Carl Engel who had advocated a search in the more remote regions.<sup>18</sup>

This emphasis on rurality entailed a further difficulty of physical separation, since most collectors were urban professionals or were otherwise tied to the city by domestic requirements

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<sup>12</sup> Baring-Gould, in *Further Reminiscences 1864-1894* (London: John Lane, 1925) p.214, writes of spending 'days in the British Museum, examining the old printed music there, as well as the garlands of words'. He took up an offer from Broadwood of help at the British Museum in his letter of 21 May 1891. For Grainger, Broadwood diaries 22 December 1905.

<sup>13</sup> The principal collection of correspondence between Baring-Gould, Broadwood and Kidson is at LEB/4, VWML. Further letters are at SHC, 2185/LEB/1.

<sup>14</sup> Kate Lee, 'Some Experiences' p.9.

<sup>15</sup> The first letter between Baring-Gould and Sharp which can be dated with confidence is Baring-Gould to Sharp, 26 January 1904, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

<sup>16</sup> MS notes, Clive Carey Collection, VWML, p.110.

<sup>17</sup> Folk Song Society Minute Book 1, pp.21-22.

<sup>18</sup> Engel recommended Cornwall, Northumberland, and 'other Northern districts of England' as good places to begin. Quoted in Dave Harker, *Fakesong*, p.145.

or cultural preference. Sharp was a busy music teacher with two jobs, both of them in north London. Kate Lee was a barrister's wife with a career of her own as a concert and opera singer. Percy Grainger was a concert pianist tied to the London concert season which ran from October to the end of July, with a break for Easter, interspersed with long and exhausting concert tours in Britain, Europe, and further afield.<sup>19</sup> Vaughan Williams was making a career as a composer and accepting such commitments as the musical editorship of the *English Hymnal* (1906) and the provision of music for the actor-manager F.R. Benson's company.<sup>20</sup> Lucy Broadwood lived at her family's country house until her father's death in 1893, then cared for her mother at the family's town house until she died in 1898, and afterwards lived in London flats.<sup>21</sup> Only Baring-Gould, as the vicar of a remote Devon parish, actually lived in the countryside, and he had the distraction of a prolific literary career which helped to pay for a large family and an estate at a time of falling agricultural rents.<sup>22</sup>

These circumstances meant that, for most collectors, their work remained a holiday activity. Sharp was perhaps more fortunate than most in that he enjoyed long school holidays and was able to be away from his work for about two weeks at Christmas, two or three weeks at Easter, and six or seven weeks between the end of July and mid-September. In the four years 1904-1907 he spent 311 days collecting, an average of 78 days per year. Nearly all this time was spent in Somerset and north Devon.<sup>23</sup> This record of intensive work was only approached by George Gardiner and H.E.D. Hammond, both of whom were retired after professional careers or through ill-health. Others simply did not have these opportunities: Grainger and Vaughan Williams were never able to spend more than about a week in any one area.<sup>24</sup> These constraints meant that most collectors were doubly strangers to the areas in which they worked – strangers through differences in social class, and strangers also through being unfamiliar with the locality.

Methods of fieldwork developed rapidly between the 1890s and 1914. Some of the changes were dictated by the problems of class and physical separation between collectors and sources, and others by the personal circumstances of the collectors – particularly their sex and age – but there was undoubtedly a progression towards more scholarly practice and methods

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<sup>19</sup> See the summary of Grainger's circumstances in Kay Dreyfus (ed) *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp.x-xi.

<sup>20</sup> Besides his commitments to the *English Hymnal* and to Benson's company, Vaughan Williams taught at Dulwich College girls' school in 1904-5 and went to Paris for three months in 1907-8 to take lessons from Ravel. See Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp.68, 70-72, 79-81, 103-4.

<sup>21</sup> Broadwood lived at Lyne (on the Surrey/Sussex border) from 1865 until 1893, then at 52 St. George's Square, London, until 1899, when she moved to 84 Carlisle Mansions, her best-known address.

<sup>22</sup> Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting' p.82.

<sup>23</sup> Sharp collected almost exclusively in Somerset and north Devon until March 1907. After that, he spent an increasing amount of time in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. For the number of days Sharp spent collecting, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.63.

<sup>24</sup> The longest period Grainger spent collecting was 26 July – 4 August 1906, in Lincolnshire. Dates from tabulation in O'Brien, *Grainger Collection*, pp.129-141. Actual collecting expeditions by Vaughan Williams are difficult to document as he seldom collected on consecutive days, but he worked in the King's Lynn (Norfolk) area between 7 and 14 January 1905 and in the Acle area of the same county between 11 and 18 April 1908. He may have spent longer periods in Herefordshire, working with Mrs.



which got closer to the heart of traditional culture. With one or two notable exceptions the pioneers of the 1880s and 1890s had begun by using intermediaries between themselves and a tradition which they obviously found difficult either to penetrate or to understand. The Broadwood family had a considerable history of interest in traditional culture and traditional music, and Lucy Broadwood's father was collecting from singers known to him since the 1830s and 1840s only a few years before his daughter became interested, but Broadwood was unable to use these contacts or preferred not to do so.<sup>25</sup> She began her career by advertising in periodicals (such as the Selbourne Society's magazine for March 1893) and these brought her a number of contacts such as E.J. Thomas, Samuel Willett, and R. Bennell.<sup>26</sup> These were intermediaries rather than actual folk singers: Thomas was an under-gardener, Willett a baker, and Bennell a cornet player. All were musically literate and able to write down tunes, and they were essentially reporters of something they had known as young people or had heard more recently from others. Bennell was originally from Nettlebed (Oxon) and relied on memory for what he reported to Broadwood, telling her that: 'When I first took this task in hand I had no idea my memory would stand to me as it has but one ditty brought up another in a broken form ... As regards the tunes I can thoroughly rely on memory, that is as I have heard them sung'.<sup>27</sup> Willett was living in Cuckfield (Sussex), and was prosperous and secure enough to be able to play in Cuckfield's uniformed and sophisticated silver band, but as a young man he had learned songs in Kentish harvest fields and hop-yards, and he reported these to Broadwood.<sup>28</sup> E.J. Thomas wrote down what he learned from another under-gardener.<sup>29</sup> It is noteworthy that Broadwood does not appear to have met any of these people, not even Willett who lived less than fifteen miles from Lyne, within easy carriage-visiting distance. Other contacts made by Broadwood were people of her own social standing such as Mary Wakefield, F. Scarlett Potter, and Mrs. Pocklington Coltman, all of whom provided material for *English County Songs*.<sup>30</sup> Some of these people used fieldwork methods. Scarlett Potter reported to Broadwood that he had collected 'The Shepherd's Song' partly from the recitation of a lady born in Gloucestershire in 1793 and partly from Thomas Coldicote, shepherd of Ebrington in the same county.<sup>31</sup> On another occasion he said that he was principally indebted to William Hurlston, a Warwickshire farmer, and his daughter.<sup>32</sup> Another contact, Revd. W.H. Sewell, told Broadwood that 'The ploughman came this evening and I took

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Leather, in 1908 and 1910. See Michael Kennedy, *A Catalogue of the Works of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) pp.258-261, 269-271, 274.

<sup>25</sup> For the Broadwood family's interest in traditional music and the collecting activities of Henry Fowler Broadwood, C.J. Bearman, 'The Lucy Broadwood Collection: An interim report', *FMJ* 7,3 (1997) p.360.

<sup>26</sup> For the Selbourne Society's magazine, E.J. Thomas to Broadwood, 14 March 1893, LEB/4/226.

<sup>27</sup> R. Bennell to Broadwood, 3 December 1891, SHC 2185/LEB/1/440.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Willett's material is in LEB/2/69-91. His letters are dated 1890-92. Willett sometimes provided the provenance of songs, eg 'John Appleby' which was learned 'from Kentish hop-pickers' (*English County Songs*, pp.132-133). For biographical material on Willett, Victor A.F. Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 1985, p.127.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas to Broadwood, 14 March 1893.

<sup>30</sup> For material from Wakefield and Pocklington Coltman, *English County Songs* pp.8-9, 18, 87. For F. Scarlett Potter, *ibid* pp.71-73, 83-83, 114-5.

<sup>31</sup> Potter to Broadwood, n.d., LEB/4/198.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 12 May 1892, LEB/4/205.

down the rest of "The Yorkshire Bite" which he seemed to remember fairly well ... I got him also to sing the song'.<sup>33</sup> Contacts like these were very useful in giving Broadwood a first footing and some experience in traditional music, but they hardly qualified either as field work or as 'scientific' collecting, depending as they did either on songs remembered and written down years later, or on notation by people whose musical skills Broadwood had little chance of assessing.

The first stage in fieldwork was often collection in the home from relations, persons employed there, or workers on a surrounding estate. Anne Gilchrist published in the Folk Song Society's *Journal* material collected from her parents and from her aunt.<sup>34</sup> Ella Bull from Cambridgeshire sent to Broadwood songs which she remembered from the singing of Hannah Collins, a servant employed in the Bull household.<sup>35</sup> When Broadwood began to do field work for herself, she and Fuller Maitland collected from John Burberry, a gamekeeper employed at Lyne.<sup>36</sup> Later, and as she gained experience, she became more adventurous and invited strangers to her home such as Mr. Grantham, a carter of Holmwood (Surrey) and the famous Henry Burstow, the radical shoemaker of Horsham (Sussex).<sup>37</sup> But despite her claim to have collected 'literally in the field', Broadwood never worked outside the relatively controlled environments of collection in her own home or through contacts made by her circle of friends and relations.<sup>38</sup> It is very noticeable that all her 'field' collecting was done in or near the homes of relations or friends, who had made the initial approaches for her. The best-known and best-documented example is Mrs. Herbert Carr (nee Geraldine Spooner, Kate Lee's sister) who on three occasions assembled groups of singers for Broadwood to collect from.<sup>39</sup> That the initial approaches were made by Mrs. Carr is apparent from Broadwood's own statement that she 'has a genius for discovering singers of the right kind'.<sup>40</sup> Proximity provides the clue in other situations: Mrs. Vaisey at Tetsworth (Oxon) lived near Herbert Birch Reynardson, a cousin who had arranged Broadwood's first collection *Sussex Songs*.<sup>41</sup> Broadwood's brother Harry and his wife Ada lived at Bone Hill, near St. Alban's (Herts). Broadwood collected there from the shepherd boy Frederick Page in 1898, and in 1914 Ada's daughter Janet introduced her to Mrs. Joiner, who did

<sup>33</sup> Sewell to Broadwood, 23 November 1893, LEB/4/212.

<sup>34</sup> *JFSS* 2,4 (1906) pp.226-229.

<sup>35</sup> Ella Bull's material is in LEB/5/56-95.

<sup>36</sup> Material from Burberry, dated 1892, is in *English County Songs*, pp.140-143.

<sup>37</sup> Broadwood collected from Burstow on 2 May 1893. For biographical material on Burstow, see his *Reminiscences of Horsham*, ed. William Albery (Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1975). [first published 1911]. No MS material from Mr. Grantham survives, but it was collected before early 1893, since items appear in *English County Songs*, published in July that year.

<sup>38</sup> For 'in the field' Lucy Broadwood, 'On the Collecting of English Folk-Song', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 31 (1905), p.102.

<sup>39</sup> In 1896 and 1898 when the Carrs lived at Dunsfold (Surrey), and in 1901 when they had moved to Bury, near Pulborough (Sussex). For 1896 and 1898, Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Letters to Lucy Broadwood', *JEFDS* 9,5 (1964), p.242. For 1901, Broadwood diaries 3 October 1901.

<sup>40</sup> *JFSS* 1,4 (1902) p.140.

<sup>41</sup> Mrs. Vaisey's material (dated September 1892) is in LEB/2/66-68. *Sussex Songs*, arr. Herbert Birch Reynardson (London: Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co, n.d.[1889]). This volume re-published John Broadwood's *Old English Songs* of 1843 with other items from the family MSS collection. It did not include any fresh material collected by Lucy Broadwood herself.

occasional gardening work at Bone Hill.<sup>42</sup> When Broadwood went to collect from the Borders farmer John Potts and the Skye crofter's daughter Kate McLeod, she stayed with Isobel Manisty at Innerleithen (Peebleshire) and with the Pryor family at Arisaig. Manisty was a close friend and Francis Pryor was Broadwood's cousin. Her introduction to Michael and Bridget Geary of Camphire (Co. Waterford) was made by her niece Mildred Dobbs.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes the contacts were made but Broadwood drew a blank: in April 1902 she was staying with Mrs. Salmon at Brimpton (Berks). On the 8th she 'walked with Mrs. L. Salmon onto a high piece of common to see an old woman of 82 who knows old songs, but she was too ill to remember them'. On the 10th, however, she was more successful, collecting game-songs from the schoolgirl Lottie Hobbs.<sup>44</sup>

Broadwood never spent very long with singers and seldom saw them more than twice: her usual practice was a preliminary prospecting visit followed up by an invitation to the singer to come to the house where the actual collecting would take place. At Bone Hill in September 1898, Broadwood 'went to see a shepherd called Page etc about old songs. In [the] evening Frederick Page (15 ...) and his cousin J. Field (13) came to sing old songs to me'.<sup>45</sup> Alternatively, she might make a follow-up visit. Her visit to Dunsfold in 1898 was a flying one, undertaken while staying for a longer period at Bone Hill. She arrived at the Carrs' on 17 September and collected from the group assembled for her the same evening. The next day, she and Mrs. Carr went to see Mr. Whittington, one of the singers.<sup>46</sup> Then Broadwood went back to Bone Hill to collect from Frederick Page on the 20th. This lack of contact meant that Broadwood seldom collected more than about a dozen songs from any one individual. She did not take pains even with an exceptional singer with a great reputation such as Henry Burstow. Burstow had a store of more than 400 songs, some sixty of which were of interest to Broadwood as being 'of the traditional ballad type'.<sup>47</sup> But even so, Broadwood only appears to have met Burstow twice: most of the pains were taken by Burstow himself in writing out the words of more than thirty songs for her.<sup>48</sup> Further collecting from him she left to others – to Ralph Vaughan Williams and to the Horsham organist Mr. Buttifant, who saw Burstow in 1908 and sent some tunes to Broadwood, working with the Horsham tradesman William Albery who was a mutual friend of both Burstow and Broadwood.<sup>49</sup> It is undeniable that Broadwood sometimes felt deeply

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<sup>42</sup> Songs from Frederick Page are in LEB/2/62-63. Songs from Mrs. Joiner and correspondence from Janet Broadwood is at LEB/2/45-55. In her diary, 9 September 1914, Broadwood records 'In the morning I noted songs from Mrs. Joiner while she was weeding the garden'. I am very grateful to Lewis Jones for providing me with copies of his notes on the Broadwood diaries 1912-1914.

<sup>43</sup> Dorothy de Val, 'The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong', to be published in a forthcoming book on English music in the twentieth century. I am very grateful to Dorothy de Val for providing me with a copy of this article.

<sup>44</sup> Broadwood diaries, 8, 10 April 1902.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid* 20 September 1898.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid* 18 September 1898.

<sup>47</sup> Lucy E. Broadwood, *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (London: Boosey, 1908) p.xi.

<sup>48</sup> There are some 35 songs in Burstow's hand, with some annotations by him, in LEB/2/6-21.

<sup>49</sup> Burstow sang to Vaughan Williams on 7 December 1903 and 22 December 1904: Kennedy, *Catalogue* pp.248, 256-7. For the material sent by Buttifant and Albery, LEB/2/22-23. In *English Traditional*

for the singers from whom she collected and that friendly relations sometimes ensued. Bridget Geary made a particularly favourable impression: Broadwood wrote to her and in April 1908 received the gift of a fatted chicken, a pleasant gesture which later became the annual Christmas gift of a turkey.<sup>50</sup> But it has to be doubted whether Broadwood ever made much penetration into the traditional music culture. She never 'collected in depth', making repeated visits to try to explore a singer's complete repertoire; she never collected in a singer's own home, and she was never passed on by one singer to another in the network of contacts which became apparent when collectors did develop close relationships with their sources.

Broadwood's methods were typical of collectors in the first phase of the revival during the 1880s and 1890s. Frank Kidson depended on a similar circle of friends and contacts, and in addition printed material which he remembered from his mother's singing. His 'fieldwork' was done in his own home or in that of friends such as Mr. Wardell, a railway signalman at Goathland (Yorks), and it appears to have been based on memory – his own or that of his niece Ethel who kept house for him. Ethel writes of meetings in Wardell's house that 'Jack' (a fiddler known to Wardell) would come and play:

Jack and uncle [Kidson] soon made friends: Allan would recall an old song, Jack would catch up the tune on the fiddle and soon we would all be singing it together. Uncle would get me to sing it when we came to a piano. In this way he got many songs.<sup>51</sup>

From this account, it does not seem as though Kidson was able to note down tunes directly from singers or musicians, as most other collectors were able to do. His circle of informants may have been particularly valuable to him for that reason.<sup>52</sup>

Sabine Baring-Gould also began his career by making a similar circle of contacts, who are acknowledged in the pages of *Songs and Ballads of the West*.<sup>53</sup> Some were people of his own social standing such as the Crossing family of South Brent (Devon), Mr. T.S. Cayzer, and Bruce Tyndall. Others were much more humble. In Dartmouth, probably in 1893, Baring-Gould made 'the acquaintance of a poor old ragged fiddler with white hair [and] a beautiful intelligent face ... he is somewhat of a dreamer [and] not a little given I fear to liquor, but a genuine musical enthusiast and desperately poor. I have promised him 6d [six pence] for every genuine old ballad air he can pick up for me, [and] he is going round the county for that purpose'.<sup>54</sup> The other almost universal feature of the collectors of the 1880s and 1890s was their amateur status. Lucy Broadwood was intensely musical but she does not appear to have had any formal training until

*Songs and Carols*, p.113, Broadwood refers to phonograph recordings of Burstow but does not make it clear who made them. Circumstantial evidence suggests it was Vaughan Williams. See below, p.134.

<sup>50</sup> For the fatted chicken, Broadwood diaries 3 April 1908. On 23 December 1914, the diaries record the receipt of 'Bridget Geary's annual gift-turkey ... from Camphire'.

<sup>51</sup> Quoted in 'Portraits: Frank Kidson 1855-1927 (sic) by some of his Friends', *JEFDSS* 5,3 (1948) p.129.

<sup>52</sup> For Kidson's informants with relation to *Traditional Tunes*, see Chapter 4 Part 3.

<sup>53</sup> Rev. S. Baring-Gould and Rev. H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West* 4 vols (London: Patey and Willis [vols. 1-2], Methuen [vols.3-4], 1889-1891). Baring-Gould drew on a wide variety of contacts, including Mr. W. Crossing, Mr. T.S. Cayzer, and Bruce Tyndall, who are acknowledged in the Preface and notes on the songs (Vol.4, pp.xii-xiii).

<sup>54</sup> Baring-Gould to Broadwood, n.d., LEB/4/39. In another letter to Broadwood of 29 January 1893, LEB/4/5, Baring-Gould mentions going to Dartmouth to meet an informant.

she took lessons from William Rockstro in 1890-1891.<sup>55</sup> Baring-Gould was unable to note tunes from oral tradition and was obliged either to collect in his own or his friends' homes (where he could pick out the tunes on the piano) or to remember what had been sung to him while he walked or drove home.<sup>56</sup> He also used the services of two collaborators, H. Fleetwood Sheppard, Precentor of Doncaster Choral Union, and F.W. Bussell of Brasenose College, Oxford. These people sometimes accompanied him on fieldwork expeditions.<sup>57</sup> But Kidson and others questioned the competence of these collaborators, and sometimes they proved sullen and unco-operative, to Baring-Gould's anger and frustration.<sup>58</sup> But in Baring-Gould's work there are signs of changing methods. He was not content to rely on his circle of informants but soon became a true field collector, going to the singers and collecting in their homes, and extending his activities from Devon into Cornwall. It is evident that he developed close relationships with his informants and made attempts to fully explore their repertoires. He told Broadwood in 1892 that '[Samuel] Fone is better, I am glad to say. I have been over twice and seen him. He is occupying his mind while in bed with thinking over his old songs and seeing if there are any he has not yet given me'.<sup>59</sup> A year or so later, Fone was sufficiently recovered to come and sing at Baring-Gould's home, breaking down in the middle of one song to tell Baring-Gould a pathetic story from his youth.<sup>60</sup> When another singer, James Parsons, cut into his knee while making 'spars' for thatching and was confined to bed, Baring-Gould visited him and offered to pay for any songs Parsons could sing so that he would have some income until he recovered.<sup>61</sup> In the case of another singer, Jonas Coaker of Postbridge, Baring-Gould sent money which had been earned through concert parties, and which eased Coaker's last days until he died in the spring of 1890.<sup>62</sup> 'Collection in depth' was also being pioneered by Percy Merrick, who in 1901 published a collection of fifty-two songs, all from a retired farmer, Henry Hills, which had been collected at several meetings in 1899-1900.<sup>63</sup>

More direct approaches were forced on other collectors who lacked local intermediaries. Kate Lee described one such encounter, full of uncertainties and possible embarrassments, while she was on holiday at Wells-next-the-Sea (Norfolk):

<sup>55</sup> Rockstro's letter to Broadwood of 14 May 1891, SHC 2185/LEB/1/16, presents his account for sixteen lessons given between November 1890 and April 1891.

<sup>56</sup> Bickford H.C. Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould: Squarson, Writer and Folklorist, 1834-1924* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970), p.127.

<sup>57</sup> Baring-Gould's letter to Broadwood, 30 May 1892, SHC 2185/LEB/1/21, informs her that 'When Mr. Bussell comes down in June we are to go around in Cornwall. I have the names of several singers'.

<sup>58</sup> Baring-Gould to Broadwood, 1 February 1894, LEB/4/20, tells her that 'The enclosed from Mr. Sheppard will show you the mood he is in. I can no longer ask him to do any work either in writing down tunes or in arranging them'.

<sup>59</sup> Baring-Gould to Broadwood, 30 May 1892, SHC 2185/LEB/1/21.

<sup>60</sup> Baring-Gould to Broadwood, n.d. LEB/4/13.

<sup>61</sup> Sabine Baring-Gould, *A Garland of Country Song* (London: Methuen, 1895), p.viii. The explanation Baring-Gould gives for this practical and unostentatious charity is more believable than the cynical interpretation Harker puts on the episode in *Fakesong*, p.159.

<sup>62</sup> Baring-Gould, *Songs and Ballads of the West* Vol.4. Notes to XXXIII 'Childe the Hunter', p.xxiii.

<sup>63</sup> *JFSS* 1,3 (1901). Merrick's notes on the songs give at least nine different dates between December 1899 and November 1900, when, presumably, the songs were collected.

I hadn't the faintest idea how or where to begin. First of all I asked the clergyman and the doctor, but they couldn't assist me at all. I did not know any of the people about, so the only thing to do was to be audacious. Accordingly I wandered one morning to the Quay, where I had noticed that four old fishermen always stood ... At last, with a rather trembling heart, I boldly went up to one of them, and said, 'Do any of you sing?'<sup>64</sup>

This was followed by a long conversation at cross purposes while Lee tried to explain the sort of songs she was looking for, and which was probably even more daunting than the initial approach. Kate Lee was much more willing to face these challenges and to run social risks than was Broadwood, who had told her audience at the Musical Association that ladies could not 'make merry with songsters in the alehouse over pipes and parsnip wine, or hob nob with the black sheep of the neighbourhood'.<sup>65</sup> Kate Lee, however, stopped at an inn while cycling in Berkshire and, despite the landlady's attempts to dissuade her, insisted on ordering tea and listening to some young men who were singing in an adjoining bar.<sup>66</sup> She even dressed up as a waitress and helped to serve the meal at a Guy Fawkes celebration in order to hear songs.<sup>67</sup> Lee was representative of a new generation of folk song collectors. By the mid-1890s, she was a professional musician, having had a brief formal training at the Royal Academy of Music in her youth and a longer period at the Royal College after her marriage.<sup>68</sup> She then had a short career as a concert and opera singer. Cecil Sharp had taken only the first part of the Mus. Bac. course while at Cambridge (his BA was in the Mathematics Tripos) but his lack of formal training was made up for by many years of music teaching, during which he conducted choral societies and the Hampstead Conservatoire's orchestra.<sup>69</sup> He had also composed a light opera and a number of songs and chamber works.<sup>70</sup> Ralph Vaughan Williams had had a full musical training at Cambridge and at the Royal College of Music (RCM), as had Clive Carey. George Butterworth was trained at Oxford and at the RCM. Percy Grainger had studied music and trained as a concert pianist at Frankfurt. George Gardiner and H. E. D. Hammond were the only major new collectors of the 1904-1914 period without formal musical training, and Gardiner worked with a number of collaborators including the composer H. Balfour Gardiner (who was no relation).<sup>71</sup> The collectors of the period 1903-1914 were therefore a much more professional body than their predecessors of the 1880s and 1890s.

They were also a much more mobile body. Perhaps the most important single factor in the progression of fieldwork methods was the development in the 1880s of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre.<sup>72</sup> The combination of the pneumatic-tyred bicycle and the comprehensive

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<sup>64</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences', p.8.

<sup>65</sup> Lucy Broadwood, 'Collecting of English Folk Songs', p.95.

<sup>66</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences', pp.7-8.

<sup>67</sup> Report of Kate Lee's lecture at Borough Polytechnic, *The Southwark and Bermondsey Recorder and South London Gazette*, 1 February 1902. I am grateful to Reg Hall and Michael Heaney for bringing this source to my attention.

<sup>68</sup> C.J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk Song Society', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999), pp.628-630.

<sup>69</sup> For Sharp's professional work, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, pp.16-24.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.11, 15. Sharp's compositions and arrangements are in Sharp Miscellaneous, CJS/1 and CJS/2.

<sup>71</sup> Gardiner's introduction to the collection published in *JFSS* 3,4 (1909) p.248 acknowledges 'Mr. Gambling of Winchester, Mr. H. Balfour Gardiner and Mr. Gruyer, of Southampton'.

<sup>72</sup> For a useful summary of the development of cycling, David Rubinstein, 'Cycling in the 1890s', *Victorian Studies* 21,1 (1977), pp.47-71.

railway network which had been established by the later nineteenth century made it possible for urban professional people to penetrate the deep countryside almost at will, at low cost, and without having to rely on horse transport with all that it entailed by way of necessary care and rest for the horse, labour, and accommodation. The safety bicycle gave cycling its brief moment of fashionability in the 1890s before the motor car became a practical form of transport, and some collectors were keen amateurs. Kate Lee was an enthusiastic cyclist, choosing a holiday destination because it had 'fresh air and level roads'.<sup>73</sup> She once sang at a Polytechnic Cycling Club concert.<sup>74</sup> Cecil Sharp is said to have belonged to a cycling club at Hampstead in the 1890s.<sup>75</sup> Both Vaughan Williams and Butterworth were energetic cyclists, and one aspect of Grainger's eccentricities was a fanatical appetite for exercise.<sup>76</sup> But cycling also had its inconveniences. Roads were poor. They were usually loose-metalled, dusty in summer and muddy in winter, and it was both an agile and a lucky cyclist who got through a day without a fall.<sup>77</sup> All-weather cycling was a pastime for the young and fit, and usually for the male. By 1904, Sharp was in his forties and was beginning to suffer from asthma, so cycling had become a duty rather than a pleasure. Vaughan Williams was 32 in 1904 and in good health, while Carey, Butterworth and Grainger were all in their twenties when they began collecting. Cycling was a more democratic form of transport than the horse and one which the working classes were beginning to share. It may have had important psychological consequences for the relationship between collectors and singers, because the sweat and dirt of travel by bicycle reduced social distinctions, and Sharp reported being taken for a beggar while on his travels.<sup>78</sup>

Cecil Sharp began by following the methods of his predecessors. After seeing the Headington morris dancers at Christmas 1899 he asked their musician, William Kimber, to call at the house next day, and Sharp collected from him there.<sup>79</sup> Sharp went to Hambridge to collect because he had an intermediary there in his friend Revd. Charles Marson, the vicar. The first singer from whom Sharp collected was John England, Marson's gardener and general outdoor servant, who was engaged in mowing the lawn.<sup>80</sup> Sharp and Marson then learned of other singers – 'Mrs. Hooper and Mrs. White, and ... the dairyman at Earnshill Barn, Mr. Tom Sprachlan', and these three were invited to the vicarage'.<sup>81</sup> Sharp's beginnings, then, were along the well-worn path of other collectors. Where he did not know the area he continued to use these methods. In Sussex, in 1908, Sharp was staying with Wilfred Scawen Blunt and was introduced

<sup>73</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences', p.8.

<sup>74</sup> At the Queen's Hall, 14 December 1895. Concert programme in 'Kate Lee's Scrapbook', in the possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Chamberlain.

<sup>75</sup> Biographical notes by Dorothea Sharp (Sharp's eldest daughter), CJS/7/1.

<sup>76</sup> For Vaughan Williams' and Butterworth's cycling, Ursula Vaughan Williams, *R.V.W.: A Biography of Ralph Vaughan Williams* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.98. For some of Grainger's feats, John Bird, *Percy Grainger* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.96-99.

<sup>77</sup> Tar-spraying does not appear to have reached rural areas until the 1910s. It was being done in the Langport/Somerton area of Somerset in 1912-1913. See *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 20 July 1912, 5 July 1913. Generally, see Rubinstein, 'Cycling', pp.56-57.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. For Sharp's being taken for a beggar, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.46.

<sup>79</sup> *DNB: Missing Persons*, p.377.

<sup>80</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.33.

<sup>81</sup> Sharp and Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset* [Series One] p.xiv.

Revd. W.K. Warren, then curate of St. Mary's, Bridgwater.<sup>88</sup> Later, probably in 1907, Sharp introduced himself to Revd. A.A. Brockington, who was then curate of St. Mary's, Taunton, but who had lived in Combe Florey. Brockington helped Sharp there and more generally in the area north-west of Taunton, and he remained a friend.<sup>89</sup> A number of other Somerset clergy, laymen, and laywomen helped Sharp less directly. Thirty people were acknowledged by name in the volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset*. Of these, eighteen were clergymen.

There were many contacts made by these means. W.K. Warren was the chaplain of the Bridgwater Workhouse and he prepared the way for Sharp there and more generally in the town.<sup>90</sup> Many singers had connections with the Anglican church. Fred Crossman at Huish Episcopi was a bellringer; Alfred Chard at Chew Stoke was a groom and coachman living in the Old Rectory next door to the Rector and presumably in his employment; the brothers Alfred and George Emery at Othery shared the offices of clerk and sexton; Robert Parish was sexton at Exford; Robert Chapman of Old Cleeve told Sharp that 'my father was clerk 57 year – and I played bass viol' (presumably, in a West Gallery band).<sup>91</sup> Less obviously, all of the six singers from whom Sharp collected in the parish of Haselbury Plucknett were buried in the churchyard – so, presumably, all were Church people and none were dissenters.<sup>92</sup> Direct contacts were possible through other means. William King was a tenant farmer on the Kettlewells' estate, and he was one of the singers assembled by F.B. Kettlewell for Sharp's benefit at the 'Castle of Comfort', an inn on the high road across the Mendip hills.<sup>93</sup> John Durbin and John Purnell, from whom Sharp also collected, were in the Kettlewells' employment.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes the intermediaries were very close to the singers. In Somerton, Sharp was assisted by the Snow family, who were probably his hosts in the town. William Snow was a 'gas-engine driver' employed at Welsh and Clark's collar factory: Sharp collected one song from him. His wife Ellen was the daughter of Betsy Pike, a prolific singer and a great 'character'. The Snows were self-improving people and their daughter Alice became an elementary school teacher. She was

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Katherine Sorby to Maud Karpeles, 15 November [probably 1926], Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A.

<sup>88</sup> Warren to Maud Karpeles, 25 November 1926, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A.

<sup>89</sup> Allen Brockington, 'Cecil Sharp', *London Mercury* 17, 102 (April 1928) p.669.

<sup>90</sup> Warren to A.H. Fox Strangways, 19 August 1931, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A. He conducted the funerals of some of the people who sang to Sharp, eg Joseph Laver, buried from the Union hospital on 28 April 1909. Burial Register, Bridgwater St. Mary's, Somerset Record Office D/P/bw.m. 2/1/24.

<sup>91</sup> For Fred Crossman as bellringer, Bland MSS, interview with Herbert Glover, 6 March 1974. For Alfred Chard, PRO, copies of Census Enumerators' Books (hereafter identified as 'Census Returns'), Chew Stoke, RG12/1925. For the Emery brothers, Census Returns, Othery, RG12/1882. For Robert Parish, Census Returns, Exford, RG12/1868: Bland MSS., letter, Revd. H.F. Warren to David Bland, 5 February 1974. For Robert Chapman, Cecil Sharp, Field Note Books (Words) 4 April – 25 May 1906 (883-943). The Field Note Books are copies of unpublished MSS held in the VWML.

<sup>92</sup> At Haselbury Plucknett, Sharp collected from John Holt, Henry Larcombe, John Patch, Betsy Prince, Noah Warren, and Susan Williams. All of these were buried in Haselbury churchyard between 1907 and 1934. See Burial Register, Haselbury Plucknett, Somerset Record Office D/P/ha.pl 2/1/10.

<sup>93</sup> Notes by Mrs. F.B. Kettlewell.

<sup>94</sup> F.B. Kettlewell, *Trinkum-Trankums' of Fifty Years Ago* (Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1927), p.67.



able to note down tunes from oral tradition and collected a number of songs from her grandmother and others such as Eliza Sweet.<sup>95</sup>

The difference between Sharp's methods in Somerset and those of Broadwood and the other collectors of the 1890s lies firstly in the kind of contact made and secondly in the use made of these contacts. Introductions to singers in the field were very different things to introductions made in the kitchen or the music-room of the 'big house'. Sharp was probably given the name and direction of Emma Overd by D.M. Ross, vicar of Langport, but he sought her out on his own. As a close friend told the story:

A woman who had a great reputation as a singer lived in a mean street, which was inhabited – so he was told – by 'bad people'. She was out when he first called on her, but was said to be at the public-house round the corner. As he approached the public-house he saw a group of women standing outside and chatting. 'Is Mrs. Overd here?' he asked. 'That's my name,' an elderly woman replied, 'and what do you want of me?' Sharp explained that he was hunting for old songs and hoped that she would sing him some; whereupon without any warning she flung her arms around his waist and danced him round and round with the utmost vigour, shouting 'Lor, girls, here's my beau come at last'. In the middle of this terpsichorean display Sharp heard a shocked exclamation, 'But surely that is Mr. Sharp,' and looking round he saw the vicar, with whom he was staying, and the vicar's daughter, both gazing with horror on the scene. When asked what he did, Sharp said: 'Oh, I shouted to them to go away – and they went.'<sup>96</sup>

Not only the meetings were on these free and easy terms. Sharp was among the pioneers of 'collection in depth', returning to singers time and again and usually collecting in their own homes. He collected from the sisters Lucy White and Louisa Hooper at least twenty times. Sharp visited Emma Overd at least eleven times, Jack Barnard ten times, 'Captain' Robert Lewis eight times, and Robert Parish and Susan Williams at least six times each.<sup>97</sup> Whatever stiffness and formality there may have been at the initial meeting between singer and collector could not have survived such repeated contact, and it is evident that genuine friendships arose from such encounters. Sharp gave White and Hooper the published volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, writing in them that exchange was no robbery. Louisa Hooper was lame, so Sharp took her to Ilminster Fair, and, because she loved instrumental music, gave her a concertina.<sup>98</sup> White's and Hooper's cottage at Westport was right at the southern edge of Hambridge parish, on the road to Ilminster, and when Sharp had been collecting in that direction he would 'prop his [bicycle] against the porch, drop in for a cup of tea, and tell them his adventures. He would sing them his latest [songs] and challenge them to produce variants'.<sup>99</sup> Sometimes there were impromptu 'song suppers' at Marson's vicarage, at which other singers such as Emma Overd might be present, and if Chloe Marson was out 'there would be great foraging in the pantry for a scratch meal. Sharp's

<sup>95</sup> Census Returns, Somerton, RG12/1888. Bland MSS, 'The History of Betsy Pike', by Francis L.C. Pattemore. For Alice Snow's resignation as a teacher (in order to get married), *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 30 March 1907.

<sup>96</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* pp.36-37.

<sup>97</sup> These figures are calculated from a card index based on Cecil Sharp's books of 'Folk Tunes' and only record occasions on which he actually collected material. The books of 'Folk Tunes' are unpublished copies of MSS in the VWML.

<sup>98</sup> W.A. Newall, 'In the Footsteps of Cecil Sharp', *English Dance and Song* 7,4 (February 1943) p.27. For the gift of a concertina, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.45.

by him to several local singers.<sup>82</sup> In the same county at a later date, Sharp collected from a small party of three singers assembled for his benefit at a manor house, just as Broadwood had done with Mrs. Carr's guests in 1896 and 1898.<sup>83</sup> But Sharp quickly decided to concentrate on Somerset and began to work through it in a systematic manner. Initially, he worked closely with Charles Marson and was helped by Marson's clerical friends and associates.

Marson was an unorthodox priest, a combination of Christian Socialist and High Church ritualist, with a keen sympathy for his parishioners.<sup>84</sup> His adherence to socialism was regarded with dismay and amazement by the local newspaper and by most of his clerical neighbours, but while they detested the cause to which he had attached himself they respected Marson personally and he was a well-known and popular local figure, who shared the pulpits of his neighbours in the adjoining parishes of Curry Rivell, Langport, and Huish Episcopi and who had a particular talent for making congregations laugh.<sup>85</sup> There can be no doubt that Sharp's work in Hambridge was greatly assisted by Marson, who also acted as amanuensis in taking down words. Marson himself prospected for songs in Curry Rivell and he almost certainly provided the introductions to the clergy through whom Sharp initially worked in Langport and Huish Episcopi.<sup>86</sup> He also appears to have given Sharp an introduction to Revd. Francis Etherington, vicar of Minehead, then a young and enthusiastic priest who shared Marson's ideals. Sharp's own lectures and other publicity brought him further contacts such as Revd. Alexander de Gex at Meshaw (north Devon), the Kettlewell family at East Harptree, and the Sorby family at Enmore (both in Somerset).<sup>87</sup> These peoples' homes all became regular bases for Sharp, plus the lodgings of

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<sup>82</sup> Wilfred Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1901-1914* 2 vols (London: Martin Secker, 1920), Part 2 pp.208-209.

<sup>83</sup> This meeting is described by E.V. Lucas, *London Lavender* (London: Methuen, 1912), p.139-150.

<sup>84</sup> For a brief account of Marson's life and work, with the emphasis on his function as a priest, Maurice B. Reckitt, 'Charles Marson 1859-1914 and the Real Disorders of the Church', in Reckitt (ed.) *For Christ and the People: Studies of Four Socialist Priests and Prophets of the Church of England* (London: SPCK, 1968) pp.89-134. Further information is provided in an unpublished biography by Rev. Francis Etherington (copy in the VWML) and by the researches of David Sutcliffe. Mr. Sutcliffe gave a lecture, 'Charles Latimer Marson, 1859-1914' to the Somerset Archeological Society in November 1999 and I am grateful for a copy of his script and for sharing his researches with me.

<sup>85</sup> Marson was chairman of the Independent Labour Party branch in Langport established in 1906. When this branch attempted to hold open-air meetings in 1908, they were broken up, an activity reported with great approval by the local newspaper's columnist 'Roger', who was probably the editor. But 'Roger' liked and respected Marson personally, writing that 'the Chairman [Marson] ... is imbued with a sort of ideal mystic form of Socialism, very far removed from the sordid, hungry, greed of gain notions of the socialistic scum'. (*Langport and Somerton Herald*, 6 June 1908). For an example of sharing other pulpits, Marson preached at Langport on Ascension Day 1904. He was a popular choice as preacher for Friendly Society Club Days, for example at the Curry Rivel Society's Day in 1904 when the comments of 'the popular free-lance parson' caused laughter in church. See *Langport and Somerton Herald* 21 July 1906, 14 May 1904, 28 May 1904.

<sup>86</sup> Marson's letter to Sharp, 3 December 1903, Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc., mentions that 'there is a big bag [of songs] to be got at Curry', while the Preface to *Folk Songs from Somerset* [Series One] acknowledges Revd. D.M. Ross of Langport and Revd. J. Stubbs of Huish Episcopi.

<sup>87</sup> de Gex saw a report of Sharp's first lecture in November 1903 and got in touch with him. See David Bland MSS, VWML; memoir of de Gex by M.A. Webber, n.d. The Kettlewells saw an announcement about Sharp's work in the *Bristol Times and Mirror* early in 1904 and invited Sharp to stay with them. See notes, not attributed or dated [but on internal evidence written by Mrs. F.B. Kettlewell] in Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A. John Sorby had been a contemporary of Sharp's at Clare College, Cambridge, but had lost touch with him until Sharp gave a lecture on folk song at Bridgwater. See letter,

contribution to the feast usually being a bag of doughnuts which he christened "Sudden Death".<sup>100</sup>

Close relationships between singer and collector meant that social taboos could be overcome. Broadwood's contacts were unwilling to sing indecent material to her: the Sussex carter Mr Grantham told her that he knew many songs which, he averred, he would not sing even to a gentleman, as 'they be outway rude'.<sup>101</sup> Henry Burstow refused to give Broadwood the words to 'Salisbury Plain' and enclosed those to some others in a separate envelope so that it could be opened by a gentleman – who, presumably, would destroy anything not fit for Broadwood's eyes.<sup>102</sup> But not all singers felt these inhibitions, even in mixed company. Baring-Gould once tried to collect from the miller John Helmore in the midst of a considerable company which included some ladies. This, he saw, would 'never do', and indeed on Helmore's singing of 'The Mole-Catcher' the company rapidly dispersed.<sup>103</sup> Neither did these inhibitions survive friendships. Sharp wrote of Emma Overd that 'she became a great friend and she became interested in the hunt and helped me in every way she could by passing me on to other singers'.<sup>104</sup> She was also willing to sing to Sharp songs such as 'The Crabfish', publishable only after heavy bowdlerisation, and 'Rosemary Lane', unpublishable in Sharp's lifetime.<sup>105</sup> When singers sang the same song more than once, the range and ingenuity of the variations they introduced began to be noticed and appreciated. Sharp noted of Henry Larcombe that he would:

habitually vary every phrase of his tune in the course of a ballad. I remember that in the first song he sang to me he varied the first phrase of the second verse. I asked him to repeat the verse that I might note the variation. He at once gave me a third form of the same phrase. I soon learned that it was best not to interrupt him, but to keep him singing the same song over and over again ... In this way I have been able to catch and note down these variations, which have recurred two or three times, but, of course, I have missed many of those which appeared but once.<sup>106</sup>

Emma Overd was a less inventive singer, but she never sang 'Bruton Town' to Sharp without introducing four variations to the final phrase of the tune.<sup>107</sup> Sharp's observation of the special musical gifts of singers such as Larcombe and Overd led him to formulate the theory of variation, one of the three principles upon which Sharp believed that folk song was transmitted and re-created.

These warmer and more lasting relationships were typical of the new generation of collectors. Percy Grainger met Joseph Taylor at least seven times, entertained Taylor in his own home, and took him to the first performance of Delius' rhapsody *Brigg Fair*, based on a tune

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<sup>99</sup> Newall, 'Footsteps', p.27.

<sup>100</sup> *ibid*

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting', p.72.

<sup>102</sup> *JFSS* 1,4 (1902) p.150.

<sup>103</sup> S. Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences, 1864-1894* (London: John Lane, 1925) p.190.

<sup>104</sup> Cecil Sharp, Lecture to Girl Guides, 1922-23[?], Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/5/61.

<sup>105</sup> For 'The Crabfish' and 'Rosemary Lane' as collected, 'Folk Words' Vols. 3-4 (361-727), Nos. 400, 459-460, pp. 296, 332. The books of 'Folk Words' are unpublished MSS in the VWML.

<sup>106</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, Novello, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1907), p.21.

<sup>107</sup> *ibid* p.23.

which Grainger had collected from Taylor.<sup>108</sup> There were many advantages resulting from these warmer relationships. Collectors explored singers' repertoires much more fully and teased out from their memories songs which would otherwise have been forgotten. The sisters Lucy White and Louisa Hooper together gave Sharp about a hundred songs. Emma Overd provided about thirty songs.<sup>109</sup> Collectors were passed on from one singer to another, thereby going beyond their intermediaries and penetrating traditional culture much more thoroughly. At Langport, Emma Overd lived in a row of four cottages in which her neighbours were the widowed Eliza Hutchings and Hutchings' daughter Sarah Trott.<sup>110</sup> Sharp collected from all three women, and the endpapers of Sharp's notebooks are full of names and directions for the contacts he was given (for two examples, see Fig.4.1). The full ramifications of this network remain to be teased out, but the indications are that it may have been very extensive indeed. The key to Sharp's success in Priddy was meeting William King, whose farm adjoined Rookham Farm, tenanted by James Bishop, a farmer who had formerly been a publican. Sharp initially met Bishop by arrangement at the Hunter's Lodge Inn, and subsequently visited his home.<sup>111</sup> The Hunter's Lodge had been kept by Samuel Weeks, a friend of Bishop's.<sup>112</sup> Sharp collected from Samuel and his brother George. James Bishop was in his seventies when Sharp met him but retained a fearsome reputation as a fighter and strong man: nevertheless it is clear that Sharp got on well with him and felt a special affection for Bishop and his distinctive singing style.<sup>113</sup> Sometimes the Census material offers a host of fascinating clues and possibilities. At Enmore, Sharp collected from Grace Coles, who lived next door to James and Frances Gray, from whom he also collected. Mrs. Coles' husband George was a stonemason.<sup>114</sup> At Halse, Sharp collected from John Thorne, another mason who at the time of the 1891 Census was lodging with the Coles.<sup>115</sup> Grace Coles was born at Stogursey. At Stogursey, Sharp collected from Annie Graddon, the wife of a mason who in 1881 was living with 'Sofia' Coles. A near neighbour of the Graddons was Charlotte Binding, from whom Sharp also collected.<sup>116</sup>

The new collectors also displayed greater willingness to seek out new sources and to make use of chance encounters in likely situations. Surprisingly, no-one appears to have considered collecting in workhouses until the way was shown, either by Sharp or Vaughan Williams.<sup>117</sup> Chance encounters could be equally valuable, and some collectors went looking for them in rural public houses. Vaughan Williams first collected at Ingrave (Essex) on 3 December 1903. When

<sup>108</sup> For Taylor's presence with the Graingers at *Brigg Fair*, Broadwood diaries 31 March 1908. For the number of meetings between Taylor and Grainger, tabulation in O'Brien, *Grainger Collection*, pp.129-141.

<sup>109</sup> Source: VWML computer database plus 'Folk Words'. Because the database only provides page numbers, not references to complete texts, it is very difficult to provide exact figures.

<sup>110</sup> Bland MSS, interview with Mr and Mrs Herbert Overd, 5 March 1974.

<sup>111</sup> Cecil Sharp, 'The Mendip Singers', unpublished MSS in Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A.

<sup>112</sup> Bland MSS, interview with Harold Weeks, 5 March 1974.

<sup>113</sup> Sharp, 'Mendip Singers'.

<sup>114</sup> Census Returns, Enmore, RG12/1881.

<sup>115</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Census Returns, Stogursey, RG12/1866, RG11/2356.

<sup>117</sup> Sharp collected from Jane Wheller 'at Langport Union' on 12 April 1904: 'Tune Books' 1, 176-179. Vaughan Williams collected at the Billericay Union in late April 1904. Kennedy, *Catalogue*, p.251.

Fig. 4:1  
Endpapers of Cecil Sharp's Field Note Books.  
Field Note Books (Words) 4-18 August 1905 (518-570).

Mr. George Light.  
Athelney. (Stammar R. 1/2 up to  
(N. Ross) (125-126))

Asped Withy. Baydown  
Cantwell.

Tom Guffth. Just beyond  
Infermary - by side of river

Madame Hilda Wilson.  
10 Swan Hill.  
Clifton.

Capt. Rockford - Minihed  
Capt Paulford  
(Johnson)  
John & Joey Webber.

Mr. Austin - Land with stone

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Granny  
3. ~~George~~ Court.  
Cannon St. Taunton

T. G. Coggan  
Tailor. Somerset  
(Mushy Hammed)

Hensley, below High Ham

Edward Tapscott  
(Mushy Lang)

Randall of Pitney. Blacksmith

Chappell. (woodman) maldon  
nr. Caroline Cox.  
nr. Elvishappan. (Hensley)  
Hawker. Sucton.  
A. Min. Law Ham.

Adopted by exdery. 2. Land east of  
Kings Head High Ham

he returned to Essex, he collected at the Cricketers Inn, Herongate (in the parish of Ingrave) on 22 February 1904 and in April went to the Bell Inn at Willingale (also in Essex).<sup>118</sup> He subsequently collected in the public houses of several counties, including Sussex, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Yorkshire, and Northumberland. Other forms of chance encounter were possible. In a letter to his wife, Sharp described meeting a gypsy family when out collecting with Francis Etherington:

We had decided to make our way over the moor to Withypool and were just wheeling our bicycles up the hill when Etherington gave a penny to a very dirty but picturesque little child who took it and ran to a small cart that was under a tree down a little lane, and gave it to its father – evidently a gypsy. So I went up to him and chatted, and broached the question of songs. No! *he* didn't sing but his wife did ... Presently out came the wife, Betsy Holland, aged 26, a bright, dark-eyed woman ... We attacked her about the songs she had learned from her grandmother. A little persuasion and she sat down on a stone, gave her baby the breast, and then began a murder song that was just fascinating. Talk of folk-singing! It was the finest and most characteristic bit of singing I had ever heard.<sup>119</sup>

This encounter by the roadside on Exmoor was a long way, both physically and spiritually, from the methods of the collectors at work in the 1890s.

Collectors were always more opportunistic than doctrinaire about where they worked, and while most insisted that folk song was a rural phenomenon none had any objection to collecting in towns and cities if the material was there. Concerted searches were seldom attempted because of the lack of the necessary intermediaries. The only town of any size that Sharp penetrated with success was Bridgwater, where he was assisted by W.K. Warren. Nevertheless, he was ready to make use of chance encounters. Between November 1907 and April 1909, Sharp collected from six singers he heard in the London streets, and from two sewer men in July 1906. These men apparently gave him the initial contacts through which he was eventually to explore much of the Cotswold morris tradition.<sup>120</sup> Sharp undertook a major collecting project at Marylebone Workhouse in 1908-1909: over a period of six months he visited the institution at least twenty-three times and collected more than ninety tunes there.<sup>121</sup> Vaughan Williams collected from ballad sellers near his home in Barton Street, Westminster, and Grainger worked from his home at Chelsea, at Chiswick Ferry, and more vaguely in 'London'.<sup>122</sup> Kate Lee collected twice from Mrs Mainwaring Bodell, of Clerkenwell, a contact made through a notice in the popular newspaper *Lloyd's Weekly News*.<sup>123</sup> Broadwood told the Musical Association in 1905 that urban residence was no bar to folk song collection: 'we would persuade musical people that in the workhouses, hospitals, dockyards, and smithies of crowded towns there are as good singers to be found as in country places'.<sup>124</sup> She put this belief into practice by collecting street cries, sporadically from the 1890s and more systematically during the First World War, when most

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<sup>118</sup> *ibid*, pp.247-249.

<sup>119</sup> Cecil to Constance Sharp, 21 July [*recte* August] 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 3 Misc. This letter is quoted in Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.41.

<sup>120</sup> This sequence of events is reconstructed from Cecil Sharp. 'Tune Books' Vol.5 Nos.957-958, and from letter, Sharp to Mary Neal, 30 March 1909, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder A.

<sup>121</sup> Cecil Sharp, 'Tune Books' 9 and 10, Nos. 1933-2184.

<sup>122</sup> For Vaughan Williams, Kennedy, *Catalogue* p.249. For Grainger, O'Brien, *Grainger Collection*, pp.129-141.

<sup>123</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences' p.10.

other forms of folk song collection quite naturally ceased, and when she found an enthusiastic collaborator in Juliet Williams.<sup>125</sup> Several collectors shared this specialist interest. Sharp's daughter Joan remembered him 'chasing up Adelaide Road [in Hampstead, where they lived] in pursuit of gipsies and lavender sellers'.<sup>126</sup> A small collection was published in the Folk Song Society's *Journal* in 1910, and a larger one in 1919.<sup>127</sup>

There was little change in the actual mechanics of collection between 1898 and 1914, except those resulting from the increasing professionalism and experience of collectors. All began by using their trained musical ear and notebook methods, or, like Baring-Gould and Kidson, they got others to note the tunes for them, or picked them out on the piano. But there were obvious advances as professionalism and experience enabled trained musicians to recognise and record the curious nature of much of what was sung to them. It was very early recognised that country singers did not keep to the usual major/minor scales but used a number of other intervals. To folklorists and students of early music such as Broadwood and Kidson, conscious of the 'doctrine of survivals' which was then the orthodoxy, the answer to this problem was an obvious one – the singers were using the ancient 'modes' upon whose principles music had been constructed from classical times until the major/minor system came into use in the seventeenth century.<sup>128</sup> Most singers sang unaccompanied, and many used a variety of dramatic devices, of which the chief ones were variation in the tune and changes in tempo. As collectors began to spend more time with singers, all these features became more noticeable. But they meant that the tunes could be very difficult to take down, even for practised musicians. Kate Lee found that 'Eggs in the Basket' 'was by far the hardest [song] she ever tried to take down'. She first heard it in 1895 at Wells-next-the-Sea but was not able to note it until three years later, perhaps through her increasing experience.<sup>129</sup> The composer H. Balfour Gardiner also had difficulties with 'Eggs in the Basket', this time in Hampshire. He told Broadwood of a 'Dorian setting ... in 5/4 and 6/4 and 7/4 time; [which] gave me great pains to write down correctly'.<sup>130</sup> Sharp found Betsy Holland's singing of 'James Macdonald' (in the Lydian Mode) 'fiendishly difficult to take down', so much so that he was not satisfied until he confirmed it by collecting from Holland's grandmother.<sup>131</sup> Part-singing posed special difficulties. When Kate Lee collected from the Copper brothers, she noted that 'Mr. Thomas Copper's voice was as flexible as a bird's. He always sang the under part of the song like a sort of obbligato, impossible, at first hearing, to put down'.<sup>132</sup>

Hand notation was an arduous process both for the singer and for the collector. The Folk Song Society's 'Hints to Collectors' urged field workers to operate in pairs, one taking down the

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<sup>124</sup> Broadwood, 'Collecting Folk Songs', p.98.

<sup>125</sup> Bearman, 'Broadwood Collection', p.359.

<sup>126</sup> Joan Sharp, 'Some Memories of Cecil Sharp', *JFSDSS* 8,4 (1959) p.191.

<sup>127</sup> *JFSS* 4,2 (1910), pp.97-105, 6,2 (1919), pp.55-79.

<sup>128</sup> For a clear elucidation of the modes, Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting', pp.69-70.

<sup>129</sup> Report of second meeting of Folk Song Society [speech by J.A. Fuller Maitland], *JFSS* 1,2 (1900) p.28.

<sup>130</sup> Balfour Gardiner to Broadwood, 22 June 1905. SHC 2185/LEB/1/116.

<sup>131</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* pp.41-42.

tune, and the other the words, but, 'If this cannot be managed, then it is advisable for the collector to master the words first'. When the text had been secured:

The collector may begin to take down the tune. He will find it difficult to note both rhythm and correct intervals simultaneously, and it is best definitely to choose which of these he will try to obtain first. Two or three repetitions of the tune may be needed for each of these processes, and finally another repetition for the sake of proving the correctness of the transcript.<sup>133</sup>

So the singer would have to repeat the song at least five times for tune and words to be collected. Variations, of course, complicated and lengthened this process still further: Sharp recorded that he kept Henry Larcombe singing the same song over and over for nearly an hour at a time.<sup>134</sup>

Besides being an arduous process, hand notation was never entirely satisfactory because it could never do more than provide an outline of the tune and variations and could not adequately explore the singer's performance. There was an alternative. A mechanical recording device – the phonograph – had been in commercial production since the 1890s and was being used by some folklorists and anthropologists. Some members of the Folk Song Society were aware of its possibilities. When the Society was revived in March 1904, Sir Hubert Parry urged 'the purchase of a phonograph' when funds permitted.<sup>135</sup> In 1906 a donation of £5 was made to the Society, which the Secretary, Lucy Broadwood, proposed to put towards 'the purchase of the most satisfactory kind of Phonograph, or other recording machine'.<sup>136</sup> In practice this money appears to have been passed on by Broadwood to Percy Grainger, who at the end of July 1906 began the best-known and most publicised piece of phonograph collection before 1914.<sup>137</sup>

Grainger was not the first in the field, but he became the most enthusiastic advocate of this form of collection.<sup>138</sup> At the end of July he wrote to Broadwood to say that he was 'simply *scooping* in good tunes' and at the end of the year he gave a paper to the Society on phonograph collection and the perspectives it offered on singers' performances.<sup>139</sup> This paper was eventually printed in the *Journal* in 1908.<sup>140</sup>

Some of the Society's leading lights, however, were lukewarm about phonograph collection, and the *Journal's* editorial board added a cautious rider to Grainger's article dissociating themselves from some of his more enthusiastic statements. Some of the objections centred on the intimidating effect the machine could have on singers. Of these objections, Frank Kidson's was the most vehement: 'eight folk-singers out of ten asked to sing into that strange funnel above a moving cylinder will be nervous and not sing their best, either in time or in

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<sup>132</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences', p.11.

<sup>133</sup> 'Hints to Collectors' (1898), Minute Book No.1 pp.22-23.

<sup>134</sup> Sharp, *Some Conclusions* p.21.

<sup>135</sup> Minutes of committee, 18 March 1904. Minute Book No.2, p.6.

<sup>136</sup> Addendum slip in *JFSS* 2,4 (1906).

<sup>137</sup> Grainger to Broadwood, 28 July 1906, SHC 2185/LEB/1/86, includes the cryptic comment 'and about Dr. Gardiner's £5, I will let you know when I am through'. (This seems to indicate that the donor of the £5 was George B Gardiner).

<sup>138</sup> In May 1905 James Campbell McInnes, a young concert singer who was a protégé of Broadwood, called on her with phonograph recordings of singers from the Isle of Skye, taken by him and by Graham Peel, a Folk Song Society member. Broadwood diaries 18 May 1905.

<sup>139</sup> For 'scooping in good tunes', Grainger to Broadwood 28 July 1906.



tune'.<sup>141</sup> Sharp, in a frank but friendly letter to Grainger told him that 'In my somewhat limited experience I have found singers, although not at all unwilling to sing into the phonograph, yet quite incapable of singing into it in their usual un-selfconscious manner', and gave the example of 'a young man, a very first-rate folk singer' with whom Sharp's attempts at phonograph collection had been a dismal failure.<sup>142</sup> He further noted that the very old and frail could not use the machine, and pointed out that all the singers from whom Grainger had collected in Lincolnshire were men.<sup>143</sup> Other objections centred on the defects of the machine – its inability accurately to record some tones, and the distortion which occurred if the recordings were slowed down for subsequent transcription.<sup>144</sup>

From these objections, a quite fantastical web has been woven by uncritical admirers of Grainger such as David Josephson and Grainger's biographer John Bird. They have presented the issue as though the Folk Song Society was totally opposed to phonograph recording, and as though the principal opposition came from Sharp.<sup>145</sup> Bird implies, and Josephson alleges that the main reason why Grainger left England and never again collected there was the Society's opposition to his methods.<sup>146</sup> To other commentators such as Michael Yates, the issue is further evidence of the field collectors' determination to misrepresent their sources.<sup>147</sup> Nearly everything which has been written about Percy Grainger, the phonograph, and the Folk Song Society is ignorant, prejudiced nonsense, based on animosity towards Sharp and on the stereotype of the enthusiastic, unconventional Australian frustrated by stick-in-the-mud British attitudes.

The reality was much more complex. The leading voice in the Folk Song Society was not Sharp's but Broadwood's. By 1906-7 the brief honeymoon of good relations between them was over and Broadwood was on increasingly bad terms with Sharp after the row about the Board of Education's *Suggestions* list which erupted at the Society's 1906 AGM (immediately before Grainger gave his paper).<sup>148</sup> Broadwood was on much better terms with Grainger: after he took up folk song collecting in 1905 they rapidly became close friends, in part because Grainger flattered her and in part because he was one of a long line of personable young men whom

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<sup>140</sup> Percy Grainger, 'Collecting with the Phonograph', *JFSS* 3,3 (1908) pp.147-242.

<sup>141</sup> Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk Song and Dance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p.50.

<sup>142</sup> Sharp to Grainger 23 May 1908, quoted in Michael Yates, 'Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph', *FMJ* 4,3 (1982) p.268.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *ibid.* See also Anne Gilchrist to Broadwood, 1/2 June 1908, Gilchrist collection AGG/8/142.

<sup>145</sup> John Bird, *Percy Grainger* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) p.131, says that 'Whilst Grainger was alive the world was silent about his innovations, and the stoniest of silences came from the English Folk-Song Society, its heirs and disciples. The Sharp dogma ruled over all. On the same page he states that 'from about 1909 he [Grainger] began to fade out from the folk-song collecting scene in England and sought ears more sympathetic to his radical ideas in Denmark and New Zealand'. David Josephson, 'The Case for Percy Grainger, Edwardian musician, on his Centenary', in *Music and Civilization: Essays in honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982) pp.355-356.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid* p.356.

<sup>147</sup> Yates, 'Impact of the Phonograph', p.271. Note particularly the comment about Lucy Broadwood and Henry Burstow which is both dubious and utterly irrelevant to the rest of the article.

Broadwood took under her wing.<sup>149</sup> By 1906, Grainger and his mother had become regular visitors to Broadwood's home and they entertained her in return.<sup>150</sup> Broadwood herself was very far from being hostile to the phonograph: as we have seen, she proposed to put the £5 donation towards the purchase of one, and when she actually got her hands on the machine she took to it like a child with a new toy. In March 1907 Vaughan Williams brought her some 'F[olk] S[ong] S[ociety] phonograph records', which over the next two days she showed off to her visitors Mr. Lidgey and McInnes, and even to her maids.<sup>151</sup> She first used the phonograph to collect from Kate McLean at Arisaig in July 1907, and the following year she bought a machine for herself and used it to collect Gaelic songs from Dr. MacRae and John MacLennon.<sup>152</sup> Later, in 1912, she hired a phonograph to make recordings while staying with Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell, another collector.<sup>153</sup> Broadwood's close friend (and Folk Song Society committee member) Vaughan Williams made moderate use of the phonograph, both on his own and in collaboration with Ella Leather in Herefordshire.<sup>154</sup> Other committee members who used the phonograph include Walter Ford and Sharp himself, and Broadwood's comments about Vaughan Williams' recordings seem to imply that there was an 'official' Folk Song Society phonograph with recordings being made on its behalf.<sup>155</sup>

The construction which Grainger's partisans and the apostles of misrepresentation have put upon the Folk Song Society's coolness is therefore untenable. What the Society's committee in fact objected to was the exaggerated claims that Grainger made on behalf of the machine. They were quite prepared to accept its use in expert hands and backed up by hand notation. Their position and their criticisms of phonograph recording have been supported by a modern expert, who writes that:

The artist [i.e., the singer] had to adapt very carefully to the recording horn, modifying his performance to weaken notes which hit horn resonances ... emphasise consonants, and give an even fortissimo at other times. Most people were not only too weak, but did not adapt successfully. The phonograph was therefore never regarded as a faithful recording medium for posterity, but rather as a notebook which would help an ethnomusicologist or a musician to write down in staff notation the essentials of a piece of music'.<sup>156</sup>

There were other disadvantages. Sharp mentioned that he had often got good material by the roadside (as with Betsy Holland) or in other circumstances in which the phonograph could not be

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<sup>148</sup> For further details, see Chapter 2.

<sup>149</sup> Others included Clive Carey and McInnes. For Carey, see Chapter 2. For McInnes, see Dorothy de Val 'The Lady of Carlisle Mansions', a paper given at the 'Folksong: Tradition and Revival conference at the University of Sheffield, 10-12 July 1998. I am very grateful to Dorothy de Val for a copy of this paper.

<sup>150</sup> In 1906 they met for meals five times, including lunch on Christmas Day. Broadwood diaries 18 March, 2 April, 23 June, 27 October, 25 December 1906.

<sup>151</sup> Broadwood diaries 21-23 March 1907.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid 11 July 1907, 5 March, 4 April, 23 May 1908.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid 3 October 1912.

<sup>154</sup> For example, Kennedy, *Catalogue*, pp.271-272.

<sup>155</sup> For example, Sharp recorded two tunes from Priscilla Cooper by phonograph on 1 January 1908. 'Tune Books' 1548-1549.

<sup>156</sup> Letter to the present writer from Peter Copeland (Technical Sound Manager, British Library National Sound Archive) 20 December 1995. I am very grateful to Mr. Copeland for answering my questions about the usability of the phonograph.

used. The Edison 'Standard' machine the collectors used had in fact been designed for office dictation and it was only intended to survive 'average office conditions': these hardly included unprotected travel or outdoor use in the weather all too common in the British Isles. Its wax cylinders functioned best in warm conditions: down to about sixty degrees Fahrenheit recording was possible but 'a cold cylinder simply results in a shallower groove, giving difficulties upon reproduction'.<sup>157</sup>

Taken together, these circumstances meant that the phonograph was only usable under certain conditions. It had to be transported carefully and set up in a fixed and fairly warm place. In practice, Grainger set up his machine in the home of the Elwes family at Brigg (Lincs) and the singers had to come to him to be phonographed.<sup>158</sup> The reason why so many recordings were made of Joseph Taylor may be that Taylor had his own transport.<sup>159</sup> The story is told of another singer that Grainger asked him to come to Brigg early in the morning, so the man caught a train at 4am and when Grainger got up he was waiting outside the house.<sup>160</sup> Obviously, these methods could only be used with singers physically able to make the journey and with the energy and leisure necessary to travel. Anyone else went un-phonographed, and on his prospecting visits Grainger travelled by bicycle and used hand notation like everyone else. He did not even take the phonograph to record from John Perring at Dartmouth (Devon), though he expressed a desire to do so.<sup>161</sup> The only occasion on which Grainger is known to have used the machine outside his own or a friend's house was on his visits to Winchcombe Workhouse (Gloucs) in April 1908, and this journey was made possible by travel in the motor car belonging to Arthur Balfour, the ex-Prime Minister.<sup>162</sup> Other collectors similarly either used the phonograph in the home or when there was adequate transport. One of the occasions when Cecil Sharp is known to have made recordings is while staying with Priscilla Wyatt-Edgell in Devon, and (presumably) using the Wyatt-Edgells' carriage or motor car.<sup>163</sup>

But the phonograph was not usable given the conditions under which most collectors were working in the period after 1904. Sharp appears to have believed that it was theoretically possible to transport the machine by bicycle, but the multiple inconveniences of doing so can be imagined, not to mention the risk of injury to the mechanism from falls or jolting on the rough roads of the time. The modern expert's opinion is that 'it might be carried manually for short distances, eg from a hotel to a nearby pub, but I would judge no further'.<sup>164</sup> The wax cylinders, too, required protective support and wrapping when not in use, and, since their duration was only

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<sup>157</sup> *ibid*

<sup>158</sup> Robert W. Pacey, 'Folk Music in Lincolnshire', unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978, p.21.

<sup>159</sup> *ibid* p.190. Taylor was the bailiff of a substantial estate and had the use of a trap.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid* p.42.

<sup>161</sup> For Grainger using the bicycle and hand notation, *ibid* p.34. Grainger wrote of Perring that 'I long to make phonograph recordings of his performances': *JFSS* 3,3 (1908) p.231.

<sup>162</sup> Gwilym Davies, 'Percy Grainger's Folk Music Research in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, 1907-09', *FMJ* 6,3 (1992) p.341.

<sup>163</sup> The location of Sharp's meeting with Priscilla Cooper (Honiton: see above, N.145) suggests that he was staying with the Wyatt-Edgells, who lived at Cowley Place, near Exeter.

<sup>164</sup> Copeland to Bearman, 20 December 1995.

about two and a half minutes, very many would need to be carried for a day's work. These practical disadvantages meant that phonograph collection was only practicable if collectors abandoned the fieldwork methods which had been developed by the 1900s and reverted to the practice of making singers come to the 'big house', with all that it implied in psychological terms.

### Conclusion to Part One

This part of the chapter began with a story of Kate Lee. Another of her tales was of the singer eventually contacted through the four old fishermen at Wells-next-the-Sea who came to her lodgings 'shaking with fright ... when he began [to sing] he was so frightfully nervous that not a note could he utter'.<sup>165</sup> It puts into a neat quotation a model of class relations which is irresistible to recent commentary on the folk music movement, and it, together with more generalised assumptions about the nervousness of singers confronted by collectors, turns up over and over again.<sup>166</sup> No doubt this model of class relations does represent one side of the story (though it is an observable fact of human nature that not all nervousness about singing in public is due to disparities in social class.) But what such commentary has completely ignored is the other side of the story: Emma Overd's reaction to Sharp's request; John Helmore trolling out an indecent song before a company of ladies and gentlemen; the encounter with Betsy Holland by the roadside on Exmoor. This insistence on emphasising class relationships to the exclusion of all else has obscured the advances in collecting techniques which undoubtedly occurred between the 1890s and 1914. The practice collectors going to the singers rather than making the singers come to them placed the encounter on the singers' own territory. Repeated visits made the development of friendly relations much more likely, and vastly expanded the range and quantity of the material collected. It also led to important advances in scholarship as collectors, through repeated contact, learned more about singers' performances. It is ironic that the only important advance in the actual recording of songs – the phonograph – could only be used in circumstances which forced a return to the methods of collection in the 'big house'. Mechanical and electronic recording represented the future but to be truly effective they awaited the development of the tape recorder and the arrival of the motor car as a common means of transport.<sup>167</sup> The Edwardian collectors did not use the phonograph more widely for the simple reason that the machine was not usable under the field collection methods they had developed.

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<sup>165</sup> Kate Lee, 'Experiences' p.9.

<sup>166</sup> The passage is directly quoted in Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting', p.66, and by John Valdis Francmanis, 'The Musical Sherlock Holmes: Frank Kidson and the English Folk Music Revival, c.1890-1926' p.127. Harker expresses his belief that singers were made nervous by 'a London gent [Sharp] armed with a local big-wig', in *Fakesong* p.194: for another assumption, Watson, *Song and Democratic Culture*, p.33 (quoted at the beginning of the chapter).

<sup>167</sup> The first collector regularly to use a car and a mechanical recording device (the Dictaphone) appears to have been James Madison Carpenter in 1929. Significantly, Carpenter was an American and had the advantage of large American research grants. See Julia C. Bishop, 'Dr Carpenter from the Harvard College in America: An Introduction to James Madison Carpenter and his collection', *FMJ* 7,4 (1998), pp.402-420. For Carpenter's cars, pp.405, 409: for the Dictaphone, p.407.

## Part Two

### Cecil Sharp in Somerset

David or 'Dave' Harker's allegations of misrepresentation by Sharp fall into two parts: firstly an assertion that Sharp's description of his sources as 'the common people' or 'the remnants of the peasantry' were unrealistic and a-historical, coupled with a counter-claim that the singers in fact represented a 'rural working class' or 'rural proletariat', and secondly an analysis of Sharp's collecting and publication practice which purported to show that Sharp ignored broadsides and other printed material, butchered the texts he collected and used the process of editing and publication to present a more rural image. I have dealt with Harker's allegations in two papers, one of which is unpublished at the time of writing. The first, 'Who were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', uses a biographical survey of the singers from whom Sharp collected in Somerset between 1903 and 1909 to show that Sharp's descriptions were reasonable.<sup>168</sup> The second paper, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: some further conclusions' employs a counter-analysis of Sharp's collecting and the contents of *Folk Songs from Somerset* to show that Harker's arguments are flawed in every detail and are unworthy of serious consideration.<sup>169</sup> Both these papers depend on a knowledge of Harker's work and readers should familiarise themselves with Harker's critique of Sharp, preferably in its first incarnation ('Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions', *Folk Music Journal* 2,3 [1972] pp.220-240) since this contains a number of passages which are truncated or omitted from the later version in *Fakesong* (Chapter Eight, pp.172-197).

Sharp's description of his sources was first criticised by A.L. Lloyd, who called it 'an ideology of primitive romanticism with a vengeance'.<sup>170</sup> Lloyd re-defined folk song as 'lower-class song', originating in poverty and expressing a common identity and interest among the poor.<sup>171</sup> Harker's contribution was to give Lloyd's re-definition a specific description and an ideological edge, basing his argument on the Marxist definition of 'peasant' which insists that only small proprietors living on the land can be classed as such. His argument was:

First of all, there was no peasantry, in remnants or otherwise. English agriculture had been transformed by the Tudor enclosures, and revolutionised by those of the 18th century. Even after the campaigns of Joseph Arch and the Agricultural Labourers' Union, only a tiny proportion of English working men cultivated a patch of land *for subsistence* ... In Somerset, High Farming, rack-renting, machinery, landlordism and capitalization had transformed the social structure of the countryside into one consisting of landlords, tenant farmers, and hired, wage-earning labouring men, women, and children.<sup>172</sup>

This was all very neat and tidy and indeed it was technically correct, so long as one accepted the Marxist definitions of 'peasant' and 'peasantry'. But the question of whether Sharp's description

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<sup>168</sup> This paper appeared in *Historical Journal* 43,3 (2000) pp.751-775. An edited version has been incorporated into this chapter.

<sup>169</sup> This paper was given at the 'Folksong: Tradition and Revival' conference at Sheffield, 10-12 July 1998, and will be published in the conference proceedings. An edited version has been incorporated into this chapter.

<sup>170</sup> Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, p.14.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid* p.179.

of his sources was reasonable or unreasonable does not depend on such doctrinaire questions, but on how the words were understood in the usage of the time. Anyone can define a term in any way they choose. The question is whether their definition is accepted by others and survives the test of *usage*. So, on a basic level, Sharp's descriptions and definitions are justified if they reflect the common *usage*, recorded in dictionary definitions, of his own time and, to a lesser extent, of ours.<sup>173</sup> At a much deeper and more important level, it is a question of mentalities: about how people thought of themselves, what their level of education was, and what the boundaries were of their world. These are the questions which need to be addressed, and to date these questions have been ignored in favour of slogans, since neither A.L. Lloyd nor Harker did any research into the singers' lives. Harker dismissed Sharp as the class enemy, bound to misrepresent working-class culture by the very fibre of his being, but he restricted his knowledge of the Somerset singers to what Sharp told him – which was not very much.

The analysis which follows is the first attempt at a systematic biographical survey of a large group of folk singers – the 311 Somerset people who sang to Sharp between 1903 and 1909.<sup>174</sup> It uses parish records, the 1881 and 1891 Censuses (1891 is the latest for which personal details are available), the material in the Sharp MSS. and in the published notes to *Folk Songs from Somerset* and the fragmentary but very valuable work of an earlier researcher, David Bland.<sup>175</sup> It was possible to identify 214 people from the Censuses with reasonable certainty. The other material made it possible to provide occupations for 238 people and ages for 278. These are compared with general statistics from the 1901 Census. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 give the occupations, for men and women respectively, of the 238 people for whom this information is available: it is taken from the Censuses and from the Sharp MSS., dating from 1903-1909.<sup>176</sup> Where material from more than one source exists, the Census description has been used.

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<sup>172</sup> Harker 'Sharp in Somerset' pp.225-226.

<sup>173</sup> I am indebted to Dr. John Cunliffe and Lewis Jones for this line of argument.

<sup>174</sup> 311 is the number of named Somerset adults who sang to Sharp while he was working on *Folk Songs from Somerset*, i.e., between 22 August 1903 and 6 January 1909, so far as an accurate figure can be established. It does not include groups such as the 'Barrington Wassailers' or children from whom Sharp collected game-songs.

<sup>175</sup> David Bland is a former Librarian of the VWML. In the early 1970s he conceived the idea of a book about Sharp and his work, based on Sharp's photographs, and containing brief biographies of the singers. To this purpose he sent copies of the photographs to the incumbents of the parishes in which Sharp collected, asking to be put in touch with any surviving relatives, and followed this up with field visits. Unfortunately, Mr. Bland gave up this project c.1975, and his notes are now in the VWML. I am very grateful for his permission to use them, and to Malcolm Taylor, the present Librarian, for bringing them to my attention.

<sup>176</sup> As far as possible, information on occupations is taken from the 1891 Census. Material from 1881 has only been used where there is corroborating evidence from other sources.

<b>Table 4.1: Occupations of Cecil Sharp's Somerset singers, 1903-1909 (men)</b>	
Agricultural (or farm) labourer	39
Baker	2
Blacksmith	4
Child living with parents (in 1891)	2
Clergyman	2
Coachman or Coachman plus other occupation (eg. Groom)	3
Farmer	11
Farmer plus other occupation (eg. Innkeeper)	5
Gardener	5
General and other labourers	21
Herdsmen or Shepherd	4
Iron Miner	2
Mariner or Sailor	2
Market Gardener	3
Mason	3
Miller	2
Pauper (Workhouse Inmate)	6
Quarryman	3
Shoemaker	2
(Stationary) Engine Driver	2
One each of : Basket maker, Boatman, Butcher, Carpenter, Carrier, Coal Miner, Cordwainer, Dairyman, Farm Carter, Fishmonger, Gamekeeper, Gipsy, Greengrocer, Horsehair Dyer, Licensed Victualler, Pauper (outdoor relief), Platelayer, Postmaster, Quay Foreman, Railway Ganger, Road Contractor, Saddle and Harness Maker, Sailcloth Weaver, Sawyer, Ship's Pilot	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>

<b>Table 4.2: Occupations of Cecil Sharp's Somerset singers, 1903-1909 (women)</b>	
<b>Married women – occupations of husbands:</b>	
Agricultural (or farm) labourer	27
Farmer	2
General and other labourers	12
Gipsy	2
Mason	5
Quarryman	2
One each of: Basket maker, Carpenter, Cooper and Gardener, Dairyman, Fisherman, Gardener, Herdsman, Painter, Pauper (outdoor relief), Quarry Foreman, Sailcloth Weaver, Sailor, Shoemaker, Withy Dealer.	14
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Single or widowed women</b>	
Charwoman	3
Glover or 'Glover Leather'	2
Independent Means	5
Not stated	5
Web Weaver	2
One each of: Daughter of Agricultural Labourer, Daughter of Vicar, 'Farmeress', Housekeeper, Newsagent, Nurse, Pauper (Workhouse inmate), Pupil Teacher, Shirtmaker.	9
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Total women</b>	<b>90</b>

(for sources for Tables 4.1 and 4.2 see text)

If these people represented a 'peasantry', how might this group be defined? Harker defines 'peasant' in a rather sexist way as 'English working men [cultivating] a patch of land for *subsistence*'. Were there really no female peasants, one wonders? His definition is barely supported by the 1989 *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, whose primary definition begins 'One who lives in the country and works on the land, either as a small farmer or as a labourer', before giving a meaning closer to what Harker intends. *Chambers Dictionary* (1993) gives 'a member of a lowly class of smallholders (*hist*); a person who lives in the country, a rustic (*colloq*); an ignorant or uncultured person (*derog*)'. Further, and in the same passage, Harker appeals to a book, published in 1874, entitled *The English Peasantry*.<sup>177</sup> Clearly, other people besides Sharp believed that a 'peasantry' existed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England, even if Harker does not. The most authoritative dictionary of Sharp's own time, the relevant volume of which appeared in 1905, exactly contemporary with his work in Somerset, was James Murray's *New English Dictionary*. This defined 'peasant' in a way which combines the two modern definitions cited as: 'One who lives in the country and works on the land, either as a small farmer or as a labourer; the name is also applied to any rustic of the working classes; a countryman, a rustic.'<sup>178</sup> From the context of their writing, this is what Sharp and others understood by the term. Most of the reviews of *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* were hostile, and reflected the antagonism which Sharp had aroused within the music establishment and in the Folk Song Society.<sup>179</sup> But this hostility was expressed on musical and historical grounds alone. If Sharp's contemporaries thought that there was anything ridiculous about describing early twentieth century Somerset people as 'the remnants of the peasantry' or as the 'unlettered', they did not say so. Not even the iconoclastic and very forward-looking review in *New Age* – the only one to challenge the consensus view of the folk music movement as a Good Thing and to make some of the objections later critics have insisted on – made this point.<sup>180</sup>

How many of Sharp's singers were among the 'peasantry' by these contemporary definitions? The definition offered in Murray's *New English Dictionary* agrees closely with the way in which the 1901 Census grouped together those directly engaged in agriculture. The Census defined them as Agricultural Labourers, Farmers, Herdsmen, Market Gardeners, and Shepherds.<sup>181</sup> If we return to Tables 4.1 and 4.2, it will be seen that these make up the largest single group among the singers: 56 of the 148 men, or 38 per cent.<sup>182</sup> If the economically inactive (children and paupers) are removed from the statistics, the figure is 56 out of 139, or 40 per cent. Among women, 32 out of 90, or 36 per cent, were employed in agriculture by the Census definition, or were dependent on men who were. So a total of 88 out of 238, or 88 out of

<sup>177</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> James A.H. Murray (ed) *A New English Dictionary*, Vol. VII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).

<sup>179</sup> The reviews in the *Musical News* (2, 9, 16 November 1907), *Musical Times* (1 January 1908), and the *Times Literary Supplement* (23 January 1908) were by T.L. Southgate, Frank Kidson, and J.A. Fuller Maitland respectively, all members of the Folk Song Society, and ranged from hostile to lukewarm.

<sup>180</sup> *New Age*, 30 November 1907.

<sup>181</sup> 1901 Census of England and Wales (Somerset), Table 32 as given in *Accounts and Papers* Vol. CXX (London: HMSO, 1902).

<sup>182</sup> All percentages in this paper are rounded up or down to the nearest whole number.



the 222 who were economically active, depended on agriculture for their livelihoods. The percentages are 38 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. The significance of these proportions to the population as a whole depends on the measure used. All population statistics are bedevilled by the different measures used in the Census and the ways in which the figures can be presented. Three sets of figures for the overall population are available: for the Ancient County; the Administrative County; and the Registration County, and these figures differ by as much as 70,000.<sup>183</sup>

In 1901, Agriculture was the second largest category of employment in Somerset, with 33,013 people engaged in it, compared with 37,469 for 'Domestic Offices and Servants'. The Census uses the Administrative County as the statistical base for the employment tables. Out of a total population of 434,950, the 33,013 employed in agriculture form only 8 per cent. But of this total population, 91,182 were under 10, and 75,024 were at school, retired, or unoccupied. The number of those economically active was 173,490, so the proportion in agriculture rises to 19 per cent. Moreover, the vast majority of agricultural workers were men – 31,414, compared with 1,599 women. Only 124,931 men were economically active, so the proportion among them rises to 25 per cent. A number which seems insignificant when compared to the population as a whole, was nevertheless a very significant part of the male workforce. Table 4.3 gives the statistics.

<b>Table 4.3: Numbers in agricultural employment in Somerset as a proportion of population.</b>		
<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	
<b>Whole population</b>	<b>Total in agricultural employment</b>	<b>B as % of A</b>
434,950	33, 013	7.6
<b>Economically active</b>		
173,490 <sup>183a</sup>	33, 013	19.0
<b>Economically active men</b>	<b>Men in agricultural employment</b>	
124,931	31,414	25.2

Source: 1901 Census (Somerset), Table 32.

Among Sharp's singers, a much higher proportion depended on agriculture for their livelihoods than among the population as a whole, or among the economically active, or even among men employed in agriculture. Taking the definition of 'peasant' at its narrowest, in the *OED* sense of 'one who lives in the country and works on the land' (which agrees closely with the Census definition) it must be said that the 'peasantry' made up a very substantial proportion of Sharp's singers. Moreover, 'Agricultural Employment', as the Census defined it, did not include many groups such as jobbing gardeners or gamekeepers whom a common sense .....continued on p. 142

<sup>183</sup> In 1901 the population totals for Somerset were:

Ancient County:	508,256
Administrative County:	434,950
Registration County:	466,193

Source: 1901 Census (Somerset), Table 1. Most of the statistical tables used the Administrative County as their base.

<sup>183a</sup> In 'Who were the Folk?', p.761, I gave a figure of 268,744 for the economically active population. This was based on a misreading of the Census statistics. I apologise to readers for this error.

definition would include among those who 'lived on the land'.<sup>184</sup> It is impossible to give an exact figure for all those who might count among the 'peasantry' as the dictionaries define them: according to differing interpretations of trades and occupations, or what exactly constitutes a 'small farmer', it might be anything between fifty and seventy per cent. But one thing is quite certain: however unfashionable a term 'peasantry' might have become since 1905, Sharp's description was reasonable and does not deserve the ridicule which has been heaped upon it.

Both the singers and the countryside in which they lived have been misrepresented by the existing literature. In between denials that a 'peasantry' existed, Harker re-defines the term as 'male agricultural labourer' and fails to find any of these among a highly selective summary of Sharp's sources.<sup>185</sup> He also classifies communities as 'towns' or 'villages' without defining what he means by those terms, and without knowledge on which to base his definitions. Harker calls Langport a 'small town', but in 1901 it had 813 people, just over a hundred more than its neighbour Huish Episcopi, which to Harker is a 'large village', and considerably less than the 1,021 of Cannington, another 'large village'. High Ham, which Harker calls 'tiny', had 898 people – more than Langport.<sup>186</sup> Harker then classifies people on the basis of his ignorant assumptions. Because Emma Overd (1838-1928) lived in a 'town' – Langport – she becomes a 'town labourer's wife'. In 1891, William Overd was an agricultural labourer.<sup>187</sup> Agricultural workers could be found in all the smaller towns in which Sharp collected – Wiveliscombe, Curry Rivel, Somerton, Castle Cary, North and South Petherton, Wells, Ilminster – which varied in size between 1,417 and 4,849 people.<sup>188</sup> In communities like these there was no clear division between urban and rural, and it is foolish to assume one. Harker's motivation seems to be the ideological desire to count any 'town', however small and rural, as the equivalent of an industrial city, and to enroll its citizens among an urban proletariat.

If the singers represented a 'working class', or a 'rural proletariat', how might these groups be defined? For 'working class', the *OED* gives: 'The grade or grades of society comprising those who are employed to work for wages in manual or industrial occupations'. By this definition, then, self-employed tradesmen would be excluded, as would supervisors and those in any kind of professional occupation. This does not, of course, remove all the difficulties: where does a jobbing gardener fit in, or a coachman-groom in service, or a blacksmith who is not self-employed? Tabulation has been avoided here because of the vast social range possible within any trade or occupation, uncertainty about precise status (eg whether or not a particular tradesman was self-employed), and the consequent absurdity of attempts to assign people to one class or another. But if the *OED* definition is applied, as strictly as possible, to the 148 men whose occupations are given in Table 4.1, it will be seen that

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<sup>184</sup> Gardeners and gamekeepers were classified among 'Domestic Offices and Servants'.

<sup>185</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p.191.

<sup>186</sup> All population figures are taken from the 1901 Census (Somerset), Table 11.

<sup>187</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p.191. Public Record Office, copies of Census Enumerators' Books, Curry Rivel RG12/1890 (hereafter cited as 'Census Returns').

<sup>188</sup> The smallest Somerset community to be a 'town' in 1901, in the sense of having an Urban District Council, was Wiveliscombe, with 1,417 people.

about ninety could reasonably be described as 'working class', compared with about forty-five in other occupations and nine who are economically inactive.

Applying these definitions to women is still more difficult, and in the case of some groups – those of independent means and those whose income is not stated – it is not possible. These groups could comprise widows getting by on a tiny pension and the comparatively well-off, such as Anna Doveton Brown of Clevedon (1831-1920) who left £1909 at her death.<sup>189</sup> Many Somerset women, too, worked from home – from anecdotal evidence, a far higher proportion than is suggested by the Census returns – and so were technically self-employed.<sup>190</sup> The commonest of these cottage industries were withy-stripping (i.e., removing the bark from willow saplings by means of a 'brake' fitted by the cottage door), glovemaking, and shirtmaking.

One thing, however, is quite clear. A substantial minority of the singers were not by any definition 'working class', and this group included some of Sharp's best sources, such as William Spearing (1871-1937), a miller; Emma Glover (1856-1929), a mason's wife; James Bishop (1831-1906), a farmer/publican; and Elizabeth Lock (1839-1915), a farmer's wife. Census descriptions do not always do justice to the reality. Emma Glover was remembered as the wife of a 'contractor and builder'. Her eldest son became a Congregational minister.<sup>191</sup> John Fackrell of Bridgwater (1834-1908) is described as a 'basket maker' in 1891, but he also headed the local fire brigade. Because of this, and past service in the local Volunteers, he was known as 'Captain'. He was also noted for making squibs for Bridgwater's noisy November the Fifth celebrations. His obituary in the local newspaper is that of a 'character' and fairly substantial citizen.<sup>192</sup> At the highest level, this group shaded into the local elite: among the farmers were George Templeman (1861-1923), and John Jeffrey (1855-1927). Templeman had a mixed farm of 630 acres and employed fourteen people. He was a long-serving member of Langport Rural District Council and Board of Guardians, a crack rifle shot, a renowned comic singer, and reputedly the first person in Hambridge to own a motor car.<sup>193</sup> John Jeffrey was also a substantial farmer, advertising for labour in the local paper, and an RDC member.<sup>194</sup> These men may be dismissed as untypical – they only gave Sharp two songs each – but there is also William Spearing, who was elected to Langport RDC in 1913, defeating John Jeffrey at the poll, and is remembered as riding his horse 'Gamecock' in the local hunt.<sup>195</sup> Spearing gave Sharp nineteen tunes and thirty sets of words.<sup>196</sup>

Can even the 'working class' be described as a 'proletariat'? Genuinely industrial or archetypally working class occupations (such as heavy engineering or coal mining) are distinguished only by their rarity or complete absence. The most likely recruits to this group are

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<sup>189</sup> Calendar of Probate, 1920, consulted in microfiche copies held at Essex Record Office.

<sup>190</sup> David Bland MSS. Interview with Herbert Glover, 6 March 1974.

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> Obituary, *Bridgwater Mercury*, 27 April 1908.

<sup>193</sup> Bland MSS. Interview with Mrs. Nancy Hallett, 15 September 1973.

<sup>194</sup> See, for example, *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 26 March, 9 April 1904.

<sup>195</sup> *ibid.*, 22 March 1913. Bland MSS., interview with Max Bryce, 7 March 1974.

<sup>196</sup> Source: VWML computer database.

the twenty-one 'General and other Labourers', and some of these can be shown to have alternated between agricultural and other labouring work.<sup>197</sup> How safe is it to assume a common identity, or an identity of interest, among this 'working class'? Some of the agricultural labourers had seen better days. Richard Adams (c.1831-?) started as a teetotal innkeeper, then became a haulier with his own team. He began drinking heavily at this job, was a smallholder with sixteen acres in 1881 and an agricultural labourer in 1891. By the time Sharp met him, he was stonebreaking on the roads.<sup>198</sup> Oliver Shuttler (1837-1916) was remembered as living in 'a fair-sized house' with an orchard, and working as a carter when he was not poaching. In his early days he had been 'a wrestler, a bruiser, a performer of wonderful feats of strength'. But in 1891 he was an agricultural labourer, and after his wife died (she was ten years older), he apparently went to pieces and became famous for his consumption of cider, spending his winters in High Ham Workhouse, and his summers stonebreaking. Sharp's photograph shows a man with a hammer, crouching over his heap of stones.<sup>199</sup> James Bale (1831-1914) had been a coastal seaman, then worked as a 'hobbler' in the rowing boats which towed ships downstream from Bridgwater towards the sea. The work was back-breaking and the men received their pay – one shilling – only if the ship caught the tide. In 1891, Bale was a 'quay labourer'. But Sharp's photograph shows a smartly-dressed man in a three-piece suit, with necktie, hat, and watch-chain.<sup>200</sup> William Stokes (1842-1915) was an iron miner, but is remembered as sidesman and pew-opener in church, with a 'great silver watch-chain'.<sup>201</sup> Robert Parish (1822-1909) was a gardener and sexton, but again Sharp's photograph shows a smartly-dressed man in the broad necktie of a former age.<sup>202</sup> The Snow family of Somerton have been mentioned in Part One of this chapter. The question must be asked: is it really safe to assume a common identity, or an identity of interest, between Richard Adams, Oliver Shuttler, James Bale, William Stokes, Robert Parish, the Snow family, and Betsy Pike? Or between them and the rest of the Somerset 'working class'? Or between them and the genuine proletariat of an industrial city? One suspects that all except the most doctrinaire of Marxists would know the answer to that question.

Social mobility, too, has to be disregarded in strict definitions of class. Richard Adams has been mentioned. William Spearing got off to a bad start: c.1900 he lost his right arm in an accident and for some time described himself as disabled. In 1904 and 1905 he appeared before Langport County Court for non-payment of wages. He cut a poor figure there, appearing to

<sup>197</sup> Thirteen of the 'General and Other Labourers' can also be identified in the 1881 Census. Of these, eleven were in agricultural employment in 1881.

<sup>198</sup> Census Returns, East Harptree, RG10/2467, RG11/2425, RG12/1924. Bland MSS., notes, not attributed or dated.

<sup>199</sup> Census Returns, Compton Dundon, RG12/1888. Bland MSS., letter, Prebendary S.H. Cooke to David Bland, 14 February 1974. This letter says that Shuttler was fined £8 for poaching. He came up at Somerton petty sessions in 1905 for carrying a gun without a licence. *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 11 February 1905. Cecil Sharp Photograph Collection, VWML, B46.

<sup>200</sup> Census Returns, Bridgwater, RG12/1883. Cecil Sharp, 'Folk Singers: three portraits'. Sharp Photograph Collection, A12.

<sup>201</sup> Census Returns, Chew Stoke, RG12/1925. Bland MSS., letter, Rev. Noah Owen to David Bland, 1 July 1975

<sup>202</sup> Census Returns, Exford, RG12/1868. Bland MSS., letter, Rev. H.F. Warren to David Bland, 5 February 1974. Sharp Photograph Collection, A24.

subsist on his wife's earnings (as a dressmaker) and on a pittance allowed him by his aunt.<sup>203</sup> Nevertheless, Sharp's photograph shows a respectably dressed man, a woman in the height of elaborate if provincial fashion, and a boy holding a pet lamb. Later, Spearing learned to work one-handed and prospered. Fred Crossman (1846-1933) had been a gardener in service, then bought a piece of land in Huish Episcopi and set up as a market gardener, taking produce in his trap to Yeovil and Bridgwater, and advertising expensive luxuries like grapes in the local newspaper. His daughter's wedding in 1907 was a considerable social event, with the happy couple able to go on honeymoon, in Sussex.<sup>204</sup>

The attempt to define folk song and its singers in class terms must be dismissed as a failure. The Marxist analysis has proceeded from ignorance and from a simplistic interpretation which bears no relationship to a highly complex phenomenon. Even if the Somerset singers are analysed in strictly-defined class terms, it is clear than folk song was known among and collected from individuals representing a fairly wide social range, from prosperous farmers and tradesmen on the one hand, to labourers and workhouse inmates on the other. And when this strictly-defined class structure is analysed in terms of what is actually known of individual lives, the claim of a common 'working class' or 'lower class' identity cannot be sustained. To fit the Somerset singers into a universal class model is only possible by doing as much stretching and lopping as was done on Procrustes' famous bed, and with much the same purpose – to torture the material into an unnatural shape, and to provide only the information which the torturer requires.

But how accurate was Sharp's definition in terms of his sources' culture? His description of the 'common people' as 'those whose mental development has not been due to any formal system of education, but solely to environment, communal association, and direct contact with the ups and downs of life ... who have never been brought into close enough contact with educated persons to be influenced by them ... found only in those country districts which, by reason of their remoteness, have escaped the infection of modern ideas' do indeed seem extravagant in the early 1900s, when Sharp was at work in Somerset.<sup>205</sup> Universal compulsory education was more than a generation old, and some experience of schooling was not uncommon before that, except among the very poorest classes. This was an age in which motor cars were beginning to appear, in which the women's suffrage movement was gathering its strength, and which stood on the verge of those great social and technological revolutions which were to shape the modern world. To take the example of the Langport district, one of the last main railway lines to be constructed – the Great Western from Frome to Taunton – was being driven through the area at the time. It was opened in 1906. There was already a railway from Yeovil to Taunton and regular excursion trains were being run to Bristol, London, Weymouth, and the

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<sup>203</sup> Bland MSS., Bryce interview. *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 27 August 1904, 19 August 1905. Sharp Photograph Collection, B21.

<sup>204</sup> Bland MSS., interview with Mrs. Amy Ford, n.d. *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 9 September 1905, 19 October 1907.

<sup>205</sup> Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, pp.3-4.

nearer resort of Weston-Super-Mare. Lucy White and Louisa Hooper had been there.<sup>206</sup>

Theatrical performances and professional bands were beginning to penetrate the more rural areas, such as the 'Yeovil Pierrot Banjo Troupe' which performed in Langport in January 1904, and amateur societies were adding to the range of cultural influence, such as 'Miss Trask's Choir' which gave the *Messiah* in Martock church a few months later.<sup>207</sup>

In the face of this evidence, what measures can be used to assess the validity or otherwise of Sharp's claims? There is that of mobility. How static were Sharp's singers, and how reasonable is it to regard them as the inheritors of local tradition? The statistical table showing the places of birth of those living in Somerset used the Ancient County as its base. In 1901 the figures were as follows:

	Men	%	Women	%	Men & women	%
Living in place of birth	66	51	48	55	114	53
Born elsewhere in Somerset	56	43	35	40	91	42
Born outside Somerset	7	5	4	5	11	5
Total singers with known place of birth	129	100	87	100	216	100
Total Somerset population	235,626		272,630		508,256	
Somerset-born population	184,146	78	201,320	74	385,466	76
Somerset-born singers	122	95	83	95	205	95

Source – Card index based on 1891 Census enumerators' books, and 1901 printed Census, table 1. Grand total = 311 (189 Men, 122 Women). Census information available for 214 = 69%.

It will be seen that, for what is often assumed to be a highly mobile population, Sharp's singers were astonishingly static. Ninety-five per cent of the total for whom information is available were born in the county, a far higher proportion than the overall average of 76 per cent. More than half were living in their place of birth. This lack of mobility extended from top to bottom of the social scale. The prosperous farmer George Templeman was born at Stoke Lane, in Somerset. John Jeffrey was living in his place of birth. William Spearing had moved no farther than from High Ham to Isle Brewers. Oliver Shuttler the penniless stonebreaker was born at Pitney, only a few miles from where Sharp met him at Compton Dundon. Lucy White and Louisa Hooper were living in their parish of birth, in which their mother, Mrs. England, had also been born.<sup>208</sup> Even those who had come from different counties had not necessarily travelled far. Henry Larcombe (1824-1908), was born at Mosterton in Dorset, but Sharp found

<sup>206</sup> For railway excursions from Langport, see for example *Langport and Somerton Herald* 16 January, 9 April, 16 July, 20 July 1904. For Lucy White and Louisa Hooper, Cecil Sharp, lecture at Hampstead Conservatoire, 26 November 1903, Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/5/1.

<sup>207</sup> *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 16 January, 7 May 1904.

<sup>208</sup> Census Returns, Haselbury Plucknett, RG12/1895, Isle Brewers, RG12/1890, Compton Dundon, RG12/1888, Hambridge, RG12/1890. In 1891, Lucy White was living in Westport, which was then part of Hambridge parish but had been part of Puckington. Sarah England was born in Puckington and was living there in 1891. Louisa Hooper had been widowed and was living with her parents when the Census was taken.

him only a few miles away at Haselbury Plucknett, where he had been living for the previous forty years.<sup>209</sup> No singer had come further than from the adjacent counties of Devon, Dorset, and Wiltshire.

It was not only an immobile population: it was also an elderly one. To an extent, this was Sharp's deliberate policy. He said in 1907 that he seldom found it worthwhile to approach people under sixty, and, in his earlier lectures, he stressed the extreme ages of some of his sources.<sup>210</sup> However, his practice did not always bear out the theories. Two of his best sources, Lucy White (1849-1923), and Louisa Hooper (1861-1946), were 54 and 42 respectively when Sharp met them. Another good source, William Spearing, was 32. The 'finest and most characteristic' piece of folk singing Sharp ever heard in Somerset came from Betsy Holland, who was only 26.<sup>211</sup> There were a number of special circumstances which produced younger than average singers. Louisa Hooper was lame and unable to go to school, so she had spent her childhood in the company of older women employed in glovemaking, and learned many of her songs from them. Jack Barnard in Bridgwater was also disabled and had never been to school. Betsy Holland was a gipsy, whose grandmother was also a remarkable singer. William Spearing was the son of a miller known as a 'good lad' and convivial company. Farmers returning from market would stop at the mill, smoking, drinking, and singing until a late hour.<sup>212</sup> These, however, were the exceptions: the overall pattern is quite clear. Figure 4.2 is a graph which compares the ages of Sharp's singers with the overall average for the population.<sup>213</sup> It shows huge disproportions between the age distribution of the singers and the representation of these age groups in the population as a whole. Only one small group – men aged 40-50 – was statistically equal to its representation. It is interesting to note that male singers, were, on average, older than the women, given the disproportion between women and men in every age group over 10, and the fact that far more women than men survived into old age.

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<sup>209</sup> Census Returns, Haselbury Plucknett, RG12/1895. Cecil J. Sharp and Charles L. Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Two (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1905), p.70.

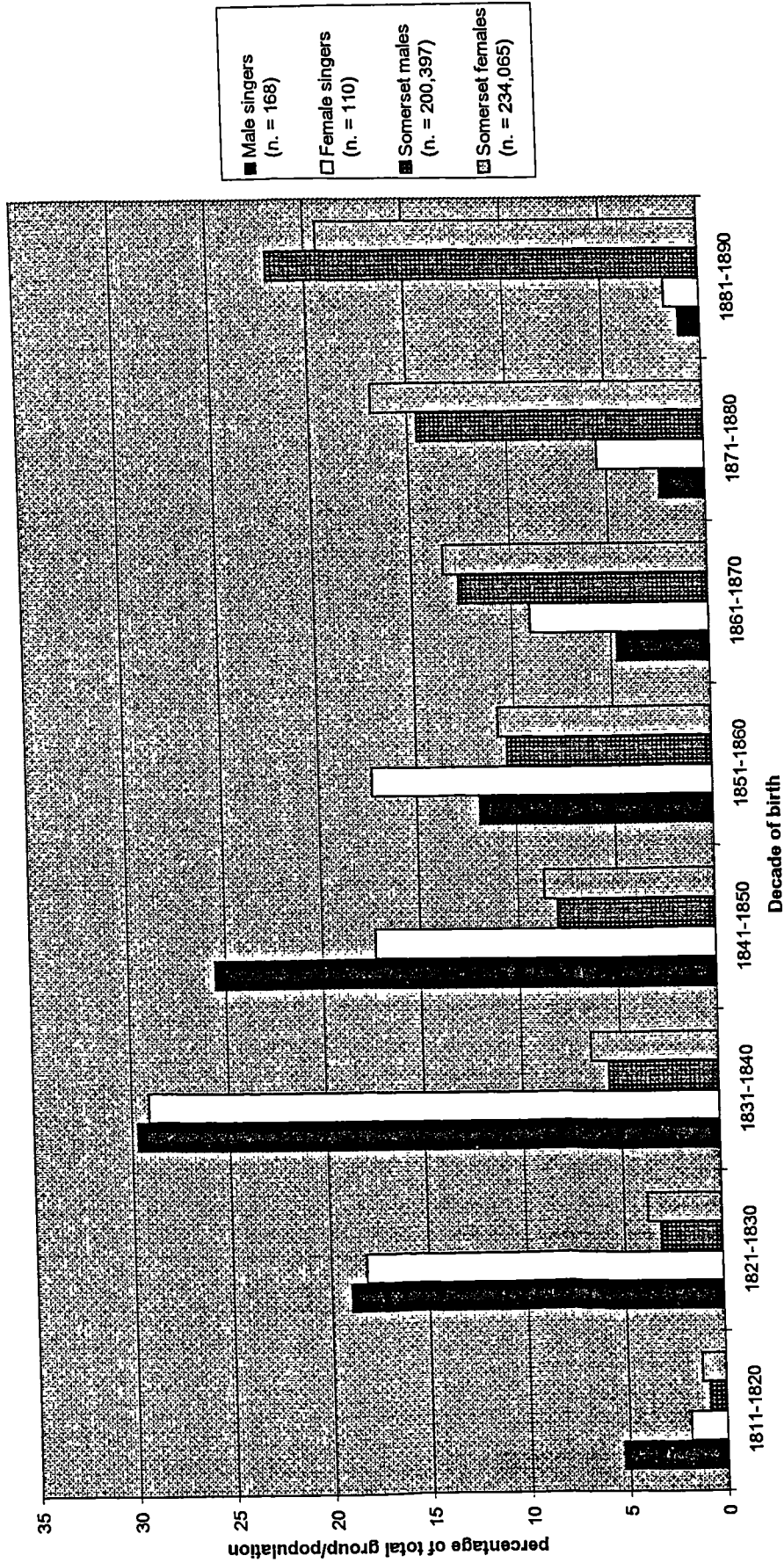
<sup>210</sup> For example, Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p.119. Lecture at Hampstead Conservatoire, 26 November 1903.

<sup>211</sup> Cecil to Constance Sharp, 21 August 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 3 Misc.

<sup>212</sup> For Louisa Hooper, BBC Recording BBC 6935 Library No.4039, 7 February 1942 (transcript in Bland MSS). For Jack Barnard, letter, Rev. W.K. Warren to A.H. Fox Strangways, 19 August 1931, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A, VWML. For Betsy Holland, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, pp.41-42. For William Spearing, W.A. Newall, 'In the Footsteps of Cecil Sharp', *English Dance and Song* 7,5 (April 1943), p.39.

<sup>213</sup> Ages have been taken from the 1891 Census and from the Sharp MSS and parish records where Census information is not available. There are frequent minor discrepancies between the ages Sharp recorded and those given in the Census, and some more major discrepancies between the 1881 and 1891 Censuses. In one extreme case, a farmer (John Culley of East Harptree) claimed to be 57 in 1881 and 60 in 1891. I am told by one authority that such discrepancies are not uncommon in nineteenth century census returns.

Analysis of age distribution of Cecil Sharp's singers, compared with that of the general population of Somerset





The Somerset singers were untypical with regard to mobility and to their age profile. They represented an elderly and settled population who could reasonably be regarded as the inheritors of local tradition, and not a rootless and mobile working class. To an extent, Sharp's claims of a 'remote' and 'unlettered' peasantry depends on the ages of his sources. In fact, of the 278 singers whose ages are known, 90 per cent were born before 1861, 79 per cent before 1851, and 55 per cent before 1841. Their formative influences, therefore, belonged to the middle rather than to the end of the nineteenth century, and the world in which we grow up tends to shape our perceptions in a way unmatched by any other period in our lives. The opening-up of rural life which was undoubtedly going on in the early 1900s was of recent date. Less than twenty years earlier, the closest thing to an outside cultural influence was the visit of Edwards' (formerly Wombwell's) Menagerie to Langport, and that of Messrs. Hall and Thompson's Diorama to Somerton.<sup>214</sup> In 1875, wassailers were still appearing in Langport, and their efforts were beginning to be seen as 'quaint survivals' rather than as the unmitigated nuisance they had appeared to be in 1865.<sup>215</sup> The only entertainments commonly available were schoolroom concerts, which were 'penny readings' in name only. For most, the minimum admission charge was threepence or sixpence, so they were only marginally affordable for labourers and their families.<sup>216</sup> Not many years before that, there had been neither railway nor newspaper. The *Langport Herald* began publication in 1855: the Yeovil-Taunton railway opened in 1853. As we have seen, more than half the singers were born before 1841, and more than three-quarters before 1851. This was the world in which they grew up and which shaped their perceptions, a very different one from the early 1900s. Some traces of this world survived into the society in which Sharp worked. Club Walking was still going on, not only in Hambridge, but in Langport, Somerton, and Curry Rivel. At Hambridge in May 1904, 79 members of the Friendly Society met at the New Inn and proceeded to church, followed by the Westport Brass Band, and later visited George Templeman. In December 1904 there was what the *Langport and Somerton Herald* called a 'Skimmerton Ride' at High Ham, an event repeated in April 1905 and which led to a court appearance in May. A man at Biddulph (Staffs) was said to have sold his wife, for fifteen shillings. In 1907, John Stow of Rowbarton (a district of Taunton) threatened to murder Alice Saunders because of belief in her witchcraft.<sup>217</sup> On the one hand, Somerset stood well in the twentieth century. On the other, the local newspaper was reporting scenes which would not be out of place in a Thomas Hardy novel.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>214</sup> *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 24 and 31 January 1885.

<sup>215</sup> *Langport Herald*, 7 January 1865, 9 January 1875.

<sup>216</sup> For example, tickets for the 'Vocal and Instrumental Concert with Toy Symphony' in the Church Room at Hambridge on 14 January 1885 cost two shillings, one shilling, and sixpence. The minimum cost of admission to a less ambitious concert at Pitney on 4 February was threepence. Edwards' Menagerie charged a minimum of sixpence for 'Labouring people and children after 6pm': see *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 17 January, 31 January, 7 February 1885.

<sup>217</sup> *ibid.*, 4 June, 24 December 1904, 20 May 1905, 11 April 1904, 13 July 1907.

<sup>218</sup> Wife-selling and a 'skimmity-ride' are incidents in Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge: The Story of a Man of Character* (London: Macmillan, 1975). [First published 1886].

Sharp's claim that his 'unlettered' class were 'never brought into close enough contact with educated people to be influenced by them' at first sight seems ridiculous. Sharp's methods of working – looking for local intermediaries, and usually approaching the parish clergyman first of all – meant that parishioners with the most demonstrable contact with educated people were the first to be approached, and the contacts which many singers had with the Church of England has been explored in Part One of this chapter. But what did Sharp mean by 'close enough contact with educated people'. If one takes *any* contact as disproving the proposition, as Harker and other Marxists do, then Sharp's description cannot be defended. But are these measures reasonable? How do they square with the social and cultural apartheid which he and other Marxists assume in other areas of nineteenth century society? For example: in nineteenth century London and on the country house circuit, thousands of lower-class servants were in daily and even hourly contact with the great and the good of Victorian Britain. But do we take that as equalling a sharing of culture between the classes? Of course we do not. Do we always assume that the people of a parish – even regular churchgoers – were on more than passing the time of day terms with the parish clergyman? Even actual participation in services such as Robert Chapman's, or that of Fred Crossman who was a bellringer, is not necessarily proof of friendly relations or even of contact.<sup>219</sup> Bellringers are notorious for their independence and irreligion, and there is some evidence that these attitudes prevailed in the nineteenth century.<sup>220</sup> It is ridiculous to assume that education passes from one person to another in a sort of process of osmosis, through simple contact.

The evidence of literacy among the singers is too fragmentary for any general conclusions to be drawn. Very generally, tradesmen can be assumed to have been literate, as can those who occupied parish offices – even if, like the Emery brothers, they were agricultural labourers. It may be assumed that the ten per cent of singers born after 1861 attended school. John England was able to read and write. A few singers probably had a considerable degree of formal education, such as George Templeman, John Jeffrey (who acted as one of the Enumerators for the 1891 Census) and Tom Griffiths (c.1828 -?), a Bridgwater man who was a Trinity House pilot.<sup>221</sup> But the vast majority of singers would probably have come under the dictionary definition of 'unlettered' as 'not possessed of book-learning'. Equally, some are known to have been illiterate, such as Jack Barnard and Louisa Hooper – in an age in which the children of the poor invariably walked to school, those unable to make the journey usually remained uneducated. Sharp stated in 1905 that Louisa Hooper was illiterate, though she later learned to read and write.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> For Fred Crossman as bellringer, Bland MSS, interview with Herbert Glover.

<sup>220</sup> Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham*, pp.xv, 79-106.

<sup>221</sup> For Tom Griffiths, Census Returns Bridgwater RG12/1883. See also *Bridgwater Mercury*, 30 December 1908.

<sup>222</sup> For Louisa Hooper's illiteracy, see the interview with Sharp in *Musical Herald*, 1 December 1905, p.355. For her later literacy, letter, Louisa Hooper to A.H. Fox Strangways, 12 October 1931, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder A. This letter is quoted in Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.45.

The only count on which Sharp can seriously be faulted is that of literacy. His description of the 'unlettered' in *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* can be defended on the basis of dictionary definitions. Both Murray's *New English Dictionary* and the modern *OED* define 'unlettered' as 'not instructed in letters; not possessed of book-learning', and, from the citations which support it, the definition can be equally applied to the actually illiterate and to those who have not received a systematic education. The vast majority of the singers would have come under the latter definition. But in an interview given in 1905, Sharp made it clear that he defined 'unlettered' as completely illiterate, saying that 'Directly you go amongst people who can read and write you lose tradition'.<sup>223</sup> This is not defensible. Some of the best sources whom Sharp had met before that date, such as William Spearing and Robert Lewis, were certainly literate. Later, and outside Somerset, Sharp was to meet the remarkable 'Sister Emma', a nun of the Clewer convent near Windsor. Despite an educated background and her vocation, she had a formidable stock of songs and ballads learned from her mother and her nurse.<sup>224</sup> Education did not necessarily eliminate tradition, but neither did it mean that those able to read always turned to printed material.

Nevertheless, the definitions and descriptions which Sharp provided of folk music and of its sources were considerably more accurate than modern commentary has acknowledged and undeserving of the ridicule heaped upon them. The singers represented an elderly and settled population, a high proportion of whom gained their living from agriculture or from the trades and occupations which support rural life. A majority – probably, a substantial majority – were covered by the dictionary definition of the 'peasantry' which prevailed in 1905 and this description can even be justified from modern dictionary definitions. Sharp's description of a 'remote' and 'unlettered' people is defensible from a study of their age range and social profiles, and from a knowledge of context and of those class divisions which, in other circumstances, the Left would be the first to insist upon. Remoteness must also be considered in context. It is ridiculous to assume that because railways, or canals, or stage coaches, are available, everyone has equal access to them. Access to transport was and still is on the same basis as access to the Ritz Hotel and to Rolls-Royce motor cars. Apart from the railways – if you could afford them – and the carrier's cart, there was no public transport in rural Somerset, even in the early 1900s. Remoteness, to most people, meant that everyday journeys were limited to the distance they could walk. This only ceased to be the case when bicycles became cheap enough for labourers to afford and when rural 'bus services began to run, and these were developments of the 1920s rather than the 1900s. No definition or description can cover 311 individuals, selected on a fairly random basis, but the only large group of singers to which serious objections can be made on the ground of a remote, unlettered peasantry is the thirty-four people who lived in Bridgwater, the only true urban centre which Sharp penetrated with any degree of success, and these form only eleven per cent of the total. If such minorities are held up to disprove the entire

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<sup>223</sup> *Musical Herald*, 1 December 1905, p.355.

'peasantry' proposition, it must be remembered that precisely the same objections can be made against any class-based proposition. The one particular in which Sharp can be seriously faulted is in his insistence that any education affected traditional knowledge, and in this he shares a curious affinity with his critics, who assume that literacy is a sort of intellectual virility test and that the literate always prefer printed material.<sup>225</sup> Sharp should have been more confident about his own assertions regarding 'environment [and] communal association', since where the evidence exists environment can be shown to have been the stronger influence. William Spearing died a comparatively wealthy man, known in local government and in the hunting field, but still remembering the songs learned in his father's mill.<sup>226</sup> Sister Emma repeated to Sharp a score of songs learned sixty or more years before, only two of which she had ever seen in print.<sup>227</sup> The interpretation of Sharp's work which has been accepted for the past twenty-five years, therefore, is only tenable in the absence of any research on the singers, and if certain words are given the meanings Marxists wish them to carry, rather than the ones found in dictionaries of the English language. It is an interpretation forced on the material not because it is particularly logical or appropriate, but because it conforms with Marxist ideology, in which Marxist dislike of the 'peasantry' *tout court* plays an important part.<sup>228</sup>

The other part of Harker's attack on Sharp was a further series of generalised allegations of misrepresentation. Its main basis was an attempt at statistical analysis, comparing the volume of material Sharp collected in different parts of Somerset to what was published in *Folk Songs from Somerset*. This purported to show that Sharp selected material for publication in order to favour smaller villages over larger, and villages in general over towns. Harker also argued that the selection had distorted the material on a regional basis, to prefer the 'rural' areas of Somerset rather than the 'industrial' or 'urban' ones. He drew on collections of printed broadsides to argue that what Sharp accepted as orally-transmitted folk songs were, in fact, the descendants of recent printed ballads, attacked the way in which Sharp and his collaborator, Rev. Charles Marson, had dealt with the words of the songs they published, and concluded that the working class of early twentieth century Somerset had been seriously misrepresented for what, ultimately, were political and imperialist ends.

Harker's assault on Sharp has become a well-established orthodoxy upon which much modern scholarship is based.<sup>229</sup> But, as with the re-definition of folk singers from 'peasantry' to 'working class', it is an orthodoxy established without the slightest attempt to verify the

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<sup>224</sup> Sharp collected from Sister Emma on 27 February 1909 and received further material from her by post in March. See Cecil Sharp, 'Folk Tunes', Vol.10 Nos. 2078-2098.

<sup>225</sup> For example, Harker has asserted that 'the chief criterion for popularity, as regards songs for working people from c.1800 onwards, was repeated printing'. 'Introduction' to *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, p.li.

<sup>226</sup> On his death, Spearing left £1128: Calendar of Probate, 1937. W.A. Newall saw him in the mid-1930s, within a year or two of his death, and found him still singing the songs. 'In the Footsteps of Cecil Sharp', p.39.

<sup>227</sup> See the biographical information at No.2078, 'Folk Tunes'.

<sup>228</sup> For a discussion, David Mitrany, *Marx Against the Peasant: A study in Social Dogmatism* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1951).

accuracy of Harker's work or to assess the validity of its research base. Its accuracy and validity have been taken on trust, and that trust has been misplaced. This lack of enquiry is surprising. It is not only that Harker is a violently political and partisan writer who has displayed open prejudice against Sharp from first to last. His work is littered with obvious and easily recognisable false statements and errors of fact, with inconsistencies between one version of his paper and another, and with interpretations which change as the needs of his argument require.<sup>230</sup>

Given Harker's lack of even the pretence of objectivity, much of his authority seems to rest on the statistical evidence he offers. Statistics, however, are notoriously open to abuse. For this reason it is usual for statisticians to offer some evidence about their method, but Harker fails to do this. We are repeatedly offered figures and percentages without knowing the base on which they are calculated, and without having any means of checking their accuracy.<sup>231</sup> When he alleges that 'Sharp skewed his selection of texts for publication so as to favour songs taken from small villages rather than larger, and from both in preference to towns', a great deal must depend on what is being defined as a 'small village', or a 'large village', or a 'town', and as we have seen, Harker has based his definitions on his assumptions rather than on the Census evidence.

Harker's methods create a statistical imbalance in themselves, because he did not analyse all five volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and failed to take account of the fact that they were published piecemeal over a period of four and a half years, while collecting was in progress. Harker studied Sharp's work up to the end of August 1907, which was the approximate date for the completion of *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* and the compilation of Series Four of *Folk Songs from Somerset*.<sup>232</sup> This was convenient for him in more ways than one, since by missing out Series Five he ensured the maximum possible statistical imbalance between the material collected in Hambridge – where Sharp began his work – and that collected elsewhere. When the first volume was compiled (all the songs were collected before the end of August 1904) Sharp had barely begun to emerge from the Hambridge area. He did not begin collecting in Bridgwater, for example, until August 1905.<sup>233</sup> Out of the twenty-seven songs published in the first volume, fifteen were from Hambridge, but in Series Three only one song came from there and in Series Four and Five none at all. But Sharp was continuing to publish material collected in Bridgwater. Four songs appeared in Series Five,

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<sup>229</sup> Vic Gammon has called it 'the beginning of serious critical work' on the early folksong movement, and as having taken on 'the status of an orthodoxy in some quarters of the British Left': "'Two for the Show": David Harker, Politics, and Popular Song', *History Workshop Journal* 21 (1986), p.147.

<sup>230</sup> For inconsistencies, changing interpretations, false statements, and errors of fact on Harker's part, see Chapter 1 and the analysis of song texts in Chapter 4 Part Three.

<sup>231</sup> For an example, the passage beginning 'Similarly, on a wider scale ...', *Fakesong*, p. 195.

<sup>232</sup> Harker, in 'Sharp in Somerset', p.224 n.11, says that his analysis has been conducted 'up to 31 August 1907'. But in *Fakesong*, p.189, he claims to have studied Sharp's collecting 'Up to the end of 1907'. The latter statement is not true.

<sup>233</sup> Sharp spent a day in Bridgwater and collected one song there on 7 September 1904, but did not return and begin collecting until 14 August 1905.

together with three from Minehead and one each from Wells and Curry Rivel. The omission of these helps Harker's argument, but does nothing to illustrate the realities of Sharps's publication policy.

If Harker's argument is a simple matter of arithmetic – that Sharp tried to present a more 'rural' image by publishing more songs attributed to villages than to towns – these points illustrate the ignorance, false assumptions, and doubtful methods which lie behind his statistics. But we cannot even trust Harker's arithmetic. Take this passage from p.195 of *Fakesong*:

In the first four parts of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Sharp and Marson published 20% of the 146 songs collected in the village of Hambridge, but only 9% of the 129 from the town of Bridgwater. They used 10% of the songs collected in Somerton, but the only piece found in tiny High Ham. From the larger village of Cannington they used 5% of the 43 pieces they collected, while from the smaller East Harptree they used 17% of the 40 items they found ... Sharp and Marson published 25% of Louie and Lucy's [i.e., Louisa Hooper and Lucy White] 100 songs, ... but only one of Bill Bailey's 26. Five of William King's 11 songs went into print, but none of Eliza Small's 15.

By twenty per cent of 146, Harker presumably means twenty-nine. Twenty-four songs and one tune from Hambridge were published in the parts of *Folk Songs from Somerset* he is analysing. Nineteen of these songs and the one tune were attributed to Louisa Hooper and Lucy White, not the twenty-five which Harker's figure suggests. By seventeen per cent of forty, Harker presumably means seven. Only four songs and one set of words were attributed to East Harptree.<sup>234</sup> William King sang these four songs, not five, and the set of words came from another singer. To get four sets of figures wrong in the same half-paragraph must be some sort of record. It is just as well that Harker read English at Cambridge, as he would never have become Senior Wrangler. It is also a very interesting variety of mistake which so consistently produces errors in favour of the argument being presented.<sup>235</sup>

Harker's analysis is not only unsound in its methods and inaccurate in its figures and statistics. It also demonstrates a fundamental ignorance about the nature of the material being analysed. Harker changed Sharp's emphasis on the number of *tunes* he collected into his own on the number of *songs* because he wanted for his own reasons to discuss the songs in terms of their texts. But he never considered the implications for his analysis. He says that Sharp collected 1,099 songs, but there were not 1,099 separate texts. What Harker has overlooked is the fact that some songs were more popular than others, and were collected more than once. Sharp collected the most popular time and again, from many singers, and in many different places. Amongst other things, this means that the analysis Harker offers of districts and of 'urban' against 'rural' publication is meaningless. For example, Sharp collected 'The Outlandish Knight' fourteen times in twelve locations across the length and breadth of Somerset – at Curry Rivel, Langport, West Harptree, Holford, Haselbury Plucknett, Priddy, Bridgwater, .....contd on p. 154

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<sup>234</sup> Harker may be counting the two songs published from *West Harptree*.

<sup>235</sup> Most of Harker's other figures are not easily checkable, but there is at least one other mistake on p.191 of *Fakesong*. Harker says that 'Louie Hooper alone contributed one-seventeenth' (ie, of Sharp's 1099 songs). One-seventeenth of 1,099 is 65. By herself, Louisa Hooper gave Sharp 27 tunes, though she sang a further 33 in company with her sister Lucy White. Source: VWML computer database.

Huish Episcopi, North Petherton, Ubley, Chew Stoke, and Axbridge. He published the version collected in Bridgwater, but it would be ridiculous to say that ‘The Outlandish Knight’ – a version of a folk tale found right across Europe – *came from* Bridgwater and therefore in some way reflected ‘urban’ rather than ‘rural’ or ‘industrial’ values.<sup>236</sup> If the supposed ‘urban’ and ‘industrial’ districts of Somerset had been producing a different type of song from the ‘rural’ districts, and if Sharp had neglected these, Harker’s analysis would have some point. In the same way, if Sharp had selected song A, which was unique to village X, in preference to song B, which was unique to town Y, his allegations of ruralist bias would be justified. But if both song A and song B are found in both village X and in town Y – and, for good measure, in hamlet Z as well – it hardly matters where the published version comes from. Most of the songs Sharp published were collected in more than one place.

If Sharp’s actual publication policy is to be assessed, the popularity of different songs must be taken into account, as must be the number of texts which Sharp could consider for publication. In giving figures of my own, I have to explain that I analysed all five volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and so examined Sharp’s collecting up to 6 January 1909, when the last material was collected. By then, Sharp had collected 2,046 tunes, perhaps 1,500 of these in Somerset. The number of texts, however, is approximately 590. Heavy emphasis must be laid on *approximately*, because it is doubtful whether any two people would agree on an exact figure. My methodology is explained in Appendix D.

Of Sharp’s 590 song texts, 345 were collected once, 95 twice, 52 three times, 40 four times, 15 five times, and 43 six times and more. Sharp published 130 songs in *Folk Songs from Somerset*, but since several songs were published twice with different tunes there were 123 actual titles. So he published some twenty-one per cent of what he collected. This is the average figure against which all others must be compared. Table 4.5 shows how many songs were published from each group.

**Table 4.5.**  
**Number of song texts collected by Cecil Sharp in Somerset compared with those he published**

Number of texts collected:	Number of times texts collected:	Number published	Percentage published
345	Once	40	11.6
95	Twice	19	20.0
52	three times	14	26.9
40	four times	16	40.0
15	five times	4	28.6
43	six times and more	30	69.7
590	Total	123	21.0

Source: card index based on Cecil Sharp, ‘Folk Tunes’ (copies of unpublished MSS. held in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London).

It will be seen that the percentage published rises in accordance with the number of times each song was collected.

<sup>236</sup> For ‘The Outlandish Knight’, Cecil J. Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Four* (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1908), pp.13-15. For some comments on the song’s history and distribution, Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, pp.150-154.

Table 4.6 gives an analysis by district on the lines suggested by Harker. The first part of the table analyses the number of songs published from those unique to one district. It will be seen that Sharp actually published a higher proportion of songs unique to the North Mendip and Bridgwater areas than to Hambridge. The second part of the table demonstrates that the majority of songs published were collected in more than one of the areas specified. The methodology employed is explained in Appendix D.

Songs unique to one district							
	Hambridge	North Mendip	Bridgwater	The rest of Somerset			Overall total collected
Songs	129	39	63	162			393
					Total published songs collected in one district	% of songs published	
Number	9	5	8	26	48		
Percentage	7	13	12.5	16		12	
Songs collected in two or more districts							
	2 districts		3 districts	4 districts			
Songs	128		56	13			197
					Total published songs from 2 or more districts	% of songs published	
Number	31		29	9	75		
Percentage	29		52	69		38	
Total songs							590
Overall total					123		
Overall percentage published						21	

*TP published*

*1*

Source: card index based on Cecil Sharp, 'Folk Tunes' (copies of unpublished MSS. held in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London).

These figures and tables show that Sharp did indeed skew his publication policy, but he did not skew it in the way Harker suggests. He gave preference to songs collected from more than one singer, in more than one place, and in more than one district, doing to a remarkable degree what the Introduction to Series Two of *Folk Songs from Somerset* promised in providing 'the best and most representative' songs.<sup>237</sup> This is all the more surprising when it is remembered that *Folk Songs from Somerset* was not a scholarly monograph but a published collection intended to be saleable and popular with the music-buying public. Its contents had to be accessible, singable, and enjoyable, and it had to avoid too much duplication of what had appeared in other folksong collections.

Harker changed Sharp's emphasis on the number of tunes he had collected into his own emphasis on the number of songs because he wanted to analyse the songs in terms of their texts

<sup>237</sup> Sharp and Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Two, p.xi.



and to emphasise their relationship with printed material.<sup>238</sup> It is one of the greater curiosities of Harker's position that he should see material produced and disseminated by capitalist enterprise as the genuine workers' culture. The reasons why he takes these attitudes can, I think, be explained in terms of what he would like to find in working-class song, and from a curious form of cultural snobbery which views literacy as some kind of intellectual virility test, and prefers the literate, the urban, and the professional to the oral, the amateur, and the rural. To these attitudes, the broadside collection in Cambridge University Library came as a gift, and Harker treats oral tradition by ignoring it. He lays heavy emphasis on printed material and quotes examples of singers learning songs from broadsides, alleging that Sharp 'deliberately ignored the significance of their testimony, especially if it conflicted with his own values and assumptions'.<sup>239</sup> Unfortunately, Sharp did not routinely ask singers the provenance of their songs, but he did record anything they volunteered to him. Of 311 singers, we have this evidence from 60 people with regard to 77 songs. Table 4.7 gives this available evidence.

<b>Table 4.7: Provenance of songs collected by Sharp in Somerset, 1904–09</b>	
<b>Number of singers = 311, of whom 60 provided evidence of the provenance of 77 songs</b>	
<b>ORAL SOURCES</b>	<b>Number of songs</b>
Parents	32
Grandparents	8
Other relations	5
Friends and chance encounters	16
General comments	12
<b>Total oral sources</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>LITERARY SOURCES</b>	
Broadsides	1
"Langport paper"	1
"Old book"	1
"Old ballet seller"	1
<b>Total literary sources</b>	<b>4</b>

Sources: identified on p.158, n.237.

It will be seen that the overwhelming majority claimed to have received their songs from oral tradition. Only one singer, with regard to one song, actually said that he learned it from a broadside.<sup>240</sup> Most learned from parents; a smaller proportion from grandparents and other relatives; and a rather larger one from friends or chance encounters. Elizabeth Lock learned 'Lisbon' 'as a little girl from her sister-in-law'. 'The True Lover's Farewell' was sung to Emma Glover 'by an old man' when she was a child, and John Jeffrey heard William Woodland singing 'Blow Away the Morning Dew' 'when he was threshing the flax over 40 years ago'.<sup>241</sup> Several singers claimed links with oral tradition over two or three generations: one traced her version of

<sup>238</sup> For Harker's views on broadside literature as working class culture, see Chapter 1.

<sup>239</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p. 194.

<sup>240</sup> These figures are based on an analysis of Cecil Sharp's Field Note Books, the 'Tune Books', the collections of 'Folk Words' made by Maud Karpeles, the published notes to the second (1911-1919) edition of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, press cuttings, and material in the David Bland MSS. All this material has been studied in the originals or copies kept in the VWML. The one singer who specifically attributed a song to a broadside was Fred Crossman. The song was 'As I Walked through the Meadows'. Crossman said 'Learned this off a ballet at Bridgwater Fair when I was about 12': Field Note Books (Tunes) 13-18 April 1904.

<sup>241</sup> For Elizabeth Lock and John Jeffrey, Field Note Books (words) 4 April-16 April 1904 (131-214). For Emma Glover, Field Note Books (Words) 22 December 1904 – 12 January 1905 (440-496).

'Lord Randal' to her great-grandmother, born in 1784.<sup>242</sup> One singer specifically denied broadside influence: he told Sharp that his song 'The Cuckoo' 'never had no ballet to it'.<sup>243</sup>

This evidence of oral tradition is scattered across Sharp's Field Note Books, his written-up books of 'Folk Tunes', the typed collections Maud Karpeles made of 'Folk Words', Sharp's lecture notes, press cuttings, and the published notes to *Folk Songs from Somerset*. Whichever source Harker used, he cannot have avoided seeing it.<sup>244</sup> It is Harker, not Sharp, who has deliberately ignored the significance of the singers' testimony when it conflicted with his own values and assumptions. He has suppressed the overwhelming body of evidence which does not favour his thesis, and has misled his readers.

Closely associated with the question of song provenance is that of the age and traditional nature of the songs. Harker asserts that 'to ask for old songs from old people in the early 1900s would necessarily result in the collection of items widely popular in a commercial context before 1850'.<sup>245</sup> He claims that Sharp's notebooks are 'full of songs about Boney and the French, Turpin, war at sea or on land, press-gangs, prostitutes, and women in love with sailors', and implies that all these should be dated to the period of near-continuous war between 1793 and 1815.<sup>246</sup> The argument, then, is that most of the songs Sharp collected were of recent origin and had not been in circulation for longer than one or two generations. Consequently, they could not be regarded as 'traditional'.

Assuming for the moment that Harker's claim about Sharp's notebooks being 'full' of these songs is correct, and apart from the odd chronology which lumps in Dick Turpin (hanged in 1739) with the events of 1793-1815, it is ludicrous to assume that all the songs with military or naval themes must date from that period. War by land and sea had in fact been going on fairly continuously since 1688. Using precisely the same naively literal approach, one could argue that 'The Lowlands of Holland' (a woman's lament for a sailor pressed to fight in that area) must date from the Dutch wars of the seventeenth century, and 'High Germany' from the War of the Austrian Succession.<sup>247</sup> It is just as reasonable to assume this as to make Harker's assumptions.

But, in fact, Harker's assessments and his numeracy are no sounder here than elsewhere. Even under such a catch-all category as 'Boney and the French, Turpin, war at sea or on land, press-gangs, prostitutes, and women in love with sailors', it is still difficult to ascribe more than

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<sup>242</sup> Miss Doveton Brown of Clevedon. Field Note Books (Tunes) 13 September 1904 + 16 April – 4 May 1905 (420-440 + 497-517).

<sup>243</sup> John Holt of Haselbury Plucknett. Field Note Books (Words) 18 April-24 August 1905 (597-674).

<sup>244</sup> The instances Harker gives of song provenance in *Fakesong*, pp.193-194, are footnoted to nothing more informative than 'Sharp Collection' and so are difficult to be certain about. However, two instances – the songs learned 'from last week's paper' and 'from the fly-leaf of an old book' seem to come from the Field Note Books. The singers were Louisa Hooper and Captain Lewis. The man who 'had a collection' of broadsides is presumably the one mentioned in an interview Sharp gave to the *Morning Post*, 18 January 1904. This man was a Devon singer and so is irrelevant to this analysis.

<sup>245</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p.193.

<sup>246</sup> *ibid.*

about seventy-five to eighty texts out of 590 to these themes.<sup>248</sup> That number includes songs which, theoretically at least, refer to earlier conflicts, such as 'Admiral Benbow' and 'The Duke of Marlborough', besides others such as 'A Sailor's Life' (or 'Sweet William') which have only the most tenuous connection with any historical period. It would be just as reasonable to point to material such as 'Little Sir Hugh' (theoretically, set in thirteenth century Lincoln), or Robert Parish's 'The Beggar', better known as 'Back and Side Go Bare', which was first printed in the play *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, in 1566.<sup>249</sup> Even a song like 'The Coasts of High Barbary', which at first sight looks eighteenth or nineteenth century, can be traced back to a snatch quoted in a seventeenth century play.<sup>250</sup>

The test of tradition is surely what sort of material survives and enters into wide circulation. If Harker's assumptions are correct, and singers only remembered and repeated the most recent songs, these ought to be the most popular and widespread. Harker was content to make assertions without putting his theories to any kind of test, but at this point we may refer back to Table 4.5 and look again at the relative popularity of songs. Which *were* the most popular and in widest circulation? Table 4.8 gives more detail: a list of the 43 songs collected six times and more.

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<sup>247</sup> 'The Lowlands of Holland', *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Two* pp.38-39: 'High Germany' *ibid* [Series One] pp.42-43.

<sup>248</sup> Number calculated from card index compiled from Cecil Sharp 'Folk Tunes'.

<sup>249</sup> 'Mr. S' [William Stevenson?], *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Gibbings & Co) 1906, pp.14-15.

<sup>250</sup> See the song sung by the Jailer's Daughter in John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (ed. Lois Potter), *The Arden Shakespeare* (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons) 1997, Act 3, Scene 5, lines 60-67.

<b>Table 4.8: Songs collected six times and more by Sharp in Somerset 1903-09</b>			
<b>Song title</b>	<b>Times noted</b>	<b>Locations</b>	<b>Districts</b>
The Seeds of Love	17	16	HMBR
The Outlandish Knight	14	12	HMBR
John Barleycorn	13	13	HMBR
Barbara Allen	13	12	HBR
Lord Randal	13	12	HMBR
The Wraggle Taggle Gipsies	12	11	HMBR
Dabbling in the Dew	11	11	HMR
As I Walked Through the Meadows	10	7	HR
The Bold Fisherman	10	9	HBR
Forty Long Miles	10	10	HMBR
Henry Martin	10	7	HBR
Seventeen Come Sunday	10	10	HBR
The Broomfield Wager	9	8	HBR
Jealousy	9	8	HMBR
The Twelve Days of Christmas	9	9	HMBR
William Taylor	9	8	HMBR
All Jolly Fellows that Follow the Plough	8	8	HR
The Banks of Green Willow	8	7	HR
The Cuckoo	8	8	HBR
Geordie	8	8	HBR
The Golden Vanity	8	8	MBR
High Germany	8	7	HMB
The Bold Grenadier	7	7	HMR
The Dilly Song	7	6	HMR
The Foggy Dew	7	6	HMR
Hares on the Mountains	7	7	HMR
The Hearty Good Fellow	7	6	HBR
Lord Bateman	7	6	HBR
The Maid and her Box	7	5	HBR
Rosemary Lane	7	6	HMBR
Sweet William (A Sailor's Life)	7	6	HBR
The Trees they do Grow High	7	7	HMBR
The Unquiet Grave	7	7	HBR
Blow Away the Morning Dew	6	6	HMR
The Bonny Bunch of Roses	6	6	HMBR
The Constant Farmer's Son	6	5	HMR
The Irish Girl	6	4	HR
The Keys of Heaven	6	6	HBR
No Sir No Sir	6	6	HMR
Poor Old Horse	6	6	HR
The Saucy Sailor	6	6	HR
The Shoemaker (The Blacksmith)	6	6	BR
Wassail Song	6	6	HR

Districts: Hambridge = H North Mendip = M Bridgwater = B Rest of Somerset = R

Source: card index based on Cecil Sharp, 'Folk Tunes' (copies of unpublished MSS. held in Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, Cecil Sharp House, London).

There is nineteenth century material on this list – ‘The Bonny Bunch of Roses’ is about the ambitions of Napoleon, and ‘All Jolly Fellows that Follow the Plough’ is not above suspicion of recent broadside origin. There are songs here which concern war by land and sea, press-gangs, and women in love with sailors. But they do not predominate, and it is necessary to go a fair way down the list to find them. The songs most popular with Somerset singers were archetypal ‘folk songs’: ‘The Seeds of Love’, ‘The Outlandish Knight’, ‘John Barleycorn’, ‘The Wraggle-Taggle Gipsies’. Most of these were in print and available as broadsides, but that is not the point here: they were ‘traditional’ in the sense of having been in circulation time out of mind, and had not been made up by ballad-mongers between 1800 and 1850.

Neither were these songs the preserve of a small group of singers. One hundred and fifty-five people contributed to these forty-three songs, nearly half the total of 311 singers. I have to say here that the number of these most popular songs, and of the people who sang them, are actually under-represented by Sharp’s methods and by my own. I have defined a ‘song’ as a tune with at least some words, but there were many occasions on which Sharp did not collect the words to the most popular songs. As we have seen, he collected ‘The Outlandish Knight’ fourteen times. He collected a tune only another thirteen times. He said that nearly every singer he encountered could give him part of ‘Lord Bateman’, though very few could provide a full text.<sup>251</sup> Neither do these lists and tables include the many songs of proven traditionality which were collected less than six times. Although Harker’s methods may not have revealed it, and although the apostles of the ‘invented tradition’ may not want to acknowledge it, there was widespread knowledge of a considerable body of traditional song in early twentieth century Somerset.

## Conclusion to Part Two

This part of the chapter has tested the cornerstones on which the Marxist (and more generally left-wing) interpretations of the folk music revival have rested – the assumption that the singers represented a ‘rural working class’ or ‘rural proletariat’, and the assumptions (almost all of them based on Harker’s analysis) about Sharp’s and other collectors’ ‘misrepresentation’ of their sources. But as my analysis has shown, it is the class-based interpretation which has misrepresented the situation. A substantial minority of the singers were not by any definition ‘working class’; social mobility can be shown to have taken individuals from one class to another, and even within the Somerset ‘working class’ there was a visible diversity of occupation and outlook which does not conform to Marxist ideologies based on small groups of workers in specialised industries or the inhabitants of industrial cities. The Marxist view of the Somerset singers is grossly over-simplified and is based on a visible ignorance and absence of research. The demography of the singers, however, is at least a debatable proposition which has needed a

detailed disproof. The same cannot be said of Harker's analysis of Sharp's collecting in Somerset. Readers may be left with some feelings of bewilderment – the same sort of feelings which came over me when I first tested the accuracy of Harker's work. How on earth can material with such glaring factual flaws, and which demonstrates such obvious hostility and bias towards its subject, be accepted and repeated in serious academic enquiry? Most of the points made in this survey – including the most striking ones – do not depend on extensive research, or, indeed, on any knowledge of folk music. They could have been made by anyone who bothered to apply common sense and a few elementary tests to Harker's arguments and statistics. Yet this is, so far as I know, the first time that anyone has stripped his work of its rhetoric and shown that this particular emperor has no clothes. This is a remarkable and lamentable failure of modern scholarship. Work which is unworthy of that name has been accepted, repeated, and even ignorantly 'improved' upon by people who are supposedly in their positions because of their critical acuity and the independence of their judgement. Any attempt to restore Sharp's reputation has been derided as hagiography, and we are told that we must concentrate on 'the issues' – whatever they may be. Surely the issue here is that Sharp's work ought to be judged on the evidence and on sound methods of assessment, and not on the basis of a farrago of false statements, misconceptions, misunderstandings, suppression of the evidence, statistics that have no base, and numbers that do not add up, with its faults compounded by violent political prejudice and personal dislike. Harker's work is a blunt instrument intended to bludgeon Cecil Sharp to death. As a tool of critical enquiry, it is worse than useless. It is time to put this nonsense where it belongs, and to begin again with the patient examination of the evidence.

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<sup>251</sup> In the notes to 'Lord Bateman', *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Three p.75, Sharp says: 'This ballad is very generally sung throughout Somerset and it is rare to come across a folk-singer who does not know it. Few, however, can sing the ballad through from end to end, as Mr. Lacombe did'.

### Part Three

#### Song Publishing.

Before 1914, the primary means of publishing music was to print it. The gramophone was in commercial production and was becoming cheaper and more widespread, but both it and the necessary records remained relatively expensive and short-lived, and the quality of reproduction was poor. Only one set of recordings of a traditional singer was made before 1914, and even then the record company had to be coerced into making them. Their caution was justified: the records did not sell and were not re-issued until 1971.<sup>252</sup> There was a further cultural barrier in that the development both of a sheet music industry and of the cheap upright piano had created a society in which home music-making was the norm and, in Margaret Dean-Smith's words, 'to "bring music" was an expected part of social intercourse'.<sup>253</sup> This culture of active music making rather than of passive listening to recordings collapsed rapidly during the 1920s and 1930s when radio broadcasting was added to the influence of the gramophone, but before 1914 the drawing-room or parlour piano reigned almost supreme and *Folk Songs from Somerset*, offering twenty-five or twenty-seven songs for five shillings, was a sounder economic and cultural proposition than the outlay of five pounds or more for a gramophone.<sup>254</sup>

Criticism of publishing work needs to be distinguished from the obscurantism evident in much of Marxist commentary which actively wishes that the material had not been published at all or which sets impossible standards of fidelity to the original. Obscurantism has its own logic and there is no point in arguing with it, but it must be seen for what it is – the ultimate form of censorship. To wish that folk music had remained in the collectors' notebooks or had been restricted to academic journals and expensive academic books (even if this wish is dressed up as a desire for nothing less than absolute fidelity) is no different in practice from censorship on the ground of political content or public decency, and it is hypocritical to criticise the one while actively or tacitly advocating the other.

Some difficulties were common to all types of publication. The first and greatest was that of cost. The only folk song collection known to have been commissioned by a publisher was Broadwood's *English Traditional Songs and Carols*.<sup>255</sup> In other cases publication had to be negotiated or actually paid for. The main business of the Folk Song Society was the publication of its *Journal* and its founders expected an income of about £100 a year, which, it

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<sup>252</sup> In 1908 Percy Grainger coerced the Gramophone Company (later HMV) into making a set of recordings from Joseph Taylor by refusing to make some piano recordings unless Taylor was also recorded: see John Bird, *Percy Grainger* 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp.126-127. Taylor's records were re-issued in 1971 under the title *Unto Brigg Fair*, edited by R.S. Thomson.

<sup>253</sup> Margaret Dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections 1822-1952* (Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1954), p.18. For the general background, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (London: Dent, 1976).

<sup>254</sup> In Henry Williamson's semi-autobiographical novel *Young Phillip Maddison* (London: Macdonald, 1984: first published 1953), pp.97-99, the father of the family buys a gramophone c.1909 for just under £5.

<sup>255</sup> Broadwood diaries, 2 December 1907: 'By appointment to see Mr. Arthur Boosey ab[ou]t doing a Folk Song Album for him. He agreed to all my demands and proposals'. It was published in 1908: Lucy E. Broadwood, *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (London: Boosey, 1908).

seems likely, was intended to pay for the issue of two *Journals* a year.<sup>256</sup> In the actuality, membership numbers in the early years did not come up to the expectations of the founders and so only one *Journal* a year was issued. Music publishers were not keen on folk song books from little-known editors, and *Folk Songs from Somerset* was refused by the Clarendon Press so that Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson were obliged to publish it themselves in a subscribers' edition.<sup>257</sup> According to Marson, Sharp was unwilling to take the risk on his own and insisted that Marson share the expenses.<sup>258</sup> This aspect of financial burden and risk is not one taken into account by the critics of the collectors, who have been content to peddle innuendoes about material being expropriated and collectors making considerable profits.<sup>259</sup> The second universal problem was that of texts which contravened the moral standards of the time. Before 1914 – and indeed up to the 1950s – the chief problem was with sexual or scatological material, and while only a small proportion of songs were straightforwardly erotic, there were very many which dealt with irregular or illicit liaisons or which employed language which was more outspoken than the *mores* of the period would permit. This was an absolute and undeniable problem, especially with fully published material – ‘public printings’ – intended to be used in the family circle: private publications were allowed a little more license. Authors, editors, publishers and even printers had to be on their guard, since the laws of obscenity and libel applied equally to them all. If anyone had any doubts about what might happen to transgressors, they had only to study the case of Henry Vizetelly, imprisoned in 1889 for having translated and published the novels of Emile Zola.<sup>260</sup> Printers could and did take a hand if authors, editors and publishers did not do the work of censorship. James Joyce's collection of short stories *Dubliners* was accepted by the publisher Grant Richards and was in the press when the printer refused to handle one story and objected to certain passages in another.<sup>261</sup> Because Joyce refused to make the changes required his book remained unpublished until he gave in eight years later. Privately-published collections had two advantages with regard to texts – firstly the laxer standards of decency which were applied, and secondly that texts did not need to be supplied in full or indeed supplied at all, because the main interest lay in the music. Published collections, however, were obliged to provide full, singable, intelligible, and grammatically-correct texts which conformed to the decencies of the time.

Once the problem of obscurantism has been disposed of, the questions which any study of publishing practice needs to answer are how well collectors and editors coped with the

<sup>256</sup> Speech by J.A. Fuller Maitland at inaugural meeting of the Folk Song Society: Minute Book No.1 p.3.

<sup>257</sup> For the refusal by the Clarendon Press, Humphrey Milford to Sharp, 13 July 1904, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc. For the subscribers' edition, *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 10 December 1904. Subscriptions were £1 and subscribers received five copies, while the book sold for five shillings.

<sup>258</sup> Marson to Miss Trask, October 1910, quoted in David Sutcliffe 'Revd. Charles Latimer Marson'.

<sup>259</sup> For example, Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp.53-54.

<sup>260</sup> Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1989) pp.244-245. The specific cause of offence was *La Terre*, and it is likely that such a severe line was taken because Vizetelly produced cheap editions.



problems they faced, and how well their public were kept informed of what had to be done in the process of editing and publication. There is little agreement on any set of common standards: in 1959, the American scholar D.K. Wilgus claimed to be able to distinguish two distinct trends in publication. One he called 'public printings' with 'carefully noted, accompanied tunes, composite or edited texts, cursory notes, and little indication of source', and the other was of 'private scholarship ... in which a somewhat greater fidelity is achieved'.<sup>262</sup> There was little doubt about which trend Wilgus preferred, and this seems to have swayed his judgement because the issue was not at all clear-cut. There were instances in which 'public printings' were more 'scholarly' than private publications, and he ignores the improvement in standards which undoubtedly took place: the apogee of 'public printing' before 1914 was *Folk Songs from Somerset*, which Wilgus does not discuss at all. What common standards, therefore, can be applied to both private and fully published material? In 1970, the folklorist A.E. Green set out what he termed a 'criterion of reliability' in the treatment of published fieldwork.

The criterion of reliability to be used is that established by modern folk song scholarship: that air and text be from the same informant; that the air be transcribed as far as possible as sung; that the text be complete as far as the informant knows it, no less and no more, and failing this, if collation has been undertaken, that the nature and extent of the collation be made clear.<sup>263</sup>

Some other standards may reasonably be applied: how much of the material had actually been collected by the editor or editors; were informants identified; and were manuscripts retained and deposited in a public archive so that publications could be compared with originals?

The argument of this part of the chapter is that a revolution took place in folk music publication between the 1890s and 1914 similar to the transformation in collecting methods, with the material being brought before the public in a new and much more direct way. The advances in editorial technique and in publishing practice can be perceived by comparing, as examples of private scholarship, Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes* with the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, and, as examples of 'public printings', Baring-Gould's and Fleetwood Sheppard's *Songs and Ballads of the West* with Lucy Broadwood's and J.A. Fuller Maitland's *English County Songs* and Cecil Sharp's and Charles Marson's *Folk Songs from Somerset*.<sup>264</sup>

### Private Publications

A.E. Green was writing with regard to Frank Kidson's *Traditional Tunes*, a private publication issued in an edition of 200 copies by a small Oxford publisher, Charles Taphouse, who was a

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<sup>261</sup> *ibid* p.268.

<sup>262</sup> D.K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959) pp.127-128.

<sup>263</sup> A.E. Green, 'Foreword' to Frank Kidson (ed), *Traditional Tunes: A Collection of Ballad Airs*, facsimile edition (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1970) p.vii. [first published 1891].

<sup>264</sup> Frank Kidson, *Traditional Tunes* (Oxford: Taphouse, 1891). Lucy E. Broadwood and J.A. Fuller Maitland (eds), *English County Songs* (London: Cramer, 1893). Cecil J. Sharp and Charles L. Marson

friend of Kidson and a keen amateur musician. *Traditional Tunes* contained 83 songs but there were 111 items because some songs were published with two or three variant tunes and an appendix contained a further five variants.<sup>265</sup> Of these 111 items, only some 26 were definitely collected by Kidson himself. Double that number – 53 – came from Kidson’s friends Benjamin Holgate and Charles Lolley.<sup>266</sup> Both were musically literate, and besides collecting material for Kidson, Lolley also sang for him. It is not easy to distinguish between items collected from Lolley and those supplied by him. In a further 27 instances it is not possible to tell with certainty who collected the tune, and five tunes came from printed collections or MS books.<sup>267</sup>

Except for Lolley and (possibly) ‘Mrs. Holt of Alderhill’, Kidson seldom identifies his singers. Besides them he identified only five: ‘Mr. A Wardill’ or Allen Wardell, ‘Mr. [Robert] Halliday or Holliday, and ‘Mrs. Clavert of Gilknockie’. As Roy Palmer has remarked, Kidson did not name sources even when he must have known their identities.<sup>268</sup> He was content to ascribe material to ‘fisher folk at Flamborough’ or to ‘a ballad seller in Whitby streets twenty or thirty years ago’.<sup>269</sup> There is an equal vagueness about texts. Here it must be noted that of the major collectors and scholars in the field, Kidson had the most dismissive attitude towards texts, or at least towards texts from oral tradition. Most collectors regarded oral tradition as far superior to the broadside, but Kidson believed the reverse – that the singers learned or at least refreshed their memories from broadsides and that subsequent alterations were due to mistakes or forgetfulness.<sup>270</sup> As A.E. Green has commented, ‘Kidson’s extensive and invaluable knowledge of the broadside and garland seems to have led him into overemphasising the undeniable importance of the broadside’.<sup>271</sup> Kidson frankly despised the texts to many of the songs collected by him and his informants and this attitude must have contributed to his carelessness both about providing full texts and attributing them. For example, in ‘My Valentine’ the reader ‘must be content with the first verse; the whole song is poor doggrel’, and in ‘The Bonny Irish Boy’ Kidson has ‘not thought it worth while to reprint the whole of the verses’.<sup>272</sup> When a full text is given, it is seldom clear whether it has been collected from the singer or taken from a broadside, for example in ‘Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor’, where ‘the present copy is from the Whitby district, forwarded by a relative of the

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(eds), *Folk Songs from Somerset* 5 vols (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1904-1909).

<sup>265</sup> Number of items from Green, ‘Foreword’, p.vii. Slightly different figures are given in John Valdis Francmanis, ‘The Musical Sherlock Holmes: Frank Kidson and the English Folk Music Revival, c.1890-1926’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 1997, pp.124-125.

<sup>266</sup> Some information on Holgate and Lolley is available in Ray Cowell, ‘Kidson’s Informants’, *FMJ* 5,4 (1988) pp.482-483. For more detail, Francmanis, ‘Musical Sherlock Holmes’ pp.133-134, 140-141.

<sup>267</sup> Most of the uncertainties relate to material from ‘Mrs. Holt of Alderhill’. Kidson never makes it clear whether she actually sang to him or sent him material as Holgate and Lolley did.

<sup>268</sup> Roy Palmer, ‘Kidson’s Collecting’, *FMJ* 5,2 (1986) pp.160-161.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid* p.160.

<sup>270</sup> For example, Kidson’s notes to ‘Barbara Allen’ ask the reader to compare the text with that given in Percy’s *Reliques* to ‘show how much [the text] has suffered by being handed down traditionally’. *Traditional Tunes* p.38.

<sup>271</sup> Green, ‘Foreword’ p.viii.

<sup>272</sup> Kidson, *Traditional Tunes* pp.60, 152.

editor. The words are some of the verses from a rare and old broadside'.<sup>273</sup> It must be borne in mind that Kidson's priority was the music, a priority which is clearly stated in the title of his book; further that he was providing a 'scholarly' publication rather than material to be sung in the drawing room. But such a policy should have been more consistent. In addition, Kidson did not retain manuscripts or arrange for them to be deposited in an archive.<sup>274</sup>

Kidson's work did not therefore satisfy the standards set by A.E. Green or the others accepted by modern fieldworkers, though we can agree with Green's conclusion that: 'We should not be too hard on Kidson: his merits as a scholar were largely his own, his deficiencies largely of his period'.<sup>275</sup> This can be illustrated, as can the improvement in standards of scholarship, by reference to the development of the Folk Song Society's *Journal*. The *Journal* was the major contributor to the volume of new material published between 1898 and 1914. Eighteen numbers were published with a total of 678 tunes.<sup>276</sup> Table 4.9 gives an index to the *Journals* with the number of items they contain.

1899	No.1 (Vol.1 No.1)	11	1907	No.10 (Vol.3 No.1)	22
1900	No.2 (Vol.1 No.2)	8	1907	No.11 (Vol.3 No.2)	40
1901	No.3 (Vol.1 No.3)	52	1908	No.12 (Vol.3 No.3)	27
1902	No.4 (Vol.1 No.4)	47	1909	No.13 (Vol.3 No.4)	45
1904	No.5 (Vol.1 No.5)	35	1910	No.14 (Vol.4 No.1)	12
1905	No.6 (Vol.2 No.1)	29	1910	No.15 (Vol.4 No.2)	31
1905	No.7 (Vol.2 No.2)	38	1911	No.16 (Vol.4 No.3)	105
1906	No.8 (Vol.2 No.3)	61	1913	No.17 (Vol.4 No.4)	28
1906	No.9 (Vol.2 No.4)	53	1914	No.18 (Vol.5 No.1)	34

Production of the *Journal* was officially the main business of the Folk Song Society, but nevertheless it got off to an uncertain start. The first two numbers consisted of the proceedings of its general meetings plus songs and tunes which had been 'presented' to the Society. No single editor was appointed and the work was done by a sub-committee, each of whom evidently brought their own style and standards to the production. In the first number the first two items published were contributed by J.A. Fuller Maitland, who did not name his sources and had a cavalier way with texts (see Fig. 4.3). 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris' is attributed to 'a gamekeeper' [almost certainly John Burberry] and 'the words were afterwards completed from a ballad sheet', while of the two Gaelic tunes on the next page only one is attributed (to a 'Sutherland gillie') and no indication is given of whether any words were sung.

<sup>273</sup> *ibid* p.40.

<sup>274</sup> The evidence here is confused and I would welcome elucidation on this point. Kidson died in 1926 and his materials were offered to the Public Library of his native Leeds, which refused them. They were eventually accepted by the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, but not before part of the collection had been dispersed. See Palmer, 'Kidson's Collecting', pp.151-152.

<sup>275</sup> Green, 'Foreword' p.xvi.

<sup>276</sup> 678 is the number of *items*. Julian Onderdonk, 'Vaughan Williams and the Modes', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999), Table 3 p.619 gives a total of 836. I assume that Dr. Onderdonk's figure includes variant tunes.

## 1.—Napoleon's Farewell to Paris.\*

Musical score for 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris'. It consists of three staves of music in 4/4 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style with some triplet markings.

Farewell, ye splendid citadel, Metropolis, called Paris,  
 Where Phoebus every morning shoots forth refulgent beams;  
 Where Flora's bright Aurora advancing from the Orient,  
 With radiant light adorning the pure shining streams.  
 Al eve, when Centaur does retire, while the Ocean girds like fire,  
 And the universe admires our mercurialise and store,  
 Commanding Flora's fragrance the fertile fields to decorate,  
 To illuminate the royal Corsican again on the French shore.  
 My name's Napoleon Bonaparte, the conqueror of nations,  
 I've banished German legions, and drove kings from their throne,  
 I've trampled dukes and earls, and splendid congregations,  
 Though they have now transported me to St. Helena's shore.  
 Like Hannibal I've crossed the Alps, the burning sands and rocky cliffs,  
 O'er Russian hills, through frost and snow, I still the laurel wore,  
 I'm in a desert island where the rats the devil would affront,  
 Yet I hope to shine in armour bright through Europe once more.  
 Some say the cause of my downfall was parting from my consort,  
 To wed the German's daughter who wounded my heart sore;  
 I stole Malta's golden gates I did the works of God disgrace,  
 But if He gives me time and place, to Him back I will restore.  
 My golden eagles were pulled down by Wellington's allied army,  
 My troops all in disorder could no longer stand the field,  
 I was sold that afternoon, on the eighteenth day of June,  
 My reinforcements proved traitors which caused me to yield.  
 I am an allied oak with fire and sword I made them smoke,  
 I have conquered Dutch and Danes, and surprised the grand signor;  
 I like Joanna, Alexander, or Cesar of yore,  
 And to the south of Africa, and the Atlantic ocean,  
 To view the wild emotions and howings of the tide;  
 Banished from the royal crown of Imperial promotion,  
 From the French of glory to see those billows glide.  
 Three days I stood the plain, liberty's cause for to maintain,  
 Thousands I left slain and covered in their gore;  
 I never fled without revenge, nor to the allied army cringed,  
 But now my sword is sheathed, and Paris is no more.

\* This song was taken down by Miss BROOKWOOD and myself from a gamekeeper at Lyne, Sussex, in 1893; the words were afterwards completed from a ballad-sheet.—J. A. F. M.

## 2.—Gaelic Tunes.

Musical score for 'Gaelic Tunes'. It consists of two numbered examples, No. 1 and No. 2. No. 1 is in 3/4 time and No. 2 is in 2/4 time. Both are written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The music features characteristic Gaelic melodic patterns, including triplets and a mix of ascending and descending passages.

No. 1 is an example of the Mixolydian mode, but it is curious that the distinguishing note of that mode, the flat seventh, which, by the laws of *musica facta* may be sharpened in certain ascending passages, is kept flat in the ascending passage and given as sharp in the descending phrase. In this version of this beautiful tune, sung by a Sutherland gillie, there was never any hesitation as to the pitch of these notes and in repeating the tune after an interval of more than a year the same peculiarity was noticed. A version of the tune is given in Moffat's "Scottish Minstrelsy," where it is called "Och, mar tha mi."

No. 2 would be assigned to the Mixolydian mode if only the final were considered but the main characteristics of that mode are not present, while the tune is ver strongly tinged with Dorian influences.—J. A. F. M.

By contrast, Kate Lee's material in the same number is taken, tune and words, from oral tradition and is attributed to individuals, though with some inconsistencies in format (see Fig.4.4). Only eleven tunes or songs were published in the first number of the *Journal* and only eight in the second. With the third number, however, there was a change of policy, almost certainly because a single editor had appeared. This was Alfred Kalisch, a music critic and journalist, a friend of Kate Lee who was her deputy as the Folk Song Society's Treasurer.<sup>277</sup> *Journal* No.3 and the subsequent issues dropped the AGM business and the printing of papers read to the Society and were devoted to the work of individual collectors: No.3 provided fifty-two items collected by Percy Merrick from the farmer Henry Hills, and No.4 gave forty-seven items from Lucy Broadwood's collection. Of these issues of the *Journal*, No.3 was perhaps the most significant because Merrick was the most methodical collector of his time, always attributing material, providing at least an approximate date for its collection (sometimes an exact one) and giving some comments from his source on the provenance of the songs (see Fig. 4.5). Such notes may have been scanty but they were in advance of anything provided by other collectors. In addition, from *Journal* No.3 the contributions were circulated to selected members of the committee to provide annotation on the songs. This was the germ of the function of the editorial board.<sup>278</sup>

Between 1901 and 1904 the Folk Song Society became moribund because Kate Lee was suffering from the illness or illnesses which brought about her death, aged only 45, in 1904. *Journal* No.4 appeared early in 1902; No.5 was scheduled for later that year and No.6 was planned for 1903. In the event, No.5 did not appear until 1904 and No.6 never appeared with the intended contents.<sup>279</sup> Moves towards the re-foundation of the Society began in February 1904 and the committee met again in March, appointing Lucy Broadwood as its new Secretary. It was decided to issue *Journal* No.5 immediately as a demonstration that the Society had returned to life and Kalisch was 'begged' to see to this, but he wanted to be relieved of editorial responsibility and the *Journal* soon had another editor, Lucy Broadwood.<sup>280</sup>

What amounted to a fresh start was made with *Journal* No.6: at the committee meeting on 13 October 1904, 'Dr. Vaughan Williams offered various hints as to improvement in editing the journals', and he was supported by Walter Ford and Cecil Sharp. These 'hints' were:

<sup>277</sup> Kalisch had certainly known Kate Lee since 1893, when he appeared with her at an amateur concert: C.J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk Song Society', *FMJ* 7,5 (1999) p.629.

<sup>278</sup> Keel, 'Folk Song Society' p.114.

<sup>279</sup> The projected *Journal* No.6 was to be devoted to 'Gaelic Airs'. Failing this, 'Mrs. Lee was asked to give her collection of sea songs from Captain Lewis of Minehead for the 6th number'. Folk Song Society, Minute Book no.1 p.138.

<sup>280</sup> Minutes of Committee, 18 March 1904. Minute Book 2, p.8.

5.—The Cottage by the Wood.

Musical score for 'The Cottage by the Wood'. It consists of two staves of music. The first staff begins with the instruction 'Not slow.' and the second staff with 'poco rall.'. The music is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 6/8 time signature.

There was a cottage by the wood,  
A neat little cottage, and there it stood,  
And its blossoms were fairly expressed.  
(Repeat last line.)

" 'T rains, it hails, it snows, it blows,  
And I shall get wet through all my clothes,  
So I pray you love, love, let me in."  
(Repeat last line.)

" Oh! no, kind Sir, that can never be,"  
When a little compassion he did need,  
He turned aside, away for to go,  
When a little compassion she did show.

That night they spent in sweet content,  
And the very next morn to church they went,  
And he made her his lovely bride.  
(Repeat last line.)

N.B.—Words and tune from Mrs. MAINWARING BODSELL, of Lloyd's Square, Clerkenwell.

6.—The Claudy Banks.

Sung by Mr. COPPER, Rottingdean, Sussex.

Musical score for 'The Claudy Banks'. It consists of three staves of music. The first staff is marked 'Fairly quick, and marked in rhythm.' The second staff is marked 'Either tune here.' and the third staff is marked 'Very marked, much slower.'. The music is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature.

'T was on one summer's morning,  
All in the month of May,  
Down by our flow'ry garden  
Where Betsy did stray.  
I over'ard a damsel  
In sorrow to complain  
All for her absent lover,  
That ploughs the raging main.

I stepped up to this fair maid,  
And put her in surprise,  
She owned she did not know me,  
I being in disguise.  
I said, " My charming creature,  
My joy and heart's delight,  
How far have you to travel  
On this dark and rainy night? "

(She) " The way, kind Sir, to the Claudy Banks,  
If you will please to show:  
Pity a poor girl distracted,  
For there I have to go.  
I am in search of a young man,  
And Johnnie is his name  
And on the Banks of Claudy,  
I'm told he does remain.

## 33.—The Northamptonshire Poacher.

*Allegretto.*

When I was bound ap-pren-tice in famed Northampton-shire, I served my mas-ter  
 tru-ly for al-most se-ven year, Till I took up to poach-ing, as  
 you shall quickly hear, It's my delight of a shi-ny night, and the sea-son of the year.

As me and my companions were setting of a snare,  
 The gamekeeper was watching us—for him we did not care;  
 For we can wrestle, fight, my boys, jump over anywhere.  
 It's my delight of a shiny night, and the season of the year.

As me and my companions were setting four or five,  
 And taking of them up again, we took the hare alive;  
 We popped him into the bag, my boys, and through the wood did steer.  
 It's my delight of a shiny night, and the season of the year.  
 We threw him over our shoulders, and wandered to the town,  
 So called to our neighbour's there, and sold it for a crown.  
 We sold her for a crown, my boys, and I'll never tell you where,  
 For it's my delight of a shiny night, and the season of the year.

Well here's success to poaching! as you shall quickly hear:  
 Bad luck to every gamekeeper who would not buy a hare;  
 Good luck to every gamekeeper who wants to buy a hare,  
 For it's my delight of a shiny night, and the season of the year.

From Mr. Hills. November 1899.—W. P. M.

This is generally known as 'The Lincolnshire Poacher.' This version of the air confirms Mr. Chappell's statement in 'Popular Music of the Olden Time,' that the words are frequently sung to the melody, 'The Manchester Angel,' the above air being a variant of that.—R. K.

This tune is the same as that of the 'Painful Plough' in 'English County Songs.' It is very often sung, with many variations.—L. E. B.

## 34.—How Cold the Wind do Blow.

*Andante.*

How cold the wind do blow, dear love! How hea-ry fall the drops of . . .  
 rain! I ne-ver had but one true love, And in the green-woods he was slain.

I'll do as much for my true love  
 As ever in my power doth lay;  
 I will sit and mourn upon his grave,  
 Dear love! a twelvemonth and a day.

When this twelvemonth was gone and past,  
 The ghost began to speak to the last:  
 'One kiss, one kiss from your snowy white lips,  
 Is all I crave from you, dear love.'

Mr. Hills says that he used to hear his mother sing this song. April 1900.—W. P. M.

This is known in Sussex as 'The Unquiet Grave.' Compare versions of the ballads, 'Margaret and William,' 'William and Marjorie,' &c., and see Child's 'English and Popular Ballads' for notes and variants.—L. E. B.

The words are on ballad-sheets, one of which is printed by W. Pratt, Birmingham. They are also given in the book 'In Gipsy Tents,' by F. H. Groome, 1881, as sung by a gipsy woman to a lovely old air not printed in any known collection. They are there much the same as in the ballad-sheet, which has seven verses, and, so far as it goes, Mr. Hills's copy is similar. Besides versions in 'Shropshire Folk Lore' and 'English County Songs,' Mr. Baring-Gould publishes one in his 'Songs of the West,' No. 6, but his air is like to one in W. Sandys' 'Christmas Carols,' 1833, set to the ballad 'Lord Thomas.'—F. K.

- A. A clearer distinction to be made when using such words as 'song', 'ballad', etc. 'tune' and 'words' to be more carefully distinguished when used by annotators.
- B. Tunes to be analyzed much more, similarities of melodic construction in tunes to be dealt with, peculiar intervals to be pointed out, and classified, etc.
- C. Some regular system of printing the Modal Tunes to be adhered to by all contributors.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Sharp agreed with Dr. V Williams as to the manner of writing out the modal tunes, and of following Mr. Merrick's plan of stating the name address etc of singer, and printing it always on the right-hand side above the tune.<sup>281</sup>

Vaughan Williams was a close friend of Broadwood, so it is highly unlikely that his 'hints' were new to her or made against her wishes – probably, they had been worked out between them and in consultation with Ford and Sharp. This was just as well, because Broadwood would be doing the actual work of editing. The resulting *Journal* No.6 (1905) set new standards of presentation and analysis (see Fig.4.6). The effect on the Scottish collector Gavin Greig has been described by Ian Olson: Greig had been intending to submit material of his own, but:

The *Journal* opened with a selection of twenty-nine songs from a collection of five hundred noted in Somerset and North Devon by Cecil Sharp, and true to the committee's deliberations the previous year, they were presented to a uniquely high standard with musical, literary, historical and folkloristic notes supplied by the Editorial Committee of Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, and J.A. Fuller Maitland. Everything to do with the songs and the singers was meticulously documented and lovingly set out; the modal nature of many of the tunes was recognized and presented according to a uniform standard. At a stroke the Society had raised the acceptable standard of research and presentation to a height Greig could not possibly achieve on his own using his previously enthusiastic but inadequate collecting methods.<sup>282</sup>

Many people had contributed to this raising of standards. Alfred Kalisch had begun the process, helped by the methods of Percy Merrick. Members of the committee such as Walter Ford and Vaughan Williams had appreciated the need for improvement, and material which suited the new standards had been supplied by Sharp. But perhaps the major credit should go to Broadwood as editor, and her work for the *Journal* seen as her *magnum opus* and most valuable and lasting achievement, all the more so because the standards adopted were higher than those she had observed in her own work, notably the collection published in *Journal* No.4. Broadwood's and the editorial committee's work can be faulted: as Lewis Jones has pointed out, the notes on the songs were often vague, amateurish, and inadequately referenced, but in the presentation of music the *Journal* under Broadwood's editorship set standards far in advance of its time.<sup>283</sup> Regressions to the methods of the past only happened when contributors failed to observe the new conventions, for example when further items from Kidson's collection were published in 1906, with an explanation from Kidson that the material had been gathered in the 1880s and 1890s (see Fig.4.7).<sup>284</sup> Further, the *Journal* soon had a

<sup>281</sup> Minutes of Committee, 13 October 1904. Minute Book No.2, p.44

<sup>282</sup> Ian Olson, 'The Influence of the Folk Song Society on the Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection: Methodology', *FMJ* 5,2 (1986) p.183.

<sup>283</sup> Lewis Jones, 'Lucy Etheldred Broadwood: Her Scholarship and Ours', a paper given at the 'Folksong: Tradition and Revival' conference, University of Sheffield, 10-12 July 1998. I am very grateful to Lewis Jones for a copy of this paper. (A copy is deposited in the VWML).

<sup>284</sup> *JFSS* 2,4 (1906).



20.—A MAN THAT IS STOUT.

SONG BY MR. FRED. CROSSMAN,  
AT HUNSH EPISCOPH, JULY 29TH, 1901.

*DORIAN.*  
*Allegretto.*

A man that is stout and al-ways va-liant heart-ed, O let him be a  
sol- tier if he do like the game, So in time that he shall find things  
con-tra-ry to his mind, And of-ten-times a plea-sure and a com-fort he shall find.

Mr. Crossman could not remember the remaining verses of this song, but promised to send them to me if he could recall them later. The tune is, I think, an ancient melody.—C. J. S.

This might be a fragment of a song of the period of Queen Anne's reign. I must, however, confess that I have failed to trace it.—F. K.

21.—THE TREES THEY DO GROW HIGH.

SONG BY MR. HARRY RICHARDS,  
AT CURRY RIVELL, JULY 28TH, 1901.

*DORIAN.*  
*Allegretto.*

The trees they do grow high, and the leaves they do grow green; The time is gone and  
past, my love, that you and I have seen; It's a cold win-ter's night, my love, when  
you and I must lay a-lone, The bon-my lad is young, but he's growing.....

SECOND VERSE.

“Oh..... daugh-ter, dear-est daugh-ter,..... and if you stay at  
home and wait a-long o' me A la-dy you shall be, while he's growing.....”

THIRD VERSE.

“I will buy you a bunch of white rib- lons to tie a- bout his  
bon-ny, bon-ny waist,.... To let the la-dies know that he's mar-ried.....”

FOURTH VERSE.

“At the age of eigh-teen, my love, O his grief was grow-ing  
grief, And so she put to an end to his growing.....”

FIFTH AND SIXTH VERSES.

“O once I had a sweet-heart but now I have got  
nev-er a one, So fare you well my own true love for ev-er.....”

Fig. 4:6

Example of the practice of Cecil Sharp

Journal of the Folk Song Society 2,1 (1905).

MISCELLANEOUS.  
COLLECTED BY FRANK KIDSON.

42. THE OUTLANDISH KNIGHT.

Noted by Mr. C. Lolley. SANG AT DRIFFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

An out-land-ish Knight from the north-lands came, And he came a-woo-ing me; He promis'd he'd take me un-to the north lands And there he would marry me.

SECOND VERSION.

Noted by F. Kidson. SANG AT KNARESBRO', YORKSHIRE.

An out-landish Knight from the north-lands, And he came a-woo-ing to me; He promis'd he'd take me un-to the northlands, And there he would marry me; Oh! and there he would marry me.

THIRD VERSION.

Noted by Mr. G. Rathbone. SANG IN WESTBOROUGH.

An out-landish Knight from the north-lands, And he came a-woo-ing to me; He promis'd he'd take me un-to the northlands, And there he would marry me.

The words of all these versions were only fragmentary, and evidently the same as the usual broadside versions. The second version much resembles that in *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*; full references and other tunes are in *English County Songs*, *Traditional Tunes*, *Northumberland Minstrelsy*, etc.—F. K.

For other versions with tunes see "May Colvin, or False Sir John," in *Motherwell's Minstrelsy*, p. 67, tune No. 24, and a Devonshire version, collected by the Rev. S. Haring Gould, in *English Folk-Songs for Schools*, No. 12. I have noted down in Somerset sixteen different versions and variants, including several modal tunes. One of my versions begins:—"There was a knight, a Baron Knight, a Knight of high degree."—C. J. S.

43.—THERE WAS AN OLD MAN IN THE NORTH COUNTRY.  
(THE BERKSHIRE TRAGEDY).

Noted by Mr. Charles Lolley. SANG BY A NATIVE OF DRIFFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

There was an old man in the north coun-try, Low down, der-ry down dee, There was an old man in the north coun-try, Val-ld we ought to be..... There was an old man in the north coun-try, He'd more daugh-ters than one, two, or three; And I'll be true to my love, if my love will be true to me.

There was a young man to the North Country came,  
Low down, derry down dee,  
There was a young man to the North Country came,  
Valid we ought to be,  
There was a young man to the North Country came,  
He came to court the youngest dame,  
Then I'll be true to my love, if my love will be true to me.

new printer, Barnicott and Pearce of Taunton (Somerset). They were producing *Folk Songs from Somerset* and were later to publish *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* and their employment must have been suggested by Sharp.<sup>285</sup> Barnicott and Pearce's estimate was some £25 less than that of the previous printers, Spottiswoode's of London, and combined with the rising membership and income of the Folk Song Society this allowed the publication rate to be stepped up. Two *Journals* a year appeared in 1905, 1906, and 1907, a truly astonishing feat of editing on Broadwood's part when it is considered that she was doubling as the Society's Secretary, and it entailed a tremendous workload. Her diaries record work for the Society almost every day while she was at home.<sup>286</sup> This work rate was eventually too much even for Broadwood's powers, and she resigned as Secretary in 1908 and gave over the editorship to Frederick Keel in 1910, though continuing to do much of the work as the leading member of the editorial board. The only other year in which two *Journals* appeared was 1910.

#### 'Public Printings'

The contents of the 'public printings' reflected the methods of their editors. Of the ninety-five items in *English County Songs*, only some twenty-six appear actually to have been collected by Broadwood or Fuller Maitland. Some thirty-seven items had come from other individuals such as R. Bennell, Samuel Willett, F. Scarlett Potter and others of Broadwood's circle of friends and correspondents. Twenty-one items were from previously printed sources which ranged from recent collections such as Heywood Sumner's *The Besom Maker* (1888) to *Pammelia*, published in 1609, the 'Eton College Song Book', and a pamphlet published by J.F. Frye of Saffron Walden (Essex).<sup>287</sup> A further eleven were compilations, for example 'Sally Grey' which had words by the Cumberland poet Robert Anderson set to a tune provided by Broadwood's friend Mary Wakefield.<sup>288</sup> In part, this heterogeneous collection of material was forced on the editors by their determination to produce a regional collection, supposedly illustrating the differing musical cultures of distinct areas of England. On Broadwood's death, her MSS were offered to the Folk Song Society, but while some of the material which went into *English County Songs* is available in written-up form there are some unexplained absences.<sup>289</sup>

*Songs and Ballads of the West* was less ambitious and more homogeneous: all the material came from Devon and Cornwall, and the contents had a much closer connection with the editors. Baring-Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard collected nearly all the tunes published –

<sup>285</sup> As with Kidson's publisher Charles Taphouse, there was an amateur music connection. Ethel Barnicott was a talented amateur singer who sang at concerts all over central Somerset and frequently performed items from *Folk Songs from Somerset*. For example, see the report of the 'Concert and dramatic entertainment' at the Langport Arms Hotel, *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 5 January 1907.

<sup>286</sup> For example in May 1905 Broadwood was at the Mid-Somerset musical competitions from the 1st to the 5th. She records Folk Song Society work on 19 of the remaining 26 days of the month. Broadwood diaries 1 – 31 May 1905.

<sup>287</sup> For an item from Heywood Sumner, *English County Songs* pp.112-113. For *Pammelia*, *ibid* pp.54-55; for the 'Eton Song Book', *ibid* pp.156-159, and for J.F. Frye *ibid* pp.98-99.

<sup>288</sup> *ibid* pp.8-9.

98 out of 110 – but in at least 17 instances the words were completely re-written or otherwise replaced. Ten songs were contributed by other individuals and another two were composed by the editors themselves.<sup>290</sup> *Songs and Ballads of the West* has had a bad press from critics. D.K. Wilgus amuses himself at some length over the way in which Baring-Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard ‘tinkered with both texts and tunes ... The published texts are bowdlerised, emended, shortened, rewritten, extended ... the good cleric butchers the texts and aids in restoring the tunes’.<sup>291</sup> These defects are contrasted with what Wilgus believes are the better practices of other editors: he says that ‘The other collectors, by and large, reproduce tunes and texts with greater fidelity. Miss Broadwood and Fuller Maitland print the words with almost no emendation’.<sup>292</sup> One wonders how Wilgus could tell, because the notes to *English County Songs* are extremely exiguous and provide little information about editorial practice or indeed anything else. The notes to ‘The Spider’ are exceptional in admitting that ‘The words, taken down from a peasant, were disentangled and partly re-written by the Rev. Canon Edward Mason’.<sup>293</sup> In other cases, texts had been augmented: ‘The Outlandish Knight’ came to the editors from Heywood Sumner, but they supplied ‘Some of the words ... from “North-Country Lore and Legend”’.<sup>294</sup> When one considers what Broadwood and Fuller Maitland admitted to, and what was probably covered up by reticence, Baring-Gould’s practices do not seem so bad after all, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *Songs and Ballads of the West* has attracted so much obloquy because the notes to the songs are fuller and more informative than those of any other contemporary collection. Baring-Gould condemned himself out of his own mouth by his honesty and determination to inform the public. The notes are often extraordinarily copious and detailed, almost invariably giving the names of the singers from whom tunes and variants were collected, with the place and sometimes a date. Where the texts have been bowdlerised or replaced altogether, the extent of the intervention is made clear though not the precise detail. Baring-Gould had been assiduous in his research when he began to collect, and of course he believed that the songs had come from educated urban sources in the first place, so wherever possible the songs are traced to broadsides or other printed sources. The notes to ‘The Squire and the Fair Maid’ are fairly typical:

Taken down, words and music, from J. Hoskin, labourer, South Brent, also from James Parsons, John Woodrich, in fragments, very full from H. Smith, Post Bridge, Dartmoor. A form of the same, the same theme, in Johnson’s Museum, 1787-1803, Vol. IV, p.410. The same toned down in Lyle’s Ballads, 1827 ... To suit the times, however, we have been necessitated to throw out the intermediate stanzas, as their freedom would not bear transcription; whilst the second and third have been slightly altered from the recited copy.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> See C.J. Bearman, ‘The Lucy Broadwood Collection: an interim report’, *FMJ* 7,3 (1997) p.363 (357-365).

<sup>290</sup> Nos XIII ‘Thomasine Enys’ and LVII ‘On the Settle’, Baring Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West*, Vol.4 pp.xv, xxix.

<sup>291</sup> Wilgus, *Folksong Scholarship* pp.126-127.

<sup>292</sup> *ibid* p.127.

<sup>293</sup> Broadwood and Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs*, p.49.

<sup>294</sup> *ibid* p.165.

<sup>295</sup> Baring Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs and Ballads of the West* No.XXIII, Vol.4 p.xix.

Further, and unlike Kidson or Broadwood and Fuller Maitland, Baring-Gould presented his written-up materials to Plymouth Public Library so that they were available for scholarly study, and he also provided some information about provenance and the original form of the songs in his second volume of autobiography, *Further Reminiscences*. Neither *English County Songs* nor *Songs and Ballads of the West* approaches the standards set by A.E. Green, but Baring-Gould deserves more credit than he is usually given for his scholarship and for the transparency of his editorial practice. A further collection from Baring-Gould and his collaborators, *A Garland of Country Song*, followed in 1895, but from then there was silence until the first productions of the Edwardian revival began to appear in 1904.

### **Folk Songs from Somerset**

From its first appearance in December 1904, *Folk Songs from Somerset* almost completely satisfied the standards set by A.E. Green. All the material was collected in the geographical county, the songs were precisely attributed, the degree and extent of collation was made clear, and bowdlerisation, where it had taken place, was identified. *Folk Songs from Somerset* has received an inordinate amount of attention because of David Harker's analysis. In *Fakesong*, Harker noticed and commented on the editorial practices of Kidson, Baring-Gould, and Broadwood and Fuller Maitland, but his observations were limited to the notes provided by those editors. The only detailed textual analysis offered by Harker (or, indeed, any commentator to date) was on *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and here Harker claimed to find evidence of massive editorial intervention which, in effect, transformed the published songs into something other than what had been collected. As Harker put it in his peroration at the end of his 1972 paper: 'There you have it, "folk song" as mediated by Cecil Sharp, to be used as "raw material" or "instrument", to be imposed ... not in its original form, but ... made the basis of nationalistic sentiments and bourgeois values'.<sup>296</sup> These assertions have been the obvious reference point for other commentators' remarks on the collectors' practices such as those of Georgina Boyes. While she does not actually specify any examples, it is difficult to see how else she could justify her suggestion that the songs were 'daintily and selectively re-worked'.<sup>297</sup>

*Folk Songs from Somerset* is therefore a special case, and the point immediately at issue must be the accuracy or otherwise of Harker's assertions about editorial changes to song texts. With regard to Emma Overd's song, 'Geordie', Harker was in no doubt. He asserted that:

In Mrs Overd's version of 'Geordie', for example, it is the judge who looks down unpitifully on the horse-thief he is about to condemn, but in the published text it is 'the

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<sup>296</sup> Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset', p.240. I accept that Harker may have intended this passage to refer to what Sharp published in school collections, but the fact is that the only detailed textual analysis his article offered related to *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and therefore his comments must be taken as relating to those volumes.

<sup>297</sup> Boyes, *Imagined Village*, p.47. If Harker's analysis was not the source for this suggestion, how does she know?

people' who take this attitude and are implicated in the condemnation made by the 'public' agent. 'Bohenny' is rendered as 'Bohemia' and her 'London' as 'Newcastle'.<sup>298</sup>

Fig. 4:8 gives the text of 'Geordie' as published in *Folk Songs from Somerset*. Whichever text it was that Harker studied in such detail, it cannot have been the one which Sharp and Marson actually provided. Another of the examples Harker provided of gross and socially-motivated editorial intervention was 'The Wraggle-Taggle Gipsies'.<sup>299</sup> He alleged that:

In the published text ... Sharp and Marson reduce the heroes of the title to mere 'ragged ragged rags', and de-lyricize 'Spanish livery' to 'hose of leather'. When Mrs Overd sang of the wife who was wholeheartedly sick of her lord and all his possessions, the editors convert her (with their customary masculinist bias) to a kind of unthinking, shameless hussy, particularly by the subtle change to 'I'll follow' from 'I'm off' when she decides to go with her chosen partner.<sup>300</sup>

In this instance Harker's comments were more justified because what the textual editor did was to collate two versions – those provided by Emma Overd and Anna Pond – while attributing the song solely to Emma Overd.<sup>301</sup> But the lines Harker attributes to editorial intervention – 'ragged ragged rags' and 'hose of leather' – are actually given verbatim as they appear in Anna Pond's text. Once again, whichever text Harker analysed in such detail, it cannot have been the one Sharp and Marson provided, because 'I'm off' is actually what is printed (see Fig.4:9). Further, it does not appear either in Emma Overd's text or in Anna Pond's.<sup>302</sup> So, far from demonstrating any 'customary masculinist bias' or denigrating the heroine of the song, the textual editor actually invented the reading which Harker prefers!

Harker restricted his comments to the first two parts of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, although the scope of his article included the first four parts.<sup>303</sup> The first three were jointly edited with Sharp as Musical Editor and Marson as Textual Editor. Sharp was always the senior partner in *Folk Songs from Somerset* and he appears to have decided the format and contents of each volume. Nevertheless, Marson was a formidable character, not easily put down, and his influence on the texts must have been considerable. Unlike Sharp, he considered himself a literary man and a judge of poetry and he had fewer scruples about re-writing.<sup>304</sup> In addition, the circumstances of their quarrel make it likely that there had been disagreement between Sharp and Marson over *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Three.<sup>305</sup> So

<sup>298</sup> *Fakesong*, p.196. Compare 'Sharp in Somerset' p.236.

<sup>299</sup> *Folk Songs from Somerset* [Series One] p.37.

<sup>300</sup> Harker, *Fakesong*, p.196.

<sup>301</sup> For the texts, see 'Folk Words' 3-4 (361-727). For Emma Overd's version, Nos. 373-374 (p.264). For Anna Pond's, No.407 (pp.300-301). The volumes of 'Folk Words' are transcriptions from Sharp's Field Note Books held in the VWML.

<sup>302</sup> Overd sang 'I'll follow the draggletail gipsies' and Pond 'I'm going with the wriggle taggle gipsy O'.

<sup>303</sup> Harker, 'Sharp in Somerset', p.234, claims to have analysed the 'first four parts' of *Folk Songs from Somerset*.

<sup>304</sup> Marson gave lectures in the Langport area on literary and philosophical subjects. In December 1904 he gave a lecture on the Somerset ballads, declaring his opinion that 'Rudyard Kipling was the only man in England who could write a true ballad' and in September 1907 he gave a set of four lectures on John Gerrarde [?], Fuller, Johnson, and Kipling's poems. See *Langport and Somerton Herald*, 10 December 1904, 17 August 1907.

<sup>305</sup> For the quarrel, see Chapter 2. Marson's explanation was that Sharp had quarrelled with him over some 'frank but friendly criticism of Series 3'. Letter, Marson to Miss Bertha Clarke, quoted in David Sutcliffe, 'Revd Charles Latimer Marson 1859-1914'.

Text as published, 'Geordie', *Folk Songs from Somerset* [Series One] p.5.

1. Come, bridle me my milk-white steed,  
Come, bridle me my pony,  
That I may ride to fair London town  
To plead for my Geordie.
2. And when she entered in the hall  
There were lords and ladies plenty.  
Down on her knee she then did fall  
To plead for the life of Geordie.
3. The Geordie look-ed round the court,  
And saw his dearest Polly:  
He said: My dear you've come too late,  
For I'm condemned already?
4. Then the judge he look-ed down on him  
And said: I'm sorry for thee.  
'Tis thine own confession hath hang-ed thee,  
May the Lord have mercy upon thee.
5. O Geordie stole no cow nor calf  
And he never murdered any,  
But he stole sixteen of the king's white steeds  
And sold them in Bohenny.
6. Let Geordie hang in golden chains,  
His crimes were never many,  
Because he came from the royal blood  
And courted a virtuous lady.
7. I wish I was in yonder grove,  
Where times I have been many,  
With my broad sword and pistol too,  
I'd fight for the life of Geordie.

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7. I wish I was in yonder grove,  
Where times I have been many,  
With my broad sword and pistol too,  
I'd fight for the life of Geordie.



- 1 THERE were three gipsies a-come to my door,  
And downstairs ran this a-lady, O !  
One sang high and another sang low  
And the other sang bonny, bonny Biscay, O !
- 2 Then she pulled off her silk finished gown  
And put on hose of leather, O !  
The ragged, ragged rags about our door—  
She's gone with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !
- 3 It was late last night, when my lord came home,  
Enquiring for his a-lady, O !  
The servants said, on every hand :  
She's gone with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !
- 4 O saddle to me my milk-white steed,  
Go and fetch me my pony, O !  
That I may ride and seek my bride,  
Who is gone with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !
- 5 O, he rode high and he rode low,  
He rode through woods and copses too,  
Until he came to an open field,  
And there he espied his a-lady, O !
- 6 What makes you leave your house and land ?  
What makes you leave your money, O ?  
What makes you leave your new wedded lord,  
To go with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O ?
- 7 What care I for my house and my land ?  
What care I for my money, O ?  
What care I for my new wedded lord ?  
I'm off with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !
- 8 Last night you slept on a goose-feather bed,  
With the sheet turned down so bravely, O !  
And to-night you'll sleep in a cold open field,  
Along with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !
- 9 What care I for a goose-feather bed,  
With the sheet turned down so bravely, O ?  
For to-night I shall sleep in a cold open field,  
Along with the wraggle taggle gipsies, O !

in order to discuss Sharp's editing practice and in order to avoid fruitless speculation about where Sharp's influence began and Marson's ended I have chosen to analyse Series Four, the first volume which Sharp edited on his own, and which falls within the scope of Harker's analysis.

In *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four editing standards were still more rigorous than in the preceding three volumes. In the preceding volumes there had been 'gross' collation in the sense of taking a tune from one singer and the text from another. This was abandoned, and of the twenty-five songs printed, twenty-three were entirely from one person or substantially so in that the tune and at least half the words had been collected from that person. Two songs were compilations in which the singer had provided the tune and the first stanza of the words, with the rest being supplied from other sources.<sup>306</sup> In Appendix E I have provided the texts to twenty-four of the twenty-five songs printed, as collected (so far as this can be conveniently established) and as published.<sup>307</sup> The texts printed in Series Four can be divided into five categories as follows:

<b>Table 4.10</b>			
<b>Textual Analysis of <i>Folk Songs from Somerset</i>, Series Four (25 songs).</b>			
<b>Text unchanged or minor alterations:</b>			
Nos. 81 'Death and the Lady'; 83 'The Cruel Ship's Carpenter'; 87 'The Dilly Song'; 88 'Come All You Worthy Christian Men'; 91 'The Sheep Shearing'; 93 'The Tree in the Wood'; 96 'Searching for Lambs'; 97 'Rugleton's Daughter of Iero'; 98 'The Cruel Mother'; 102 'The Bonny Lighter Boy'; 104 'Green Broom'.			<b>11</b>
<b>Words augmented</b>			
From other singer or singers	Nos. 84 'The Outlandish Knight'; 92 'The Saucy Sailor'; 99 'Arise, Arise'; 100 'Bridgwater Fair'; 101 'The Brisk Young Bachelor'.	<b>5</b>	
From printed material	Nos. 80 'The Rambling Sailor'; 82 'The Beggar'; 85 'The Coasts of High Barbary'.	<b>3</b>	
			<b>8</b>
<b>Major changes to text</b>			
For sake of comprehension	No. 103 'James Macdonald'.	<b>1</b>	
Through bowdlerisation	Nos. 89 'Gently Johnny My Jingalo'; 94 'O No John'; 95 'Sweet Lovely Joan'.	<b>3</b>	
			<b>4</b>
<b>Compilations</b>	Nos. 86 'Jack Hall'; 90 'John Barleycorn'.		<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>25</b>

For reasons of space I cannot comment on all the songs in the larger categories so I intend to concentrate on examples of Sharp's best and worst practice

Only one text appears to have been published completely unchanged, and that was 'The Dilly Song' (No.87, p.25). In eight other cases the changes were minimal and made for the sake of grammar or comprehension, or (as in the case of 'The Bonny Lighter-Boy': No.102, p.64) because the singer was unable to remember half of the first stanza. Some changes,

<sup>306</sup> No.86 'Jack Hall', and No.90, 'John Barleycorn: *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four, pp.77, 81.

<sup>307</sup> I have not provided a text for 'John Barleycorn' because all but one of the stanzas came from a printed source and it cannot therefore be taken as a guide to Sharp's practice in dealing with oral tradition.

however, are more difficult to understand. 'Ruggleton's Daughter of Iero' (No.97, p.53) was printed almost verbatim except for the change in the third line of the second stanza from: 'He said: Good wife is my dinner ready now?' to: 'Ho! is my dinner ready now?'. But the major instance of editorial intervention in this section relates to one of the best known songs in the whole of *Folk Songs from Somerset*: 'Searching for Lambs' from Eliza Sweet of Somerton (No.96, p.51). Sharp claimed that 'the Somerton version needed only a little rearrangement to be quite complete'.<sup>308</sup> But comparison of the collected and published texts show that Sharp inserted a complete stanza (stanza 4). This has to be attributed to an 'improving' spirit which is hardly in tune with Sharp's claim of minimal intervention.

Substantial collation of words was undertaken in a total of nine instances. In three cases words were added from broadsides or other printed sources. In 'The Rambling Sailor' (No.80, p.3) one stanza was added and the rest of the words printed almost verbatim as George Wyatt had sung them, but 'The Beggar' (No.82, p.7) and 'The Coasts of High Barbary' (No.85, p.19) were in effect reconstructions from grossly incomplete or garbled texts. In texts augmented from other traditional singers, there are two distinct methods of collation. Sharp's best practice is shown in 'The Outlandish Knight' (No.84, pp.14-15) in which two incomplete texts were skilfully blended with minor additions from a third to tell a complete story and to cut out repetition. Further, Sharp's notes spelled out what had been done: he stated that 'although very few singers could "go through" the whole of the ballad, I have recovered two or three very complete sets of words. Mr. Laver [to whom the ballad was attributed] sang me ten, and Mr. Vincent of Priddy sixteen stanzas. The words of the text have been compiled from these two copies, with the exception of two verses, Nos. seven and eight, which I obtained from Mrs. Parish at Exford'.<sup>309</sup> This was also the method used in 'Arise, Arise' (No.99, p.57). But in 'Bridgwater Fair' (No.100, p.59) Sharp has effectively collated and re-written two texts and cut out such dubious but enjoyable lines as 'You'll get so drunk now I'll be bound/You'll roll and tumble on the ground'.<sup>310</sup>

Considerable editorial intervention was admitted in four instances. In one case the changes were made for the purposes of comprehension. Betsy Holland may have understood what she was singing about in her 'Execution Song' (printed as 'James Macdonald': No.103, pp.68-69) but it is doubtful whether anyone else would have done. The need for re-writing here cannot be disputed, if the song was to be published at all. Sharp said of the words that: 'I have done my best to put them in a singable form without altering them more than was absolutely necessary'.<sup>311</sup> Bowdlerisation presented the greatest difficulties. Sharp admitted to having made considerable changes in three cases: 'Gently Johnny my Jingalo' (No.89, p.31), 'O No, John', (No.94, p.47), and 'Sweet Lovely Joan' (No.95, p.49). All three songs have one thing in common: they are songs of actual or attempted seduction which Sharp has

<sup>308</sup> *ibid* p.84.

<sup>309</sup> Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four. Notes to 'The Outlandish Knight' p.75.

<sup>310</sup> Version from Bill Bailey, 'Folk Words' 5-6 (729-1086), Nos.1018-1019, p.974.

<sup>311</sup> Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four, notes to 'James Macdonald', p.87.

converted into songs of courtship and marriage. The greatest violence was done to ‘Gently Johnny my Jingalo’ in which Sharp’s text gives an intention to the encounter which is completely different to that of the original and reaches a conclusion which is entirely Sharp’s own. The same is true of ‘O No John’. ‘Sweet Lovely Joan’ was very substantially augmented – five stanzas were added, doubling the number which James Proll sang to Sharp – but in this case greater faith was kept with the spirit of the original and a slightly risqué atmosphere was preserved with Joan’s successful deception of the amorous knight. The only justification which can be advanced for these changes is their undeniable necessity. The songs would not otherwise have been publishable in Edwardian times or indeed for many years afterwards – that is, in the context of material for the family circle: a rugby club would have been another matter. Sharp was not a willing bowdleriser, stating his general objections in *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, and where he could use ingenious arguments (what lawyers call a ‘House of Lords defence’) to get away with ‘coarse’ words he did.<sup>312</sup> In the notes to Robert Parish’s ‘The Beggar’ he stated with sly humour that:

Some singers may object to the word ‘belly’ in the chorus. The song, or at any rate its refrain, is a classic, so that, even if I had wished to do so, I could not alter it. Fastidious singers may, if they choose, substitute the word ‘body’, but I confess I do not see why they should. The word ‘belly’ is a good old-fashioned word, used frequently in the Bible and elsewhere, and there is really nothing to be said against it.<sup>313</sup>

It must be noticed also that Sharp was prepared to go a good deal further than many of his contemporaries in the matter of what was fit for publication. Percy Merrick had collected ‘One Noble Knight’ (a version of ‘Lovely Joan’) from Henry Hills, but even with the laxer standards demanded by the *Journal* he had printed only the first stanza, stating that ‘the rest of the words are objectionable’.<sup>314</sup>

In assessing Sharp’s editorial practice the major question must be the general one of whether the integrity of the material was preserved, and, if not, to what degree are the specific charges levelled by Harker and the general comments made by Boyes are justified? Did *Folk Songs from Somerset* present material ‘not in its original state’, or ‘daintily and selectively re-worked? Those comments may be justified with regard to ‘Gently Johnny my Jingalo’, ‘O No John’, and ‘Sweet Lovely Joan’ in which Sharp was obliged to alter not only specific words but the complete intention of the texts. It is less justified with regard to songs like ‘Bridgwater Fair’, in which Sharp cut out the specific reference to drunkenness but left in a stanza like No.5 (beginning ‘There’s carrotty Kit ...’). But it is not justified at all with regard to some twenty of the twenty-five songs printed – three-quarters of the whole. Further, even when Sharp did intervene, as in ‘Searching for Lambs’, the phrases which one would readily attribute to an ‘improving’ hand – such as ‘Your pretty little feet they tread so sweet’ (in stanza 2) –

<sup>312</sup> In *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* p.103 Sharp stated that ‘The folk-song editor, therefore, has perforce to undertake the distasteful task of modifying noble and beautiful sentiments in order that they may suit the minds and conform to the conventions of another age, where such things would not be understood in the primitive, direct and healthy sense’.

<sup>313</sup> Sharp, *Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four, notes to No.82 ‘The Beggar’, p.74.

<sup>314</sup> *JFSS* 1,5 (1904) p.270.

were printed exactly as sung. The stanza which Sharp inserted (stanza 4) is the most pedestrian in the text. Finally, Sharp made provision for a complete set of manuscripts to be placed in a semi-public archive so that the original words would be recoverable and precise identification of changes would be possible, and James Reeves paid a generous tribute to Sharp's integrity and to the value of his work in the preservation of folk poetry.<sup>315</sup>

### Conclusions.

Folk music publication underwent a revolution between the 1880s and 1914 similar to the revolution in collecting methods, partly due to the establishment of the Folk Song Society and the existence of its *Journal*, and partly due to the standards of 'public printing' established by Cecil Sharp and Charles Marson in *Folk Songs from Somerset*. After a shaky start the *Journal* had gone on to set standards of fieldwork presentation which led the world at the time and are still difficult to fault to-day. In 'public printings' there was an advance from a situation in which collectors relied heavily on previously published collections and on the contributions of friends and collaborators, in which editing methods were cloaked in reticence, and where manuscripts were not retained, to one in which all or nearly all the material was collected by the editor or editors themselves, where copious notes were provided, and in which manuscripts were deposited in a public archive. Here, as elsewhere, it was Sabine Baring-Gould who led the way, followed by Sharp and his Edwardian contemporaries.

Much of modern commentary on song publishing is based on Harker's analysis of *Folk Songs from Somerset*, and this can be shown to be as inaccurate as the rest of his work. In the vast majority of cases, Sharp treated song texts with great sensitivity and considerable fidelity to the original. Sharp censored only when it was absolutely necessary, and it cannot be seriously argued that the re-writing of three texts out of twenty-five constitutes a complete transformation of the original. There is a further aspect to the censorship argument. It has invariably been presented in an historically illiterate way which suggests firstly that there was no censorship before the nineteenth century and secondly that there has not been any since c.1965. This is nonsense. It is a universal truth that every age has its own standards of public decency and its own set of taboos. Religious and political censorship certainly existed from the very beginning of the broadside trade. In modern times, songs like 'Rosemary Lane' which were unpublishable in Sharp's time have become printable, but one wonders how a modern editor would react when confronted with texts like 'Little Sir Hugh' (which repeats the 'blood libel' about medieval Jews killing a Christian child) or the many wife-beating songs of which 'Ruggleton's Daughter of

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<sup>315</sup> In 1914 Sharp negotiated the deposit of his written-up manuscripts with Clare College, Cambridge (see correspondence with Mr Mollison, May-July 1914, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Miscellaneous). This was long before Cecil Sharp House was thought of, and in the event the VWML has Sharp's working notebooks (the Field Note Books) besides copies of the written-up MSS. James Reeves, *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse* (London: Heinemann, 1958). See also the letter from Reeves in *JEFDSS* 9,1 (1960) p.55, which expresses his surprise that in the centenary number devoted to Sharp's work no tribute had been paid to his importance as a preserver of traditional verse.

Iero' and 'The Man of Burningham Town' are examples.<sup>316</sup> Such ballads and songs were both popular and widespread and if it is argued that popular collections have a duty to represent the tradition, they would have to be included. One hopes that they would be, but suspects not, and indeed an age in which television versions of Dickens novels have to be heavily adapted to avoid seeming anti-semitic, in which it is seriously argued that *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Taming of the Shrew* should not be performed, and in which *Pride and Prejudice* needs to be spiced up and made more sexy is living in a glass house and cannot afford to throw any stones at the prejudices of its predecessors.

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<sup>316</sup> For 'The Man of Burningham Town' Ralph Vaughan Williams and A.L. Lloyd (eds.), *The Penguin Book of English Folk Songs* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), pp.68-69.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FOLK MUSIC IN EDUCATION

Various loose statements have been made with regard to the use of folk music in education, and the proponents of Gramscian theory and of the 'Invented Tradition' have pointed to Cecil Sharp's advocacy of its use as a classic expression of 'hegemonic' culture: material expropriated from the working class, cleaned up and adapted to suit middle class *mores*, and then fed back to the workers as part of a nationalistic and imperialist package. It has been asserted that this process was complete by 1918: according to Richard Sykes, 'By the end of World War 1, the folk myth was installed within the national consciousness ... Folk culture had become part of a shared heritage, a source of quiet strength in the face of adversity'.<sup>1</sup> This thesis is not without its grain of truth. Before the advent of the mass media, the state system of education was the most effective means of indoctrination at the disposal of the authorities, national and local, and they can be shown to have made the most of it in educating the working class into habits of order, discipline, and punctuality, and in inculcating patriotism. Mass education was in part conceived as a means of social control. But if the folk music movement formed part of a hegemonic culture, it ought to be possible to prove that the powers that were in the state's official culture rapidly accepted folk music and promoted its use through this most readily available means of indoctrination. It is one thing to point to Sharp's avowedly nationalistic and patriotic aims in advocating the educational use of folk music, but quite another to show that Sharp's views had any influence on official policy, at least in the short term.<sup>2</sup> In fact, Sharp stated that the purpose of *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* was 'to enable the educational authorities to understand, even if they cannot agree with, the point of view taken by their critics'.<sup>3</sup> These are hardly the words of someone who is arguing along the grain of official policy. As this chapter will show, very little enthusiasm for folk music was shown at Government level until H.A.L. Fisher's tenure at the Board of Education (1916-1922), matched by an equal indifference on the part of local authorities. Before that, enthusiasm had been confined to individual teachers and H.M.I.s.

Elementary schools had been obliged to teach music since 1872, when the first Inspector, John Hullah, was appointed.<sup>4</sup> Since schools might lack any kind of musical instrument, the chief means of instruction was by singing. Under the 1872 and 1874 regulations, vocal music had to be part of the ordinary course of instruction and singing had to be taught 'satisfactorily'. In 1882 Hullah was replaced by John Stainer (later a Vice-President of the Folk Song Society), and the full grant was paid to schools only if pupils were taught to

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Sykes, 'The Evolution of "Englishness" in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', *Folk Music Journal* 6,4 (1993), p.484.

<sup>2</sup> For Sharp's opinions on what the use of folk music in schools would do to promote patriotism, see below. Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, Novello, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p.xi.

sing from notation – either staff notation or the Tonic Sol-Fa system invented and promoted by the music publishers Curwen.<sup>5</sup> Collections of suitable songs were provided in Hullah's *Old English Songs for Schools* (1873) and C.V. Stanford's *Song Book for Schools* (1884), but such collections were outnumbered by a flourishing trade in specially-written school songs, a trade promoted by Curwens and the rival publishing house of Novello.<sup>6</sup> The potential market was enormous. Mass education had called forth an army of teachers, and by the 1890s there were 100,000 actually at work, plus 34,000 pupil teachers and another 4,100 in training colleges.<sup>7</sup> In 1893, Novellos began to publish a specialist monthly magazine, edited by W.G. McNaught who as Stainer's assistant was actually at work in the school inspectorate. *The School Music Review* advertised Novellos wares and promoted new compositions and arrangements.<sup>8</sup>

The announced aims of school music under Stainer and McNaught were grand, wide-ranging, and wholly admirable. The '1901 Code', drawn up by McNaught after Stainer's death, in Gordon Cox's summary:

identified succinctly the general objects of music teaching: to provide a healthful and pleasant form of collective indoor occupation – a possible moral and educative force: to develop music faculties in children so that they may appreciate the best music as listeners and performers: to enable children to read simple music at sight and understand music intelligently; to train and preserve the voices of children not only for school life, but as potential adult singers; to store their memories with patriotic, national and folk songs with suitable words; to sing tunefully in parts not only now but in the future, so that children could become executants later in the rich inheritance of the choral repertory.<sup>9</sup>

No-one could quarrel with such aims. But what was the reality? What did schools actually sing under the regime presided over by Stainer and McNaught, and what kind of material did these worthies actually advocate? Some schools recorded which songs the scholars learned in their Log Books. At Chignall Board School (Essex) in 1895, the infants learned 'Fairy King' and 'Drummer Boy' (Action Songs), 'Merry Workers' (Solo and Chorus), and 'Persevere'. The older children in Standards I and II also learned 'Drummer Boy', plus 'Love at Home', 'Oberon', 'The Cooling Spring', 'If a Weary Task' (Round), and 'The Troublesome Boy'. Standards III and IV also learned 'Love at Home' and 'The Cooling Spring', plus 'The Mill Wheel', 'Sailing', 'Laughing Chorus', and 'The Sleigh Ride'. The following year, the repertoire was more didactic and included 'Drink Water' and an unspecified 'Patriotic Song'.<sup>10</sup> Table 5.1 gives a list of songs known to have been sung in Essex schools between 1895 and 1910.

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<sup>4</sup> This account follows G.S.A. Cox, *A History of Music Education 1872-1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp.19-21.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid*, p.41-45.

<sup>6</sup> For Hullah's collection, see Cox, *Music Education*, p.68. C. Villiers Stanford, *Song Book for Schools, being a Graduated Collection of Sixty-four Songs, in One, Two, and Three parts, adapted for the use of Children* (London: National Society's Depository, n.d.[1884]).

<sup>7</sup> Cox, *Music Education* p.42.

<sup>8</sup> For the inception of the *School Music Review* and the background of W.G. McNaught (1849-1918), see Cox, *Music Education*, pp.41-43.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid* p.62.

<sup>10</sup> Log Book, Chignall Board School, 30 April 1895, 31 March 1896. Essex Record Office E/ML 162/2.



**Table 5.1**

**Songs sung in Essex Schools, 1895-1910**

A Song of Peace	Morning Light
A wet sheet and a flowing Sea	Now pray we for our country *
All Among the Barley *	Now the sun, his journey ending
As it Fell	Oberon
Ash Grove, The #	Oh who will o'er the downs *
At Night	Old Beggar Man, The *
Be Kind to the Loved Ones	Our Native Land
Bells, The (Round)	Patience
Bells Ringing	'Patriotic Song'
Boat Song*	Persevere
Bonnie Doon	Pigtail and the Fan, The
British Flag, The	Railway Train *
British Grenadiers, The * #	Red White and Blue
Children at Play	Robin Redbreast *
Cooling Spring, The	Rose Among the Heather *
Come Lassies and Lads #	'Rudyard Kipling's Hymn' ['Recessional']
Cradle Song *	Rule Britannia #
Crookit Bawbee, The	Sailing
Cuckoo, The	Sailor's Letter, The
Drink Water	Shades of Night
Drummer Boy (Action Song)	Shy Horse
Dry Leaves and Falling	Skaters, The
Exercise Song	Skating Song
Fairy King (Action Song)	Sleigh Ride, The
Farewell to Study	Song of the Brook
Fireman (Exercise Song)	Star's Watch, The
Flag of Britain	Stately Homes of England, The
Gentle Swallow *	Strike up a joyful roundelay
God Save the King (or Queen) #	Summer
Hurrah for England *	Summer Evening
I will be good	Summer Showers
If a weary task (Round)	Swing, The
Land! Land to the Leeward *	Telegraph Boy, The
Laughing Chorus	'Tis our festal day
Laughing Morn	Troublesome Boy, The
Little Things	Up in the Morning Early
Love at Home	Up the Hills
Merry Workers	When the Sun is up
Mill Wheel, The	Windmill, The
Minstrel Boy, The #	Ye Mariners of England * #

\* Advertised in *School Music Review* 1900-1901.

# Included in National Songs collections identified in the text.

Source: Elementary School Log Books held at Essex Record Office: Belchamp Otten, E/E 38/7/1, Boreham, E/ML 311/3, Broomfield, E/ML 264/2, Chignall, E/ML 162/2, Chelmsford Cathedral School (Boys), E/ML 235/2, Grays (Bridge Road Upper Standard), E/ML 23, Little Dunmow, E/ML 60/2, Thaxted, T/P 437/1.

National and Folk songs – as the phrase was understood at the time – are represented here, but the great majority are composed school songs, some of which can be recognised in the advertising of the *School Music Review*. Whatever the aims of the music educationalists, these songs were what stored the minds of Essex schoolchildren with their appropriate didactic messages. The major one was patriotism: of the eighty songs in Table 5:1, eleven are celebrations of the British flag or of martial might, or are prayers for national security. A further five or six celebrate 'Old English' values such as regard for the sea service. A smaller

proportion exhort the school population in the benefits of early rising, cheerful subordination, temperance, and (closely associated with abstinence), civilised behaviour in the home.

These songs were what Stainer and McNaught themselves preferred. Stainer had in 1895 investigated the issue of 'National Songs' and concluded that very few were suitable for school use.<sup>11</sup> They might be excellent and time-hallowed musical material, but their texts often contained passages and sentiments which offended late nineteenth century taste and contravened moral ideas which had developed during that century. Nonconformist opinion in particular took the lead in opposing any favourable references to alcohol or texts which so much as mentioned the physical aspects of love or sexual relations outside marriage. Far better, from this censorious point of view, was the specially-written school lyric – bland, innocuous, inoffensive material to which no-one could take exception. When in 1904 McNaught printed in the *School Music Review* two specimen lyrics of which he approved, in contrast to verses which had recently appeared in a 'National Songs' collection, one of them was this:

*Dear home, far across the sea,  
Day and night for thee I'm sadly yearning;  
Loved ones, all in all to me,  
Fondly wait the hour of my returning.  
As I watch the swallows on their homeward ways,  
Speeding o'er the restless foam  
Fain would I be flying, for O, my heart is sighing,  
Sighing for the dear old home.*<sup>12</sup>

The effect of this lyric may well have been, as McNaught believed, 'touching and humanizing', but while it might have suited a sentimentalised and indiscriminating adult taste it lacked every quality which might appeal to children. But adult rather than children's tastes were McNaught's main concern. With regard to this and the other lyric of his selection, he asked 'Which would sane men and women prefer their boys and girls to learn?'.<sup>13</sup>

So while Stainer and McNaught enunciated wholly admirable aims, their actual practice was narrow, restrictive, and orientated towards adult tastes and adult approval. It went arm-in-arm with a disciplinary approach to school music which was more concerned with seeing measurable results than with finding material which children enjoyed, and which placed an emphasis on part-singing and sight-reading. Among the rank and file of teachers, it coincided with very genuine fears of disciplinary action or even dismissal if they taught material which offended the tastes of the local H.M.I. or the school governors. In 1904, Cecil Sharp was invited by a Somerset village schoolmaster to hear his scholars sing. They did so tunefully enough and Sharp complimented the teacher, but commented: 'But I am afraid the children do not care much about that song, do they? He [the teacher] owned that they did not. I then suggested "Why not try "The March of the Men of Harlech"? He at once replied "How about H.M.I.?" and then added "Besides, if I taught them that they would be shouting it all

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<sup>11</sup> Stainer's views were quoted and summarized in 'The School Music Situation', *School Music Review*, 1 January 1904, p.148.

<sup>12</sup> 'Sanity and School Song', *School Music Review* 1 April 1904 p.209.

over the village and ruining their voices!”<sup>14</sup> Composed school songs, a growing band of educationalists believed, were ‘execrable’, ‘twaddle’ and further they were counter-productive execrable twaddle because children did not assimilate them and turned naturally to the raucous and morally unsuitable fare offered by the music-halls. But because of the vulnerable position of individual teachers, any challenge to composed school songs had to come with the full approval of the Board of Education.

Events were moving in the progressive educationalists’ direction. In 1901 Stainer (now Sir John Stainer) died and was replaced by Arthur Somervell, one of a new breed of professional musicians encouraged by more liberal attitudes towards the arts in the public schools and by the availability of professional training in England through the new music academies. Like Sharp, Somervell came from the commercial middle class and was educated at Uppingham and Cambridge; unlike Sharp, he continued from there to the Royal College of Music where his teachers included Stanford and Parry.<sup>15</sup> Somervell was initially known as a composer and he made the first settings of Housman’s poems from *A Shropshire Lad*. At the same time, a more liberal policy was arriving in elementary schools. In 1899 a central Board of Education was established to co-ordinate elementary and secondary education, and as an indirect consequence the 1902 Education Act abolished School Boards and brought elementary schools under local authority control. Although the 1902 Act is commonly associated with Arthur Balfour, the Prime Minister, its real parent was R.L. (later Sir Robert) Morant, who became Permanent Secretary to the Board in November 1902.<sup>16</sup> Morant proved to be one of the great civil servants and among the most clean-sweeping of new brooms, with an almost continuous programme of reform pushed through until his fall from office in 1911.

Wider events still may have played their part. Between 1899 and 1902, British self-confidence was badly shaken by the Boer War, which exposed military incompetence and serious deficiencies in the physical health of would-be recruits. In 1900, the German Reichstag passed its Second Navy Bill. The first, of 1898, had been regarded as relatively harmless, regrettable from Britain’s point of view but the legitimate right of a colonial power with global responsibilities, but the Second Navy Bill envisaged the creation of a much larger battle fleet which would eventually rival Britain’s.<sup>17</sup> An island nation could snap its fingers at vast continental armies without accompanying naval power, but it could not ignore the combination of military might *and* naval power. A European war in the near future became a real possibility, adding pressure on Britain to abandon an isolationist foreign policy and making it still more necessary to enlist the patriotism of the general population, with the added need to improve their physical health.

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Morning Post* 19 September 1904.

<sup>15</sup> Cox, *Music Education*, p.83.

<sup>16</sup> R.C.K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp.320, 355-358.

<sup>17</sup> Holger H. Herwig, *‘Luxury’ Fleet: The Imperial German Navy 1888-1918* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980) p.42. Contemporary British attitudes are illustrated in a leader, ‘The German Navy Bill’, *The Times* 28 March 1898.

This was the situation when the Folk Song Society was revived in 1903-4. In 1898, the folk music movement had been conceived as primarily a matter of antiquarian concern and scholarship, with a possible application in adult concerts and drawing-room recitals. In 1903-4, the educational use of the material almost immediately became the main focus of concern. Part of this interest was due to the publication of three collections of 'National and Folk Songs' in quick succession in 1902-1903: Cecil Sharp's *Book of British Song* in 1902, closely followed by W.H. Hadow's *Songs of the British Islands* and Sydney Nicholson's *British Songs for British Boys*.<sup>18</sup> These collections were being reviewed and discussed during the period of intensive activity and public discussion between November 1903 and March 1904, between Sharp's first lecture on folk song and the Society's re-foundation with Lucy Broadwood as its Secretary. Arthur Somervell did not join the Folk Song Society in its early years but he was known to many of its personnel. Parry and Stanford had been among his teachers; he was a friend of Lucy Broadwood and of W.H. Hadow and had collaborated with Harold Boulton on *Songs of the Four Nations* in 1893.<sup>19</sup> Somervell also knew A.P. Graves through the school inspectorate. In a letter to the *Morning Post* on 27 January 1904, Graves said that: 'In Mr. Sharp we recognise a most valuable auxiliary, and we have found an even more important one in Mr. Arthur Somervell ... through whose influence folk-songs have at last taken their right position as part and parcel of the curriculum in our elementary schools'.<sup>20</sup> At the Folk Song Society Committee on 18 March 1904, Graves reported that 'Mr. Arthur Somervell had an educational scheme to propose to the Society', and at the next Committee on 6 May, J.A. Fuller Maitland 'reported that Dr. Somervell had approached him with a view to knowing whether the Folk Song Society would be prepared to issue popular, cheap, and simply harmonised sets of Folk Songs for the use of schools'.<sup>21</sup> The Committee considered this proposal 'excellent' but its only action was to propose the formation of a sub-committee 'later' to consider it. And there the matter rested until July, when Somervell made another approach, this time to Lucy Broadwood.<sup>22</sup>

The trigger for Somervell's approaches was his contribution to a large-scale scheme of recommendations proposed by Morant. At that date, and for long afterwards, central government could exert pressure through the school inspectorate but could not actually control what was taught in elementary schools. The routine experienced by elementary school children depended on what was ordained by the relevant local authority and on the abilities and

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<sup>18</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *A Book of British Song for Home and School* (London: John Murray, 1902). W.H. Hadow, *Songs of the British Islands: One Hundred National Melodies selected and edited for the Use of Schools* (London: Curwen, 1903). Sydney Nicholson, *British Songs for British Boys: A Collection of One Hundred National Songs designed for the use of Boys in Schools and Choirs* (London: Macmillan, 1903).

<sup>19</sup> For Somervell's friendship with Broadwood, Dorothy de Val "'Only Connect': Lucy Broadwood and Musical Life in Late 19th Century London', unpublished paper given at the University of Hull, July 1997. I am very grateful to Dorothy de Val for a copy of her script. Arthur Somervell and Harold Boulton, *Songs of the Four Nations* (London: Cramer & Co, 1893).

<sup>20</sup> *Morning Post* 27 January 1904.

<sup>21</sup> Folk Song Society Minute Book No.2, minutes of meetings 18 March 1904, p.7, and 6 May 1904, p.17. The Minute Books are unpublished MSS held in the VWML.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*, 6 May 1904, p.17, and 1 July 1904, p.34.

enthusiasms of those actually concerned with the running of the school. All that Morant and the Board of Education could do was recommend, and recommend they did in the *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*, published in 1905.<sup>23</sup> The appendix to the section on music education contained a list of 200 songs, divided into English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh sections, with lesser numbers of carols, rounds, and patriotic songs such as 'Rule, Britannia'. This section was written by Somervell, though the songs are said to have selected by W.H. Hadow.<sup>24</sup> These songs were already in wide use in independent schools and had something of a history there as part of impromptu concerts which had been going on, with or without official support, since time out of mind.<sup>25</sup> The three collections published in 1902-3 had been compiled with this preparatory/independent/public school market in mind. What Somervell wanted to do was to extend the use of 'National and Folk Songs' to the great mass of children in elementary schools.

Somervell had the official power but he faced very strong rearguard opposition from the school music industry. McNaught was an advocate of composed school songs on principle and in addition he had excellent reasons for disliking Somervell personally. When Stainer died, McNaught believed that, as his assistant, he should have had the right of succession. When Somervell was appointed, he resigned from the school inspectorate and shortly afterwards became editor of the *Musical Times*, another Novello journal, while continuing to edit the *School Music Review*.<sup>26</sup> Further still, McNaught also had connections with Curwens. He was an advocate of the Tonic Sol-Fa system and had acted as amanuensis to J. Spencer Curwen.<sup>27</sup> Both Novello and Curwens had vested interests in composed school songs and in the continuance of an industry which required a constant supply of fresh material specially written for them and which was under their copyright control. Curwens had a particular interest to defend because most of the schools which taught sight-reading used the Tonic Sol-Fa system, and so had reason to oppose any challenge to the emphasis on formal music education or to accomplishments such as part-singing.<sup>28</sup> Further, and although J. Spencer Curwen was a member of the Folk Song Society, he was opposed on principle to the use of folk song in schools, even in the 'National Songs' sense, on the ground that the words were 'unsuitable' and the range of the melodies too wide for children's voices.<sup>29</sup> Others associated

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<sup>23</sup> Board of Education, *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others involved in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*, (London: HMSO, 1905).

<sup>24</sup> Cox, *Music Education*, p.102.

<sup>25</sup> See the account of the concert in Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994) pp.106-108 [first published 1857]. For 'House Singing' at Harrow under John Farmer, Cox, *Music Education*, pp.72-73.

<sup>26</sup> Cox, *Music Education*, p.83.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid* p.42.

<sup>28</sup> In 1891, 2,362 schools taught staff notation, 15,153 used Tonic-Sol-Fa, and 11,833 sang by ear. The general trend was from singing by ear to Tonic Sol-Fa. See Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A social history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) p.46.

<sup>29</sup> In a letter to the *Morning Post*, 30 January 1904, Curwen stated 'Are these songs [i.e., folk songs] suitable for use in schools? ... For my part I find the compass of the melodies too wide for childrens'

with the folk music movement also worked in the industry: Alfred Moffat, Frank Kidson's friend and collaborator, was a prolific composer of school songs.<sup>30</sup>

To this confused and embattled situation the new definition of folk song as material collected directly from oral tradition came as a fresh and unwelcome complication. Superficially, there was agreement on one thing at least – that the particular variety of 'folk song' or 'National Song' offered by the competing parties had a special virtue and appeal by being 'the music of the people'. In his 1884 *Song Book for Schools* Stanford had stated his belief that 'a sound basis of musical feeling can alone be obtained from genuine folk-songs, which have grown up along with the development of the country itself'.<sup>31</sup> Somervell and the Board of Education recommended the songs on the 1905 *Suggestions* list as being 'the expression in the idiom of the people of their joys and sorrows, their unaffected patriotism, their zest for sport and the simple pleasures of country life. Such music is the early and spontaneous uprising of artistic power in a nation'.<sup>32</sup> Cecil Sharp's claim for folk song was that it represented a 'communal and racial product' genuinely of and by the 'common people', and that young people would therefore take to the songs naturally, learning them by 'a sort of spiritual sixth sense'.<sup>33</sup> The common enemy of educationalists was music-hall material, and it was a common claim that folk songs, or the contents of Stanford's *National Song Book* would act like a sort of Gresham's Law in reverse and drive it out of circulation.<sup>34</sup>

This apparent similarity of aims masked deep divisions about the real objectives of school music and the nature of tradition. Stanford was a Protestant Irishman of the Ascendancy, with the Orangeman's love of tradition and of traditional music, but also with the Orangeman's reputation for extreme and reactionary political views. He saw school music as a direct response to fears that mass education might act as a revolutionary force. Addressing the Managers of the London Board Schools in 1889, his first proposition was that 'the first effect of education upon the uneducated masses is the development of socialistic and even of revolutionary ideas among them'.<sup>35</sup> Stanford noted that the introduction of compulsory education in Germany had coincided almost exactly with the introduction of laws to repress socialism. Such methods could not be adopted in Britain, but, Stanford maintained, the same dangers existed. What could be done to counteract them? Stanford's answer was to use the arts in general and music in particular as a means of educating the masses in the history and traditions of their country, thus inculcating a sense of patriotism. The chief means he

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voices and, what is equally important, the words unsuitable ... The humour is rough, and conviviality is too prominent.'

<sup>30</sup> For examples of Moffat's output, see *School Music Review*, 'Extra Supplement', 1 June 1900.

<sup>31</sup> Stanford, *Song Book for Schools*, p. v.

<sup>32</sup> Board of Education, *Suggestions*, quoted in James Reeves, *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse* (London: Heinemann, 1958), p.5.

<sup>33</sup> For 'spiritual sixth sense', Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.69.

<sup>34</sup> For a claim of this sort made on behalf of folk song, see letter from W.H.D. Rouse [Headmaster of the Perse School, Cambridge] *The Times*, 5 January 1915. For such a claim on behalf of the *National Song Book* by the headmaster of a boys' school in Chiswick, Cox, *Music Education*, p.96.

<sup>35</sup> C.V. Stanford, 'Music in Elementary Schools: A Lecture delivered to the Managers of the London Board Schools in 1889', printed in *Studies and Memories* (London: Constable, 1908), p.44.

advocated echoed the *Song Book for Schools*: 'national music, folk music – the music which from the earliest times has grown up amongst the people'.<sup>36</sup> However, an examination of the contents of the *Song Book for Schools* and of Stanford's later collection *The National Song Book* reveal that what he claimed to be 'national music, folk music' coincided very closely with his own tastes, his didactic intent, and with material produced by his friends. There was an overwhelming emphasis on overtly patriotic material and with 'Old English' subjects such as hunting and the sea service, and no less than forty-seven of the two hundred songs in the *National Song Book* had words by A.P. Graves.<sup>37</sup> There can be no doubt about Stanford's genuine love for traditional music, but it is equally clear that he saw the educational application of folk song as no more than a means to an end. It was not enough merely to bring children into contact with tradition. That tradition had to be shaped and controlled to present a particular set of political and social values.

Stanford was not alone in these aims. There are striking similarities between his expectations and the more general claims being made on behalf of 'National Songs' and what was being attempted in other educational fields. There was a conscious attempt by some members of the political Right to 'capture' the history and traditions of Britain for their political cause and to present them to children in a new and attractive guise. The Oxford historian C.R.L. Fletcher 'condemned the rote-learning commonly employed in school history classes, and argued that the historian should appeal to the children's natural curiosity about the world around them, their idealism, and their love of stories'.<sup>38</sup> To this end he published four volumes of an *Introductory History of England* between 1904 and 1923, illustrated with twenty-three poems (including 'Dane-Geld', 'Norman and Saxon', 'Big Steamers', and 'The Glory of the Garden') by his friend Rudyard Kipling.<sup>39</sup> Kipling himself was publishing for children to this same entertaining but ultimately didactic end in *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910).

But there was an essential difference between Stanford's and the more general right-wing agenda and that of Cecil Sharp, despite their surface similarities. Sharp, just as much as Stanford, Fletcher, and Kipling, argued for an informed and educated patriotism, but came from a different political background and employed entirely different means. Sharp called himself a 'Conservative Socialist' and in fact supported the Liberal and later the Labour Party. He joined the Fabian Society in 1900.<sup>40</sup> For the political Right: 'Modern Liberalism and Socialism were regarded as deviations from, rather than developments of, English history. They could flourish only by destroying the past and promising a utopian future'.<sup>41</sup> Sharp's chief motivation for using folk music was to find material which his pupils enjoyed, and this

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid* p.53.

<sup>37</sup> Of the 64 songs in the *Song Book for Schools*, eight were directly patriotic material such as 'Here's a Health unto her Majesty'. A further nine celebrated the sea service, and another four were about hunting.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Keating, *Kipling the Poet* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1994) p.170.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid* pp.169-184.

<sup>40</sup> For Sharp's political beliefs, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.23.

<sup>41</sup> Keating, *Kipling*, p.170.

concern was indicative of his general educational philosophy. Sharp's opinions were founded on his own experience of teaching, and he had advanced and liberal educational views for his day. Though he was an accepted and popular member of the staff at Ludgrove, his political principles ran contrary to the orthodoxy there, and his teaching methods were an oasis of civilisation in a rather tough and games-mad school, remembered with affection even by ex-pupils who had hated the institution.<sup>42</sup> In 1897-8, Sharp was involved in the founding of a noted progressive school – King Alfred's, Hampstead – which was to be run according to the principles of the German educationalist Wilhelm Froebel, and he brought up his own children along these lines.<sup>43</sup> At Ludgrove, the problem of what to give children to sing was one he confronted daily. As he told the *Musical Herald* in 1905:

One of the reasons why I came to be attracted to the traditional song was that I wanted to find suitable material for unison singing in preparatory schools. I tried Farmer's 'Gaudeamus' but found that although the words were excellent the tunes did not wear. The boys got tired of them. I looked through Chappell's 'Popular Music of the Olden Time'. Some of the tunes from this were fairly successful. Then I found the traditional songs.<sup>44</sup>

Sharp believed that it was first necessary to establish an interest in music, and to lay the foundations of musical taste, before teaching theory and musical notation and moving on to more difficult material, and for this reason he advocated unison rather than part-singing and the relegation of sight-reading to a more advanced stage of musical education. Stanford, by contrast, remained committed to theory and condemned singing by ear as 'neither more nor less than a premium on bawling', as a mere 'amusement' on a par with games.<sup>45</sup>

School songs could never be free of didactic intent, but the message Sharp believed they would impart was much more subtle and much less partisan than the message of 'National Songs'. When W.G. McNaught told him in 1908 that the Board of Education would 'much prefer a "poetical" moral lyric with its made tune', Sharp replied:

Your criticisms of course strike at the very root of the whole question of the suitability or otherwise of the folk song for school use. It is not a question of theory or argument so much as one of feeling or temperament. Those like myself who are keenly susceptible to the subtle charm of the folk-song with its transparent sincerity, its humanity, its simplicity and directness and its absence of didacticism will advocate whole-heartedly its introduction into the schools believing that it will there exert a more healthy and more genuinely moral influence than the so-called 'poetical moral lyric'.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> For Ludgrove's character at the time, Donald Leinster-Mackay, *The Rise of the English Prep School* (London: The Falmer Press) 1984, pp.153-4. For a pupil who hated the school but admired and respected Sharp, Osbert Sitwell, *The Scarlet Tree* (London: Macmillan, 1948), pp.124-128. (Sitwell calls the school 'Bloodsworth'). For Sharp in the Ludgrove staffroom, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p.18.

<sup>43</sup> For King Alfred's, Cox, *Music Education*, pp.141-142. For Sharp's children's education, notes of lecture at Hampstead Conservatoire [entitled 'Musical Morals by A.H. Fox Strangways], Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/4/47.

<sup>44</sup> 'Mr. Cecil Sharp', *Musical Herald* 1 December 1905, p.355.

<sup>45</sup> Stanford, *Studies and Memories* p.47.

<sup>46</sup> Sharp Correspondence, McNaught to Sharp, 4 July 1908, Sharp to McNaught, 7 July 1908, quoted in Cox, *Music Education*, p.155.



The whole point, for Sharp, was that the songs had no overtly patriotic or moral message. Their teaching was implicit, not explicit, and unlike 'National Songs' collections they did not always shirk the less desirable aspects of human nature. In his *Book of British Song*, Sharp had printed seventy-eight songs. Thirty-two of them were from the published collections of Sabine Baring-Gould, or Lucy Broadwood and her collaborators, or Samuel Reay, or from the unpublished MSS of R.R. Terry. They included songs such as 'Outward Bound' and 'The Rambling Soldier' (both from Baring-Gould) to which McNaught had taken particular exception on the ground of their immorality, since both depicted men fond of drink and/or female company deserting their women when ordered away. McNaught's attitudes were probably representative of popular opinion. Among educated people generally there was a very strong feeling that the printed tradition was *ipso facto* the superior one, and that only songs which expressed noble sentiments in 'suitable' language ought to be admitted into the canon of 'folk songs', especially those selected for school use. How could material from uneducated rustics, often dealing with the minutiae of everyday life, possibly compare with the conscious artistry of educated poets and musicians? These opinions were freely expressed in the most perjorative terms. A letter printed in the *School Music Review* asserted that: 'There seems to be an impression that any song, however beery and leery, which has survived the shock of generations, and is dimly remembered by the oldest inhabitant of a bucolic hamlet far from the madding crowd, acquires thereby the dignity pertaining to a "folk song"'.<sup>47</sup> The implicit message here was that 'the dignity pertaining to a folk-song' could only be achieved by a poetical lyric containing correct moral sentiments, and this was a view which would have been endorsed by many members of the Folk Song Society. Stanford was a Vice-President, his song-writing collaborator A.P. Graves was a long-serving and prominent member of the committee, and the lyricist Harold Boulton was an original member, as was W.H. Hadow. Other prominent figures such as Lucy Broadwood drew a clear distinction between the printed and oral traditions and had no sympathy with the way Stanford or Graves dealt with traditional songs, but equally had no interest in presenting oral tradition to schoolchildren, and she was representative of an overwhelming majority in the Society whose interest was scholarly rather than populist.<sup>48</sup>

The disdain for traditional texts was also felt by Arthur Somervell. He found the words of some of the items in *English County Songs* 'the funniest things I have read for a long time they are so delightfully incongruous'(sic).<sup>49</sup> His own collection *Songs of the Four Nations* was compiled from printed sources, not oral tradition, and Somervell had no doubts as to which was superior. He told Sharp that: 'Years before you took the matter up [i.e., folk song

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<sup>47</sup> Letter from W.G. Rothery, *School Music Review* 1 April 1904, p.209.

<sup>48</sup> Broadwood's friend Vaughan Williams wrote that: 'To her, folk songs were largely a matter for the study, treasures to be pondered over in solitude and only occasionally displayed to the chosen few ... Lucy Broadwood felt it almost a betrayal of trust to bring them into the glaring light of the concert room and theatre, or to make them a cog in the educational wheel'. Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Lucy Broadwood 1858-1929', *JEFDSS* 9,5 (1948) pp.137-138.

<sup>49</sup> Somervell to Broadwood, 4 October 1893, SHC 2185/LEB/1/30.

collection] I published a book, which is now a standard selection, which entailed my examining thousands, while making my selection; and though I have not *gleaned* ... I cannot say that I think the results show that the best have been left to the last'.<sup>50</sup>

The 1905 *Suggestions* list was one which embodied Somervell's beliefs and prejudices. Based closely on W.H. Hadow's *Songs of the British Islands*, the songs were composed pieces or at least had modern words. Even the few genuine folk songs had not come from recent collections from oral tradition but from the heavily-doctored 'folk music' of previous generations. To Sharp, the list was a travesty because folk song, as it had come to be understood, was barely represented, and it was a travesty which threatened the whole future of folk music in education because even these few folk songs were mixed with composed pieces and not distinguished from them. In the *Morning Post* on 19 April 1906 and in the *Daily Chronicle* of 22 May Sharp complained that of fifty songs in the 'English' section of the list seventeen were ordinary art-songs such as Dibdin's 'Tom Bowling', twenty-six were founded on folk tunes of bygone days, like 'The Vicar of Bray', and only seven were true folk-songs, and he went on:

Schoolmasters, in the belief that they are teaching folk-songs, will give the children the songs suggested in the Blue-Book. The results which folk-song enthusiasts have confidently predicted will not, of course, follow. The experiment will be voted a failure, and folk-songs, without a trial, will be branded as unfit for school use and excluded for ever from the schoolroom.<sup>51</sup>

This provoked an angry response from Stanford, who was hardly a disinterested party because he had been commissioned to prepare an edition of the 200 songs on the Board's list, published later in 1906 as *The National Song Book*.<sup>52</sup> Stanford called Sharp's attack 'reckless and unjustifiable', and further controversy ensued. Sharp believed he had the better of the exchange, because a number of people wrote to support him, while Stanford had few backers, and he crowed in letters to his friend Revd. Francis Etherington.<sup>53</sup> *Punch* then reduced the whole question to ridicule by printing a page of spoof letters in which the leaders of various interest groups petitioned the Board of Education for songs which favoured their causes: a letter above the initials 'G.B.S.' [George Bernard Shaw] called for the rejection of the 'disgustingly carnivorous paean "The Roast Beef of Old England" in favour of "The Broad Beans of Old England"' (see Fig. 5.1). *Punch* and its readers could laugh, but the leading lights of the Folk Song Society felt that Sharp had gone too far, and on 10 June the President, Lord Tennyson, sent him a solemn rebuke.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Somervell to Sharp, 19 October 1904, Sharp Correspondence Box 3 Misc.

<sup>51</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, 'Folk-Songs for Schools: Education Board's mistakes', *Daily Chronicle* 22 May 1906.

<sup>52</sup> Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, *The National Song Book* (London: Boosey, 1906).

<sup>53</sup> Sharp to Etherington, 25 May, 27 May 1906. Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

<sup>54</sup> Lord Tennyson to Sharp, 10 June 1906, Sharp Correspondence Box 4 Folder I.

NATIONAL PRIDE A NATIONAL DANGER.

THE issue by the Board of Education of a list of national songs has evoked strong protests in *The Daily Chronicle* on the score of the inadequacy of the selection. In particular Mr. J. STREXON CURWEN, President of the Tonic Sol-fa Association, who advocates an eclectic view of the question, deploras the narrowing effect which must result from confining children to national songs, a policy which in his view "will perpetuate that tone of insular superiority which has done such harm in the past. This large-minded and truly patriotic attitude has commended itself to a number of correspondents, a selection from whose letters we print hereunder:—

DEAR SIR,—I entirely agree with Mr. CURWEN that we are in danger of adopting a false policy in regard to the teaching of our children, and that to confine them to national songs will perpetuate that tone of insular superiority which has done such harm in the past.

For example, I note with pain that in the selected list put forward by the Board of Education "*The Roast Beef of Old England*" occupies a prominent position. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more mischievous than this exclusive insistence on the excellence of a local form of flesh food. We are largely dependent on our Colonies, and it is of paramount necessity that we should maintain and foster friendly relations with them as with all other parts of the world. I would suggest, therefore, that the revised version of this obsolete ballad should run, "*The Iced Sheep of New Zealand*," or "*The Canned Ox of Chicago*," and that, in view of the impending visit of

the German Editors, there should be added an encore verse running, "*The Grilled Ham of Westphalia*."

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,  
HUGO SLAZENGER.

DEAR SIR,—Why should the Board of Education go out of its way to affront that large and constantly increasing section of the community which has forsworn meat food by including that disgustingly carnivorous psalm "*The Roast Beef of Old England*" in its list? The tune, I admit, has its merits, but to my mind it sounds infinitely finer to the splendid words written by Mr. ERSTACE MILES, "*The Broad Beans of Old England*," and "*Oh, the Old English Broad Beans*."

Yours obediently,  
G. B. S.

DEAR SIR,—I rejoice to see that the list of songs put out by the Board of Education is being subjected to drastic criticism. If ever there was a time when it was desirable to allay international jealousies, it is the present. Yet I note with grief that "*Rule, Britannia, Britannia Rules the Waves*," is amongst the selected songs. Why this studied

insult to the German Naval League? Could not the standing Committee of Arbitration at the Hague be asked to furnish a revised version of this inflammatory ballad on some such lines as these:—

"Hail, Germania! Britannia humbly craves  
That peace will ever ever ever rule the waves?"

I am, Sir, Yours faithfully,  
AVEBURY.

DEAR SIR.—In this era of cosmopolitan humanitarianism our first and foremost duty is to substitute for our insolently insular national anthem a hymn which will adequately voice the spirit of international confraternity. I do not say that the lines which I send are incapable of improvement, but I feel that all but the most prejudiced critics will admit their immense superiority to the version still in vogue:

Long live the gallant Manx!  
Prosper their triple shanks!  
Erin-go-bragh!  
Heaven guard the King of SPAIN!  
Long may great ROOSEVELT reign!  
May no distress or pain  
Harass the SHAH!

I am, Sir, Yours obediently, A. A.

DEAR SIR,—The unsoundness of the principles on which the songs in the Board of Education's list have been selected is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the compilers have not hesitated to include such trashy and trivial ditties as "*Tom Bowling*" and "*Dulce Domum*." How far the deliberate boycotting of genuine folk-music has been carried may be gathered when I say that not a single item has been taken from my "*Colorado Coon Songs*" or the "*Ballads of Lundy Island*," collected by Mr. BAUFOR BLUNT.

I am, Sir, yours indignantly,  
L. PEDDLINGTON, JUNR.

WE understand that during the recent dispute with Turkey the general staff at Constantinople (looking to a possible reverse in Arabia) were studying the topography of the Sinaitic Peninsula in order to discover a shorter line of retreat than that adopted by MOSES and the Israelites. The financial advisers of the SULTAN, however, pointed out the advantages that would accrue if his army were to wander about for forty years in the wilderness without pay.

Somervell shared the view of Sharp as a wrecker. The two men had been friends, but this friendship had not lasted.<sup>55</sup> In October 1904 he wrote Sharp a letter which expresses his own problems very well while being somewhat disingenuous about Sharp's work:

I am shortly going to do something rather big in the direction which every musician desires in the schools, but I think you hardly realize how much your attitude may hinder things. It is very easy to poke fun at the Puritans, and with your sentiments in the abstract, I agree. But no one can ignore a force when engineering a movement, even if he doesn't *sympathize* with that force; for a force left out of calculation is apt to suddenly prove extremely awkward. It is not a question of where *you or I* should like to draw the line: it is a question of where it is *politic* to draw the line. In my advocacy of the use of National songs in the schools I have encountered much opposition; and not to mince matters I am the man by whom the thing can and must be done, and I tell you plainly that your book (which after all is published with the title 'for home and school') has been the hardest blow that the movement has had. Some of the tunes were held up to ridicule as being very poor, and I'm bound to say I agreed with the criticism ... Some of the words [illegible] published too, and I'm bound to say that I think the critics were right in saying they were not such as should be given to young children to sing. Our opponents will not begin to split hairs and say 'of course these are not intended for Primary Schools'. They say 'The Inspector wants Folk songs. However, the latest book of these – Is it a fit one?'<sup>56</sup>

But a study of the reviews of Sharp's *Book of British Song* hardly bears out Somervell's criticisms. In the non-specialist press they had generally praised the book and some (such as Mary Wakefield's review in *The Commonwealth*) were positively ecstatic about it.<sup>57</sup> The educational journals had been more ambivalent and had drawn attention to 'unsuitable' words, but nevertheless the notices had been generally good.<sup>58</sup> The only outright condemnation had come from the Novello journals edited by W.G. McNaught, who had been positively scathing and quoted whole songs and sets of verses to show how 'unsuitable' the words were.<sup>59</sup> In order to condemn Sharp, Somervell was therefore identifying himself with the common enemy of them both, and with the most vocal opposition to national and folk songs *tout court*.

With attitudes like these prevalent in the Folk Song Society, at the Board of Education, and in an influential portion of the musical press, there was no possibility of folk song, as Sharp and the other field collectors understood it, being accepted into general educational use. The 1905 *Suggestions* list, as edited by Stanford into the *National Song Book*

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<sup>55</sup> For their friendship and Sharp's admiration for *Songs of the Four Nations*, extract of letter, Cecil Sharp to Constance Birch, 28 January 1893, Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/7/6, VWML.

<sup>56</sup> Somervell to Sharp, 19 October 1904..

<sup>57</sup> *The Commonwealth*, March 1903.

<sup>58</sup> For example, the reviewer in *Secondary Education*, 15 November 1902, said that 'It is a splendid idea to render this store of traditional music available for the class-room and the home. It will be received with delight everywhere by boys and girls of all ages. Teachers owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Sharp for adding to the brightness and happiness of school life by this sympathetic interpretation of the musical needs of children ... We anticipate a universal welcome for this beautiful book'. But the reviewer had also noticed 'unsuitable' words to some of the songs and these were criticised more strongly in the editorial section of the journal. There was also strong approval from *The Schoolmaster*, 3 January 1903, and *The School World*, April 1903, was only slightly less enthusiastic.

<sup>59</sup> See the review in the *Musical Times*, 1 January 1903. *The School Music Review*, 1 March 1904, p.186, quotes the whole of 'Outward Bound', and 1 April 1904, p.209, gives verses from 'The Rambling Soldier' and 'Twanky-dillo', with strong editorial comment.

of 1906, quickly became the dominant school collection.<sup>60</sup> Then in December 1906 the Folk Song Society demonstrated to Sharp just how little support he had in the debate over the *Suggestions* list, and the defeat was made all the more stinging for Sharp because Broadwood left the debate to Somervell (who had by now joined the Folk Song Society) and W.H. Hadow.<sup>61</sup> Sharp's immediate reaction was to go home 'from the meeting and wear out three fountain pens' (as he put it) in writing *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, a book designed, as its preface made clear, 'to enable the educational authorities to understand, even if they cannot agree with, the point of view taken by their critics'.<sup>62</sup> In the book, Sharp elaborated on the note of visionary optimism and idealism he had already struck in his lectures at the Esperance concerts. He stated that through the educational use of folk song:

Not only would the musical taste of the nation be materially raised, but a beneficial and enduring effect would be produced upon the national character. For, good music purifies, just as bad music vulgarizes ... We may look, therefore, to the introduction of folk-songs in the elementary schools to effect an improvement in the musical taste of the people, and to refine and strengthen the national character.<sup>63</sup>

Sharp's educational campaign did not confine itself to works of theory. In 1906 he published *Folk Songs for Schools* jointly with Baring-Gould and between 1908 and 1922 he edited a further eleven volumes of the *English Folk Songs for Schools* series published by Novello.<sup>64</sup> There is no means of knowing whether these collections were used in schools or how wide their circulation was before 1914, but presumably Curwens and Novellos found the publications worth their while. The difficulties Sharp faced in getting the songs into educational use were in part intrinsic to the material and in part due to his own intransigence, though he was sometimes acting under considerable provocation. As we have seen, some 'National Songs' collections offended contemporary sensibilities and in offering the 1905 *Suggestions* list the Board of Education had been obliged to offer the reassurance that: 'Some of the national airs had originally words unsuited to school use; but in the case of the tunes in this list editions exist with all objectionable features removed'.<sup>65</sup> So when Sharp offered texts which stated that a person 'swore' and mentioned a 'lady in bloom' (in 'Green Broom') he had no chance of having these accepted, particularly so since he was obliged to negotiate with W.G. McNaught at Novellos. Objections were even made to nonsense choruses such as: 'To my rue dum day, fol the diddle dol ...' (in 'Seventeen come Sunday').<sup>66</sup> Sharp was not a willing censor or bowdlerizer. In the case of the 1906 *Folk Songs for Schools* considerable liberties had been taken with the texts, but the Introduction explained that 'this collection has been made to meet the requirements of the Board of Education, and is composed of melodies

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<sup>60</sup> Cox, *Music Education*, pp.63, 78.

<sup>61</sup> For details of Sharp's defeat at the 1906 AGM, see Chapter 3. For Somervell and Hadow leading the opposition to Sharp, T. Driffield Hawkin, 'Some Folk Song Memories for the Jubilee, by an Original Member', *JEFSS* 5,3 (1948) p.149.

<sup>62</sup> For wearing out three fountain pens, Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.64.

<sup>63</sup> Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p.135.

<sup>64</sup> S. Baring Gould and Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs for Schools* (London: Curwen, n.d.[1906]).

<sup>65</sup> Board of Education, *Suggestions*, p.131.

strictly pertaining to the people, to which words have been set as closely adhering to the original as was possible considering the purpose of this book'.<sup>67</sup> Sharp's biographers explain that 'Sharp was not very happy about the texts in this volume ... He felt, rightly or wrongly, that the all-important thing was to get the songs with their beautiful melodies introduced into the schools'.<sup>68</sup> The problem of texts was an insuperable one which recurred throughout Sharp's career, and not only with regard to publications for children.

Less insuperable were Sharp's relationships with publishers and his attitude towards Tonic-Sol-Fa. Even when publishing with Curwens he refused to accept Tonic Sol-Fa symbols besides ordinary staff notation.<sup>69</sup> Considering that most schools which taught sight-reading did so by the Tonic Sol-Fa system, this was neither practical nor diplomatic. However, Curwens' consistency and ethical attitudes left something to be desired. J. Spencer Curwen was personally opposed both to the use of folk song and to morris dancing in schools, but did not allow his private attitudes to get in the way of business considerations.<sup>70</sup> Neither did he feel any responsibilities towards his authors. When Sharp complained about his royalties for *Folk Songs for Schools*, Curwen suggested that Sharp re-write the texts of the songs and so cut out Baring-Gould, who had acted as Literary Editor.<sup>71</sup> It would not have taken a very principled man to feel disgust at Curwen's encouragement to double-cross a friend – Sharp had known Baring-Gould since 1900-1901 and had dedicated *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* to him. The result was that Sharp went over to the rival house of Novello and remained with them for the rest of his publishing career. Novellos, unlike Curwens, committed themselves to folk music publication, but the Board of Education could not be seen to be favouring one major publisher at the expense of another.<sup>72</sup>

The folk dance movement offered a more promising field for the educational use of folk music, and by 1907 there had been approaches to Sharp and to Mary Neal from L.C. Kimmins and Edward Burrows.<sup>73</sup> Burrows was a member of a progressive group among the school inspectorate which included A.P. Graves and the Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools, E.G.A. Holmes.<sup>74</sup> Graves was a long-standing advocate of the introduction of organized games into elementary schools. The major motive was the welfare of children, but

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<sup>66</sup> See the comments in Sharp to Mr. Littlejohn (of Novellos), 19 March 1909, quoted in Cox, *Music Education*, p.156.

<sup>67</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.55.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*

<sup>69</sup> Sharp to J. Spencer Curwen, 7 October 1906, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

<sup>70</sup> For Curwen's opposition to the educational use of folk song, see above, N.25. For his opposition to Morris dancing, letter in *Morning Post*, 23 January 1909.

<sup>71</sup> J. Spencer Curwen to Sharp, 21 November 1907, Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc.

<sup>72</sup> This difficulty is touched on in Minute, Mr. Ward to President of Board of Education [H.A.L. Fisher], 12 February 1919, PRO ED23/406, which warns (item 8) that 'Mr. Sharp publishes mostly, if not entirely, with Novello, and we must not assume that we shall not have trouble with Curwens'.

<sup>73</sup> For these approaches, see Chapter 2 Part Two.

<sup>74</sup> A.P. Graves, in *To Return to all That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), p.248, says that he shared the liberal educational ideals at which Holmes had arrived by the early 1900s. E.G.A. Holmes, in *In Quest of an Ideal: An Autobiography* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1920), p.117, says that 'It was in response to an invitation from an old friend and colleague that I first visited Egeria's school'. 'Egeria' was the name given by Holmes to Harriet Johnson, the Head Teacher of Sompting School, West Sussex, which was in Edward Burrows' inspectorial district.

this was not the only concern. Britain's poor showing in the Boer War brought to a head a number of concerns about the health of the population, and in particular the physical deterioration which was thought to be affecting the working class. Statistics were presented to show that, in some areas, as many as forty per cent of would-be recruits had to be rejected as unfit, and these statistics were seized on by propagandist organizations such as the Navy League and the National Service League.<sup>75</sup> A government committee was set up to investigate the causes, and among the results were the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act and the 1907 legislation setting up the medical service in schools.<sup>76</sup>

At that time, the only form of physical education common in elementary schools was 'Drill': either actual military drill, sometimes conducted or taught to teachers by military drill-sergeants, or 'Swedish Drill', a mechanical system of P.T. exercises.<sup>77</sup> Lack of space and facilities usually precluded anything else, while 'Drill' could be conducted in the school yard or actually in the classroom beside the desks. It did not become a subject eligible for grant until 1895.<sup>78</sup> So at Sompting (Sussex) the Log Book mentions 'Marching in playground' in May 1898, 'Handkerchief Drill' for girls in October that year, and the introduction of bar-bell drill in June 1899. In September 1903 'The whole school drilled in playground by head teacher. Swedish exercises taken'.<sup>79</sup> Chignal Board School mentions 'nine elder boys drilling 11 to 12' in March 1902, and the H.M.I.'s report the following month stated that 'Military Drill and Cottage Gardening are well taught'.<sup>80</sup> The prime purpose of physical education was disciplinary. Just as organized games had tamed the public schools and inculcated the 'sportsmanlike' spirit, so the educators of the working class hoped that drill would tackle the problems of unruliness and indiscipline among elementary school children, especially in urban areas.<sup>81</sup>

But drill proved to be a failure, both in terms of the failure to improve the health of the population and the failure to control hooliganism. The combination of the Boer War and Robert Morant at the Board of Education prepared the way for organised games, but the initiative was taken by Graves, who in 1904 published an article advocating their use and emphasising the practical benefits which had resulted in London schools.<sup>82</sup> Graves was

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<sup>75</sup> For a summary of these concerns, Richard Soloway, 'Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Degeneration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (1982), pp.137-164.

<sup>76</sup> *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, HMSO 1902. For the beginnings of the school meals and medical services, Ensor, *England 1870-1914* p.397.

<sup>77</sup> For a general account of Drill in schools, J.S. Hurt, 'Drill, Discipline and the Elementary School Ethos', in Philip McCann (ed) *Popular education and socialization in the nineteenth century* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp.167-191.

<sup>78</sup> Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800*, (London: G. Bell & Sons) 1952, p.112.

<sup>79</sup> Log Book, Sompting School, 8 May, 15 October 1898, 9 June 1899, 18 September 1903. I am very grateful to Mr. R.C. Barden (the headteacher) and the governors of White Styles Middle School, Sompting, for allowing me to use the books.

<sup>80</sup> Log Book, Chignall Board School, Essex Record Office E/ML 162/2, 17 March, 30 April 1902.

<sup>81</sup> McIntosh, *Physical Education*, p.113.

<sup>82</sup> A.P. Graves, 'Physical Education in Primary Schools', *Contemporary Review*, June 1904, pp.888-898.

assisted by his association with the Marchioness of Londonderry, whose husband was President of the Board of Education in the Balfour Government, and at whose house one of the Folk Song Society's 'Conversaciones' had been held.<sup>83</sup> On the fall of the Balfour Government the following year Graves managed to interest the new President, Augustine Birrell, and from 1906 organised games were officially allowed in school time.<sup>84</sup> At Sompting, the boys were playing football that year, although they had to time their games according to the movements of the cows which occupied the field at other times.<sup>85</sup>

The 1906 regulations were permissive and did not solve the problem of space and facilities for less fortunate schools, particularly those in urban areas. For these, a system of 'Organised Play' was suggested – games such as Fox and Geese, Leap Frog, Chase Ball and Blind Man's Buff.<sup>86</sup> Dancing is an activity which takes up comparatively little space and can be practised indoors and out, and interest in the educational use of folk dance was expressed soon after the Esperance Club's first performances. The lead was taken by Edward Burrows after seeing the Esperance at Stratford-upon-Avon. He contacted Mary Neal, and she and Herbert MacIlwaine stayed at Burrows' house in June 1907.<sup>87</sup> The result was the closest thing to a concerted campaign to introduce folk music into the schools of a wide area to occur before 1914. In July 1907 the Esperance Club gave a display for teachers in the Assembly Rooms at Chichester, with Sharp as lecturer and Mattie Kay as singer. The *West Sussex Gazette* reported that this meeting was well attended, 'by many hundreds of teachers'. The report went on: 'It was a very hot afternoon, and the room was so crowded that many had to stand, but there was probably no one present who did not feel that to have been absent would have been to miss a most charming and instructive insight into the heart of English song'.<sup>88</sup> Florrie Warren, the Esperance Club's chief instructress, spent a week at the Chichester Training College, and in early December Sharp and the Esperance returned to give displays and lectures at Chichester, Midhurst, and Horsham.<sup>89</sup> These demonstrations and lectures were well attended by teachers, often making a considerable effort in their own time and at their own expense. As the *West Sussex News* reported:

The result of his [Edward Burrows'] appeal to the teachers was extraordinary at Chichester, at Midhurst, and then at Horsham, where the class was so admirably organized and managed by the local teachers that no fewer than 92 names were given in of teachers who wanted to learn this folk music during the evenings after their days laboriously spent in schools. An interesting feature of the class was that the ages of those attending ranged from 65 to 18 (laughter) and one and all expressed extreme pleasure and interest in the value of the movement.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> For Graves' collaboration with Lady Londonderry, McIntosh, *Physical Education*, p.137.

<sup>84</sup> Graves, *Return to All That*, pp.288-289. Graves drafted the new article for the educational code in collaboration with E.G.A. Holmes.

<sup>85</sup> Log Book, Sompting School, 26 October 1906.

<sup>86</sup> Graves, *Return to All That*, p.296.

<sup>87</sup> For Neal's and MacIlwaine's visit to Burrows, Judge, 'Mary Neal', p.552.

<sup>88</sup> *Chichester Observer*, 24 July 1907.

<sup>89</sup> This sequence of events is reconstructed from *ibid* and from the *West Sussex County Times*, 7 December 1907.

<sup>90</sup> *West Sussex Daily News*, 9 December 1907.



The most remarkable results of the West Sussex campaign appeared at Sompting, where the head teacher was Harriet Johnson. She had come to the school in 1897, and in 1900 began a series of educational experiments which culminated in the 'Dramatic Method of Teaching', a system based on the 'kindergarten' methods of Wilhelm Froebel in which children learned by acting out scenes from literature and history. The school became noted for its academic excellence and remarkable discipline: its activities attracted the attention of the local and even the national press, and it was visited by a procession of H.M.I.s and foreign educationalists.<sup>91</sup> Harriet Johnson introduced folk song and dance in 1907, and by December the children were giving public displays, well attended and reported with surprise and delight by the local press. The reporter saw: 'lads and lasses, still on the school register, forgetting themselves utterly in their work, singing with appreciation and zeal, entering gaily into the essential spirit of song or of dance, and when their turn came, improvising gesture, quip, and action, with a ready aptitude and a natural dramatic responsiveness which was most delightful to watch.' He concluded that 'we may roam far and wide without seeing children so eminently adapted to do their work well in the larger school of the world than the children at Sompting School'. In the audience was a visiting Australian educationalist, Mr. Hawker, 'who said he had come from Australia to find the best elementary school, and he had found it'. Also present were Burrows and his friend, the Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools, E.G.A. Holmes.<sup>92</sup>

Edmond Holmes became an H.M.I. straight from Oxford and rose to Chief Inspector in 1906. By then, he was becoming disillusioned with the orthodox elementary educational process, and his experience at Sompting completed a remarkable change of mind and heart which took him from being a Gladstone-hating Conservative and imperialist to a man who lectured to the Cambridge Fabians and who championed the cause of progressive education.<sup>93</sup> At the end of 1910 he was obliged to resign, along with Sir Robert Morant, over a memorandum critical of most elementary teachers, and in 1911 he published *What Is and What Might Be*, which survived initial disapproval to become an educational classic.<sup>94</sup> Holmes' 'What Is', is the 'Path of Mechanical Obedience', the routine in most elementary schools of his

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<sup>91</sup> For Harriet Johnson, A.P. Ternant, 'Ahead of Her Time', typescript held by West Sussex Record Office, MP 904. A more critical view is provided by M.H. Hyndman, 'Utopia Reconsidered: Edmond Holmes, Harriet Johnson, and the school at Sompting 1897-1910', *Sussex Archeological Collection* No.118 (1980), pp.351-357. I am very grateful to Roy Judge for a copy of this paper. See also Saki's short story 'The Scharz-Metterklume Method', which appears to be a satire on the dramatic method of teaching and may have been inspired by Sompting. 'Saki' [H.H. Munro], 'The Scharz-Metterklume Method', in *The Complete Works of Saki* (London: Bodley Head, 1980) pp.283-287. (First collected in *Beasts and Super-Beasts*, 1914). For visitors and H.M.I.s, a visitor from Bohemia came on 19 July 1907. B. Hawker from Australia came on 12 December that year: E.G.A. Holmes visited the school six times between November 1907 and December 1909. Log Books, Sompting School, 26 November, 11 and 12 December 1907, 7 April 1908, 4 and 5 February 1909, 8 July 1909, 21 December 1909.

<sup>92</sup> *West Sussex Gazette*, 19 December 1907.

<sup>93</sup> E.G.A. Holmes, *What Is and What Might Be: A Study of Education in General and Elementary Education in Particular* (London: Constable & Co, 1911). For Holmes' life and work, see his autobiography *In Quest of an Ideal*. An excellent short study is provided by Donald Leinster-Mackay in *Cross-Pollinators of English Education: Case Studies of three Victorian School Inspectors* (University of Leeds: Education Administration and History Monograph No.16, 1986).

<sup>94</sup> It went through eight impressions between 1911 and 1918: Leinster-Mackay, *Cross-Pollinators*, p.48.

time. His 'What Might Be' is a school in 'Utopia', conducted by 'Egeria'. Harriet Johnson and Sompting are the 'Egeria' and 'Utopia' of the book.

At Sompting, at least, the West Sussex campaign had been a resounding success, popular with both children and teachers, attracting attention from the press, a splendid example for the school Inspectorate, and a cynosure for visiting educationalists. It might be thought that this activity would be eagerly encouraged by local and national authority. But when the teacher at Wisborough Green, another West Sussex school, wanted to introduce folk dance in the autumn of 1908, the Education Committee struck out his requisition for books of instruction, and he was obliged to buy them out of his own pocket.<sup>95</sup> So far as can be discovered, the County Council's Joint Education Committee never referred to the folk music experiment in the minutes of their meetings, and in their accounts there is no record of payment, whether for the Esperance organisation, or for Sharp and Mattie Kay, or for books of instruction.<sup>96</sup> It all seems to have been done by voluntary effort, on Burrows' own initiative and even with the help of his own finances.<sup>97</sup> This lack of engagement by authority was reflected in the results. Only ten West Sussex elementary schools mention folk dance in their Log Books at any time before 1914.<sup>98</sup> There was a competitive folk music festival at Portsmouth in June 1909, with classes for choirs, solo singing, and morris dancing. Nine choirs (of twelve or more members) competed, with twenty-seven soloists and sixteen sides of morris dancers.<sup>99</sup> After two years of effort, these are good results, but not impressive. One can only guess at what happened to the ninety-two enthusiasts mentioned by Burrows at Horsham. Presumably they were willing to make the effort to learn, but unable or unwilling to make further progress in the face of the local authority's indifference. Neither was the experiment followed up. Edward Burrows died suddenly in March 1910, only a few days after Harriet Johnson left Sompting.<sup>100</sup> Her departure has been attributed to Burrows' death and to the arrival of a less sympathetic vicar and Diocesan Inspector, but it could equally have been because she was nearly forty and did not want to remain a badly-paid single schoolmistress. Virtue, then as now, is often the only reward for genuine initiative and effort. Despite the local and national reputation her efforts had gained for the school, her initiatives were not maintained by her successors.

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<sup>95</sup> Log Book, Wisborough Green School, West Sussex Record Office E210/12/1, 9 October 1908.

<sup>96</sup> Joint Education Committee Minutes 1907-1909, West Sussex Record Office. I am very grateful to Mr. Iden of West Sussex Record Office for checking these on my behalf, and for his informative correspondence since 1995.

<sup>97</sup> Burrows certainly paid for Sharp's first lecture at Chichester. His letter to Sharp of 25 July 1907 (Sharp Correspondence Box 1 Misc) asks 'Please tell me what I may send a cheque for – to you [and] Miss Kay – shall I send the amount in one cheque or two?'

<sup>98</sup> Besides Sompting and Wisborough Green, these were Lower Beeding, Chichester Central, Easebourne Parochial, Harting C of E, Lancing C of E, Littlehampton, and Pagham. I am very grateful to Mr. Iden for making this search on my behalf. The Log Books of East Dean C of E School mention morris dancing in 1914 and 1916: see letter, Stanley Godman to Margaret Dean-Smith, 30 September 1961, Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML.

<sup>99</sup> *Portsmouth Times* 14 June 1909.

<sup>100</sup> Burrows died on 29 March 1910. Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.583. Harriet Johnson resigned on 24 March. She married George Weller, a local wheelwright, the following month. Log Book, Sompting School, 24 March 1910, Hyndman, 'Utopia', p.356.

The Board of Education, perhaps encouraged by the success of the West Sussex experiment, and possibly prodded by E.G.A. Holmes, formally accepted folk dance as part of its new Syllabus of Physical Exercises, published on 22 August 1909.<sup>101</sup> But it did so in the cautious and grudging way which so often characterized official attitudes towards any elementary school activity beyond instilling the three R's. The new Syllabus was a permissive measure only. Teachers were not offered any incentives to learn folk dancing, nor were they offered any advice as regards books of instruction or methods of teaching.<sup>102</sup> What was available to teachers who wanted to learn? Mary Neal had been an enthusiastic advocate of the introduction of folk dance into schools: at the Goupil Gallery conference she had spoken of the proposed 'Organised Play' scheme and said 'I should like to have the National Dances in the schools instead of the Organised Play'.<sup>103</sup> But the grand schemes and plans enunciated at the conference proved abortive, partly because the committee soon broke up over the matter of its own constitution, and partly because no other county council followed up the success of the West Sussex experiment. What actually emerged in the spring of 1908 was a 'small private association' under Neal's personal control, with a group of friends assisting her and a staff recruited from members of the Esperance Club. Further, Neal's organization (by now the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music) did not offer any public classes. Those who wanted to learn had to organize themselves into a group, invite the instructress, and pay the relevant fees and expenses, and such financial burdens would have been very substantial for elementary school teachers, who seldom earned more than £2 or £3 a week, and especially so for women, who made up the vast majority.<sup>104</sup> Even Harriet Johnson, the enterprising and successful head teacher of a 90-100 pupil village school, was only earning £108 p.a. in 1908.<sup>105</sup> This meant that in practice the people who actually hired Esperance instructresses were usually members of the middle and upper classes who saw the dances as a form of philanthropic work. The few published accounts which exist of Esperance teaching emphasise their mission to wealthy and titled people, and the social differences between the instructresses and their hosts.<sup>106</sup> Elementary school teachers and their pupils could learn by this means and some undoubtedly did, but due to the non-survival of Esperance records their exact numbers and whereabouts are never likely to be known.

At the Goupil Gallery conference, Neal had spoken of the need to set and maintain standards and to have a means of recognizing and rewarding proficiency.<sup>107</sup> But she never made any attempt to put these intentions into practice. Instead, as she developed her own

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<sup>101</sup> Board of Education, *Syllabus of Physical Education for Public Elementary Schools* (HMSO, 1909). See also *The Times*, 23 August 1909, p.8.

<sup>102</sup> This lack of practical advice was criticised in *The Times*, 10 August 1911.

<sup>103</sup> Typed verbatim transcript of Goupil Gallery Conference, 14 November 1907, in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML.

<sup>104</sup> For Esperance fees, see Chapter 3.

<sup>105</sup> Joint Education Committee scale of salaries, West Sussex Record Office.

<sup>106</sup> For an example, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World* (London: Gollancz, 1938), pp.137-138. For further detail, see Chapter 3.

<sup>107</sup> Goupil Gallery Conference transcript, quoted in Chapter 3.

philosophy of folk dance and began to depart from Cecil Sharp's methods, she emphasised instead unconscious joy and freedom and the absence of assessment or standards. Sharp's disenchantment with the Esperance organization began in 1907 with the Goupil Gallery conference and Neal's evident desire to take charge of the movement. The quarrel developed during 1908 and by early 1909 Sharp was no longer willing to appear with the Esperance Club at public performances.<sup>108</sup> It must have been obvious to Sharp by this time that if he wished to present folk dance as he conceived it, he would have to have his own organization, and accordingly in March 1909 he began to give classes in folk dance at the Chelsea College of Physical Education, which was attached to the South-Western Polytechnic.<sup>109</sup>

This gave folk dance an entrance into the professional education establishment through the training of teachers. The Chelsea College had opened in 1898 under Dorette Wilke, an expatriate German advocate of the role of women in physical education. Very few courses of instruction in physical education were available before the 1890s, and even fewer were available to women, despite the fact that the vast majority of elementary school teachers were female.<sup>110</sup> When training colleges did begin to appear, they were private institutions charging fees both for instruction and for board and lodging, and so were beyond the means of most elementary school teachers. Dorette Wilke had apparently seen the educational potential of folk dance from the first, as lessons appear to have been given by an Esperance instructress in 1907, but these were unsuccessful and were not repeated until Sharp began his classes in March 1909.<sup>111</sup> The Chelsea class quickly came to form his demonstration side for lectures and displays, first appearing in public in June 1909. At this date, the classes were private, for Chelsea students only, but at the end of September 1909 Sharp, in collaboration with Dorette Wilke, set up a School of Morris Dancing with himself as Director. Its objects were:

- (a) to form classes in morris dancing;
- (b) to train, examine, and grant certificates to teachers of morris dancing;
- (c) to keep a register of certificated teachers, lecturers, etc

The purpose of the School, then, is primarily to conserve the Morris dance in all its traditional purity; and, secondly, to teach it as accurately as possible to those who desire to become dancers themselves or professed teachers of it.<sup>112</sup>

Sharp's classes therefore became the first to offer instruction on a regular basis to the general public and the only organisation to offer any kind of formal assessment, while they also provided a link between the folk dance movement and the professional educational establishment.

Sharp's Chelsea classes were, of course, only available to people in London or its immediate environs, or those able to board at the Chelsea College. In the provinces there were,

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<sup>108</sup> For further detail, see Chapter 2.

<sup>109</sup> Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.557.

<sup>110</sup> For the training of teachers, McIntosh, *Physical Education*, pp.119-132.

<sup>111</sup> For Esperance instruction at Chelsea in 1907, Helen Kennedy North, 'A Jubilee Symposium: Prelude', *FMJ* 2,1 (1971), pp.79-80. For Sharp's classes, Judge, 'Mary Neal', pp.557-560.

were, apparently, no regular centres of instruction until the EFDS began to form branches in 1912. It was possible, however, to learn the dances from books of instruction and these had been appearing since 1907. First in the field was the *Morris Book* co-edited by Sharp and Herbert MacIlwaine, the Musical Director of the Esperance Club.<sup>113</sup> This provided a full explanation of the dances and a practical system of notation, apparently devised by MacIlwaine in consultation with Florrie Warren, the Esperance's Chief Instructress. The *Morris Book* was Sharp's first publication with Novellos. Almost immediately, Curwens retaliated by issuing John Graham's *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances*.<sup>114</sup> Graham's instructions about the dance step and evolutions were, however, so vague as to make his book useless for teaching purposes. The second volume of the *Morris Book* was published in July 1909.<sup>115</sup> Its appearance precipitated the final breach between Sharp and Neal, and then, in October, Novellos began to insert in copies of the *Morris Book* a circular which advertised Sharp's Chelsea classes.<sup>116</sup> Neal was very angry and after unsuccessful attempts to get the circular withdrawn, she rapidly compiled her own book of instruction, *The Esperance Morris Book*, which was on sale by April 1910.<sup>117</sup>

Some schools undoubtedly did learn the dances from books and without specialist instruction. The Log Book of Little Dunmow Council School (Essex) mentions the receipt in May 1910 of money 'for a song book, and a Morris Dance book'. By November of the same year, it was reported that 'The Morris dances bid fair to be very good; and their [i.e., the children's] singing lessons are now being used principally in entertainment songs'.<sup>118</sup> But it appears that most teachers did not care to learn from printed instructions and so cast around for the most readily available short course of instruction. A Summer School was, apparently, first offered by the Esperance Guild based on their holiday house, the 'Green Lady Hostel' at Littlehampton (Sussex), in 1910. Then the Stratford-on-Avon festival was put back from April/May to August because of King Edward VII's death on 6 May 1910, and the Summer School was transferred there.

It was a considerable success. Neal had expected between fifty and sixty people for the week-long course at Littlehampton (this was probably all that the Green Lady Hostel could accommodate) but between two and three hundred came to be taught over the three weeks at Stratford.<sup>119</sup> In 1911, Sharp and the Folk Dance Club took over at Stratford and details become available of fees and facilities. A week's course cost £1-12-6 for teachers and 'bona

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<sup>112</sup> A cutting identified only as 'School Review' in the Press Cuttings Collection, VWML [*School Music Review?*], October 1909, states that the school opened on 27 September and lists these objectives.

<sup>113</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book: A History of Morris Dancing with a description of Eleven Dances as performed by the Morris Men of England* (London: Novello, 1907).

<sup>114</sup> John Graham, *Shakespearean Bidford Morris Dances* (London: Curwen, n.d.[1907]).

<sup>115</sup> Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book, Part Two* (London: Novello, 1909).

<sup>116</sup> For the breach between Sharp and Neal and the Novello circular, see Chapter 2 Parts Two and Three.

<sup>117</sup> Mary Neal, *The Esperance Morris Book: A Manual of Morris Dances, Folk Songs, and Singing Games* (London: Curwen n.d.[1910]). The first review appeared in *Punch*, 20 April 1910.

<sup>118</sup> Log Book, Little Dunmow School, 26 May, 9 November 1910. Essex Record Office E/ML 60/2.

fide' students, who in addition had to pay for board and lodging at £1-5-0 per week for a shared room. Reduced fares had been negotiated with the railway companies, and a budget was given to show that a week at Stratford would cost a teacher from Manchester £3-10-0.<sup>120</sup> The course was also intended to provide a holiday and something like a complete cultural experience: the price included coupons for admission to local attractions, trips by motor bus to Warwick, Kenilworth, and Leamington, and tickets for seven performances at the Memorial Theatre by F.R. Benson's company.<sup>121</sup> Once again, the school was a success, with forty-five students in the first week, eighty in the second, and a total of over two hundred expected. An additional Christmas vacation school was promptly announced.<sup>122</sup> Stratford went from strength to strength: in 1912 more than 300 students attended, and there were 450 in 1913.<sup>123</sup> With the facilities at its disposal, the Esperance organisation could not easily compete with Stratford, but nevertheless Neal continued to offer Easter vacation schools at the Green Lady Hostel. Their main advantage was cheapness. In 1912 the week's course cost £1-15-0 and was all-inclusive, covering instruction, board and lodging (in dormitory accommodation), a 'picnic on the river', and rail fare from London.<sup>124</sup> Both the rival concerns were apparently genuinely enjoyable social occasions: Neal said that the 1911 Esperance school 'really was a picnic from start to finish. The weather was perfect, and the days passed all too quickly'.<sup>125</sup> Helen Kennedy described the 1911 Christmas school at Stratford (of about eighty pupils) as 'just a big happy family ... The classes seemed quite insufficient to appease everyone's appetite for dancing'.<sup>126</sup> Photographs exist of what appears to be impromptu dancing in the street and of mass processions. Most of the pupils were women, and according to the fashion of the time wore gym-slips, so the pictures of Sharp surrounded by his pupils resemble the schoolgirl fantasies of the late Arthur Marshall.<sup>127</sup>

Summer schools, however, were really the province of the young and unmarried, and did not solve the problem of everyday instruction in the provinces. With the foundation of the English Folk Dance Society in December 1911, the situation improved.<sup>128</sup> The formation of provincial branches was among the principal aims of the Society: five were formed in the first half-year, and there were twenty-one in 1913. Branch memberships could be substantial and at some branches elementary school teachers were prominent – in 1913 the Cheltenham branch

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<sup>119</sup> For the numbers expected at Littlehampton, *Musical Herald* 1 April 1910. For numbers at Stratford, cutting from *Standard* [*Evening Standard?*], not dated but filed under February 1911.

<sup>120</sup> Brochure, Sharp Correspondence Box 6 Folder K.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.* Plays presented at the 1911 Festival included *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *As You Like It*, and a full-text version of *Hamlet* which lasted five hours: *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1911.

<sup>122</sup> *The Times* 10 August 1911.

<sup>123</sup> *School Music Review* 1 September 1913.

<sup>124</sup> 'Folk-Music and Folk-Dances: An Easter School', *Daily Telegraph* 23 March 1912.

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> Helen Kennedy, 'Early Days' (Continued), *EFDS News* 9 (May 1925) pp.278-279.

<sup>127</sup> Photograph collection, VWML. Some of these photographs illustrated C.J. Bearman, 'Up to a Point, Dr. Hutton: Fact and Myth in the Folk Music Revival', *English Dance and Song* 59,1 (Autumn 1997), pp.1-3.

<sup>128</sup> For the evolution from Chelsea class to EFDS, see Chapter 2.

claimed 165 members, 'over one hundred of whom are elementary school teachers'.<sup>129</sup> But although some local authorities were taking independent action, the Board of Education was still not promoting folk dance by subsidising tuition fees or offering incentives to teachers to learn.<sup>130</sup> The main reason was probably the parsimony which continued to afflict educational spending, but the rivalry between Neal and Sharp may also have contributed. Since 1907, Sharp had published exclusively with Novellos, who demonstrated an admirably consistent policy of support for folk music. Curwens were opposed in principle but opportunistic in practice and they appear to have rushed out John Graham's book of morris dances as soon as Sharp's and MacIlwaine's *Morris Book* appeared in 1907, so as to have a foot in the door if the educational movement took off. But Graham's book could not be taken seriously as a work of instruction. Neal's *Esperance Morris Book* was a much more serious proposition, and by taking it to Curwens she re-animated the whole question of commercial rivalry. If the Board of Education was to recommend one system or the other, it would certainly be faced with protests from the losing side. As a Board official was later to write, when the question arose of employing Sharp:

If we had proposed to employ Mr. Cecil Sharp in 1912, we should certainly have had trouble with the Esperance Club ... Mr. Sharp publishes mostly, if not entirely, with Novello, and we must not assume that we shall not have trouble with Curwen's ... Miss Cowper Coles, Mr. and Mrs. Pethwick Lawrence (sic), Mrs. Kimmins, and a good number of other persons are interested in the Esperance Club.<sup>131</sup>

The writer of this Minute had been involved with the question in 1912. He had attended the conference at Stratford-on-Avon which attempted to resolve the Sharp/Neal dispute, and had been pushed into making a speech there.<sup>132</sup> It is likely that the Board of Education dealt with this difficult question of personal and commercial rivalry in the classic Civil Service manner – by doing nothing, and not promoting the use of folk dance in schools until one of the parties had disappeared from the field.

Sharp and Neal concentrated their propagandist efforts on the public elementary school system, which was subject to at least some influence from central government and through which a deliberate policy of the use of folk materials was possible. An appreciable part of Sharp's income came from lecturing, and according to his biographers he 'lectured at nearly every boys' public school in England'.<sup>133</sup> But he made no attempt to get the material taught there: because of the schools' complete independence from outside authority and from one another, no concerted campaign was possible. Until the late nineteenth century, the position of music in most public schools was even worse than that in elementary schools.

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<sup>129</sup> *The English Folk Dance Society's Journal*, 1,1 (1914) p.28.

<sup>130</sup> In 1914, the Liverpool and District branch reported that 'The movement has had ... the sympathy and co-operation of members of the Education Committee ... teachers have been sent to four classes arranged at Southport by the Technical Education Committee'. *ibid* p.29.

<sup>131</sup> Minute, Mr. Ward to H.A.L. Fisher, 12 February 1919, PRO ED23/406.

<sup>132</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>133</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.111.

Uppingham, where both Sharp and Somervell were educated, was 'the only school where music, under Paul David, was taken seriously'.<sup>134</sup> However, many schools had a long-standing tradition of singing among the boys themselves, without intervention or guidance from authority, as *Tom Brown's Schooldays* demonstrates.<sup>135</sup> These impromptu concerts formed the basis for some published collections such as John Farmer's *Gaudeamus*, and Farmer, with the Harrow housemaster Edward Bowen, added to them with such school songs as 'Forty Years On' and 'Willow the King'.<sup>136</sup> In folk dance, Sharp 'hoped that they [the dances] would be introduced gradually when and as individual members of the staff became keen on the subject'.<sup>137</sup> At some schools this had begun to happen before 1914. At the Perse School in Cambridge, H. Caldwell Cook was an inspirational teacher, a member of the EFDS, and an acquaintance and correspondent of Sharp. He used the dramatic method of teaching combined with folk materials, for example in a playlet based on the ballad 'The Wraggle-Taggle Gipsies', and he published the results.<sup>138</sup> The young F.R. Leavis was in Caldwell Cook's class, and the material had a lasting influence on him, and thereby on English cultural life between the 1930s and the 1970s.<sup>139</sup> At the Brompton Oratory School, Father Ralph Kerr was another enthusiast. At the Greycoat girls' school in Westminster, three of the teachers were members of the EFDS.<sup>140</sup> In general, it was a middle-class and grammar school movement rather than one which touched the great public schools.

### Conclusions

The Board of Education did introduce folk songs into elementary schools from 1905, but only in the limited and outmoded 'National Songs' sense which ceased to be current during the years before 1914. Folk song according to the new definition of material collected directly from oral tradition and presented with a minimum of editorial interference was never accepted or encouraged by the Board during this period. The reasons why the folk song movement failed to have a greater impact on education stem mainly from the sheer impossibility of using much of the raw material, given pre-1914 attitudes towards alcohol and sexual morality, and the professional and commercial pressures on the Board of Education. But they also stemmed from folk music's divided counsels. The Folk Song Society could have done more to co-operate with Somervell, and here the blame has to be laid on Lucy Broadwood and others who shared her exclusive attitude towards folk song and her reluctance to bring it into the public domain, although Broadwood's attitudes undoubtedly reflected majority opinion among the

<sup>134</sup> *ibid* p.4 For a general assessment, Bernarr Rainbow (ed), *Music and the English Public School* (Aberystwyth: Boethius Press, 1990).

<sup>135</sup> See above, n.25.

<sup>136</sup> John Farmer, *Gaudeamus: Songs for Schools and Colleges* (London: Cassell, 1890).

<sup>137</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.111.

<sup>138</sup> For example, H. Caldwell Cook, *Perse Playbooks No.5: Lyrics, Play-songs, Ballads, and Littleman Rimes, By Boys of the Perse School, Cambridge* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1915).

<sup>139</sup> Ian MacKillop, *F.R. Leavis, A Life in Criticism*, (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane) 1995, pp.35-36.

<sup>140</sup> *The Directory of Women Teachers and other women engaged in Higher and Secondary Education* (London: The Year Book Press, 1913).



Society's membership. It must also be said that in 1904-1905 its finances were not healthy and would not have allowed it to undertake a scheme of popular publication.<sup>141</sup> Cecil Sharp campaigned vigorously but with little success. His all-or-nothing approach and the vehemence of his campaign merely antagonised others who might have been willing to help with more limited aims, but what Sharp proposed was too radical for its time and had no chance of success, however persuasive his diplomacy might have been. Folk Dance presents a similar picture. The Board of Education permitted its use from 1909, but did nothing to promote it. No recommendations were made to teachers as to how and where the material was to be learned, there were no subsidies for classes or summer schools (except very occasionally, on the initiative of individual local authorities), and no increments to salaries or other financial incentives to learn or offset the expenses of learning. The main reasons for this failure to promote folk dance were probably (once again) parsimony and the genuine lack of resources which crippled other well-intentioned initiatives such as A.P. Graves' attempt to introduce organised games.<sup>142</sup> But here again divided counsels may have played some part. Because of the quarrel between Sharp and Neal and the commercial rivalries involved, it would have been impolitic for the Board to make recommendations or to endorse one system of instruction or the other.

Some local authorities were more helpful and there can be no doubt that substantial progress was made in centres such as Liverpool and the Newark/Retford area of Nottinghamshire where a folk dance enthusiast, T. Hercy Denman, was a prominent local figure engaged in educational work. But the only concerted campaign, even at the county council level, was the West Sussex experiment of 1907-1909, and even here the Joint Education Committee displayed neither energy, enthusiasm, nor commitment to the project, despite its resounding success. The initiative was left to individual teachers and to Edward Burrows and the scheme did not survive Burrows' death or the departure from the scene of committed individuals such as Harriet Johnson.

The other reason for the failure of folk dancing as a mass movement was the inadequacy of the means for training teachers. Although Esperance instruction had been available from 1906-1907, and although some teachers and pupils are known to have participated, the system was geared to charitable work and the exercise of a philanthropy excellent in its intentions but stifling in its operation. No public classes were available and it would have been difficult for teachers (especially those in the provinces) to organise themselves into groups to be taught. The Esperance organisations never even addressed – let

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<sup>141</sup> According to the Society's Annual Report in June 1904, the balance in hand on the 1st of that month was £19/3/3.

<sup>142</sup> In *Return to All That*, p.289, Graves says that the reason why the 1906 article to introduce games was permissive and not compulsory was 'that by far the greater number of elementary schools were without suitable playgrounds or the access to playing fields', and he goes on to discuss the further problem of the ability and willingness of teachers to supervise games without incentives from the Board of Education. Overnight solutions to educational problems were as hard to come by in the 1900s as they were in the 1990s.

alone solved – this problem. Public classes and a formal system of instruction and certification only came into existence when Sharp's Chelsea classes were made public in the autumn of 1909, and even then the facilities were only available to teachers in London. A nationwide structure of branches offering public instruction in folk dance only came into existence with the development of the English Folk Dance Society between 1912 and 1914. This position was mitigated to some extent by summer school provision from 1910, but the cost of attending was substantial and a system capable of handling about 100 students a week, with instruction limited to six weeks of the year, could not do more than provide drops in the ocean when elementary school teachers numbered between 130,000 and 140,000. The conclusion must be that despite the advocacy of Burrows, Neal, Sharp, and Vaughan Williams, and despite the outstanding successes achieved in some areas, folk song and dance had only a marginal impact on elementary school education before 1914. This situation did not begin to improve until the appointment of H.A.L. Fisher as President of the Board of Education in 1916, and his work is outside the scope of this thesis.

So much for the practical aspects of folk music's role in state education. But besides the lack of success for what the Gramscian analysis has seen as a process of indoctrination, there are two further points. One is that those who advocated the use of folk material in education were usually progressive educationalists who believed in a liberal education for the masses, who believed that teaching should be a matter of interest and enjoyment for children, and whose methods and advocacy were in distinct contrast to the disciplinarian Edwardian standard and the grudging, parsimonious, suspicious and utilitarian attitudes towards state education characteristic of traditionalists. The other is that the methods which were actually in use in the schools, and those advocated by the 'National Songs' party, fit the Gramscian analysis far better than do those advocated by Sharp and the folk music enthusiasts. Here as elsewhere Marxist and left-wing commentary has failed to discriminate and has treated the folk music movement as though it occurred in a vacuum, where there were no existing and established practices around it. The question must be asked – if the intention was to indoctrinate children into nationalistic, imperialistic, and militaristic practices and attitudes of mind, which would be the more suitable for doing so, the 'National Songs' collections of Stanford, or the folk song collections of Sharp? If the intention was to do the same thing via physical education, which would be the more suitable for the purpose, 'drill', or folk dancing? No-one can be in any doubt about the answers to these questions: as an Irishman such as Stanford might have put it, if you wanted to indoctrinate, you wouldn't start from the basis of folk music.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SOME CONCLUSIONS

'Folk music' is a vague, unsatisfactory, and probably a-historical term, but it remains the best description so far of a phenomenon which is probably beyond description in precise scientific or historical terms. When all the other known elements are taken account of, there remained an irreducible minimum of material present in oral tradition at the turn of the twentieth century which had not survived through recent repetition, through popular culture as it was manifested at the time, or through official encouragement. So far as texts were concerned, its closest relationship was with the printed broadside, but broadsides did not provide the tunes, and further there was never any fixed relationship between text and tune. Neither tunes nor texts were like contemporary popular and music-hall songs or those of up to fifty years before, and neither were they obviously derived from the material performed at schoolroom concerts and 'penny readings'.<sup>1</sup> When scholars undertook detailed research it was found that many of the tunes and texts could be related to older printed sources such as the pleasure-garden selections of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but by no means all the material could be traced back to such sources, and research also found more remote and inexplicable connections between songs first recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and what was current in rural Somerset and Devon at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> The material had a closer relationship with, but was not the same as, the 'National Songs' which were beginning to appear in published collections, but which had had an existence at informal gatherings and in some schools before that.<sup>3</sup> It had an equally distant relationship with ecclesiastical music: little connection with the relatively recent *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) but a much closer one with the older and largely superseded West Gallery tradition. Although some songs were localised, many more were widespread and collected throughout England: 'The Outlandish Knight', for example, was reported in as many places as the

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<sup>1</sup> This statement is based on an analysis of local concerts in central Somerset as reported in the *Langport and Somerton Herald*, sampled at five-year intervals between 1865 and 1900. Only two items were present in the local traditional repertoire as collected by Cecil Sharp: 'The Chesapeake and the Shannon' and 'Dame Durden' (see report of concert at Charlton Adam, *Langport and Somerton Herald* 12 May 1885). 'The Chesapeake and the Shannon' was published in Cecil J. Sharp (ed) *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Five* (London: Simpkin and others, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1909), pp.56-57. 'Dame Durden' became part of the Copper family repertoire: see Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family* (London: Heinemann, 1971) pp.224-225.

<sup>2</sup> For examples among Sharp's work, Robert Parish's 'The Beggar', related to a song first recorded in the play *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, in 1566 and Henry Larcombe's 'Robin Hood and the Tanner', traceable to a seventeenth century broadside. For 'The Beggar' and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, see above, Chapter 4 Part 2. For 'Robin Hood and the Tanner', see Chapter 1. See also the discussion of 'Kit hath lost her key' by Sabine Baring-Gould in *Further Reminiscences 1864-1894* (London: John Lane, 1925) p.188.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in public school sing-songs. See the account of the school-house concert in Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994) pp.106-108 [first published 1857]. In addition, the evidence appears to be that 'National Songs' material was used in elementary schools in the mid-nineteenth century before a specialised school music industry developed. See the comments made by Miss Lee, head mistress of Kirkdale Road Council School, Leytonstone, in 'The

legends of King Arthur. Further, many of the songs had evidently been part of common and proverbial knowledge. Songs such as 'William Taylor' and lengthy ballads such as 'Lord Lovel' and 'Lord Bateman' were taken up and used as burlesques in the early days of metropolitan music halls.<sup>4</sup> For such burlesques to succeed, the originals must have been very widely known. In rural Somerset, too, audiences sometimes showed a knowledge of songs from the Sharp collection even though their last known popular manifestation had happened fifty years before.<sup>5</sup> The evidence is slight but where it exists it points to the position set out by Sharp in *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* – that he was collecting the remnants of a culture which had flourished down to the 1840s but had then begun to suffer under the impact of mass popular culture and mass education.<sup>6</sup>

Folk dance shows a similar lack of recognizable antecedents. Roy Judge has pointed to the existence of a 'morris dance' tradition in the theatre and popular entertainments, but while morris dancing may have been familiar as a concept and as a common feature of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature, these incarnations bore no resemblance to what was collected in the early twentieth century from the English South Midlands, the Welsh border, or from the sword dance traditions of Yorkshire and north-eastern England.<sup>7</sup> When revivals were attempted – by the agents of the Duke of Buckingham in the 1840s, by D'Arcy Ferris in 1886-7, by Percy Manning in 1899, or by Sharp and the Esperance organization from 1906 onwards, they did not go to the theatrical tradition for their models but adopted a carefully archeological approach.<sup>8</sup> It cannot be argued, therefore, that there was any connection between theatrical morris and the revival version beyond their common name.

On the basis of this evidence rather than that of ideological assumptions or cultural theories, it is beyond denial that there was a distinct category of traditional music and performance current in England which it was reasonable to try to isolate and identify and to collect. The various criticisms of the folk music concept and the folk music collectors either over-simplify and distort the evidence to deny that there was such a distinct category, or they demand impossible things from the collectors – that, in effect, they should have made a complete sociological survey of lower-class music making. As has been stated with regard to folk music publication, the basis of criticism must be a reasonable assessment of what is possible. To dismiss or deny the efforts of the collectors

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Board of Education Songs: A Symposium of Head Teachers', *Musical Herald* 1 December 1905, p.359.

<sup>4</sup> For a burlesque of 'Lord Lovel', Victor A.F. Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914', unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Sussex, 1985, p.189. What was presumably a burlesque of 'Lord Bateman' was sung by E.A. Sothern (1826-1881): see Michael Kilgariff, *Sing Us One of the Old Songs: A Guide to Popular Song 1860-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.346.

<sup>5</sup> According to the report of a concert at Hambridge (*Langport and Somerton Herald*, 6 May 1905) the audience took up the chorus of 'Blow Away the Morning Dew' 'with delight'. Another reporter remembered the tune being used for a Jim Crow song in the 1850s: see *Western Mail*, 10 March 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, Novello, and Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1907) pp.119-120.

<sup>7</sup> Roy Judge, 'The Old English Morris Dance: Theatrical Morris 1801-1880', *FMJ* 7,3 (1997) pp.311-350.

<sup>8</sup> For example, see the account of the Bidford revival of 1886 by Roy Judge, 'D'Arcy Ferris and the Bidford Morris', *FMJ* 4,5 (1984) pp.443-480.

because they did not accomplish the impossible is obscurantist and contributes nothing to the study of what undeniably did exist.

While there was considerable folk music activity in England in the 1880s and 1890s, a folk music *movement* can only be said to have begun with the establishment of the Folk Song Society in 1898, and even then it did not become an effective public force until 1904 and after. The commentators of a previous generation speculated about the lateness of the English in adopting musical fashions: those of the present day seek an explanation in terms of political and social tensions.<sup>9</sup> But if there is a truth to be perceived here, it probably lies in the political history of English society and the role of music in it. Germany was the home of the 'folk' concept and part of its motivation was the need for a unifying nationalist base in a country then un-unified, whose most prominent leaders preferred French cultural models.<sup>10</sup> Similarly in Russia the use of folk motifs by composers such as Glinka was part of an attempt to escape from French cultural domination. In central Europe, Bohemian and Hungarian folk music became a means of asserting national identities against the political domination of the Hapsburg Empire. But in England, unconquered since 1066, and having imposed its own political hegemony upon its immediate neighbours, there was never the need for such a culturally nationalist base.<sup>11</sup>

The folk music movement in England was therefore the slow, evolutionary, and natural outcome of a society in which music did not have any political significance and which had a strong amateur and voluntary tradition without reliance on patronage or state intervention. Further, it was never an exclusively *English* concern. The fully internationalist ambitions enunciated by A.P. Graves were probably impossible and were certainly beyond the resources of a small amateur body, but nonetheless the Folk Song Society as constituted was demonstrably an Anglo-Celtic concern with slight but undeniable international connections.<sup>12</sup> It continued to publish Gaelic material all through the period before 1914 and repeatedly resisted attempts to give it a national title.<sup>13</sup> The two other organizations which emerged – Mary Neal's Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music (later the Esperance Morris Guild), and the English Folk Dance Society – were more nationalist in their philosophy and practice, at least before 1914, but they shared with the Folk Song Society the characteristic of being small organizations with tiny memberships (at least, with regard to their central bodies), under amateur leadership, which never attempted to recruit leaders of national opinion and never succeeded in attracting political support or large-scale

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<sup>9</sup> For the lateness of the English in adopting musical fashions, Frank Howes *The English Musical Renaissance* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966), p.68.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Frederick the Great of Prussia was an ardent cultural Francophile: see Alexandra Ritchie, *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin* (London: Harper Collins, 1999) p.84.

<sup>11</sup> See Howes, *English Musical Renaissance* pp.68-73 for a longer discussion.

<sup>12</sup> For A.P. Graves' internationalist ambitions, letter to *Morning Post*, 27 January 1904, quoted in Chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup> The largest number of the Folk Song Society's *Journal* before 1914, both in terms of volume of material published and print run, was the 'Tolmie' *Journal* of 1911 which published some 105 Gaelic songs. The Society rejected a national title at its foundation in 1898 and again in 1904. For 1898, see Chapter 2 Part One. For 1904, Folk Song Society Minute Book 2, p.28. The Minute Books are unpublished MSS held in the VWML.

patronage.<sup>14</sup> Nearly everything was done by amateur and voluntary effort. Before 1914 the folk music movement only had one truly professional worker – Cecil Sharp.<sup>15</sup>

Given these limitations, how successful was the Edwardian folk music movement, and how did it compare with the activity of the 1880s and early 1890s? In the collection and publication of material there can be no doubt that great advances took place between 1898 and 1914. When discussing collecting work, it may be helpful to think of an analogy from the natural world, that of predators and scavengers (though without drawing on the myths of superiority amongst animals). Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, and most of their contemporaries of the 1890s were scavengers, relying on what they could pick up and carry back to their homes. Their work was small-scale, unsystematic in any territorial sense, and much assisted by friends and collaborators. These pioneers deserve every credit for their achievements, but their working methods did not allow them to collect from many singers or to make the large accumulations of material which became commonplace in the Edwardian era. The collectors of the Edwardian period tended to be predators who actively searched out material and then made a leisurely feast of it on the spot. The only predator of the 1880s and 1890s was Sabine Baring-Gould, and he was grievously handicapped by lack of the necessary musical skills, by lack of mobility, and by his other commitments. The Edwardian collectors were a much more professional and much more mobile body. The difference can be perceived through statistics. Between 1890 and 1900 Lucy Broadwood is known to have met approximately 30 singers, while between 1888 and 1895 Baring-Gould met about 55.<sup>16</sup> But in the four years between August 1903 and August 1907 Cecil Sharp met ‘upwards of 350 singers and instrumentalists’ and collected some 1,500 tunes.<sup>17</sup> This intensive activity cannot be seen as anything other than a different kind of work to that of Sharp’s predecessors, although he had a clear model in Baring-Gould. Collecting work also became much more diverse. In the 1880s and 1890s, interest had been limited to folk song, children’s singing games, and the work of instrumentalists. Between 1898 and 1914 it expanded to cover morris, sword, and country dancing, and the mummers’ play. The sheer mass of this material and its increasing variety had important consequences in itself. It made comparative research possible and by 1907 a central thesis had been established by Cecil Sharp, and this thesis was to be challenged (though in different directions) by Frank Kidson and Percy Grainger. It provided material for a steady stream of publications which would gain and keep public interest. In the 1880s and 1890s, publication had been sporadic because collection was sporadic. After the burst of activity between

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<sup>14</sup> Before 1914, the Folk Song Society never had more than 358 members and its ‘natural’ size was closer to 250. The English Folk Dance Society had 279 members in 1913 (though with much higher numbers in affiliated branches) and the Esperance Guild never had more than ‘about 180’. For further detail and sources, see Chapter 3. The only known large-scale cash gift to any of the societies was Lady Constance Lytton’s gift of £1,000 to Mary Neal’s Association. For this gift, see Chapter 3.

<sup>15</sup> Others such as Lucy Broadwood and Mary Neal devoted all or nearly all their time to the movement, but they had private incomes. Sharp was entirely dependent on folk music for his livelihood from the summer of 1910, although he received a small State pension from 1911.

<sup>16</sup> The figure for Broadwood is arrived at from the MSS in the Broadwood Collection, plus the individuals named in *English County Songs*, plus those known from other sources such as the ‘Dunsfold Singers’. For the figure of 55 for Baring-Gould, Bickford C.H. Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould* pp.130-132.

<sup>17</sup> Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, p.ix.

1888 and 1893, only one other collection appeared (in 1895) and apart from the four numbers of the Folk Song Society's *Journal* which appeared between 1899 and 1902 there was then a long hiatus until 1904. After 1904, the *Journal* was appearing regularly (twice a year between 1905 and 1907) and at least one 'publicly printed' volume was produced per year. It was all a matter of momentum. Lacking other resources, the folk music movement needed income from subscriptions and sales which depended on public awareness. That public awareness depended on regular publications which in turn depended on intensive and varied collecting work. The intensive collecting work which began with Cecil Sharp enabled the movement to expand in a way which had not been possible before.

The Edwardian movement's one great and undoubted success was in raising public awareness. In the 1860s, it was possible to speculate, as Carl Engel did, on whether the English had any folk music.<sup>18</sup> By 1912, it was possible to doubt the value and applicability of what had been collected, as Ernest Newman did, but it was no longer possible to doubt the existence of the phenomenon.<sup>19</sup> When the Folk Song Society was founded in 1898, its existence was not important enough to attract the attention of the national press.<sup>20</sup> By 1910, the technicalities of the morris dance step and the intriguing question of how 'traditional' were traditional dancers reached the letters and editorial columns of national newspapers for the first and only time.<sup>21</sup> Modern commentary has made few attempts at assessing the movement's public success and one of the only realistic ones is by Vic Gammon:

The Collectors took some of the repertory ... and communicated [it] to 'the public' in new forms. For the specialist they published songs in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* although editions of this never ran to more than a few hundred. For the parlour and the concert stage they published piano settings of songs suitably edited and bowdlerised. They compiled folk song books for schools. They gave lectures with musical illustrations to any society that would give them a stage. They arranged the songs for choirs and the melodies for brass bands. They wrote orchestral works based on folk tunes. Vaughan Williams set hymns to tunes that had originally carried love lyrics.<sup>22</sup>

Gammon, however, goes on to blame the revival for being 'very limited in its scope' and by implication for failing to penetrate popular culture.<sup>23</sup> Such criticism tends to equate 'popular culture' with the working class and tacitly assumes that there was somehow an Edwardian equivalent of the mass culture of television, pop music, and mass circulation newspapers which emerged from the 1940s onwards. But these assumptions are misleading, and, when specific instances are given, are visibly based on misconceptions. For example, the 'Series Editor's Preface' to Georgina Boyes' *The Imagined Village* refers (though without actually naming the

<sup>18</sup> Carl Engel, *The Study of National Music* (London: Longman, Green, 1866) p.132.

<sup>19</sup> Ernest Newman, 'The Folk-Song Fallacy', *English Review* 5 (May 1912), pp.255-268.

<sup>20</sup> The one event reported in *The Times* was the first public meeting at Lord Londonderry's house on 2 February 1899, and that was probably reported more for the location than the event.

<sup>21</sup> Correspondence about the morris dance step was carried by the *Daily News*, *Westminster Gazette*, and *Morning Post* in May-June 1910, while at the same time the question of how 'traditional' was the dancing of Sam Bennett of Ilmington (Warwicks) exercised the same newspapers, with the addition of the *Daily Chronicle*.

<sup>22</sup> Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843-1914', *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980) p.84 (pp.61-89).

<sup>23</sup> For 'very limited in its scope', *ibid.*

book) to John Carey's *The Intellectuals and the Masses* and assumes that 'the Masses' in question represent the proletariat. This is highly debateable. Carey never gives a general definition of what he means by 'the Masses', but when specific groups of people are identified they are of the lower middle class.<sup>24</sup> It is probably true to say that there were regional working-class cultures in Edwardian England, but if there was a national popular culture it was a broadly middle-class one, based on the *Daily Mail*, sensational novels, and metropolitan music halls, which barely pertained to the industrial or agricultural working classes. One of the examples John Carey uses in his book is that of Leonard Bast in *Howards End*, the unfortunate representative of Demos whose seed will inherit the earth. But Leonard Bast is a clerk, not a manual worker, and, according to his creator E.M. Forster he stands 'at the extreme range of gentility'.<sup>25</sup> This was the level which the folk music movement – or, at least, the populist part of it – hoped to penetrate: the parlour piano level down to clerks and schoolteachers with £2 or £3 a week, the members of which can be described as the broad middle class.<sup>26</sup> Such attempts at cultural intervention had to use the existing agencies: at the professional level and in cities and large towns, these were popular concerts and music-halls, together with the work of amateur societies such as brass bands and choirs. In the countryside, the agency had to be the amateurs and semi-professionals such as George Templeman and Ethel Barnicott who organized and performed in local concerts, the only means of entertainment which was commonly available.<sup>27</sup> More universal between town and country were lectures which (strange though it may seem nowadays) were accepted as entertainment at the broad middle-class level.<sup>28</sup> Another means of getting the material into popular use was to set hymns to folk tunes, as Vaughan Williams did with considerable success.<sup>29</sup>

The range of activities which Vic Gammon cites, therefore, were not peripheral but were serious attempts by the revivalists to penetrate the only truly national 'popular' culture of the time – the broad middle-class one. At this level they had some success. Folk song had got into some

<sup>24</sup> 'Series Editor's Preface' by Pete Martin to Georgina Boyes' *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology, and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp.vi-vii. John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia 1880-1939* (London: Faber, 1992). The only section of the book to name any social class or group is Chapter 3 'The Suburbs and the Clerks' (pp.46-70). Elsewhere (pp.5-6), Carey effectively defines 'the Masses' as the 'post-Education Act reading public' and asserts that it was for this public that the *Daily Mail* came into being. On p.58 he says that '[Lord] Northcliffe aimed the *Daily Mail* specifically at clerks'. What Carey means by 'the Masses' is therefore the broad middle-class level rather than the proletariat.

<sup>25</sup> E.M. Forster, *Howards End* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p.44 [first published 1910]. John Carey uses Leonard Bast as an example in *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (pp.18-19). He chooses to call Bast 'lower-class' but draws attention to his ability to play the piano.

<sup>26</sup> There are vast difficulties about the whole question of class. However, in 1910 the sociologist (and EFDS member) F.G. D'Aeth published 'Present Tendencies of Class Differentiation', *Sociological Review* 3,4 (1910) pp.267-276. For D'Aeth, the approximate dividing line between the lower middle and upper working classes was that between the social groups he classified as 'C' and 'D'. The 'C' group was composed of 'Artizan[s] ... very varied: skilled labourers, foremen, petty officers, clerks, smaller officials, etc' earning about 45 shillings a week. The 'D' group was composed of 'Smaller shopkeepers and clerk[s] ... tradesmen, commercial travellers, printers, engineers, etc, elementary school teachers, a few ministers' earning about £3 a week. (p.270). The EFDS certainly intended to recruit and influence people like elementary school teachers in D'Aeth's Group D.

<sup>27</sup> For Templeman and Barnicott, see Chapter 2.

<sup>28</sup> In E.M. Forster's futuristic short story 'The Machine Stops', published in *Collected Short Stories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954) pp.109-146, the only forms of entertainment are music and lectures.



music-halls by 1908-1910, as *The Times*' report on the activities at the Palace and Coliseum halls demonstrates.<sup>30</sup> This is a subject which would repay further research. It is often forgotten, too, that a number of the Folk Song Society's personnel were active around the periphery of popular culture where music-hall material merged with the 'respectable' concert-hall repertoire. Between them, A.P. Graves and Charles Stanford produced one of the most popular songs of the late Victorian period in 'Father O' Flynn', and they satisfied a considerable public demand for material in this Irish 'folk' idiom with other collaborations such as 'Trottin' to the Fair'.<sup>31</sup> Many concert singers had this sort of material in their repertoires, including members of the Folk Song Society such as David Bispham, Harry Plunkett Greene, and H. Lane Wilson.<sup>32</sup> The demarcation between the folk music movement and popular culture was not so rigidly drawn as some commentators have imagined. At the level of local concerts there was a successful revival in central Somerset and scattered evidence exists of others.<sup>33</sup> This is another subject which would repay further research.

In assessing the organizations produced by the folk music movement, the question must be whether they could have been more successful, either in accomplishing what they set out to do or in initiating a popular revival. The Folk Song Society had made an uncertain beginning but from 1904 onwards Lucy Broadwood's leadership gave it a role. There would still have been folk music activity without the Society, but there would not have been a folk music movement. By its very existence the Society gave the material an official voice and a centre of attention which was a necessary base for what followed. The publication of its *Journal* encouraged interested parties to collect by providing a forum and set a standard of scholarship to be adhered to. Broadwood's editorship of the *Journal* led the world in the scholarly presentation of material, and Broadwood herself acted as a clearing-house for information and a channel through which the folk music message was transmitted to the academic and musical establishments of the time.

The Folk Song Society therefore fulfilled the stated objectives it had set itself in 1898. Of the three organizations, it had the most limited aims, and, apart from the public meetings of 1899-1901 it never ventured outside them. But, although such encouragement was not part of its remit, it could have done more to encourage and co-operate with the more populist organizations which followed it – the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music (later the Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers) and the English Folk Dance Society. The Folk Song Society was not even represented at the Goupil Gallery conference, and when questions of affiliation arose (as they did over the Oxford and Wharfedale associations in 1908-1909) the Society's leading lights twitched their robes aside as though the Esperance was infected with leprosy.<sup>34</sup> The attitudes revealed by W.H. Hadow were not only due to differences in philosophy and the aims of their organizations:

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<sup>29</sup> In *The English Hymnal* (1906). Examples of folk tune settings are Bunyan's Pilgrim's Hymn and 'O Little Town of Bethlehem'.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>31</sup> For the Graves/Stanford collaborations, Kilgarrif, *Sing Us One of the Old Songs*, pp.444, 525.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid* pp.131, 484, 381. A total of nine Folk Song Society members have entries in this book, including Lucy Broadwood (p.404).

<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>34</sup> See W.H. Hadow to Lucy Broadwood, 2 February 1909, SHC 2185/LEB/1/137 (quoted in Chapter 3). See also Broadwood's letter to the *Yorkshire Daily Post*, 3 December 1908.

they also reflect a deep distrust of any possible invasion of their territory and a snobbish revulsion at the idea of being associated with a club for London working girls. Broadwood's feelings in particular were deeply ambivalent and more related to her personal feelings than any coherent philosophy.<sup>35</sup>

Mary Neal's organizations based on the Esperance Club expressed the most comprehensive aspirations and to them belongs the credit of being the first to attempt to launch a mass movement. But in fact it was divided between its aims and practices. The image Neal projected was of organizations almost wholly concerned with using folk music to benefit children in general and the children of the poor in particular. At the Goupil Gallery conference she talked exclusively in those terms.<sup>36</sup> But the means Neal employed were problematic. She relied on patronage, and further on a localised rather than a generalised patronage. There does not appear to have been any central fund to send teachers into specific areas, such as the workhouses and industrial schools of which Neal spoke at the Goupil Gallery. Instead the instructresses appear to have gone to the locations where the patrons themselves lived and to have taught groups assembled by them. There was no national policy and no attempt at co-ordination or local organization except the vague hope that local associations would form and continue the work.<sup>37</sup> The result is that there exists a great deal of scattered evidence about groups taught by Esperance instructresses, but very little about enduring organizations founded as a result. Neal deserves every credit for her intentions, but her methods did not fulfil those intentions, and in addition it is difficult to see how a lasting national organization could have been built on such an unco-ordinated basis.

In organizational terms, the English Folk Dance Society aimed to do the opposite of what the Esperance bodies had done. It relied on a strong central membership-based body with branches closely linked to itself.<sup>38</sup> Its aims were much more limited than those expressed by Mary Neal. It aimed to proselytize, but to proselytize through its own membership rather than through patronage, and it also had a professional educational base. Philanthropy could only do so much, and before 1914 the real hope of initiating a mass revival lay in getting the material taught by the state system of elementary schools. The lack of success in achieving this was the folk music movement's major failure before 1914. It is difficult to decide whether or not this failure was avoidable. Cecil Sharp's campaign to get folk song into elementary schools (in the sense of material collected from oral tradition rather than 'National Songs') never had any real chance of success. It was too radical a proposal for public opinion at that time, and the vested interests ranged against it – the school music industry and the 'National Songs' lobby – were too strong and well established.

The folk dance movement, however, had a much better chance of success. Folk song had to compete with established practices and besides it carried an undesirable baggage of 'unsuitable'

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<sup>35</sup> Broadwood later warmed to Neal personally (see Chapter 2). She had also exercised her own spirit of philanthropy by membership of the Peoples' Concert Society and by singing at its performances. See Dorothy de Val, 'The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong', an unpublished paper to be included in a forthcoming book of early twentieth century English music.

<sup>36</sup> See transcript of Goupil Gallery conference in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML. Part of the relevant passage is quoted in Chapter 3.

<sup>37</sup> For the local associations which formed, see Chapter 3.

<sup>38</sup> For the constitution of the EFDS, see Chapter 3.

words and associations. Folk dance could have come in as part of the almost wholly new discipline of physical education without having to compete with existing practice and without the handicap of dubious associations. The Board of Education's officials were not actively opposed to it as many of them were to folk song, and all that needed to be overcome was inertia and unwillingness to spend money.

The Goupil Gallery conference was the best opportunity the folk music movement had before 1914. The educational authorities were not enthusiastic but if the provisional committee had continued, if a broadly-based Association had been formed, and if administrators such as Mr Harper, Montagu Harris, and Mr Hunt had smoothed the way, it is possible that folk dance might have become a mass educational movement in London, and if that had happened its success might have forced the hand of the Board of Education, with incalculable consequences. This opportunity was lost because of Mary Neal's lack of foresight and forward planning, and because of her intransigence. She called the conference with the specific aim of establishing a national society, but the astonishing fact appears to be that Neal had not even considered a constitution or the form the new society should take, and had not discussed it with the other people who would have to be involved. These questions only became matters of debate when the provisional committee actually began to meet, as Neal's own account makes clear.<sup>39</sup> She appears to have assumed that she would exercise the kind of autocratic leadership she already exercised in the Esperance Club, and that the provisional committee would hand her the powers to do so on a plate. But what was practical and even sensible policy in a club for working girls, where Neal was dealing with young people and subordinates, was neither practical nor sensible in a national organization, dealing with other adults accustomed to committee work and to exercising power in their own right.

The Association's provisional committee broke up because of Neal's intransigence in refusing to allow the open form of committee on which Sharp insisted. Neal blamed Sharp for this failure and her own account implies that he was in a minority of one.<sup>40</sup> But the facts do not support Neal's interpretation. The only committee members who remained at Neal's side were her personal friends Constance and Neville Lytton, Herbert MacIlwaine, and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and even MacIlwaine later came over to Sharp. This hardly indicates support for Neal. Rather it seems to suggest that the administrators Neal had assembled felt some disgust at the dissension, and the naive and amateurish attitudes towards organization which Neal displayed. Neither were Neal and her supporters willing to call a public meeting at which the issues could have been thrashed out.

Roy Judge has called Sharp's treatment of Neal 'stern and uncompromising', but it takes two to come to a compromise and neither Judge or anyone else to date has examined Neal's willingness to compromise, which was non-existent. She consistently took an autocratic,

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<sup>39</sup> Neal's version of events was that 'a Committee was elected and a chairman appointed. The Committee met in due time; Mr Sharp arrived with a pile of books half a yard high and proceeded to advocate the forming of a constitution very cut and dried, and it seemed to us quite unsuited for its purpose'. Typescript notes of unpublished autobiography ['As A Tale That Is Told: The Autobiography of a Victorian Woman?'], in Margaret Dean-Smith MSS, VWML.

dictatorial line and expected other people either to support her or get out of the way.<sup>41</sup> She refused to make the concessions which would have kept Sharp within the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music and kept the provisional committee together, thus undoing the work of the Goupil Gallery conference. Neal then further alienated Sharp by her statements to the press to the point at which he was unwilling to appear with her. Although she asserted that the Association's campaign was non-political, and although she herself did not take an active part in the campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, Neal refused to make the concessions which would probably have kept Herbert MacIlwaine at her side. Instead she repudiated their friendship and treated him with an extreme vindictiveness, as though he had been a defaulting servant. Considering that at this date – 1908-1909 – Neal was wholly or almost wholly reliant on material collected and published by Sharp and MacIlwaine, or by friends of Sharp such as Alice Gomme, these wilful alienations can only be called acts of staggering irresponsibility. It is a nice question as to how far Neal's actions were calculated policy and how far they were the response to events of a vain, immature, and unstable personality. The sequence of events will support either interpretation.<sup>42</sup> But one thing is quite certain: the responsibility for the wreck of the Goupil Gallery conference was Neal's alone.

With regard to the educational use of folk dance, it may be argued that the failure of the Goupil Gallery initiative was just as well for the movement. When educational use of the material actually came about from the 1920s onwards, it quickly turned out to be a mixed blessing. The material became associated in the public mind with children and with what was for most the dubious experience of school. But if the educational use of such material is always wrong and counter-productive, one can only remark that this is a lesson which has yet to be learned by the modern world. On the day this passage was written a national newspaper reported a scheme to instruct schoolchildren in 'citizenship' through role-playing activities.<sup>43</sup> But the failure of the Goupil Gallery conference was not confined to the educational movement. It also set back the progress of the revival by up to a year. In the summer of 1907 it had been assumed by Edward Burrows and others that local organizations like the one being formed in West Sussex would soon be established on a national basis. In the event, there was a hiatus of almost a year – until October 1908 – before such associations began to form.

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<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* Note Neal's assertion about 'it seemed to us'. Bearing in mind that a majority of the committee did not support her, who was 'us'?

<sup>41</sup> For 'stern and uncompromising, Judge, 'Mary Neal' p.545.

<sup>42</sup> Until the summer of 1908 Neal accepted that she needed the expert help of Sharp (as witness her letter to the *Saturday Review*, 11 April 1908) and the teaching work of MacIlwaine. The date of her contact with Thomas Cadd is uncertain but it is likely that he was teaching at the Esperance Club by November-December 1908 when MacIlwaine objected to Neal's political activities. She may have decided then that she could get rid of MacIlwaine and make the propaganda point about learning the dances direct from the peasant dancer. By January 1909 MacIlwaine had been removed and legal action had not followed when Neal breached the law of copyright by failing to attribute material he had published with Sharp. Neal may then have believed that she could treat Sharp in the same way, but was restrained by his response, and she still needed his material. Then between May and July 1909 she met first Sam Bennett and the Abingdon dancers. This double contact have have persuaded Neal that she did not need Sharp and precipitated the outright breach which followed.

<sup>43</sup> 'Ministers unveil plans to turn children into model citizens', *Sunday Times* 10 December 2000.

However, apart from the damage done by the failure of the Goupil initiative, it is doubtful whether the Sharp/Neal dispute did the folk music movement much harm. It is more likely that the quarrel actually stimulated interest. Visibly, as one looks through the books of press cuttings in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, the years of greatest coverage for the movement in the national newspapers were 1910-1912, when the quarrel was at its height. This coverage only diminished from 1913 onwards when Neal and the Esperance Guild gradually dropped out of the running. The whole episode seems to illustrate the truth of the saying that there is no such thing as bad publicity, and perhaps Neal deserves an ironical tribute for her contribution towards the public awareness of the revival. The only possible damage that was done was in the educational publishing field, where the authorities would have been faced with impossible difficulties in choosing between Sharp's system of dance tuition and Neal's had they decided to promote folk dance before 1914, although there is no evidence of their willingness to do so. The difficulties the movement faced after 1914, had the First World War not intervened, would have been those of maintaining its momentum without this notoriety.

By 1914, the movement could be counted as a moderate success. It had not made the penetration into national life for which the revivalists hoped, and which at that date would only have been possible through the education system. Much had been done, but the auguries were not good. Much of the folk music movement's appeal was as a regenerative force, especially among young people. Youth organizations had been growing in number and size since the 1880s, but they had remained militaristic in their outlook and limited in their appeal, and further they were restricted to boys.<sup>44</sup> But in 1907, the year of the Goupil Gallery conference, Robert Baden-Powell held the first Boy Scout camp on Brownsea Island (near Poole, Dorset) and *Scouting for Boys* began to appear in fortnightly parts in January 1908.<sup>45</sup> The Boy Scout movement was initially gender-blind and careless about nomenclature. By 1909 there were 6,000 girls enrolled as Scouts. Their separate organization, the Girl Guides, was founded in 1912.<sup>46</sup> The Scouts and Guides were not only the first mass youth movements to involve both boys and girls: they also utilised the same language and philosophy of regeneration which had made the Esperance movement such a potent force.<sup>47</sup> Further, they were markedly more comprehensive in their appeal (both to children and to adults) and better organized.

The folk music movement was also vulnerable to changes in cultural fashion and orientation. The background to its development was the culture of sheet music and the parlour piano; of amateur music-making with its consequent need for a supply of good, tuneful material

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<sup>44</sup> The Boys' Brigade was founded in 1883 and had as its background the Volunteer movement and the enthusiasm for drill. It was a nonconformist foundation and Anglican (the Church Lads), Jewish (Jewish Lads) and Catholic Boys' Brigades followed between 1891 and 1896. Finally in 1899 there appeared a non-military variant, the Boys' Life Brigade. See Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London: Collins, 1986), pp.231-236.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid* pp.18-19 (for Brownsea Island), p.77 for *Scouting for Boys*.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid* pp.10-11.

<sup>47</sup> Some enthusiasts for the Esperance movement were also enthusiastic about Scouting, for example Lady Constance Lytton. See Lytton to 'Aunt T', 12 April 1909, printed in Betty Balfour (ed) *Letters of Constance Lytton* (London: Heinemann, 1925) p.160.

which was easy to sing and play. But the growing popularity of the gramophone provided a clear pointer to a future in which the mass music market would be one of professional performance and passive listening rather than amateur performance and involvement. Radio in the sense of public broadcasting was probably not even thought of in 1914, but when its influence was joined to that of the gramophone in the 1920s and 1930s it became an unstoppable cultural force which rapidly killed off the sheet music culture. In addition, English cultural orientation was changing with the large-scale introduction of popular music from America. Until the end of the nineteenth century the predominant influences were European and not unconnected with international alignments. Britain had escaped the French cultural domination apparent in Russia and the future German Empire through the long war with France between the 1690s and 1815, and the dominant musical influences had come from the German courts and principalities with which the British royal family had close ties. But between 1895 and 1905 there was a great shift in diplomatic alignment which made new friends out of old enemies and new enemies out of old friends. The last serious possibility of war with France was in 1898, and Germany was still considered as a possible ally. By 1905 France was an ally and, as the construction of the new naval base at Scapa Flow showed, Germany had become the likely enemy.<sup>48</sup> Relations with the United States improved after 1895 when Britain recognized the Monroe Doctrine, and by 1905 the nations were friends and possible allies.<sup>49</sup> The influence of diplomacy on cultural influences remains an unstudied phenomenon, but few nations willingly embrace the culture of their enemies. The *rapprochement* with the USA removed the barriers to the spread of its culture in Britain. By 1906 it was being seen (by Mary Neal amongst others) as a cultural threat, and in 1913 *Punch* felt that Pandora's Box had been opened (see Fig 6.1).<sup>50</sup> By 1914, popular music in the public schools was no longer represented by the house concert of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* but by the strains of the study gramophone belting out 'When the Midnight Choo-Choo leaves for Alabama'.<sup>51</sup> Even the devotees on one of the EFDS vacation schools regaled themselves with 'The Policeman's Ball' [a primitive form of jazz] once Sharp had gone to bed.<sup>52</sup>

When war broke out in 1914 the Stratford-on-Avon summer school was actually in progress. It continued as it was not thought worthwhile to cancel it, and so the trainees stayed together until the end of the month and then dispersed.<sup>53</sup> They, and the movement, faced an uncertain future.

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<sup>48</sup> The possibility of war with France in 1898 was over the Fashoda dispute. For this and diplomatic manoeuvring between 1895 and 1905, see Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History 1867-1995: Democracy and Decline* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Routledge, 1996) pp.169-176.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

<sup>50</sup> Neal was asked by a press interviewer whether she would allow the 'cake-walk' [a popular dance which had lately arrived from America] in the Esperance Club, and replied that 'I would never have a cake-walk in the Club, as I don't think we ought to rely for our songs and dances upon niggers'. *Daily News* 26 March 1906.

<sup>51</sup> Alec Waugh, *The Loom of Youth* (London: Methuen, 1954), p.180 [*The Loom of Youth* is a semi-autobiographical public-school novel first published in 1917 and set between 1911 and 1916].

<sup>52</sup> Janet McCrindell, 'Twenty-Five Years', *EFDS News* 3,2 (1931) p.39, recalling an experience at the 1911 Christmas vacation school at Stratford.

<sup>53</sup> Fox Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* p.122.

Fig.6:1  
'Time, Gentlemen, Please!'  
Punch 9 April 1913.

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—APRIL 9, 1913.



"TIME, GENTLEMEN, PLEASE!"

## APPENDIX A

### Biographical Dictionary of Persons named in the Text.

The intention in compiling this biographical dictionary has been to eliminate as much biographical referencing as possible. Named persons have entries here if they were actively concerned in the folk music movement (i.e., if they collected material, contributed to collections made by others, or were members of the various folk music societies), and if more is known about them than their name and what is in the text. So, for example, I have not attempted to write entries for Lucy Broadwood's sister Amy (of whom I know nothing) or for Louis T. Rowe, of whom I know nothing except that he was a member of the Folk Song Society and attended its inaugural meeting. I have not provided entries for most of the folk singers and dancers named in Chapter 4 because, in most cases, the text gives more information about them than could be provided in a potted biography. I hope in time to donate to the VWML and to Somerset Record Office a complete database of the information I have on the singers. A separate tabulation of the members of the Folk Song Society in 1899 and 1905 is provided in Appendix B. Wherever possible, the attribution given is for the *main published* source of the information (or, when absolutely necessary, sources). Bibliographic details can be found either in the main Bibliography or the section devoted to works used in biographical referencing. I have not provided page references for works arranged in alphabetical order.

- Albery, William** 1865-1950  
'Saddler-maker, calligrapher, and scholar' of Horsham (Sussex). Acquaintance both of Lucy Broadwood and Henry Burstow, helped in collecting from Burstow 1908. In 1910-1911 when Burstow was destitute helped to prepare his *Reminiscences of Horsham*. A.E. Green and Tony Wales, 'Foreword' to *Reminiscences of Horsham*, p.vii.
- Arkwright, Godfrey Edward Pellew** b.1864  
Amateur musician. Educ. Eton and Balliol, friend of Broadwood, contributed to 1910 *Grove. Alumni Oxonienses*.
- Balfour, Charles Barrington** 1862-1921  
Scottish landowner, soldier 1881-90. Several attempts to enter Parliament (as Conservative), sat for Hornsey 1900-07. 1899 member of Folk Song Society. *WWW 1916-1928*.
- Baring-Gould, Revd. Sabine** 1834-1924  
Clergyman, author, folklorist, hymn writer. Extraordinarily varied and active career. Came to Lew Trenchard (Devon) - family living and estate - 1882. Moved to collect by after-dinner conversation 1887: intensive work until 1895, with Fleetwood Sheppard and F. W. Bussell. Published *Songs and Ballads of the West*, 1889-91, *A Garland of Country Song*, 1895. Correspondent of Broadwood, Kidson, and Sharp. In many ways precursor of Sharp and other field collectors. Dickinson, *Sabine Baring-Gould*.
- Barker, Edward. Phillips** 1878-1951  
Classical scholar, eventually Professor at Nottingham University. Active dancer, founder-member of EFDS 1911. Helped Sharp with *Sword Dances of Northern England* and later volumes of *Morris Books*. Obituary, *JEFDSS* 6,3 (1951) p.104.
- Beer, Rachel** ?1858-1927  
Newspaper editor. Neé Sassoon, paternal aunt of Siegfried. Married Frederick Beer 1887 and given *Sunday Times* by him. Founder-member of Folk Song Society and committee member. First meeting held at her home. Suffering from syphilis and began to show signs of insanity in 1901, lived in retirement after that. Roberts, *Siegfried Sassoon*, pp.10, 25.
- Benson, (Sir) Frank Robert** 1858-1939  
Actor-manager, founder and leader of Benson repertory company, responsible for dramatic productions at Stratford Festival for 26 seasons. Member of Folk Song Society. Strong supporter of Mary Neal. Knighted 1916. *WWW 1931-1940*.



- Bennett, Sam** d.1951  
Smallholder and trader in Ilmington (Warwicks), musician and morris dancer. Traditional credentials dubious but raised a side in Ilmington 1908. Appeared with Esperance 1910. Strong influence on Neal and on EFDS from 1920s until his death. Obituary, *JEFDS* 6,3 1951 p.105.
- Binding, Charlotte** c.1843-?  
Folk singer, otherwise daughter of agricultural labourer. Lived near Annie Graddon. Collected from by Sharp 1906. Census Returns, Stogursey RG12/1866.
- Bispham, David** 1857-1921  
American baritone. Career as concert and opera singer. 1899 member of Folk Song Society. *WWW* 1916-1928.
- Boulton, (Sir) Harold** 1859-1931  
'Lyric writer'. 2nd Baronet. Co-editor of *Songs of the Four Nations* (with Arthur Somervell) and editor or co-editor of many other collections. Vast range of directorships, etc, and charitable bodies. 1899 member of Folk Song Society, probably friend of Graves. *WWW* 1931-1940.
- Broadwood, Lucy Etheldred** 1858-1929  
Folklorist, folk song collector. Long-standing family interest in traditional music. Began to collect late 1880s, published *Sussex Songs* (with Birch Reynardson) 1889, *English County Songs* (with Fuller Maitland) 1893, *English Traditional Songs and Carols* 1908. Founder member of Folk Song Society 1898, Secretary 1904-1908 and Editor of *Journal* 1904-1910 and afterwards. Central figure in the revival and enormously influential. No single good source but a recent published one is C.J. Bearman, 'The Lucy Broadwood Collection'.
- Burne, Charlotte** 1850-1923  
Folklorist. Editor of *Shropshire Folklore* (1883-86), edited Folk Lore Society's official guide *The Handbook of Folklore* (1914). First woman editor of Folk Lore Society's *Journal* (1900-1908) and first woman President. Member of FSS 1899. *Folklore* 111,1 (2000) pp.1-21.
- Burrows, Edward** 1851-1910  
Inspector of Schools 1876-1910. 'Old Schoolfellow' of Revd. F. H. Hodgson. Inspector for Portsmouth and West Sussex by 1907. Saw Morris dancing at Stratford in 1907 and arranged West Sussex experiment. At Goupil Gallery conference in November 1907 and committee member, Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music. However, Burrows was a lukewarm supporter of Neal and resigned in 1909. Died suddenly in March 1910. Private information from Roy Judge.
- Burstow, Henry** 1826-1916  
Shoemaker, folk singer. Born Horsham and hardly ever left it. Well-known as bell ringer and militant atheist before he came to notice of folk song collectors. Collected from by Broadwood (1893), Fuller Maitland, Vaughan Williams (1903-4, 1907), Mr. Buttifant (1908) and others, and became Grand Old Man of folk music revival in Sussex. 1910-1911 wrote *Reminiscences of Horsham* assisted by William Albery. Obituary in local newspaper, provenance not known, Carey Collection p.viii.
- Butterworth, George Sainton Kaye** 1883-1916  
Music critic, composer, collector. Collected with Vaughan Williams and Francis Jekyll, collaborated with Sharp in *Morris Book V*. Founder-member of EFDS 1911 and committee member 1912. Member of Headquarters Demonstration team. Killed in action, 1916. Ian Copley, *George Butterworth and his music* (London: Thames Publishing, n.d [1985]).
- Cadd, Thomas** c.1861-?  
Foundry worker, morris dancer. Worked at Wolverton railway carriage works. Saw Brackley morris dancers in youth and at some point urged by local family to train a side of local youths at Yardley Gobion. These regularly performed at village's May Day festival. Met Neal c.1908 and taught at Esperance Club. Sharp, 'Folk Dance Notes', Mackerness, 'The Yardley Gobion Morris'.

- Carey, Clive** 1883-1968  
Singer, opera producer, professor at RCM. Sympathetic to women's suffrage and introduced to Neal by MacIlwaine. Became Musical Director of Esperance second half of 1910, sang and danced in public performances. Collected songs in Sussex with Dorothy Marshall, dances in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, usually in the wake of Sharp, assisted with *Esperance Morris Book Part II*. Published *Ten English Folk Songs* 1915. Joined Folk Song Society 1911-12, EFDS after War, though remained lifelong friend of Neal. Forthcoming entry in *New DNB* by C.J. Bearman.
- Carr, Mrs Herbert (Geraldine)**  
Kate Lee's sister, neé Spooner. Wife of Herbert Carr, eventually Professor of Philosophy at London University. Lived at Dunsfold (Surrey) and Bury, near Pulborough (Sussex). Assembled singers for Broadwood to collect from in both places. *WWW 1929-1940* (entry for Herbert Carr), Broadwood diaries.
- Clarke, Sir Ernest** 1856-1923  
Agricultural administrator and historian. Secretary of Royal Agricultural Society 1887-1905. Lecturer, Cambridge University 1896-99. Knighted 1898. Founder member of Folk Song Society and permanent committee chairman. Contributed to *English Traditional Songs and Carols. WWW 1916-1928*.
- Cobham, (8th Viscount) Charles George Lyttelton** 1842-1922.  
Peer (had been Liberal MP 1868-74). Sat on several Royal Commissions. 1899 member of FSS, and second President 1899-1905. *WWW 1916-1928*.
- Cohen, Revd. Francis** 1862-1934  
Rabbi and musician. Minister at Borough New Synagogue, 1886-1904, ordained rabbi 1905, appears to have gone to Australia after that. 1899 Member of FSS, gave paper on 'Folk Music Elements in Jewish Worship-Music'. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Coleridge (2<sup>nd</sup> Baron) Bernard John** 1851-1927  
Lawyer: Barrister, then Judge. Vice-President of Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music. President of London Academy of Music. *WWW 1916-1928*.
- Coles, Grace** c.1855-?  
Folk singer, otherwise wife of stonemason. Lived next door to James and Frances Gray. John Thorne lodging with the family in 1891. Collected from by Sharp 1906. Census Returns, Enmore, RG12/1881.
- Cook, Henry Caldwell** 1886-1939  
Teacher, educationalist. Son of Anglo-Argentinian. English master at Perse School, Cambridge 1911-1933, with break for war service 1915-1919. Member of EFDS 1911, acquaintance and correspondent of Cecil Sharp. Taught folk dance and used folk materials in drama, published five or more *Perse Playbooks*. 'Conducted experiments designed to convert school-work into organised play, resulting chiefly in the conviction that true education is hampered by the classroom system and the teaching of subjects'. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Copper, James** 1846-1924  
Farm bailiff and folk singer. Collected from by Kate Lee, 1898. Songs published *Journal* 1899. Member of FSS 1899 (name given as William). Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season*.
- Copper, Thomas**  
Pub landlord and folk singer. Brother of James. Collected from by Kate Lee, 1898, songs published *Journal* 1899. Member of FSS 1899. Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season*.
- Cox, Marian Roalfe** 1860-1916  
Folklorist. Member of Folk Lore Society, friend of Lucy Broadwood. Attended preliminary meeting of Folk Song Society and member in 1899. Obituary in *Folk-Lore* 27,4 (1916) pp.434-5.

- De Gex, Alexander Frederick** 1859-1931  
Clergyman, amateur musician. Rector of Meshaw, N. Devon from 1891. Keen musician and organist and invited Sharp to stay December 1903. Member of FSS 1905. Bland MSS, *South Molton Gazette* 11 April 1931.
- Denman, T. Hercy** ?1865-1950  
Partner in legal firm. Prominent and philanthropic townsman of Retford (Notts), from a family long established there. Member of Retford Town Council 1907-1913, Mayor 1910-1911. Active musician and interested in North Notts Musical Competitions from 1904. Became interested in folk dance c.1909, friend and correspondent of Sharp. Founder-member of EFDS, committee member 1912-1914. Completely disappeared from the scene after the First World War. *Retford Times* 24 February 1950.
- Fahy, Francis** 1854-1935  
Clerk at Board of Trade, minor poet and song writer. President of Gaelic League, co-founder of Irish Literary Society, friend of A.P. Graves. 1899 member of Folk Song Society. Boylan, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
- Farrar, (2nd Baron) Thomas Cecil** 1859-1949  
Peer. Of Abinger Hall. Surrey. Mother was Katherine Euphemia Wedgwood, close friend of Broadwood, also related to Vaughan Williams. He married a daughter of Charles Spring-Rice so related to Folk Song Society by both marriage and birth. Father had been ennobled for services to Board of Trade so may have known Francis Fahy. *WWW 1941-1950*.
- Flower, (Sir) Archibald Dennis** 1865-1950  
From brewing family. Mayor of Stratford-on-Avon 1900-2, 1915-18, 1931. Life Trustee of Shakespeare Birthplace and Chairman of Governors of Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. Tried to hold the ring between Sharp and Neal but came down on Sharp's side and became member of EFDS. *WWW 1941-1950*.
- Ford, Walter Armitage Justice** 1861-1938  
Singer, musical journalist and editor. First career as classicist (Cambridge, 1st class honours: classical tutor at Wellington [would have known Fox Strangways]). Acquaintance both of Sharp and Broadwood, sang at Sharp's first lecture 1903. Joined FSS 1904, elected to committee same year, served on editorial board. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Gardiner, Dr George B.** ?1852-1910  
Scottish academic, on staff of Edinburgh University, Edinburgh Academy 1883-1896, afterwards catalogued and translated. Friend of Hammond through Academy. Joined FSS 1904 and after consulting Broadwood began to collect in Hampshire 1905. Purslow, 'The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection'.
- Gardiner, Henry Balfour** 1877-1950  
Composer. Member of FSS 1904. Became involved in collecting through collaboration with George Gardiner from 1905 onwards. *DNB 1941-1950*.
- Gilchrist, Anne** 1863-1954  
Musician, folk song collector. Scottish descent, born Manchester, lived in Lancashire. Friend of Broadwood, Kidson, and Sharp, began collecting 1905-1906. Obituary, *JEFDS* 7,3 (1954) p.202.
- Gill, William Henry** fl c.1840-1914  
Manx composer and writer, folk song collector, brother of J. Frederick (the Deemster) Gill. Published *Manx National Songs* 1896. Later settled in Angmering (Sussex). Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*.
- Gilmour, Thomas Lennox** 1859-1936  
Barrister and journalist. Friend of Sharp from 1890s. As member of staff of *Morning Post* responsible for much of the publicity surrounding Sharp's first lectures. Later (1908) accompanied Sharp to Winster. Founder-member of EFDS. *WWW 1929-1940*.

- Gollancz, (Sir) Israel** 1863-1930  
Academic concerned with English and Anglo-Saxon literature. Professor of English Language and Literature, University of London. Father of Victor Gollancz. Member of FSS 1899. *WWW 1929-1940*.
- Gomme, (Lady) Alice** 1853-1938  
Folklorist. Various publications from 1890s, chiefly concerned with childrens' singing games. Founder-member of Folk Song Society and EFDS, attended Goupil Gallery conference. Husband Laurence Gomme knighted 1911. 'Appreciation' in *Folk-Lore* 49,1 (1938) pp.93-4.
- Graddon, Annie** c.1858-?  
Folk singer, otherwise wife of stonemason, living near Charlotte Binding. In 1881 living with 'Sofia' Coles. Collected from by Sharp 1906. Census Returns, Stogursey, RG11/2356, RG12/1866.
- Graham, John** ?1859-1931  
Musician, editor. 'For about 40 years he managed the editorial department of Curwen and Sons ... His native city was Carlisle'. Secretary of the Stratford and East London Musical Festival for 42 years, 1887-1928, *Stratford Express* 21 March 1928, 28 November 1931. [Information from Roy Judge].
- Grainger, Percy Aldridge** 1882-1961  
Musician. Born Australia, came to Europe 1890s to study at Frankfurt. Chief career before 1914 as concert pianist. Heard Broadwood's lecture at Musical Association 1905 and began to collect at Brigg later that year. Became close friend of Broadwood and advocate of phonograph collection. Many settings of folk music and compositions based on folk tunes. John Bird, *Percy Grainger*.
- Granville-Barker, Harley** 1877-1946  
Actor, producer, dramatist. Long stage career beginning 1891. Fabian, close friend of Bernard Shaw and much work in association with him. Revolutionary Shakespeare productions at Savoy Theatre 1912-1914 used folk song and dance. Member of EFDS. *DNB 1941-1950*.
- Graves, Alfred Perceval.** 1846-1931  
Inspector of Schools, minor poet, song writer, friend of Stanford, father of Robert. Long-standing interest in Irish traditional music, collaborated with Stanford in various publications 1893-1906. Secretary of Irish Literary Society. Founder member of Folk Song Society and committee member 1898-1911. *DNB 1931-1940*.
- Graves, Charles** 1856-1944  
Journalist (most notably for *Punch*). Younger brother of Alfred Perceval, and friend of Harry Plunkett Greene with whom he shared a house. 1899 member of FSS. *WWW 1941-1950*.
- Gray, Frances (c.1850-?) and James (c.1852-?)**  
Folk singers, otherwise agricultural labourer and wife. Lived next door to Coles family. Collected from by Sharp 1906-1907. Census Returns, Enmore, RG12/1881.
- Greene, Harry Plunkett** 1865-1936  
Singer. Studied with Francis Korbay. 1899 member of Folk Song Society. Friend of Charles Graves. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Hadow, (Sir) William Henry** 1859-1937  
Academic, Fellow of Worcester College, later Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University. Long-standing interest in traditional music, edited *Songs of the British Islands* 1903. Friend of Broadwood and Somervell. 1899 member of Folk Song Society. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Hale, Alfred M.** 1876-1960  
Amateur musician. Member of FSS 1905, EFDS 1912. Wrote several arrangements of folk tunes and minor orchestral pieces. Conscripted 1917 and RFC 1917-1919: memoir of his experiences well worth reading. Paul Fussell (ed) *The Ordeal of Alfred M. Hale*.

- Hammond, H.E.D.** 1866-1910  
Teacher and educationalist. Taught at Edinburgh Academy where he knew George Gardiner. 1899 appointed Director-General of Education in Rhodesia. 'After a year's work he came home, suffering from a general break-down in health'. From 1905 collected with his brother R. Hammond. Obituary, *JFSS* 4,2 (1910) p.140.
- Harris, George Montagu** 1868-1951  
Barrister, attempted to enter Parliament as Liberal. Local government career from 1902: Secretary of County Councils Association 1902-1919. Attended Goupil Gallery conference and member of provisional committee, Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music. *WWW 1951-1960*.
- Hawkin, T. Driffield** fl. c.1875-1950  
Accountant, for some years Auditor of FSS. Joined 1899. Valuable anecdotes in 1948 contribution to *Journal*. 'Some Folk Song Memories for the Jubilee'.
- Herschell, Lord.** 1837-1899  
Lawyer: barrister, judge, entered Parliament (as Liberal) 1874, Lord Chancellor 1886 and 1892-1895. First President of Folk Song Society. 'His principal recreation was music, and he was not without skill as an executant on the violoncello'. *DNB Supplement*.
- Hillier, Louis H.**  
Belgian violinist and leader of 'Hillier Belgian String Quartet'. Minor composer. Founder member of Folk Song Society. Programmes in Kate Lee's Scrapbook.
- Hipkins, A.J.** 1826-1903  
Broadwood employee, author, administrator. Began as apprentice in Broadwood factory, later Member of Council and Hon Curator, Royal College of Music, and historian of the piano. Mentor to Broadwood and contributed to *English County Songs*. *WWW 1897-1915*.
- Hodgson, (Revd) Francis Henry** 1848-1930  
Clergyman, born at Stratford and resident there from 1902. 'Old schoolfellow' of Edward Burrows. Helped to found Stratford branch of Association 1908. Obituary, *The Times* 26 March 1930.
- Holmes, Edmond Gore Alexander** 1850-1936  
Inspector of Schools, educationalist, author. B. Ireland. Inspector of Schools 1875-1910: Chief Inspector 1906-1910. Known to Burrows and Graves, introduced by Burrows to Harriet Johnson 1907. Forced to resign 1910, published *What Is and What Might Be* 1911. Prodigious literary output after that. Holmes, *In Quest of an Ideal*.
- Howard, David** 1839-1916  
Chemist, industrialist, concerned with pharmaceutical and photographic chemistry. Quaker. 1899 member of FSS. *DNB Missing Persons*.
- Hull, Eleanor** 1860-1935  
Irish folklorist. Member of Irish Literary Society, founder-member of Folk Song Society. Obituary in *Folk-Lore* 46 (1935) pp.76-7.
- Huth, Bertha (née Moore)** b.1862  
'Soprano, teacher of singing, lecturer, and authoress ... well known in the dramatic and musical professions; studied at the RAM; under Dr. W.H. Cummings ... sang in London and provincial cities, notably in "Elijah" at St. James's Hall 1885, Monday Popular Concerts 1891. Lecture subjects included the work of Sullivan and "Our National Songs"'. *Who's Who in Music 1913*.
- Jacques, E.F.** b.1850.  
Music critic and lecturer from 1870s. Editor of *Musical World* 1888-91, *Musical Times* 1892-97, music critic of *Observer* from 1894. Founder-member of Folk Song Society, committee member 1898-1904. Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*.

- Jekyll, Francis** 1882-1965  
 Librarian, folk song collector. Worked with Butterworth. Acquaintance of Broadwood, member of FSS 1905, EFDS 1912. Nephew of Gertrude Jekyll. Lewis Jones, 'Francis Jekyll (1882-1965)', *English Dance and Song* 62, 2 (2000), pp.10-11.
- Joachim, Eugenie (Joachim-Gibson)** ?1860-1930  
 Semi-professional musician, teacher of singing. Joachim's niece, came to England 1884. Later married Frank Gibson. 1899 member of FSS. *Musical Times* 1 March 1930.
- Joachim, Joseph** 1831-1907  
 Violinist. Born Pressburg, later divided time between Berlin and London. Well known in London musical scene. Popularised Beethoven Violin Concerto, friend of Brahms and first interpreter of his Violin Concerto. Known to A.J. Hipkins and introduced by him to *English County Songs*. 1899 member of FSS. *WWW 1897-1916*.
- Johnson, Harriet** 1871-1956  
 Teacher, educationalist. Taught at St Mary's C of E School, Willesden, c.1889-1897 and apparently learned on the job - does not appear to have attended a training college. Head Teacher, Sompting School, West Sussex, 1897-1910: a family affair as her younger sister was teacher for the infants department. Innovatory methods from 1900. Joined Educational Advisory Committee West Sussex 1903. Resigned 1910 to marry George Weller, a local wheelwright, and afterwards helped build up his garden furniture business. Ternant, 'Ahead of Her Time', Hyndman, 'Utopia Reconsidered'.
- Kalisch, Alfred** 1863-1933  
 Music journalist and critic. Trained as barrister and called to Bar, then critic for several publications. Friend of Kate Lee and appeared with her in amateur concerts. 1899 member of FSS, its first Treasurer, edited *Journal* 1901-1904 and introduced important stylistic changes. *WWW 1931-1940*.
- Karlowitz, Dr John** d.1904  
 Probably Polish, from Warsaw. May have been academic at University of Jena. Member of FSS 1899. FSS Minutes, 12 October 1898, 1 July 1904.
- Karpeles, Helen (Mrs Douglas Kennedy)** 1887-1976  
 Younger sister of Maud. Was taught morris at Chelsea College 1908. Met Sharp 1909, helped found Folk Dance Club 1910. Founder-member and first Secretary of EFDS. Obituary, *English Dance and Song* 38,2 (1976) p.70.
- Karpeles, Maud** 1885-1976  
 Sister of Helen. Attended Stratford Festival 1909 and joined Sharp's Chelsea classes. Helped to found Folk Dance Club 1910, founder-member and committee member EFDS 1911, Sharp's amanuensis occasionally from 1913 and permanently from c.1917, later living in his household. 'Autobiography', unpublished MSS in VWML.
- Keel, Frederick** 1871-1954  
 Musician, later on staff of RCM. Acquaintance of Broadwood and joined FSS 1904. Committee member before 1914 and edited *Journal* 1910-1914. In 1948 wrote only detailed history of the Folk Song Society. *WWW 1951-1960*.
- Kettlewell, Mrs. Florence Balfour** 1852-1934  
 Wife of W.W. Kettlewell (1844-1916), philanthropic and 'improving' squire of East Harptree. Invited Sharp to stay 1904 and co-operated with him in collecting. Introduced folk song and dance into village. F.B. Kettlewell, 'Trinkum-Trankums' of *Fifty Years Ago*.
- Kidson, Frank** 1855-1926  
 Folk song collector, bibliographer, artist, amateur of pottery. Long-standing interest in traditional music. Published *Traditional Tunes* 1891. Correspondent of Baring-Gould, Broadwood, Gilchrist, and Lee. Founder-member of Folk Song Society, committee member,

member of editorial board. 'Frank Kidson 1855-1927 (sic) by some of his friends', *JEFDSS* 5,3 (1948) pp.127-135.

**Kimber, William** 1872-1961  
Bricklayer, morris dancer. Musician of Headington side 1899 and met Sharp. Contacted by Mary Neal 1905 and began to teach Esperance Club. Friend and inspiration to Sharp in morris dance collection and philosophy, much work for Chelsea Polytechnic side and EFDS. *DNB Missing Persons*.

**King, William** 1826-1906  
Folk singer, otherwise tenant farmer, probably on Kettlewell estate. Collected from by Sharp 1904-1905, winner of Mid-Somerset musical competition, 1904. Census Returns, East Harptree, RG12/1924, Bland MSS.

**Korbay, Francis (Ferencz)** 1846-1913  
Musican. Expatriate Hungarian. Singing tutor to Kate Lee, composer or arranger of Hungarian folk songs. Attended preliminary meeting of Folk Song Society. *Grove* 5th edition.

**Larcombe, Henry** ?1824-1908  
Sailcloth weaver, folk singer. Born Mosterton, Dorset, moved to Haselbury Plucknett c. 1865 and lived there for rest of his life. Blind in later life. Collected from by Sharp 1905. Important for variations introduced into his singing. Census Returns, Haselbury Plucknett, RG12/1895, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, p.21.

**Lee, Kate** 1859-1904  
Concert and opera singer, folk song collector. Studied at RAM, RCM. Short career as singer: amateur 1892-95, professional 1895-1900. Folk song collecting c.1895-99. Founder-member of Folk Song Society and first Secretary. Bearman, 'Kate Lee'.

**Lucas, Edward Verrall** 1868-1938  
Journalist, essayist, critic. Worked on *Punch* with Charles Graves. Popular with everyone - Broadwood, Neal, Sharp. Met Broadwood at dinner parties. Associated with Neal from 1907, later with Sharp and went collecting with him 1912. Brother Perceval active member of EFDS *DNB* 1931-1940.

**Lucas, Perceval** d.1916  
Brother of E.V. Lucas. Founder-member and committee member EFDS 1911, dancer and member of Headquarters Demonstration team, editor of *Journal* of EFDS 1914. Killed in action 1916. Helen Karpeles, 'Early Days'.

**Lyttelton, Revd. Hon. Alfred** 1855-1942  
Clergyman, educationalist, author. Headmaster of Haileybury 1890-1905, Eton 1905-1916 (forced to resign because of pacifist views). Joined FSS 1904. *WWW* 1941-1950.

**Lytton, (Lady) Constance** 1869-1923  
Daughter of 1st Earl of Lytton. Saw Esperance performances 1906, immediately got in touch with Neal and learned dances herself. Gave Neal £1,000 to help movement 1906-1907, and drawn in through Esperance organization to Suffragettes. Imprisoned several times before disguising herself as 'Jane Warton' in 1911 and being harshly treated. Lytton, *Prisons and Prisoners*, Betty Balfour, *Letters of Constance Lytton*.

**Lytton, (Hon) Neville** 1879-1951  
Younger son of 1st Earl of Lytton, eventually succeeded as 3rd Earl through deaths of younger brothers. Artist, owner of Goupil Gallery and chairman of conference there 1907. Probably chairman of provisional committee of Association and continued to support Neal. Known to have performed with Esperance on stage. Obituary, *JEFDSS* 6,3 (1951) p.105.

**MacIlwaine, Herbert C.** 1870-1916  
Novelist and publisher's reader. Son of a canon at Belfast cathedral. Went to Australia as young man and published several novels of outback life. Replaced Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence

as Musical Director of Esperance Club 1901 and instrumental in interesting Neal in Sharp's work. Co-editor of *Morris Books* 1 and 2. Resigned from Esperance work 1908 and afterwards aligned himself with Sharp. Biographical notes [by Sharp for obituary?], Sharp Correspondence Box 2 Misc.

**Mackenzie, Sir Alexander**

1847-1935

Composer and academic musician. Principal RAM 1888-1924. Interested in folk music through Fuller Maitland and Broadwood in 1890s. Founder-member of Folk Song Society and Vice-President. *WWW* 1931-1940.

**Maclagan, Robert Craig**

b.1839

Doctor, from a long-established medical family in Edinburgh. Folklorist: publications 'Scottish Myths', 'The Perth Incident, 1896', 'Religio Scotica'. Liberal, became Liberal Unionist. Always 'took the keenest interest in volunteering and wears the Volunteer decoration'. Until 1910 Hon. Colonel of 7th Battalion Royal Scots. Chairman of A.B. Fleming & Co of Granton (chemical concern). Gaskell, *Leaders of the Lothians* [1911] not paginated. [NB there is a fine photo of Maclagan in this volume].

**Maitland, J.A. Fuller**

1856-1935

Music journalist, author. Music critic for *Times* 1889-1911. Cousin of Lucy Broadwood, brother-in-law W.B. Squire. Long-standing interest in antique and traditional music. Collaborated with Broadwood in folk song collecting, co-editor and arranger of *English County Songs*. *DNB* 1931-1940.

**Mallett, Rose or Rosie**

Esperance Club member and instructress. Mentioned by Pethick-Lawrence as teaching at Lord Sandwich's behest. Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World*, pp.137-8.

**Marson, Revd. Charles Latimer**

1859-1914

Clergyman. Met Sharp in Australia 1889, later knew him in London 1892-1893. Perpetual Curate at Hambridge (Somerset) from 1893: a number of other activities including labour politics, authorship, and lecturing. Introduced Sharp to John England and other singers at Hambridge, worked with him and co-edited *Folk Songs from Somerset* 1904-1906. Reckitt, 'Revd. Charles Marson'.

**Merrick, [William] Percy**

1868-1955

Amateur musician. Blind or partially sighted. Collected from Henry Hills 1899-1900 and published collection *Journal* 1901. 'This was the first collection of any value in the records of the Society'. More songs from Hills published 1904. Pioneer in methodology and collection in depth. Obituary, *JEFDSS* 7,2 (1955) p.261.

**Mercer, H.C.**

Curator, University of Pennsylvania. Contacted FSS 1898, invited to become hon member. Contributed to 1899 *Journal*. FSS minutes 6 July 1898.

**Miller, Cyril**

Organist and Choirmaster of St. John's, Kensington. Probably acquaintance of Kate Lee. 1899 member of FSS. Kate Lee's Scrapbook.

**Mocatta, Frederick David**

1828-1905

Philanthropist. Jewish. Retired from father's bullion broking business 1874, thereafter devoted time to charities and good works. 1899 member of FSS. *DNB Supplement* 1901-1911.

**Mond, Mrs. Ludwig (née Frida Loewenthal)**

Wife of chemist and industrialist. Ludwig Mond came to Britain 1860s, married 1866, naturalized 1880. Son became Liberal MP. 'Apart from his daily occupations Mond's interests were mainly in pure science, music and art'. Frida Mond 1899 member of FSS. *DNB Supplement* 1901-1911.



**Moffat, Alfred** 1863-1950  
Composer and editor, friend of Kidson and collaborator with him. Edited very many volumes of old music, plus *A Garland of English Folk Songs*, *Folk-Songs of the North Countrie* with Kidson, *English Peasant Songs* with Ethel Kidson. Also prolific composer of school songs. *WWW 1941-1950*.

**Neal, Mary (Clara Sophia)** 1860-1944  
Philanthropic organizer, in later life JP. Came to London 1887 to work at West London Mission. Left 1895 to found Esperance Club with Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. In 1905 heard of folk song and contacts Sharp; extensive use of material by Esperance Club from 1906, and attempts at organization: Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music 1907-1910, Esperance Guild of Morris Dancers 1910-1914. In opposition to Sharp 1909-1914. After 1918 retired to Sussex but continued to have influence through Rolf Gardiner and other contacts within morris dance world. Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris'.

**Nicholson, (Sir) Sydney Hugo** 1875-1947  
Musician, organist, choirmaster. Published *British Songs for British Boys* 1903. Collected and corresponded with Broadwood, joined Folk Song Society 1905. *WWW 1941-1950*.

**Overd, Emma** 1838-1928  
Folk singer. Born Curry Rivell. Married to William Overd, agricultural labourer (d.1914) and lived at Langport Westover in row of cottages with Sarah Trott and Eliza Hutchings. Met Sharp 1904 and contact with him until 1909. A considerable influence on Sharp's thinking for *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*. Census Returns, Curry Rivell RG12/1890, David Bland MSS.

**Parry, Sir Hubert** 1848-1918  
Composer, academic musician, author. 1st Baronet. Founder-member of Folk Song Society, Vice-President, sometimes attended committee. Friend of Broadwood. *DNB 1912-1921*.

**Perring, John** c.1860-?  
Shantyman, singer of sea songs. Had been deep-sea sailor, soldier, working as 'coal-lumper' when met by H.E. Piggott c.1907. Collected from by Piggott and Grainger 1908 and Piggott remained in touch, collecting from Perring again in 1912. Evidently a man of considerable intelligence and originality. Formed sea-shanty group based on 'Bayard's Cove Mission' and gave performances: projected a play 'dealing with life on a sailing ship of thirty years ago'. Returned to Army 1914 and had a son killed in the War. H.E. Piggott, notes in *JFSS* 5,3 (1916) p.307.

**Pethick-Lawrence, Emmeline** 1867-1954  
Joined Mary Neal at West London Mission 1891, co-founder of Esperance Club 1895. Gave up active role on marriage in 1901, but remained close friend and confidant of Neal. On committee appointed at Goupil Gallery 1907. Involved in suffragette activity from 1906 and worked closely with Pankhursts until 1912. Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World* (London: Gollancz, 1938).

**Piggott, Henry**  
Tutor at Dartmouth naval college. Joined FSS 1907. Met John Perring c.1907 and collected from him 1908 (with Grainger) and 1912. Correspondent of Broadwood 1908-1912. Notes in *JFSS* 20,3 (1916) p.307.

**Pitt, Percy** 1870-1932  
Composer, organist, pianist. 1899 member of FSS. *WWW 1931-1940*.

**Phillips, Charles**  
Baritone. First appearance 1892: concert and oratorio work. 'Mr Phillips has a large teaching connection in London, and is a professor and Examiner at and Fellow of the RAM'. H. Saxe Wyndham, *Who's Who in Music: A Biographical Record of Contemporary Musicians* (London: Pitman, 1913).

- Powell, Leonard M.** 1856-1939  
Artist. 'Landscape and coastal painter'. Exhibited at R.A. 1883-1916. Legal background and had been called to Bar. One of a group of FSS members who lived in Hertfordshire and were probably friends of Francis Pryor, Broadwood's cousin. J. Johnson and A. Greutzner (eds) *British Artists 1880-1940* (Woodbridge: Antique Collector's Club, 1976) p.408.
- Pye, (Sir) David Randall** 1886-1960  
Mechanical Engineer. Lecturer at Oxford University before 1914, friend of R.J.E. Tiddy and prepared his book *The Mummings Play* for publication. Member of EFDS 1912, knighted 1952. *WWW 1951-1960*.
- Rea, (1<sup>st</sup> Baron) Walter Russell** 1873-1948  
Merchant banker, later Liberal MP and junior minister. Joined EFDS 1913 but not an active member. *WWW 1941-1950*.
- Reynardson, Herbert Birch** 1856-1939  
Country gentleman, amateur musician. Lived at Adwell, Oxon. Cousin of Broadwood, and close friendship with her. Arranged *Sussex Songs* (1890), later assisted Broadwood in collecting in Adwell locality. May have done work for British Museum. Lewis Jones (ed), *Sweet Sussex: Folk Songs from the Broadwood Collection* (Sutton Coldfield: Ferret Publications, 1995), p.vii.
- Rogers, J.D.** 1857-1914  
Barrister, author. Acquaintance of Kate Lee. Founder-member of FSS and committee member. Sir Ivo Elliott (ed), *Balliol College Register*, 2nd edn, 1833-1933 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934) p.94.
- Say, George** c.1842-?  
Folk singer. Born Churchill (Som) where his father played violin in West Gallery band. Agricultural labourer at Yatton 1891, in Axbridge Workhouse when Sharp met him in 1908. Census Returns, Yatton RG11/2462, Sharp, Field Note Books (W) 1908 II.
- Sidgwick, Mrs Arthur (Charlotte)** d.1924  
Wife of academic. Prime mover in Oxford Association 1908. Founder-member and committee member EFDS. Obituary, *EFDS News* 1,8 (1924) p.239.
- Somervell, Arthur** 1863-1937  
Musician, educationalist. Friend of Broadwood from c.1890 and known to many of the personnel of the movement. Published (with Harold Boulton) *Songs of the Four Nations* 1893. Inspector of Music, Board of Education 1901. Advocate of 'National Songs' and opponent of Sharp. Joined FSS 1905. Cox, *Music Education*.
- Squire, William Barclay** 1855-1927  
Music librarian at British Museum, editor. Long-standing interest in traditional music. Brother-in-law of Fuller Maitland, friend of Broadwood. Founder-member of FSS, committee member. *DNB 1922-1930*.
- Stainer, Sir John** 1840-1901  
Composer, academic musician, Inspector of Music for Board of Education. Founder-member of FSS, Vice-President. *WWW 1898-1916*.
- Stanford, (Sir) Charles Villiers** 1852-1924  
Composer, academic musician. Long-standing interest in traditional music, edited Petrie Collection. Collaborated and various publications with A.P. Graves, including *National Song Book* 1906. Founder-member of FSS and Vice-President. *DNB 1922-1930*.
- Strangways, Arthur Henry Fox** 1859-1948  
Music teacher, later journalist and author. Taught at Wellington until 1910, then visited India: produced *The Music of Hindostan*, 1914. Founded journal *Music and Letters* 1920. Friend of Sharp but also a friend of many others within the musical and literary establishments. *DNB 1941-1950*.

- Taylor, Joseph** 1833-1910  
Folk singer, otherwise bailiff, of Saxby All Saints, Lincs. Won N. Lincs musical competition, 1905, collected from and phonographed by Grainger on several occasions 1905-1908. 1908 recorded from by Gramophone Company. Pacey, 'Folk Music in Lincolnshire'.
- Tiddy, R.J.E.** 1880-1916  
Academic. Oxford double First (in Greats), fellowship 1902, lecturer in classics, later English Literature. Joined EFDS 1912. Member of Headquarters Demonstration team. D.R. Pye, 'R.J.E. Tiddy: A Memoir', in R.J.E. Tiddy *The Mummers' Play* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp.7-59.
- Thorne, John** c.1857-?  
Folk Singer, otherwise stonemason. Lodging with the Coles family at Enmore in 1891. Census Returns, Enmore, RG12/1881.
- Todhunter, Dr. John** 1839-1916  
Doctor, minor poet. Member of Irish Literary Society and friend of A.P. Graves. Also member of Sette of Odd Volumes. Founder-member of Folk Song Society. *WWW 1916-1928*.
- Toye, (John) Francis** 1883-1964  
Journalist, musician. After false start in diplomatic career studied singing and composition with E.J. Dent. Joined *Vanity Fair* 1908 and came out as supporter of Mary Neal 1910. Assisted with *Esperance Morris Book* and with collecting at Headington 1910. *WWW 1961-1970*.
- Toye, (Edward) Geoffrey** 1889-1942  
Francis's brother. Musician, studied at Royal College of Music, directed opera before 1914. Supporter of Mary Neal, helped to collect Headington dances and to arrange *Esperance Morris Book Part II*. *WWW 1941-1950*.
- Trefusis, (Lady) Mary (née Lygon)** d.1927  
First President of EFDS, appointed 1913. As Lady Mary Lygon had been member of FSS from 1904, and she had known Sharp in Australia. Also connected with Church Music Society and Cornwall Musical Festival. Obituary, *Journal of the English Folk Dance Society* 1 (1927) pp.46-47.
- Trust, Helen (née Stark)** d.1953  
Soprano and teacher of singing. Pupil at Royal Academy of Music. Career at concert singer (refused operatic roles). 'Madame Trust makes a point of singing songs by English composers wherever possible'. Taught at Guildhall School, later at Royal Academy of Music. 1899 member of FSS. *Times* 10 August 1953. *Who's Who in Music 1913*.
- Tuke, Mabel (Pansy)** 1871-1962  
Widow of South African policeman. Met Pethick-Lawrences on the ship coming back to England and through them became involved with WSPU and joint Secretary. Musical Director of Association and Esperance Guild 1908-1910: helped to collect Abingdon dances and to compile *Esperance Morris Book*. Diane Atkinson, *The Suffragettes in Pictures* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996) p.24. [With a fine photograph].
- Vaughan Williams, Ralph** 1872-1958  
Composer, academic musician. Friend of Broadwood and Sharp. Collector from 1903, most work done 1903-1909, latterly with Ella Leather, George Butterworth. Early member of EFDS and supported Sharp in quarrel with Neal. From 1920s onwards much-loved elder statesman of EFDS and EFDSS. *DNB 1951-1960*.

- Warren [Brown], Florence** 1887-1944  
 Chief instructress. Esperance Guild. Born London, Anglo-Irish parents. Probably orphaned young and may have been brought up partly by Emmeline Pethick or by the Pethick-Lawrences after their marriage. Prominent as dancer and teacher from 1906, assisted Sharp and MacIlwaine with *Morris Books* 1 and 2. Went to America 1910 with Mary Neal and there met Arthur Brown, then a law student. Married him in 1912 and eventually settled in Chicago. Rhett Krause, 'Morris Dance and America Prior to 1913, Part II', *American Morris Newsletter* 17,2 (1993) pp.12-27
- Wakefield, Mary** 1853-1910  
 Amateur musician, effective founder of musical competition festival movement. Began competition festival on home estate 1885, this became Kendal Musical Competition Festival by 1900 and provided model for others. Friend of Broadwood. Known to have collected and contributed to *English County Songs*. Obituary, *JFSS* 4,2 (1910) p.141.
- Wedgwood, Mrs Godfrey (Katherine Euphemia)** d.1931  
 Close friend of Broadwood. Lived at Idlerocks, Staffs, latterly with widowed Lady Farrar (another friend of Broadwood). Broadwood Diaries.
- Weeks, Samuel** 1830-1909  
 Folk singer, otherwise farmer and publican, at Hunter's Lodge Inn in 1891. Friend of James Bishop. Census returns, Wells St Cuthbert, RG12/1913, Bland MSS.
- Wilke, Dorette** d.1930  
 German expatriate (from Bavaria). Founded Chelsea Physical Training College 1898, co-operated with Sharp in founding School of Morris Dancing there 1909. Founder-member and member of committee EFDS. Ruth Clark, 'A Delicate Girl from Bavaria'.
- Wilkinson, G.J.** d.1916  
 Music teacher, succeeded Sharp as music master at Ludgrove 1910. Founder-member and committee member of EFDS 1911, member of Headquarters Demonstration team. Died in action 1916. Mrs Kennedy [Helen Karpeles], 'Early Days'.
- Williams, Susan** 1832-1915  
 Folk singer, otherwise linen web weaver. Collected from by Sharp on several occasions 1905-1908. Census Returns, Haselbury Plucknett, RG12/1895.
- Wright, Arthur Claud** 1888-1977  
 PE teacher, later rising to high rank in RAF. EFDS member 1912, member of Headquarters Demonstration team. Went to America on behalf of EFDS 1913. Later disagreed with Sharp, joined Royal Flying Corps, and eventually rose to Air Vice Marshall. James C. Brickwedde, 'A. Claud Wright: Cecil Sharp's Forgotten Dancer', *FMJ* 6,1 (1990) pp.5-36.
- Wright, Henry Charles** 1852-1925  
 Clergyman. Chaplain at Haileybury from 1881. Joined FSS 1904. *Alumni Oxonienses*

## APPENDIX B

1. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – men.
2. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – women.
3. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1905 list – men and women.
4. Table A: Summary of occupations of members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – men.
5. Table B: Summary of occupations of members of the Folk Song Society – 1905 list – men.

### 1. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – men.

Name	Dates	Occupation	Category
Balfour, Charles	1862-1921	Politician	ALG
Barnes, Harold	b.1856	?	?
Barrett, F.J.	?	Librarian	LI
Bevan, Leonard	1874-1901	Accountant	CF
Billson, Charles	1857-1935	Solicitor	LA
Bispham, David	1857-1921	Singer	ME
Boulton, Harold	1859-1935	Lyricist	MIS
Bouverie, Stuart	1877-1947	Soldier	ALG
Bowes, Robert	1835-1919	Bookseller	PUB
Britten, James	1846-1924	Botanist	MIS
Clague, John	1842-1908	Doctor	M
Clarke, Sir Ernest	1856-1923	Administrator	CA
Cobham, Lord	1842-1922	Peer	ALG
Cohen, Francis	1862-1934	Rabbi	MIS
Colville, W.J.	1827-1909	Courtier	ALG
Copper, James	1845-1924	Farm Bailiff	MIS
Copper, Thomas	?	Publican	MIS
Corder, Frederick	1852-1932	Musician	MC
Cox, Frederick A.	?	?	?
Curwen, John	1847-1916	Publisher	PUB
Drake, Hammett	?	?	?
Edwards, Frederick	1853-1909	Editor	MJ
Elgar, Edward	1857-1934	Composer	MC
Fahy, Francis	1854-1935	Civil Servant	CA
Forsyth, J. Aikman	?	Publisher	PUB
Fox, C.M.	?	Academic?	?
Frith, W.E.	?	Land Agent	MIS
Gill, J. Frederick	d.1900	Judge	LA
Gill, W.H.	?	Musician	MC
Gollancz, Israel	1863-1930	Academic	AE
Graves, A.P.	1846-1931	Educationist	AE
Graves, Charles	1856-1944	Journalist	MIS

Greene, H. Plunkett	1865-1936	Singer	ME
Hadow, W.H.	1859-1937	Academic	AE
Hawkin, T. D.	?	Accountant	CF
Heape, Charles	?	Businessman	CF
Hillier, Louis H.	?	Musician	ME
Howard, David	1839-1916	Chemist	CF
Jacques, E.F.	b.1850	Musician	MJ
Joachim, Joseph	1831-1907	Musician	ME
Kalisch, Alfred	1863-1933	Journalist	MJ
Karlowitz, Mons.J	d.1904	Academic?	?
Kidson, Frank	1855-1926	Musician	MA
Knox, B.D.	?	?	?
Leigh, W.Austen	?	?	?
Letts, Charles	?	Solicitor	LA
Lisle, Bernard de	1864-1921	Landed	ALG
Mackenzie, Sir A.	1847-1935	Musician	MC
Maclagan, Robert	b.1839	Doctor	M
Maitland, J.A.F	1856-1936	Journalist	MJ
Mercer, H.C.	?	Librarian	LI
Merrick, Percy	1868-1955	Musician	M
Miller, Cyril	?	Musician	ME
Mocatta, Frederick	1828-1905	Philanthropist	MIS
Moore, G.P.	?	Musician	MC
Parry, Hubert	1848-1918	Musician	MC
Phillips, Charles	?	Singer	ME
Pitt, Percy	1870-1932	Musician	MC
Powell, L.M.	1856-1939	Artist	MIS
Rogers, John	1857-1914	Barrister	LA
Rossall, J.H.	1838-1901	?	?
Rowe, Louis T.	?	?	?
Round, Percy	1861-1934	Civil Servant	CA
Shedlock, John	1843-1919	Musician	MJ
Squire, William B.	1855-1927	Librarian	LI
Stainer, J.F.R.	?	Barrister	LA
Stainer, Sir John	1840-1901	Musician	MC
Stanford, Charles	1852-1924	Musician	MC
Todhunter, John	1839-1916	Doctor	M
Tuer, Andrew	1838-1900	Publisher	PUB
Webb, Francis	1853-1941	Music critic	MJ
Welch, William	b.1845	Company Director	CF
Wurtzburg, J.H.	d.1905	?	?

**2. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – women.**

Name	Dates	Name	Dates
Beer, Mrs. F.A.	1858-1927	Huth, Mrs. (Bertha)	b.1862
Broadwood, Lucy	1858-1929	Hull, Eleanor	1860-1935
Bunten, Mrs. Alice	?	Joachim, Eugenie	1860-1930
Burne, Charlotte	d.1923	Lee, Mrs. Kate	1859-1904
Cavour, Mde. Plowitz	?	Linden, Miss Estella	?
Cooke, Mrs. Henry Mudie	?	Lushington, Susan	1870-1953
Coltman, Mrs. Pocklington	?	Manisty, Miss Isobel	1855-1949
Cox, Marian Emily Roalfe	1860-1916	Mond, Mrs. Ludwig (Frida)	d.1923
Dobie, Mrs.	?	Moseley, Caroline Carr	?
Douglas, Miss Ella	?	Netter, Mrs. Jeanie W	?
Farrar, Dowager Lady	?	Nolan, Mrs. (Charlotte)	?
Fisher, Mrs. Clara	?	Seaton, Rose	?
Galway, Miss Honoria	?	Shee, Miss Florence	?
Gomme, Mrs. Laurence	1853-1938	Smith, Miss Laura	?
Hearne, Miss Isabel	?	Trust, Helen	d.1953
Henderson, Miss A.B.	?	Waterlow, Miss G.	?
Hirschfeld, Miss Isabel	?	Wheeler, Mrs. George	?
Horne, Mrs. A.B. (Maud)	?		
Hulburd, Mary	?		

### 3. Members of the Folk Song Society – 1905 list – men and women.

Name	Dates	Occupation
Arkwright, G.E.P.	b.1864	Musician
Ashbee, Mrs. Janet	?	Wife of designer
Bailey, Rev. J.G.	1838-1905	Clergyman
Baring-Gould, Rev. Sabine	1834-1924	Clergyman
Bennett, Joseph	1831-1911	Music Critic
Bidder, Miss Bertha	?	?
Blackburne, Mrs. J.I.	?	?
Borwick, Leonard	1868-1925	Pianist
Broadwood, Miss Amy	?	?
Carr, Mrs. H. (Margaret)	?	Wife of academic
Childs, Cuthbert	?	?
Cleghorne, Mrs.	?	?
Craig, T.	b.1851	Musician
Culwick, James C.	1845-1907	Organist
Dawnay, Hon. Norah	1874-1947	Landed
De Gex, Alexander Frederick	1859-1931	Clergyman
Easterbrooke, Mrs. A.R.	?	?
Ellis, Mrs.	?	?
Ellis, Mrs. H.D.	?	?
Farrar, T.C. (2nd Baron)	1859-1940	Peer
Finlayson, Mrs.	?	Wife of Clergyman
Forbes, Neville	1883-1929	Academic
Ford, Walter	1861-1938	Musician
Fox, Charlotte Milligan	1864-1916	Folklorist
Gardiner, George Barnett	1852-1910	Educationist
Gardiner, Henry Balfour	1877-1950	Musician
Gomme, Bernard	?	?
Grainger, Percy Aldridge	1882-1961	Musician
Greig, Gavin	1856-1914	Teacher
Hale, Alfred M.	1876-1960	Musician
Hammond, H.E.D.	1866-1910	Educationalist
Hart, Mrs. A.	?	?
Hill, Rev. Geoffrey	?	Clergyman
Hunt, Reuben	1836-1927	Industrialist
Jekyll, Francis Walter	1882-1965	Librarian
Kettlewell, Mrs. F.B.	1852-1934	Landed
Latham, Morton	1843-1931	Solicitor
Leather, Mrs. Ella	d.1928	Folklorist
Lee, Henry Herbert	1838-1920	Landed
Lee, Miss Lucy A.	?	?
Leslie, W.H.	?	Manager
Lygon, Lady Mary	1869-1927	Landed
Lyttelton, (Hon) Edward	1855-1942	Headmaster
McEwan, Robert F	?	?
Mackay, T.A.	?	?
Macmillan, George A.	1855-1936	Publisher
Marsh, Katherine Chisenhale	b.1882	?



Marson, Charles Latimer	1859-1914	Clergyman
Morrison, Arthur	1863-1945	Novelist
Nicholson, Sydney Hugo	1875-1947	Musician
Patrick, Revd. Millar	?	Clergyman
Peel, Gerald Graham	1877-1937	Musician
Pryor, Francis Robert	1862-1937	Company Director
Quilter, Roger	1877-1953	Musician
Ramsay, William	d.1905	?
Reay, Samuel	1822-1905	Musician
Reynardson, H.F.B.	1856-1939	Musician
Sawyer, Frank James	1857-1908	Musician
Sharp, Cecil James	1859-1924	Musician
Sharp, Mrs. Cecil (Constance)	d.1928	Wife of Musician
Shenston, Mrs	?	?
Sichel, Miss Gertrude	?	?
Simpson, J.J.	?	Clerk to Board of Governors
Slagg, Mrs.	?	?
Spottiswoode, William Hugh	1864-1915	Publisher
Spring-Rice, Thomas Aubrey	1883-1934	Landed
Strachey, Henry	?	Artist
Strode, Miss Augusta Chetham	?	?
Sumner, George H.M.	1853-1940	Artist
Surette, Thomas Whitney	?	?
Tennyson, (Lord) Hallam	1852-1928	Peer
Thomas, Miss Bertha	?	?
Thompson, Miss Louisa	?	?
Trevelyan, Mrs. Robert	?	?
Wakefield, Augusta	1853-1910	Musician
Watson, Henry	1846-1911	Musician
Wedgwood, Mrs. Godfrey	?	?
Wedmore, E.T.	?	?
White, Miss Esther Brockett	?	?
White, Miss	?	?
Williams, Ralph Vaughan	1872-1958	Musician
Willmott, Miss E.	?	?
Wilson, H.Lane	?1864-1937	Musician
Wodehouse, Mrs. Edmond	?	Musician
Wright, Henry Charles	b.1852	Clergyman

4. Table A: Summary of occupations of members of the Folk Song Society – 1899 list – men.

Occupation	Category	
Academics and Educationalists	AE	3
Aristocrats and Landed Gentry	AL	5
Civil Servants and Administrators	CA	3
Commerce and Finance	CF	5
Law	LA	5
Librarians	LI	3
Medicine	M	3
Music (Amateur)	MA	2
Music (Academics and Composers)	MC	9
Music (Executant Artists)	ME	7
Music (Journalists)	MJ	6
Publishers and Booksellers	PU	4
One each of: Artist, Botanist, Farm Bailiff, Journalist (non-musical), Land Agent, 'Lyric Writer', Philanthropist, Publican, Rabbi.	MIS	9
<b>Total</b>		<b>64</b>

5. Table B: Summary of occupations of members of the Folk Song Society – 1905 list – men.

Occupation	Category	
Academics and Educationalists	AE	5
Aristocrats and Landed Gentry	AL	6
Artists	AR	2
Civil Servants and Administrators	CA	4
Clergy	CL	8
Commerce and Finance	CO	7
Law	LA	4
Librarians	LI	3
Medicine	M	3
Music (Amateur and Folk Song Collectors)	MA	7
Music (Composers and Academics)	MC	12
Music (Executant Artists)	ME	10
Music (Journalists)	MJ	6
Publishers and Booksellers	PU	5
One each of: Botanist, Journalist (non-musical), Land Agent, 'Lyric Writer', Novelist, Philanthropist.	MIS	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>88</b>

## APPENDIX C

### Archive Sources

The purpose of this section is to give a rough guide to the sources I have used and to discuss problems in the collections, to provide a historiographical guide as to when material became available, and to make suggestions for further research.

The Sharp Correspondence collection in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (VWML) was assembled for the 1933 biography and has been available to researchers since the late 1960s, although it was not catalogued until 1988.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the collection consists of outgoing letters from Sharp.<sup>2</sup> Until the last years of his life, he does not appear to have kept much of the correspondence he received, a situation which probably changed when Maud Karpeles began to act as his amanuensis. She was certainly thinking in terms of a biography when Sharp died and the conscious gathering of materials may have begun before that. Sinister motives have been assigned for the gaps in the Sharp Correspondence, but the fact appears to be that Sharp, like Vaughan Williams, was a great man for the waste paper basket.<sup>3</sup> There is confirmation for this view in Sharp's habit of copying passages from letters into the notebooks he kept for research, for example those in Sharp Miscellaneous CJS/6. He only kept business or other important letters, and because of his writing methods (he typed business letters, but hand-wrote personal correspondence) his outgoing letters sometimes survive in the drafts he wrote on lined exercise paper before typing them up. For example, all of Sharp's part of the correspondence sequence with Mary Neal at the time of their final breach in 1909-1910 consists of these handwritten drafts. There must have been previous correspondence between Sharp and Neal, but it seems obvious that Sharp only began to keep Neal's letters, and copies of those he sent to her, when the dispute between them began to turn on important points of principle which might have led to legal action.

The correspondence of Lucy Broadwood is divided between the VWML and Surrey History Centre. The part in the VWML consists of most of her own folk music research and the official work for the Folk Song Society, which Broadwood herself had sorted and separated from her more personal material. It was offered to the Folk Song Society by her executor Leopold Broadwood after her death, and by the time it was actually handed over (c.1932) Cecil Sharp House had been completed, the Folk Song Society and the English Folk Dance Society had amalgamated, and the material came straight to what was then the Cecil Sharp

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<sup>1</sup> The present Librarian, Malcolm Taylor, is unable to say exactly when the correspondence came to the VWML, but he believes it was immediately after Maud Karpeles completed her revision of the 1933 biography in 1967.

<sup>2</sup> According to a very rough count, there are approximately twice as many letters from Sharp as letters to him.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Anderson, in "'Virtue in a Wilderness': Cecil Sharp's Australian Sojourn, 1882-1892", *FMJ* 6,4 (1994), pp.617-652, speculates that Sharp, or Maud Karpeles, or both of them, tampered with the evidence. He is unable, however, to provide any evidence beyond his own opinions.

Library. But it was not arranged in any way until the 1960s and not catalogued until 1996.<sup>4</sup> The obvious difference between the Sharp and Broadwood collections is that the latter consists almost entirely of letters sent to her. A few of Broadwood's outgoing letters are in the Sharp Correspondence, but while our view of Sharp is shaped by what he wrote to others, our view of Broadwood has been shaped by what others wrote to her. From that point of view the recent discovery of the Broadwood diaries is of very great importance.

The Broadwood material in Surrey History Centre (formerly Surrey Record Office) consists of what was left after the 'official' folk music correspondence was taken out in the 1930s. It was handed over to the Broadwood Trust and went to Surrey History Centre in 1977. The range of correspondents is wider and more revealing about Broadwood's contacts with the musical establishment of her time. The most important development, however, and perhaps the single most important source to have appeared since the Sharp Correspondence was gathered, is the Broadwood Diaries. The existence of these was completely unsuspected until they were sent to Oxford University Press in 1996. They went to Surrey History Centre in 2000. Broadwood kept a diary almost every day from 1883 until immediately before her death in 1929. Most of the entries are brief (they seem to have been intended more as an aide-memoire than anything else) and Broadwood can be infuriatingly reticent about events which historians regard as important, but taken together they provide the fullest picture so far of the background to the folk music movement. Because of the constraints of time and resources I have only been able to study the diaries in detail from 1897 until 1911, though I am grateful to Lewis Jones and Dorothy de Val for information and notes on the diaries outside this period.

The major problem for the historian of the pre-1914 movement is the lack of Mary Neal's personal papers or documents from the organisations she headed. All we have is the few letters from her in the Sharp Correspondence, dating from 1909-1910, the material in the Clive Carey Collection (dating from 1910 until the early 1940s, though the bulk is pre-1915), and a few letters to Rolf Gardiner in the collection now at Cambridge University Library. Carey's collection came to the VWML after his death in 1968, but it was not arranged and transcribed until 1982-85, by George Frampton. As with Sharp, most of our knowledge of Neal comes from the letters she wrote to others. Attempts were made to trace Neal's material by Margaret Dean-Smith, Roy Dommert, and Roy Judge, but without any substantial success. The only important piece of new material is Neal's MS autobiography, written in the 1930s. This was traced by Margaret Dean-Smith in 1957 and the notes she made at that time are in the VWML. Roy Judge was able to read the autobiography and he used the material in his 1989 article on Neal.<sup>5</sup> Its historical value is limited, however, because of Neal's tendency to re-write the record in her own favour. The attempts to find other material have been in vain. The circumstances of Neal's death (she lived with the Pethick-Lawrences for the last four years of her life) led me to make enquiries of Trinity College, Cambridge, which holds Frederick

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the VWML's Broadwood Collection, see C.J. Bearman, 'The Lucy Broadwood Collection: an interim report', *FMJ* 7,3 (1997) pp.357-365.

<sup>5</sup> Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Esperance Morris', *FMJ* 5,5 (1989), pp.545-591.

Pethick-Lawrence's papers, but there is no Neal material there and it is not likely to be found in the other Pethick-Lawrence collection at the India Office. I also believed that the Lytton family were possible recipients of papers and made enquiries with the present Earl of Lytton and with the Archivist at Knebworth House. These were unsuccessful and I have come to share Margaret Dean-Smith's view that Neal's material was sacrificed to the waste-paper drives which were in progress when she died. One can only hope that this is too pessimistic a conclusion. I also made some attempts to find material which mentioned Neal in the correspondence collections of others, for example that of Sydney Cockerell in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and in the letters between Laurence Housman and C.R. Ashbee at King's College, Cambridge, but without success.

Possible sources known but now lost include the diaries of Clive Carey. These are cited in Hugh Carey's book *Duet for Two Voices*.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, Hugh Carey (Clive Carey's nephew) died in 1984, and the diaries have disappeared. I wrote Clive Carey's entry for the *New Dictionary of National Biography* in 1997-98 and made enquiries of the Carey family. They referred me to the known Carey collections at the Rowe Music Library, King's College, and at the Royal College of Music, both of which I approached without success.

Lack of time and resources has prevented me from investigating other possible sources. There is a W.H. Hadow collection at Worcester College, Oxford, but the catalogue appears to show that it is comprised mainly of printed material. A better source may be the J.A. Fuller Maitland collection at the Divisional Central Library, Lancaster, which is said to be composed of over 1,000 items 'of all types of music'.<sup>7</sup> This collection is catalogued but only on a card index, so it has to be visited. I may also mention the diaries of A.P. Graves, which are now in the Berg Collection at New York Public Library. Unfortunately, Graves only began to keep a diary when he retired c.1911, so they are not likely to be of much relevance to the folk music movement. I would, however, welcome enlightenment from any readers who have examined these sources.

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<sup>6</sup> Hugh Carey, *Duet for Two Voices: An Informal Biography of E.J. Dent from his letters to Clive Carey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.15.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Judith Hayton (Music Librarian), 8 October 1998.

## APPENDIX D

### Methodology employed in Chapter 4 Part 2

#### General

This analysis employs a number of card indices compiled from Cecil Sharp's books of 'Folk Tunes' held in the VWML. (These are copies of originals held at Clare College, Cambridge). The books are written-up material whose source is Sharp's Field Note Books. The books give the tune of the song, plus the first stanza or other significant words. My card index is arranged by song title and records the number of times Sharp collected each song in date order. I also compiled indices of the singers who declared the provenance of their songs and of the occasions on which Sharp collected tunes only. The chief difficulty was to attribute to one text or another the variants of several songs. For example, the texts of 'The Seeds of Love' and 'The Sprig of Thyme' were so similar that Sharp collected them all under the former title, though he published them as separate songs. Arriving at the number of song texts cannot be an exact science and I have emphasised the approximate nature of my figures. For the purposes of this analysis I have recorded only material contributory to Folk Songs from Somerset; that is, songs collected in the geographical county between September 1903 and 6 January 1909, when the last material was collected.

#### Methodology employed in geographical analysis (Table 4:6)

Because Harker (*Fakesong*, p.195) does not define what he means by 'the industrial district of North Mendip', the 'predominantly urban district of Bridgwater', and the 'mainly agricultural area which included Hambridge and Kingsbury' I have been obliged to do so myself. My areas are:

1. Hambridge: within a ten kilometre (6.2 mile) radius of Hambridge.
2. North Mendip: the area east of Shipham and North of the present B3134/3135 which runs roughly north-west to south-east along the Mendip ridge.
3. Bridgwater itself, with the villages of Cannington and Puriton and the small town of North Petherton.

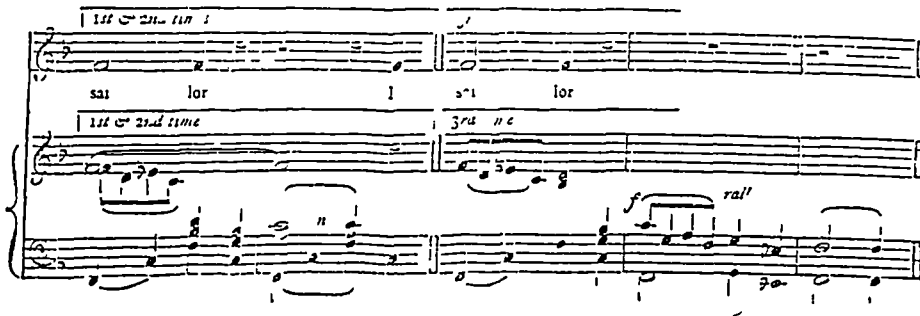
Arbitrary decisions are inevitable when boundaries are drawn, so to avoid the reproach of having selected areas to fit my analysis, I have provided figures for a fourth area, the 'rest of Somerset'.

## APPENDIX E

*Folk Songs from Somerset* Series Four: comparison of song texts as collected and as published.

This appendix gives the song texts as published in Series Four of *Folk Songs from Somerset* followed by the texts as collected. The 'as collected' texts are taken from the books of 'Folk Words' in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. These are typescripts (made by Maud Karpeles, Sharp's literary executrix) of texts Sharp recorded in his Field Note Books. The published texts are taken from the second (1911-1919) edition of *Folk Songs from Somerset* (because it was not permissible to photocopy the first edition) but I have checked them for changes between the editions. I apologise for the poor quality of the photocopying, but there was no other way of comparing a large number of texts.





THE RAMBLING SAILOR.

- 1 I was a sailor stout and bold,  
 Long time I've ploughed the ocean,  
 I've fought for king and country too,  
 For honour and promotion.  
 I say My brother sailor, I bid you adieu,  
 No more to the sea will I go with you,  
 I'll travel the country through and through,  
 And I'll be a rambling sailor
- 2 If you should want to know my name,  
 My name it is young Johnson  
 I've got permission from the king  
 To court young girls and handsome  
 I say My dear what will you do?  
 Here's ale and wine and brandy too;  
 Besides a pair of new silk shoes,  
 To travel with a rambling sailor
- 3 The king's permission granted me  
 To range the country over,  
 From Bristol Town to Liverpool,  
 From Plymouth Sound to Dover  
 And in whatever town I went,  
 To court young maidens I was bent,  
 And marry none was my intent,  
 But to be a rambling sailor

## THE RABBLING SAILOR

I am a sailor stout and cold,  
 Long time I ploughed the ocean,  
 I fight for my King and country too  
 For honour and promotion.  
 I said my brother sailor,  
 I bid you adieu,  
 No) ~~The~~ more to the sea  
 To go along with you.  
 I ~~had~~ travelled the country through and through  
 And still be a rambling sailor

If you should want for to know my name,  
 My name it is young Johnson.  
 I had permission from the Queen  
 To court on girls that are young and handsome.  
 I said My dear, what will you do.  
 Here's ale and wine and rum-pats too  
 Besides a            and a new silk snaces  
 For to travel with a rambling sailor.

George Wyatt, F. Harptree, April 14th 1904.

A

## DEATH AND THE LADY.

1. As I walked forth one day, one day,  
I met an aged man by the way ;  
His head was bald, his beard was grey,  
His clothing made of the cold earthen clay,  
His clothing made of the cold earthen clay.
2. I said : Old man, what man are you ?  
What country do you belong unto ?  
My name is Death ; hast heard of me ?  
All kings and princes bow down unto me,  
And you, fair maid, must come along with me.
3. I'll give you gold, I'll give you pearl,  
I'll give you costly rich robes to wear,  
If you will spare me a little while,  
And give me time my life to amend,  
And give me time my life to amend.
4. I'll have no gold, I'll have no pearl,  
I want no costly rich robes to wear.  
I cannot spare you a little while,  
Nor give you time your life to amend,  
Nor give you time your life to amend.
5. In six months time this fair maid died.  
Let this be put on my tomb-stone, she cried :  
Here lies a poor, distress-ed maid ;  
Just in her bloom she was snatch-ed away.  
Her clothing made of the cold earthen clay.

DEATH AND THE LADY.

As I walked forth one day, one day,  
I met an old man by the way;  
His head was bald, his beard was grey,  
And his clothing made of the cold earth of clay,  
And his clothing made of the cold earth of clay.

I say what man, what old man are you  
Or what country do you belong unto?  
My name is Death, han't you heard of me.  
Both kings and princes bow down to me,  
And you, fair maid, must come along with me.

I will give you gold, I will give you pearl,  
I will give you costly rich robes to wear  
If you will spare me a little while  
A little long time my life for to amend.

I'll have none of your gold nor none of your pearl  
Neither your costly rich robes to wear,  
If you will spare me but a little while  
A little longer time my life to amend.

In six months after this fair maid died.  
Let this be put on my tomb stone, she cried.  
Here lies a poor and distressed maid  
Just in her bloom as she was snatched away  
And her clothing was made of the cold earth clay.

Mrs. R. Sage at Chew Stoke,  
Jan. 11th 1907.

(1161)

A

beer enough, Whether it be new or old.

*din.* *mf*

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings like 'din.' and 'mf'.

## THE BEGGAR.

1. I'd just as soon be a beggar as a king,  
And the reason I'll tell you for why ;  
A king cannot swagger, nor drink like a beggar,  
Nor be half so happy as I.  
Let the back and the sides go bare, my boys,  
Let the hands and the feet gang cold :  
But give to the belly, boys, beer enough,  
Whether it be new or old.
2. I've sixpence in my pocket and I've worked hard for it,  
Kind landlord, here it is.  
Neither Jew nor Turk shall make me work,  
While begging is as good as it is.  
Let the back etc., etc.
3. Sometimes we call at a nobleman's hall,  
And beg for bread and beer ;  
Sometimes we are lame, sometimes we are blind,  
Sometimes too deaf to hear.  
Let the back etc., etc.
4. Sometimes we lie like hogs in a sty  
With a flock of straw on the ground ;  
Sometimes eat a crust that has rolled in the dust,  
And are thankful if that can be found.  
Let the back and the sides go bare, my boys,  
Let the hands and the feet gang cold ;  
But give to the belly, boys, beer enough,  
Whether it be new or old.

FW 7-8

<sup>\*</sup>  
1305

THE BEGGAR

I've sixpence in my pocket  
And I've worked hard for it.  
Find landlord here it is,  
Never a Jew nor a Turk  
Shall never make us work  
While cegging is so good as it is.  
Let the back and the sides go bare, <sup>my</sup> ~~old~~ boys,  
Let the hands and the feet go cold.  
We'll give to the belly boys, beer enough  
Whether it be new or old.

I went up to some nobleman's gate  
Begging for breac and beer;  
Some were lame and some were blind  
And some they could not hear.

Robert Parisa at Lford, Aug. 20th 1907.

( 1619 )

A

striped suit, she tore him all in three Be cause he had mur - dered both

her and her ba by

THE CRUEL SHIP'S CARPENTER

- 1 In fair Worcester city, in fair Worcestershire,  
There was a young girl growing, a-growing up for me  
A long time I courted her for to be my dear  
I lived by the trade of a ship's carpenter
- 2 'Twas early one morning before it was day,  
I went unto my Polly these words to her to say  
O Polly, O Polly, now come along with me,  
Before we are married my friends for to see
- 3 He led her through groves and through valleys so deep,  
Which caused this young carmel to wring her hands and weep  
O William, O William, you're leading me astray  
On purpose my innocent life to betray

- 'Tis true, O 'tis true, all that you now do say,  
 For I have worked all this long night digging of your grave  
 The grave 't was open, the spade a-standing by,  
 Which caused this young damsel to sife and to cry
- 5 O pardon, O pardon, O pardon my life,  
 O William I won't covet to be to thee a wife,  
 I'll travel the country that I may see thee free  
 O pardon, O pardon my baby and me
- 6 No pardon, no pardon, no time for to stand,  
 Then he pulled out a long knife all into his hand,  
 He pressed it in her heart, until the blood did flow,  
 And into the grave her poor body c a throw
- He covered her over so safe and secure,  
 And thought that his dear Polly she would be found no more  
 He went to his captain to sail the world a-round,  
 Before this young murder could ever be found
- 8 'Twas early one morning, before it was day,  
 Our captain came unto us and these words he did say  
 A murderer's on board here! and he must now be found,  
 Our ship, she's in mourning, she will not sail round
- 9 Then up step-ped one O indeed 't's not I,  
 Then up and stepped another, and made the same reply,  
 Then up stepped young William and he did stamp and swear  
 Indeed it's not me, that I vow and declare
- 10 Away from his captain he turn-ed with speed,  
 And met his dearest Polly, which made his heart to bleed  
 She rent him, she straddled him, she tore him all in three  
 Because he had murdered both her and her baby



Jack Welch - 2  
(1127-1152)

(MURDER, CAPTIVITY)

In Dorsetshire, a pretty girl, in Dorsetshire, said she,  
 A young man, a young girl a-going for me,  
 He lived by his trade of a ship's carpenter,  
 Can we man, it was so early before it was day  
 He went unto his Polly these words, to her did say  
 O Polly, O Polly, will you go along with me  
 Before we be married our friends, to see  
 He led her through valleys and groves, so deep  
 Which caused this young damsel to sife and to weep  
 O William, O William, you've been leading me astray  
 On purpose my innocent life to be betrayed

That I, true, that is true, the words you have  
 For I've been all this long night a-digging, of your  
 The grave I opened and the spade is standing by  
 Which caused this young damsel to sife and to cry  
 O pardon, O pardon, C pardon my life,  
 I do not covet for to be your wife,  
 I'll travel the country to set thee quite free.  
 O pardon, C pardon, my baby and me

No pardon, no pardon, there's no time to stand,  
 That he had a long knife all into his hand  
 He pressed 'un into her heart until the blood did  
 And into the ground her poor body were thrown  
 He covered her over so safe and secure  
 Thinking this poor girl would be found nevermore  
 He went unto the captain for to sail the world all  
 Before this young murder ever should be found  
 around

(MURDER, CAPTIVITY) (Cont)

One morning 'twas early before it was day  
 Our captain came unto us these words he said  
 There's a murderer on board and he must be found  
 For our ship's sake, in mourning, she won't sail  
 Untill

Up stop one Indeed it's not so  
 We stop another man and made the same reply  
 Up stop young William for to stamp and to say  
 Indeed it's not me I vow and declare.

He made away from his captain which he made away  
 He not his dear Polly, which made his heart bleed  
 She rent him, she tore him, she tore him in  
 Because he had murdered her baby and she  
 three

William Tucker at Ashcott, Jan. 15th 1807

(1181)

B

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system features a vocal line with lyrics: "grey;..... They rode till they came un - to the sea - side, Three hours be - fore it was". Below the vocal line is a piano accompaniment with a *dim.* marking. The second system includes repeat signs for the vocal line, labeled "1st-4th times." and "Fifth time.", with lyrics "day. Light - ry.....". The piano accompaniment also has repeat signs and a *p* marking.

## THE OUTLANDISH KNIGHT.

- 1 An outlandish knight came from the north lands,  
And he came wooing to me ;  
He said he would take me to foreign lands,  
And there he would marry me.
- 2 Go fetch me some of your father's gold,  
And some of your mother's fee,  
And two of the best nags from out of the stable,  
Where there stand thirty and three.
- 3 She mounted upon her milk-white steed,  
And he on his dapple-grey ;  
They rode till they came unto the sea-side,  
Three hours before it was day.
- 4 Light off, light off thy milk-white steed ;  
Deliver it up unto me ;  
For six pretty maidens have I drown-ed here,  
And thou the seventh shall be.
- 5 Doff off, doff off thy silken things ;  
Deliver them up unto me ;  
I think that they look too rich and too gay  
To rot all in the salt sea.

- 6 If I must doff off my sliken things,  
 Prevail thy back unto me,  
 For it is not fitting that such a ruffian  
 A naked woman should see
- 7 And cut thou away the brimbles so sharp,  
 The brimbles from off the brim,  
 That they may not tangle my curly locks,  
 Nor scratch my lily-white skin
- 8 He turn-ed around his back to her,  
 And bent down over the brim  
 She caught him around the middle so small,  
 And bundled him into the stream
- 9 He dropp-ed high, he dropp-ed low,  
 Until he came to the side,  
 Catch hold of my hand, my fair pretty maid, *pretty Polly in both*  
 And thee I will make my bride
- 10 Lie there, lie there, you false hearted man,  
 Lie there instead of me,  
 For six pretty maidens hast thou a-crowned here,  
 The seventh hath drown-ed thee
- 11 She mounted on her milk-white steed,  
 And led the dapple-grey,  
 She rode till she came to her father's house,  
 Three hours before it was day
- 12 The parrot hung in the window so high,  
 And heard what the lady did say  
 What ails thee, what ails thee, my pretty lady,  
 You've tarried so long away?
- 13 The king he was up in his bed-room so high,  
 And heard what the parrot did say  
 What ails thee, what ails thee, my pretty Polly,  
 You prattle so long before day?
- 14 It's no laughing matter, the parrot did say,  
 That loudly I call unto thee,  
 For the cat has a-got 'n the window so high,  
 I fear that she will have me
- 15 Well turn-ed, well turned, my pretty Polly,  
 We'll turn-ed, we'll turn-ed for me,  
 Thy cage shall be made of the glittering gold,  
 And the coat of the best ivory

Folk Wives 7-8 (1087-1452)

1290

THE OUTLANDISH KNIGHT.

An outlandish knight came from the north lands,  
And he came wooing to me,  
He told me'd take me to some foreign lands  
And there he would marry me.

Go fetch me some of your mother's gold  
And some of your father's fee  
And two of the best nags out of the stable  
Where there stood thirty and three.

She fetched him some of her mother's gold  
And some of her father's fee  
And two of the best nags out of the stable  
Where there stood thirty and three.

Now she mounted on her milk-white steed  
And he on his dippled grey  
And they rode till they came to the sea-side  
Three hours before it was day.

Duff off, duff off, your silken things  
And deliver them up to me,  
For it looks too rich and too gay  
To rot all in the salt sea.

If I must take off my silken things  
Pray turn thy back unto me,  
For it's not fitting that such a ruffian  
A naked woman should see.

Now he turned his back unto her  
And viewed the watery stream,  
She caught him round the middle so small  
And forced him into the stream.

He drooped high, he drooped low,  
Until he came to the side.  
Catch hold of my hand my pretty Polly  
And you shall be my bride.

B



THE OUTLANDISH KNIGHT.

From the North lands there came a Northering Knight  
And he came a-wooing to me.  
He said he would take me unto the North lands  
And there for to marry me. (ti)

Go fetch me some of your father's gold  
And some of your mother's fee  
And two of the best nags out of the stable  
Where there stands thirty and three. (ti)

She fetched some of her father's gold  
And some of her mother's fee  
And two of the best nags out of the stable  
Where there stands thirty and three.

She mounted on her <sup>mi-dle-k (white)</sup> mid-dle-k (white) steed  
And he on the dapper (ti) grey.  
They rode till they came to the sea-side  
Three hours before it was day.

Light off, light off, thy mi-d<sup>2</sup>-lk white steed  
And deliver it unto me,  
For six pretty maidens have I drowned here  
And thou the seventh shall be.

Pull off, pull off, thy silken clothes  
And deliver it unto me;  
I think it looks too rich and gay  
To rot all in the salt sea.

Pull off, pull off, thy holland smock  
And deliver it unto me;  
I think it looks too rich and gay  
To rot all in the salt sea.

If I must pull off my holland smock  
And deliver it unto thee  
I think it's not fit that such a ruffian  
A naked woman should see.

751,  
752

OUTLANDISH KNIGHT - Cont.

He turn-ed his back towards her  
And viewed the leaves so green.  
She caught him round the middle so small  
And bundled him into the stream.

He crop-ped high, he crop-ped low  
Until he came to the side.  
Ketch hold of my hand, my pretty Polly,  
And I will make thee my bride.

Lie there, lie there, you false-hearted man,  
Lie there in the place of me.  
For six pretty maids have thee drowned here  
And the seventh have drowned thee.

She mounted on her mi-d<sup>2</sup>lk white steed  
And ledden the dapper-grey.  
She rode till she came to her own father's hall  
Two hours before it was day.

The parrot hung on the window so high  
Hearing what the lady did say.  
What ails thee, what ails thee, my pretty lady,  
Thou hast tarried so long away?

The king being up in his bedroom so high  
Hearing what the lady did say,  
What ails thee, what ails thee, my pretty Polly,  
Thou hast prattled so long before day?

It's no laughing matter, the parrot did say,  
But so loudly I call unto thee,  
The cat has a-got in the window so high  
And I'm afraid she'll have I.

Well turned, well turn-ed, my pretty Polly,  
Well turn-ed, well turn-ed for me,  
Thy cage shall be made of the glittering gold  
(Although it was made of a tree?)-  
And the door of the best ivory.

John Vincent & Triddy, Dec. 21st 1905.

(879)

*E*

## THE COASTS OF HIGH BARBARY.

1. Look ahead, look a-stern, look the weather and the lee.  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
I see a wreck to windward and a lofty ship to lee,  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
2. Then hail her, our captain he call-ed o'er the side ;  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
O are you a pirate or a man-o'-war, he cried ?  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
3. O are you a pirate or man-o'-war, cried we ?  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
O no ! I'm not a pirate but a man-o'-war, cried he,  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
4. Then back up your topsails, and heave your vessel to,  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
For we have got some letters to be carried home by you.  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
5. We'll back up our topsails and heave our vessel to ;  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
But only in some harbour and along the side of you.  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
6. For broadside, for broadside, they fought all on the main ;  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
Until at last the frigate shot the pirate's mast away.  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
7. For quarters ! for quarters ! the saucy pirate cried.  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
The quarters that we showed them was to sink them in the tide,  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
8. With cutlass and gun O we fought for hours three ;  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
The ship it was their coffin, and their grave it was the sea.  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.
9. But O it was a cruel sight and griev-ed us full sore,  
Blow high ! Blow low ! and so sailed we.  
To see them all a-crowning as they tried to swim to shore.  
A-sailing down all on the coasts of High Barbary.



## COASTS OF HIGH BARBARY.

- 8 (Blow high, blow low and so sailed we  
 Down all on the coast of High Barbary.  
 O are you a frigate or a man o' war? cried he,  
 Blow high, etc. *blow low and so sailed we.*
2. I'm not a pirate but a man o' war, cried he,  
 a- Sailing down all on the ~~etc.~~ *coast of High Barbary.*
3. Then back up your topsails and heave your ship to  
 For I have some letters to send home by you.
- 3 We will back up our topsails and heave our ship to  
 But in some harbour alongside of you.
4. And for broadside, for broadside, we fought on the  
 main  
 Till the frigate shot the pirate's mast away
- 5 (Down on the coast of High Barbary.)
5. Then for quarters, for quarters the saucy pirate  
 cried;  
 But the quarters that I'll show you we'll sink you  
 in the sea,
- 6 (Sailing down all on the coast of High Barbary.

Joseph Laner (72) Bridgwater, Aug. 13th 1906.

(1001)

A

1278

COASTS OF BARBARY.

~~And a lofty to ship to lea.~~  
~~Blow high, etc.~~  
Look ahead look a-starn,  
(Look the weather and the lee  
(Blow high, etc.

I saw a wreck to windward,  
(And a lofty to ship to lea.  
Etc.

Extra verse given me by Joseph Lane (73)  
at Bridgwater, Aug. 7th 1907.

B

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The top system is a vocal line with lyrics: "all ... when I die." followed by "I have". Above the first part of the vocal line is the label "Verses 1-4." and above the second part is "Last verse.". The middle system is the piano accompaniment, starting with a dynamic marking of *pp*. The bottom system is the bass line, also with a dynamic marking of *pp*. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

## JACK HALL.

1. O my name it is Jack Hall, chimney sweep, chimney sweep,  
O my name it is Jack Hall, chimney sweep.  
O my name it is Jack Hall, and I've robbed both great and small,  
And my neck shall pay for all when I die, when I die,  
And my neck shall pay for all when I die.
2. I have twenty pounds in store, that's no joke, that's no joke.  
I have twenty pounds in store, that's no joke.  
I have twenty pounds in store, and I'll rob for twenty more,  
And my neck shall pay for all when I die, when I die,  
And my neck shall pay for all when I die.
3. O they tell me that in gaol I shall die, I shall die,  
O they tell me that in gaol I shall die.  
O they tell me that in gaol I shall drink no more brown ale,  
But be dashed if ever I fail till I die, till I die,  
But be dashed if ever I fail till I die.
4. O I rode up Tyburn Hill in a cart, in a cart,  
O I rode up Tyburn Hill in a cart.  
O I rode up Tyburn Hill, and 'twas there I made my will,  
Saying : The best of friends must part, so farewell, so farewell,  
Saying : The best of friends must part, so farewell !
5. Up the ladder I did grope, that's no joke, that's no joke,  
Up the ladder I did grope, that's no joke.  
Up the ladder I did grope, and the hangman spread the rope,  
O but never a word said I coming down, coming down,  
O but never a word said I coming down.

## JACK HALL.

My name it is Jack Hall, chimney sweep, chimney  
sweep,

My name it is Jack Hall, chimney sweep.

My name it is Jack Hall, I have scandals great  
and small.

My neck shall pay for all when I die, when I  
die,

My neck shall pay for all when I die.

They tell me that in gaol I shall die, I  
shall die,

They tell me that in gaol I shall die,

They tell me that in gaol I shall drink no

more brown ale,

But be dashed if ever I fail till I die, till  
I die,

But be dashed if ever I fail till I die.

I rode up Tyburn's Hill in a cart, in a cart,

I rode up Tyburn's Hill in a cart,

I rode up Tyburn's Hill and 'twas there I made  
my will,

Saying: The best of friends must part, so

farewell, so farewell,

Saying: The best of friends must part, so

farewell.

Louie Hooper & Lucy White, Hambridge.

Dec. 23rd 1903.

(50)

FWI-2 1-352

A

## JACK HALL.

My name it is Jack Hall, chimney sweep, chimney  
 sweep, (bis)  
 My name it is Jack Hall and I'll rob both great  
 and small  
 And my life shall pay for all when I die,  
 when I die (bis).

I've twenty pounds in store that's no joke, etc.  
 that's no joke (bis)  
 I've twenty pounds in store and I'll rob for  
 twenty more  
 And my life, etc.

I've candles lily-white, that's no joke, etc.  
 I've candles lily white, O I stole them in the  
 night  
 For to light me to the place where I lie, etc.

O I climbed up the ladder, that's no joke, etc.  
 O I climbed up the ladder and the hangman spread  
 the rope  
 And the devil of a word said I coming down, etc.

Wm. Nott, Sept. 14th 1904.

(455)

FW 3-4 361-727

B

## THE DILLY SONG.

1. *1st voice.* Come and I will sing to you.  
*2nd voice.* What will you sing to me?  
*1st voice.* I will sing one one-e-ry.  
*2nd voice.* What is your one-e-ry?  
*1st voice.* One and One is all alone, and evermore shall be so.
2. *1st voice.* Come and I will sing to you.  
*2nd voice.* What will you sing to me?  
*1st voice.* I will sing you two-e-ry.  
*2nd voice.* What is your two-e-ry?  
*1st voice.* Two and two are lily-white babes a-clothed all in green, O!  
 One and One is all alone, and evermore shall be so.
3. *1st voice.* Come and I will sing to you.  
*2nd voice.* What will you sing to me?  
*1st voice.* I will sing you three-e-ry.  
*2nd voice.* What is your three-e-ry?  
*1st voice.* Three of them are thrivers,  
 And two and two are lily-white babes a-clothed all in green, O!  
 One and One is all alone, and evermore shall be so.
4. *1st voice.* Come and I will sing to you.  
*2nd voice.* What will you sing to me?  
*1st voice.* I will sing you four-e-ry.  
*2nd voice.* What is your four-e-ry?  
*1st voice.* Four are the gospel makers.  
 Three of them are thrivers,  
 And two and two are lily-white babes a-clothed all in green, O!  
 One and One is all alone, and evermore shall be so.

*(The remaining verses are sung after the manner of all cumulative songs, i.e. each verse deals with the next highest number and contains a new line. The additional lines are shown in the last and twelfth verse which follows.)*

12. *1st voice.* Come and I will sing to you.  
*2nd voice.* What will you sing to me?  
*1st voice.* I will sing you twelve-e-ry.  
*2nd voice.* What is your twelve-e-ry?  
*1st voice.* Twelve are the twelve apostles.  
 Eleven and eleven are the keys of heaven,  
 And ten are the ten commandments.  
 Nine are the nine that brightly shine,  
 And eight are the eight commanders.  
 Seven are the seven stars in the sky,  
 And six are the six broad waiters.  
 Five are the flamboys under the boat,  
 And four are the gospel makers.  
 Three of them are thrivers,  
 And two and two are lily-white babes a-clothed all in green, O!  
 One and One is all alone, and evermore shall be so.

DILLY SONG.

Come and I will sing to you.  
What will you sing to me?  
I will sing you onery.:  
What is your onery?

12 is the 12 apostles  
11 is 11 the keys of heaven  
10 is the 10 commandments  
9 is the 9 that brighter shine  
And 8 is the 8 commanders  
7's the seven stars in the sky  
And 6 is the 6 broad waiters  
5 is the flam boys under the boat  
And 4 is the gospel makers  
3 of them was thrivers  
2 of them was lily-white babes  
Clothed all in green O  
And one and one is all alone and ever more shall  
be so.

Mrs. Jane Chapman, West Harptree, Aug. 29th  
1906.

(1098)

A

The image shows a musical score for the hymn 'Come All You Worthy Christian Men'. It consists of three staves: a vocal line at the top and a piano accompaniment at the bottom. The vocal line is in 2/4 time and has two endings. The lyrics are: 'soon got rich a - gain. Come all.' The piano accompaniment is in 2/4 time and features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The score is marked with '1st time.' and '2nd time.' for both the vocal and piano parts. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'V' (crescendo).

COME ALL YOU WORTHY CHRISTIAN  
MEN.

- 1 Come all you worthy Christian men  
That dwell upon this land,  
Don't spend your time in rioting :  
Remember you're but man.  
Be watchful for your latter end ;  
Be ready when you're called.  
There are many changes in this world ;  
Some rise while others fall.
- 2 Now, Job he was a patient man,  
The richest in the East :  
When he was brought to poverty,  
His sorrows soon increased.  
He bore them all most patiently ;  
From sin he did refrain ;  
He always trusted in the Lord ;  
He soon got rich again.
- 3 Come all you worthy Christian men  
That are so very poor,  
Remember how poor Lazarus  
Lay at the rich man's door,  
While begging of the crumbs of bread  
That from his table fell.  
The Scriptures do inform us all  
That in heaven he doth dwell.
- 4 The time, alas, it soon will come  
When parted we shall be ;  
But all the difference it will make  
Is in joy and misery.  
And we must give a strict account  
Of great as well as small :  
Believe me, now, dear Christian friends,  
That God will judge us all.



*Felt's Wards* 7-8 1087-1452

13C1  
13C2

COME ALL YOU WORTHY CHRISTIAN MEN.

Come all you worthy Christian men  
That dwells upon this land  
Don't spend your time in rioting  
Remember you're but man.  
Be watchful for your latter end  
Be ready when you're called  
There's many changes in this world  
Some rise when others fall.

Job he was a patient man  
The riches in the East,  
When he was brought to poverty  
His sorrows soon increased.  
He bore them all most patiently  
From sin he did refrain  
He always trusted in the Lord  
He soon got rich again.

Come all you worthy Christian man  
That are so very poor  
Remember our poor Lazarus  
Lay at the rich man's door  
And begging of the crumbs of bread  
That from his table fell  
The Scripture do inform us all  
In heaven he does dwell.

The time will come . . . .  
When departed we must be  
And all the difference it will be  
Is in joy and misery.  
And we must give a strict account  
As great as well as small  
Believe me now, dear Christian friends  
That God must judge us all.

Mrs. Woodbury (80) at Ash Friars,  
Aug. 17th 1907.

(1416)

A

## No. 89

Text as published, 'Gently Johnny My Jingalo', *Folk Songs from Somerset Series Four*  
p.31.

1. I put my hand all in her own,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
She said: If you love me alone  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.
2. I said: You know I love you , dear,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
She whispered softly in my ear:  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.
3. I placed my arm around her waist,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
She laughed and turned away her face:  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.
4. I kissed her lips like rubies red,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
She blushed; then tenderly she said:  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.
5. I slipped a ring all in her hand,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
She said: The parson's near at hand.  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.
6. I took her to the church next day,  
Fair maid is a lily O!  
The birds did sing, and she did say:  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do me injury;  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.

'Folk Wards' 7-8 1087-1452

1176

GENTLY JOHNNY MY JINGALO.

I put my hand all on her toe.  
Fair maid is a lily O,  
I put my hand all in her toe,  
She says to me you do want to go,  
Come to me quietly,  
Do not do no injury,  
Gently Johnny my Jingalo.

I put my hand all on her knee.  
She says to me do you want to see.

I put my hand all on her thigh  
She says to me do you want to try.

I put my hand all on her billy.  
She says to me do you want to fill 'ee.

I put my hand all on her breast.  
She says to me do you want a kiss.

I put my hand all on her head.  
She says you want my maidenhead.

William Tucker at Ashcott, Jan. 15th 1907.

(1187)

A

THE SHEEP-SHEARING.

1. How delightful to see,  
In those evenings in Spring,  
The sheep going home to the fold :  
The Master doth sing,  
As he views everything,  
And his dog goes before him where told.
2. The sixth month of the year,  
In the month call-ed June,  
When the weather's too hot to be borne,  
The Master doth say,  
As he goes on his way,  
To-morrow my sheep shall be shorn.
3. Now, as for those sheep,  
They're delightful to see ;  
They're a blessing to a man on his farm.  
For their flesh it is good,  
It's the best of all food,  
And the wool it will clothe us up warm.
4. Now, the sheep they're all shorn,  
And the wool carried home,  
Here's a health to our master and flock ;  
And, if we should stay  
Till the last goes away,  
I'm afraid 'twill be past twelve o'clock.

1323

1324

SHEEP SHEARING.

How delightful to see  
In those evenings in Spring  
When the sheep are a-going to the fold,  
The master do sing as he goes on his way  
And the dog goes before him when told.

The sixth month of the year  
In the month called June  
When the weather's too hot to be borne,  
The master do say as he goes on his way,  
Tomorrow my sheep shall be shorn.

Now as for those sheep  
They're delightful to see,  
They're a blessing to xa man on his farm,  
For their flesh it is good,  
It's the best of all food,  
And the wool it will clothe us up warm.

(verse omitted)

Now the sheep they're all shorn  
And the wool carried home,  
Here's a health to our master and flock,  
And if we should stay  
Till we all goes away,  
I'm afraid 'twill be ppast twelve o'clock.

Mrs. Donnett at Staplehay, Pitminster,  
Aug. 23rd 1907.

(1442)

A

ter - ror to me. You are me.

Three times. Fourth time.

Three times. Fourth time.

p cres. dim. p

## THE SAUCY SAILOR.

1. COME, my dearest, come, my fairest,  
Come and tell unto me,  
Will you pity a poor sailor boy  
Who has just come from sea?
2. I can fancy no poor sailor :  
No poor sailor for me !  
For to cross the wide ocean  
Is a terror to me.
3. You are ragged, love, you are dirty, love,  
And your clothes they smell of tar.  
So begone, you saucy sailor boy,  
So begone, you Jack Tar !
4. If I'm ragged, love, if I'm dirty, love,  
If my clothes they smell of tar,  
I have silver in my pocket, love,  
And of gold a bright store.
5. When she heard these words come from him,  
On her bended knees she fell :  
To be sure, I'll wed my sailor,  
For I love him so well.
6. Do you think that I am foolish ?  
Do you think that I am mad ?  
That I'd wed with a poor country girl  
Where no fortune's to be had ?
7. I will cross the briny ocean  
Where the meadows they are green ;  
Since you have had the offer, love,  
Another shall have the ring.
8. For I'm young, love, and I'm frolicksome,  
I'm good-tempered, kind and free :  
And I don't care a straw, love,  
What the world says of me.

FW 3-4 361-727

697

THE SAUCY SAILOR EGY.

Come my dearest, come my fairest,  
Come tell to me, I pray,  
Will you pity a poor sailor boy  
Who has now returned from sea?

I won't pity no poor sailor boy,  
Nor his bride I won't be,  
For a-crossing the briny ocean, love,  
Is a turpent to me.

I will cross some briny ocean, love,  
There there's maidens to be seen.  
Since you have had the offer love,  
Some other girl shall wear the ring.

Thomas Hendy at Ilminster, Aug. 30th 1905.

(618)

A

SAUCY SAILOR.

Come my dearest,  
Come my fairest,  
And tell unto me;  
Can you fancy a poor sailor ..  
Just returned from sea.

I can fancy no poor sailor,  
No poor sailor for me,  
For in crossing the wide ocean  
He's a terror to me.

You are dirty, you are ragged,  
Your clothes smell of tar.  
Go from me, don't come near me,  
You dirty sailor Tar.

If I'm dirty, if I'm ragged,  
And my clothes smell of tar.  
I have money in my pocket, love,  
And gold laid in store.

I can cross the wide ocean  
In the middle of the Spring  
If you had the starfer, love, <sup>afice</sup>  
And another shall have the ring.

Eliza Woodberry (79) at Ash Priors  
Aug. 22nd 1907.

(1457)

*B*



The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with the lyrics: "round, around, a-round, And the green leaves grew a - round. (3) And - round." Above the staff, there are two boxes: "Verses 2-8." and "9th verse." The middle and bottom staves are the piano accompaniment, with the middle staff being the right hand and the bottom staff being the left hand. The music is in a simple, folk-like style with a clear melody and accompaniment.

THE TREE IN THE WOOD.

1. ALL in a wood there grew a tree,  
The finest tree you ever did see,  
And the green leaves grew around, around, around,  
And the green leaves grew around.
2. And on this tree there was a limb,  
The finest limb you ever did see,  
The limb was on the tree,  
The tree was in the wood,  
And the green leaves grew around,  
around, around,  
And the green leaves grew around.
3. And on this limb there was a branch,  
The finest branch you ever did see,  
The branch was on the limb,  
The limb was on the tree,  
The tree was in the wood,  
And the green leaves, etc., etc.
4. And on this branch there was a nest,  
The finest nest you ever did see,  
The nest was on the branch,  
The branch was on the limb, etc., etc.
5. And in this nest there was an egg,  
The finest egg you ever did see, etc., etc.
6. And in this egg there was a yolk,  
The finest yolk etc., etc.
7. And in this yolk there was a bird,  
The finest bird etc., etc.
8. And on this bird there was a wing,  
The finest wing etc., etc.
9. And on this wing there was a feather,  
The finest feather you ever did see,  
The feather was on the wing,  
The wing was on the bird,  
The bird was in the yolk,  
The yolk was in the egg,  
The egg was in the nest,  
The nest was on the branch,  
The branch was on the limb,  
The limb was on the tree,  
The tree was in the wood,  
And the green leaves grew around, around, around,  
And the green leaves grew around.

FW 7-8

1346

TREE IN THE WOOD.

Branch was on the tree  
Tree was in the wood  
Limb was on the tree  
Branch was on the limb  
Nest was on the branch  
Egg was in the nest  
Yolk was in the egg  
Bird was in the yolk  
Feathers was on the bird.

William Tucker at Ashcott,  
Sept. 6th 1907.

(1467)

A

## O NO, JOHN.

- 1 O yonder hill there stands a creature ;  
 Who she is I do not know.  
 I'll go and court her for her beauty ;  
 She must answer Yes or No.  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 2 My father was a Spanish Captain—  
 Went to sea a month ago.  
 First he kissed me, then he left me—  
 Bid me always answer No.  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 3 O Madam in your face is beauty,  
 On your lips red roses grow.  
 Will you take me for your lover ?  
 Madam, answer Yes or No.  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 4 O Madam, I will give you jewels ;  
 I will make you rich and free ;  
 I will give you silken dresses.  
 Madam, will you marry me ?  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 5 O Madam, since you are so cruel,  
 And that you do scorn me so,  
 If I may not be your lover,  
 Madam, will you let me go ?  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 6 Then I will stay with you for ever,  
 If you will not be unkind.  
 Madam, I have vowed to love you ;  
 Would you have me change my mind ?  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !
- 7 O hark ! I hear the church bells ringing :  
 Will you come and be my wife ?  
 Or, dear Madam, have you settled  
 To live single all your life ?  
 O No John ! No John ! No John ! No !

'Folk Wines' 7-8 (1027-1452)

1285  
1286

NO JCHN.

On yonder hill there stands a creature,  
Who she is I do not know,  
I'll go and court her for her beauty,  
She must answer Yes or No.  
O no John, no John, no John, no.

On her bosom one bunch of posies  
On her breast where flowers grow,  
If I should chance to touch that posy  
She must answer Yes or No.

My husband was but a Spanish Captain  
Went to sea but a month ago,  
And the very last time we kissed and parted  
He always bid me answer No.

One night they went to bed together  
There they lay till the cocks did crow,  
Then they sport till the daylight was breaking,  
Now it's time for us to go.

Madam, shall I tie your garter  
Tie it a little above your knee,  
If my hand should slip a little farther  
Would you think it amiss of me?

William Wooley at Bincombe,  
Aug. 12th 1907.

(1398)

A

## SWEET LOVELY JOAN.

1. A story to you I will relate,  
Concerning of a pretty maid ;  
Concerning of sweet lovely Joan,  
As she sat milking all alone.
2. A noble knight he rode with speed,  
All mounted on his milk-white steed ;  
He rode, he rode, himself alone,  
Until he came to lovely Joan.
3. Good morning to you, my pretty maid.  
O twice good morning, sir, she said.  
What ! are you milking all alone ?  
O yes ! replied sweet lovely Joan.
4. Then out he pull-ed his purse of gold,  
And said : Fair maid, do this behold !  
All this I'll give, if me you'll wed.  
Her cheeks they blushed like roses red.
5. O noble knight, I pray you forbear,  
I cannot marry you, I swear ;  
For on to-morrow I'm to wed  
My own, my own true love instead.
6. 'Twas then he made her a solemn vow,  
He'd wed her if she would or no ;  
But this he said to frighten Joan,  
As she sat milking all alone.
7. Give me the gold, sir, into my hand,  
And I will be at your command ;  
For that will be more good to me  
Than twenty husbands, sir, said she.
8. As he was looking across the mead,  
She mounted on his milk-white steed.  
He called, he called, 'twas all in vain ;  
She never once looked back again.
9. She did not feel that she was safe,  
Until she reached her true-love's gate.  
She'd robbed him of his steed and gold,  
And left him an empty purse to hold.
10. It pleased her lover to the heart  
To think how well she'd played her part ;  
To-morrow morning we'll be wed,  
And I will be the knight instead.

'Folk Wonders' 7-8 1087-1452

1129,  
1130

SWEET LOVELY JOAN.

1. A story to you I will relate  
Concerning a pretty maid,  
Sweet lovely Joan where she was  
Milking all alone.
2. Good morning to you, my pretty maid;  
Twice good morning, sir, she said.  
What! are you milking all-alone?  
O yes, ~~she~~ replied sweet lovely Joan.
3. Then out he pulled his purse of gold.  
He said: Pretty maid, do this behold.  
This I'll give you for your maidenhead  
And her cheeks they blushed like the roses red.
4. Give me the gold into my hand  
That I may neither stop nor stand  
For that will do more good for me  
Than twenty maidenheads, said she.
5. While he was looking round for a bed  
She mounted on her milk-white steed.  
He called, he called, but 'twas all in vain  
And she never once looked back again.

Jim Proll (75) at Monksilver,  
Sept. 10th 1906.

1141

A

Dew. I'm going to feed my fa-ther's flock, His young and ten - der lambs, That

*cres.* *p* *p*

o - ver hills and o - ver dales Lie wait-ing for their dams. O

*cres.* *p* *p* *dim. e rall.* FINE

## SEARCHING FOR LAMBS.

- 1 As I went out one May morning,  
One May morning betime,  
I met a maid, from home had strayed,  
Just as the sun did shine.
- 2 What makes you rise so soon, my dear,  
Your journey to pursue?  
Your pretty little feet they tread so sweet,  
Strike off the morning dew.
- 3 I'm going to feed my father's flock,  
His young and tender lambs,  
That over hills and over dales  
Lie waiting for their dams.
- 4 O stay! O stay! you handsome maid,  
And rest a moment here,  
For there is none but you alone,  
That I do love so dear.
- 5 How gloriously the sun doth shine,  
How pleasant is the air,  
I'd rather rest on a true-love's breast  
Than any other where.
- 6 For I am thine, and thou art mine;  
No man shall uncomf'ort thee;  
We'll join our hands in wedded bands  
And a-married we will be.

'Folk Winds' 7-8 1087-1452

1295  
1296

SEARCHING FOR LAMBS.

As I went out one May morning,  
One May morning betimes,  
I overtook a handsome maid  
Just as the sun was rise.

What makes you rise so soon, my dear,  
Your journey to pursue.  
Your pretty little feet they tread so sweet  
Strike off the morning dew.

I am going to feed my father's flock,  
It's young and tender lambs,  
It's over hills and over dales  
Lay waiting for their dames.

How glorious like the sun do shine,  
How pleasant across the mead;  
But I'd rather be in my true love's arms  
Than any other where.

For I am thine and thou art mine,  
No man shall uncomfört me.  
We'll join our hands  
In a wedded band  
And a-married we will be.

Mr. Sweet (68) at Semerton, Aug. 16th 1907.

(1404)

A



3rd time.

I will bake and I will brew, Fal lal lal lal lai li - do, And

3rd time.

f marcato.

I will cook your meat for you, Said Ruggleton's daughter of I - e - ro.

rall. sfz.

RUGGLETON'S DAUGHTER OF IERO.

- 1 There was a man lived in the West ;  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
He married a wife—she was not of the best ;  
She was Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 2 Said he, when he came in from plough :  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
Ho ! is my dinner ready now ?  
To Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 3 O if your dinner you must have,  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
Then get it yourself ; I am not your  
slave,  
Said Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 4 For I won't brew and I won't bake,  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
And I won't make my white hands black,  
Said Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 5 O you shall brew and you shall bake,  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido, [black—  
And you shall make your white hands  
To Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 6 He took a stick down off the rack ;  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
And on the back went rickety rack  
Of Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.
- 7 I will bake and I will brew,  
Fal lal lal lal lal lido,  
And I will cook your meat for you,  
Said Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.

'Folk Words' 7-8 1087-1452

1299  
1300

RUGGLETON'S DAUGHTER OF IERO.

There was a man lived in the West,  
Fal la lal lal lal li do  
He married a wife, she was not of the best,  
She was Ruggleton's daughter of Iero.

Her husband he came in from plough,  
Fal, etc.  
He said: Good wife is my dinner ready now  
To Ruggleton's, etc.

If your dinner you must have  
You may get it yourself for I won't be your slave  
Said Ruggleton's, etc.

I won't bake and I won't brew  
And I won't make my white hands black  
Said Ruggleton's, etc.

You shall bake and you shall brew  
And you shall make your white hands black  
To Ruggleton's, etc.

He took a stick down off the rack  
And on to the back went rickety rack  
Of Ruggleton's, etc.

I will bake and I will brew  
And I will cook your meat for you,  
Said Ruggleton's, etc.

Miss Gooding (Henson's song) at Somerton,  
Aug. 16th 1907.

(1414)

A

## THE CRUEL MOTHER.

1. THERE was a lady, dwelt in York ;  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
She fell in love with her father's clerk,  
Down by the green wood side O.
2. She laid her head against a stone,  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
And there she made most bitter moan,  
Down by the green wood side O.
3. She took a knife, both long and sharp,  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
And stabbed her babes unto the heart,  
Down by the green wood side O.
4. As she was walking home one day,  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
She met those babes all dressed in white,  
Down by the green wood side O.
5. She said : Dear children, can you tell  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
Where I shall go ? To heav'n or hell ?  
Down by the green wood side O.
6. O yes ! dear mother, we can tell ;  
Fal the dal the di-do.  
For it's we to heav'n, and you to hell.  
Down by the green wood side O.

THE CRUEL MOTHER.

There was a lady dwell in York  
Fal the dal the dido  
She fell in love with her father's clerk  
Down by the green wood side O.

She took a knife both sharp and long  
And stab those baby unto the heart.

She laid her head against a stone  
And there she made most bitter groans.

As she was walking home one day  
She met those babes all dressed in white.

They said: Dear mother can you tell .  
Where we shall go heaven or hell?

O yes, dear mother, we can tell;  
For it's we to heaven and you to hell.

Sent me by letter by Eliza Woodberry,  
Oct. 4th 1907.

A

FW 7-8

1333

1334

THE CRUEL MOTHER.

There was a lady dwell in York,  
Fal the dal the dido,  
She fell in love with her father's clerk  
Down by the green wood side C.

As she was walking home one day,  
Fal the dal the dido,  
She met those babes all dressed in white  
Down by the, etc.

She said: Dear children where have you been?

.....

O yes, dear mother, we can tell,  
For it's we to heaven and you to hell.

Mrs. Woodberry (60) at Ash Priors  
Aug. 31st 1907.

(1454)

B

# No. 99

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, with lyrics: "whis - per soft - ly in her ear. I to my grave." Above the first two measures of the vocal line are the markings "Four times." and above the last two measures is "Fifth time." The middle staff is the piano accompaniment, starting with a "p" dynamic. It includes markings for "p<sup>ia</sup> rall." and "a tempo." The piece concludes with a "FINE" marking.

## ARISE ! ARISE !

- |                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1 ARISE, arise, you drowsy maiden.<br/>Arise, arise, it is almost day ;<br/>O come unto your bedroom window<br/>And hear what your true love do say.</p>                       | <p>3 I won't be gone ; I love no other ;<br/>It's you alone that I love, my dear ;<br/>And I, fair maid, I love you dearly :<br/>The pains of love have brought me here.</p>   |
| <p>2 Begone, begone, you'll wake my mother ;<br/>My father, too, he will quickly hear.<br/>Go, tell your tales unto some other,<br/>And whisper softly in her ear.</p>            | <p>4 Now, when he heard this couple talking,<br/>The old man nimbly jumped out of bed,<br/>And put his head out of the window—<br/>Poor Johnny dear, he quickly fled.</p>      |
| <p>5 Turn back, turn back, don't be called a rover ;<br/>Turn back, turn back, and come to my side.<br/>O wait until his passion's over,<br/>And I will surely be your bride.</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p>6 Then in your bedroom I'll confine you,<br/>And John to sea I will send away,<br/>And you may write your love a letter,<br/>And he may read it in Botany Bay.</p>             |                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p>7 O father, then pay down my fortune—<br/>It's fifty thousand bright pounds you know—<br/>And I will cross the briny ocean,<br/>Go where the stormy winds do blow.</p>         |                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p>8 O daughter, you may ease your own mind,<br/>It's for your sweet sake that I say so,<br/>If you do cross the briny ocean,<br/>Without your fortune you must go.</p>           | <p>9 O daughter, daughter, I'll confine you,<br/>I will confine you all in your room,<br/>And you shall live on bread and water,<br/>Brought once a day, and that at noon.</p> |
| <p>10 I will not stay in my bed-chamber,<br/>Your bread and water I will not have ;<br/>If I can't wed my heart's desire,<br/>Then single I'll go to my grave.</p>                |                                                                                                                                                                                |

ARISE ARISE.

Arise, arise, you pretty (drowsy) maiden,  
Arise, arise, it's almost day,  
And come unto your bedroom window  
And hear what your true Love do say.

Begone, begone, you'll awake my father,  
My mother she can quickly hear;  
Go and tell your tales unto some other  
And whisper softly in their ear.

I won't be gone for I love no other  
You are the girl that I adore;  
It's I my dear who love you dearly,  
It's the pains of love that have brought me here.

Then the old man heard the couple talking,  
He so nimbly stepped out of bed,  
Putting his head out of the window,  
Johnny dear was quickly fled.

Now daughter dear, tell me the reason  
You will not let me take my silent rest.  
I'll have you confined to your bedchamber  
And your true love to sea I will press.

Now father dear, pay down my fortune,  
It's full five hundred pound you know,  
That I may cross the briny ocean  
Where the stormy winds do blow.

Now daughter dear, you may ease your own mind  
'Tis for your sweet sake that I say so;  
If you cross the briny ocean  
Without your fortune you must go.

Susie Clarke per Jack Barnard at Bridgwater,  
April 6th 1907.

(1509)

A

ARISE ARISE.

Awake, awake, O you drowsy sleeper,  
Awake, awake, for it's almost day.  
How can you sleep, you most charming creature,  
Since you have stoled my heart away.

Begone, begone, you will wake my mother,  
And my father he shall quickly hear.  
Begone, begone, love, and court some other  
And whisper softly in their ear.

When her father heard them talking  
He nimbly jumped right out of bed.  
He put his head out of the window  
And this young man was quickly fled.

Turn back, turn back, don't be called a rover,  
Turn back, turn back, a-get by my side.  
And you must wait till his passion's over.  
Johnnie I surely will be your bride.

O daughter, daughter, I'll confined you,  
And young Johnnie he shall go to sea.  
And you may write your love a letter  
And he may read it in Botany Bay.

I won't write my true love a letter,  
Johnnie he shan't go to sea.  
I won't write my true love a letter  
Nor he shan't read it in Botany Bay.

O father, father, pay down my fortune,  
That is twelve thousand bright pounds you know  
And I will cross the briny ocean  
Where hills and vallies is covered with snow.

O daughter, daughter, I'll confined you  
In your private room alone,  
And you shall live upon bread and water  
Day after day and so late at noon.

3



FW 7-8

1338

ARISE ARISE - Cont.

I'll have none of your bread and water  
Not one thing or more you have  
If I can't have my own heart's desire,  
Single I'll go to my silent grave.

Mrs. Rebecca Holland at Starford Common,  
Sept. 21st 1907.

(Same tune as Bridgwater)

C

## BRIDGWATER FAIR.

1. All you who roam, both young and old,  
Come listen to my story bold.  
For miles around, from far and near,  
They come to see the rigs o' the fair.  
O Master John, do you beware!  
And don't go kissing the girls at Bridgwater fair.
2. The lads and lasses they come through  
From Stowey, Stogursey and Cannington too.  
That farmer from Fiddingtón, true as my life,  
He's come to the fair to look for a wife.  
O Master John, etc. etc.
3. There's Tom and Jack, they look so gay,  
With Sal and Kit they haste away  
To shout and laugh and have a spree,  
And dance and sing right merrily.  
O Master John, etc., etc.
4. The jovial ploughboys all serene,  
They dance the maidens on the green.  
Says John to Mary: Don't you know  
We won't go home till morning, O?  
O Master John, etc. etc.
5. There's carrotty Kit, so jolly and fat,  
With her girt flippety, floppety hat;  
A hole in her stocking as big as a crown,  
And the hoops of her skirt hanging down to the ground.  
O Master John, etc., etc.
6. It's up with the fiddle and off with the dance,  
The lads and lasses gaily prance;  
And when it's time to go away  
They swear to meet again next day.  
O Master John, do you beware!  
And don't go kissing the girls at Bridgwater fair.

FW 5-6 729-1086

1018,  
1019

BRIDGWATER FAIR.

Come lads and lasses, pray attend  
Unto these lines that's just been penned  
From miles around both far and near  
That come to see the rigs o' the Fair.  
So Master John,  
So now beware  
Don't go kissing the girls at Bridgwater Fair.

There's Tom and Billy they look so gay,  
With Sal and Kit they haste away,  
They drink and sing and such a spree  
And then they'll dance them on their knee.

But after walking round the Fair  
Viewing all the things that's there  
You'll get so drunk now I'll be bound  
You'll roll and tumble on the ground.

The jovial ploughboys all serene  
Will dance the maidens on the green  
But says John, to Mary; Don't you know  
We won't get home till morning O.

There's carotty Kit so jolly and fat  
With her girt ricketty flipperty flopperty hat,  
Hole in her stocking as big as a crown,  
Scops of her skirt hanging down to the ground.

But Master Dick that nasty toad  
He kissed the girls all on the road.

So now to finish up my song  
I hope I have said nothing wrong.  
But don't get dancing on the green  
The girls that wear the crinoline.

Bill Bailey of Cannington, Aug. 6th 1906.

(974)

A

FW 7-8

1182

BRIDGWATER FAIR.

Come all that's around me and listen awhile,  
I will sing you a ditty that'll cause you to smile  
Concerning the wonderful sights I declare  
That you've all seen to-day at Bridgwater Fair.

Then's the old and the young they're all coming in  
The lads and the lasses they'll dance on the green.  
Here's the farmer of Spaxton, 'tis true as my  
life,  
He's come to the Fair to look for a wife.

From Stovey and Stigoursēy (?) and Cannington too  
With all the young bloomen there's such for to do;  
And so you will hear in the course of my song  
The maidens from Comlitch (?) will join in the throng.

Here's old Master Snob but I don't know his name  
Keep winking his eye there at Miss Mary Jane.  
He's a good judge of a woman, it's true on my life,  
He could do a good job on another man's wife.

It's up with the fiddle and away with the dance,  
The lads and the lasses away they will prance.  
Sweet pretty maidens they're all coming in  
So mind you don't rumple their new crinoline.

Henry Richall, Bedmoh<sup>st</sup>, Jan. 16th 1907.

(1195)

B

## No. 101

## THE BRISK YOUNG BACHELOR.

- 1 Once I was a brisk young bachelor,  
Till I gained a handsome wife ;  
I wanted some one to live by me,  
Help me lead a sober life.  
    With my whack fal lor, the diddle and the dido,  
    Whack fal lor, the diddle-i-day.
- 2 First half year that I was married,  
She'd not do a stroke of work,  
But always grumbled, always scolded,  
Made me savage as a Turk.  
    With my whack fal lor, etc.
- 3 In the morning very early,  
Before to work that I do go,  
She makes me rise and light the fire ;  
And the bellows I've to blow.  
    With my whack fal lor, etc.
- 4 Home come I both wet and weary,  
No dry clothes for to put on,  
But right upstairs and down in the cellar  
With the kettle I must run.  
    With my whack fal lor, etc.
- 5 If I scarcely make an answer,  
She will say : O come ! come ! come !  
The women say they will have pleasure ;  
Poor man's work is never a-done.  
    With my whack fal lor, etc.
- 6 Listen all you brisk young bachelors !  
If that you would happy be,  
When you want some one to live by you,  
Think of what has come to me.  
    With my whack fal lor, the diddle and the dido,  
    Whack fal lor, the diddle-i-day.

## THE BRISK YOUNG BACHELOR.

Once I was a brisk young bachelor  
 Till my mind was never content  
 For the want of a wife for to lie by me  
 To keep me quiet and a sober life.  
 With my whack-fal, -etc. (see *manuscript*)

The first half year that I was married  
 Scarce one hour could I get to sleep.  
 She rubbed my shins till the blood did twinkle  
 Crying out; Husband are you asleep.

Home comes I both wet and weary,  
 No dry clothes for to put on;  
 Right upstairs and down in the corner  
 With the kettle I must run.

And if I scarcely make an answer  
 She will say 'tis Come come come.  
 The women say they will have pleasure  
 Poor man's labour is never done.

Robert Farish at Exford, Aug. 20th 1907.

(1422)

A

## No. 102

where you will, he's my love still, He's my bon - ny light - er - boy. ....

*f marcato.* *rall.* *dim.* *p* FINE.

## THE BONNY LIGHTER-BOY.

- 1 It's of a brisk young sailor lad,  
And he a prentice bound ;  
And she a merchant's daughter,  
With fifty thousand pound.  
They loved each other dearly,  
In sorrow and in joy :  
Let him go where he will, he's my love still,  
He's my bonny lighter-boy.
- 2 'Twas in my father's garden,  
Beneath the willow tree,  
He took me up all in his arms,  
And kissed me tenderly.  
Down on the ground we both sat down,  
And talked of love and joy :  
Let him say what he will, he's my love still,  
He's my bonny lighter-boy.
- 3 Her father, he being near her,  
He heard what she did say.  
He cried : Unruly daughter,  
I'll send him far away ;  
On board a ship I'll have him pressed,  
I'll rob you of your joy :  
Send him where you will, he's my love still,  
He's my bonny lighter-boy.

THE LIGHTER BOY.

It's of a brisk young sailor lad  
And he a prentice bound  
And she a rich merchant's daughter  
With fifty thousand pound.

. . . . .  
. . . . .

'Twas in her father's garden  
Beneath the willow tree,  
I took her in my arms  
And I used her gently.  
Down on the ground we both sat down  
Until some length of joy,  
Let him do what he will  
He's my love still,  
He's my bonny lighter boy.

Now her father he being near her  
And heard what she did say.  
He says: You unruly daughter,  
I'll send him far away,  
On board a ship I will him send,  
I'll rob you of your joy,  
Send him where you will  
He's my love still,  
He's my bonny lighter boy.

Richard Laner (73) at Bridgwater,  
Aug. 7th 1804.

(1335)

A



O James Mac-don - ald you must now be hanged Up -

- on the gal - lows tree.

JAMES MACDONALD.

1. You young and old that are so bold,  
I hope you will a-draw near;  
For it's one of the cruellest murders  
That ever you did hear.  
It's all of a lovely fair maid;  
Her age was scarce sixteen,  
And her beauty and pride was my delight---  
When something came between.
2. This girl she was a servant maid,  
And I had been a farmer's man.  
All in the county of Longford  
Our courting it began.  
When I was going for to murder her,  
I gave her this reply:  
O Annie we will go no further,  
For here you have to die.

3. O James think of your infant dear  
And do not give me fright  
And don't give me a twain-murder  
'Tis dark and grisly night,  
I pray to God all on my bended knees,  
'Tis but if you spare my life,  
I'll promise never more to trouble you,  
Nor ask to be your wife.
4. But what she said 'twas all in vain,  
I swore I'd hear her no more,  
And I struck her with a heavy loaded whip,  
And left her in her gore.  
And when I saw her dear body  
A-lying on the ground,  
I turned my back and quickly ran away  
Where I should not be found.
5. 'Twas on a Monday morning,  
All by the break of day,  
By chance there was a shepherd's daughter  
A-passing by this way.  
She saw the maid a-lying on the fern  
And went to her relief,  
And when she saw a twain-murder,  
Her heart was filled with grief.
6. She cried aloud for help to come;  
The news it soon was carried round;  
And they searched the country far and near,  
'Till the murd'rer he was found.  
Then quickly they at once surrounded him;  
He told to them his name;  
And they bound him fast and took him prisoner,  
And locked him up in gaol.
7. And there he lay with troubled mind,  
Until it was his trial day;  
And when they had found him guilty,  
The judge to him did say:  
It's ail for a cruel murder  
Your death it now must be;  
O James Macdonald you must now be hanged  
Upon the Gallows tree.

1312  
1313

EXECUTION SONG - Cont.

When the police and doctor was sent for,  
Likewise the policeman too,  
When they found the information  
They went off in a Scilly gold. (disguise)  
They quickly surrounded him  
And he told to them his name  
And they locked him up as a prisoner  
And locked him in Wicklow gaol.

And there he lays in a troublesome mind  
Until his trial day  
And the judge he found him guilty  
To him he did a re say.  
It's all for a crudellest murderer  
Being all in a cruel state  
On the twenty first of April  
You shall die on the gallows stake.

Your name is James Macdonald  
His life we have to part  
And for murder of Arne O' Bryant  
We were sorry to our very heart (to hear of it).

Betsy Holland (26) at Simonsbath,  
Aug. 20th 1907.

(1428)

A

EXECUTION SONG.

You young and old, you now make bold,  
I hope you will a-draw near,  
For it's one of the cruellest maddeness murderers  
That ever you did hear.  
'Tis all for a loverlie fair maid,  
Her age was scarce sixteen  
And her beauty and pride was my delight  
When something did aggrieve.

The girl had been a servant girl  
And I've been a farmer's man (servant man)  
All in the County of Longford.  
Convenient for to mind  
When I was going to muder her  
I gave her this reply  
For Andell go no furdere  
For here you has to die.

She said: James, look on your infant dear  
And don't give me a fright  
And don't give me a twain murderer  
This dark old grisly night.  
For I pray to God all on my knees  
If you would spare my life  
And never more I'd trouble you  
Or ask to be your wife.

For what she said it was all in vain  
He gave her such a dreadful blow  
And with the heavy loaded whip  
He left her all in her gore.

For 'twas of last Monday morning  
All by the break of day  
All for a shepherd's daughter  
By chance to go this way  
And saw her lying on the foaym (fern?)  
And came to her relief  
Saying I'm sure we've had a twain murderer  
Will you go and fetch to me the police.

B

he would not rise and un - button his eyes, And a - way to the woods for green broom, green broom,

*cres.*

And a - way to the woods for green broom. Then broom.....

*f* *dim.* *p* *p* *rall.*

1st & 2nd times. 3rd time.

GREEN BROOM.

1. There was an old man and he lived in the West  
 And his trade was a-cutting of broom, green broom ;  
 He had but one son and his name it was John,  
 And he li-ed a-bed till 'twas noon, bright noon,  
 And he li-ed a-bed till 'twas noon.
  
2. The old man arose and untò his son goes,  
 And he swore he'd set fire to his room, his room,  
 If he would not rise and unbutton his eyes,  
 And away to the woods for green broom, green broom,  
 And away to the woods for green broom.
  
3. Then Jack he did rise and did sharpen his knives,  
 And he went to the woods cutting broom, green broom,  
 To market and fair, crying everywhere :  
 O fair maids, do you want any broom, green broom ?  
 O fair maids, do you want any broom ?

4. A lady sat up in her window so high,  
And she heard Johnny crying green broom, green broom ;  
She rung for her maid and untò her she said :  
O go fetch me the lad that cries broom, green broom,  
O go fetch me the lad that cries broom.
5. Then John he came back, and upstairs he did go,  
And he entered that fair lady's room, her room.  
Dear Johnny, said she, O can you fancy me,  
Will you marry a lady in bloom, in bloom ?  
Will you marry a lady in bloom ?
6. Then John gave consent, and untò the church went,  
And he married this lady in bloom, in bloom.  
Said she : I protest there is none in the West  
Is so good as the lad who sells broom, green broom,  
Is so good as the lad who sells broom.

A

1249  
1250

GREEN BROOM.

There was an old man, <sup>and</sup> he lived in the West  
And his trade was selling of brooms, green brooms:  
He had but one son and his name it was John  
And he li-ed a-bed till 'twas noon, bright noon,  
And he li-ed a-bed till 'twas noon.

The old man arose and put on his clothes  
And swear he'd set fire in John's room,  
If you don't rise and open them eyes  
And away to the wood for green broom.

Then John he arose and put on his clothes,  
Away to the wood for more brooms.  
To market and fairs and any other wheres  
Crying: Ladies, do you want any broom, green broom.

A lady was up in a window so high,  
She heard poor Johnny crying Brooms green brooms.  
She ringed for her maid and unto her said:  
Go and fetch me the lad that sells brooms, etc.

Then John is come back and upstairs he went  
And he entered this fair lady's room.  
Dear Johnny, said she, can you fancy me  
To marry a lady in bloom.

Then John he consent and unto the church went  
And he married this lady in bloom.  
She found a protess (sic) there was none in the  
Was so good as the lad who sell brooms, etc. <sup>West</sup>

John Fackrell at Bridgwater,  
April 10th 1907..

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