

**The Rescue, Reclamation or
Plunder of English Folk-Song? :**
**A History of the Folk-Song
Society 1898-1932**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the University of
Sheffield: Department of History for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

by

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(February 2011)

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Abstract

The collection of folk-songs in late Victorian England was part of a wider craze for collecting and categorising all manner of things. In the case of folk-songs the approach was antiquarian and initially centred on texts rather than tunes. Out of this there grew an interest in gathering songs from oral sources in the field and this was further spurred on by the discovery that the tunes used were, in many cases, based on the old modes. The discovery of this native 'peasant' music coincided with a growing sense of urgency within the music establishment to re-establish an English style of music. This fed into the need felt by many to re-invigorate patriotic and nationalistic feelings in the population at large. By the end of the century there was a small group of active collectors who responded to an initiative from the Irish Literary Society in London and, together with the support of the music colleges and influential members of the music establishment, they formed the nucleus of the Folk-Song Society.

Existing scholarship focuses mainly on the collection of folk-songs in England up to the outbreak of the First World War. Moreover, much of the work produced in the past forty years has addressed a narrow set of questions often adopting a Marxist perspective in arguing that middle-class enthusiasts appropriated the songs they collected for their own purposes, both financial and political.

This thesis provides a history of the Folk-Song Society covering the full thirty four years of its existence as an independent body and argues that the early collectors were motivated by a desire to rescue folk-songs which they believed were in danger of dying out with the ageing generation that preserved them. Their actions in selecting and altering the songs for publication are viewed in the light of the constraints, conventions and mores of their time. An assessment is provided of this small and specialised organisation within the social and intellectual context of the early twentieth century, detailing the work and achievements of the early pioneers and explaining the personal relationships and connections that underlay the creation of this influential society.

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Abbreviations used in the text

Board of Education	BOE
English Folk Dance Society	EFDS
English Folk Dance and Song Society	EFDSS
Folk-Song Society	FSS
Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society	<i>JEFDSS</i>
Journal of the Folk-Song society	<i>JFSS</i>
Musical Times	<i>MT</i>
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography	<i>ODNB</i>
Surrey History Centre	SHC
Vaughan Williams Memorial Library	VWML

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this thesis took root a long time ago but full-time work and my own indecision as to where to focus such a study prevented me from starting sooner. I had long held an academic interest in folk-song which was stimulated in particular by A. L. Lloyd's book *Folk Song in England*.

However, it was not until I had read Dave Harker's book *Fakesong* in which he asked where were the histories of the folk societies that the idea to write the history of the FSS took shape. Nonetheless, it was some years later before I felt that the time was right for me to undertake this project and pursue my ambition. In preparation I undertook a MA in History with the OU. Towards the end of the third year of that degree I discussed with my dissertation supervisor, Dr Lynne Murfin, my plans to complete a PhD and I am grateful to her for her help, support and advice. I also wish to thank my thesis supervisors Dr Clare Griffiths and Dr David Martin who have provided me with sound advice, constructive criticism and encouragement.

I also wish to thank the following people for their help; Peta Webb of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library for her efficiency and prompt response to my many requests for information and copies of documents.

Teresa Gray and Martin Starnes at the Surrey History Centre; Haydn Wright at East Sussex Library in Lewes; to Pam French at Horsham Museum, to Kathryn Adamson, Head Librarian at the Royal College of Music and to Alan Franklin, Librarian at the Manx National Heritage Library in Douglas on the Isle of Man. All have provided me with information and help in a courteous and friendly manner.

Finally my heartfelt thanks to my wife Carol who has proof read all of my MA and PhD work and helped and supported me in many other ways during my time on this project. Needless to say, any errors in this final version of my work are entirely my own responsibility.

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to identify and examine the reasons behind the foundation of the Folk-Song Society (FSS) and to place it in the political and social context of late Victorian and Edwardian English society. The idea for the thesis first took shape after reading Dave Harker's book *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (1985). In the conclusion Harker wrote 'The history of institutions remains largely unwritten: where is the history of the Folk-Lore Society, of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, or of their analogues in other countries?'¹. Although Harker mentioned the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) and did not mention the Folk-Song Society (FSS) which preceded the EFDSS it is the FSS that is the subject of this thesis.

There is a slowly growing body of literature on folk-song and related matters, much of it in the wake of A. L. Lloyd's seminal work *Folk Song in England* (1967). This is confirmed by Ian Russell in the introduction to the book he co-edited with David Atkinson. He wrote that 'Over the last thirty years there have been very few volumes published in the UK devoted to the study of folk song and the folk song revival.' He went on to say that the book was a collection of papers 'intended in part to fill this void'.²

¹ Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985), p. 255.

² Ian Russell, 'Introduction' in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival and Re-Creation* edited by Ian Russell and David Atkinson, (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, 2004), pp. 1-13 (p. 1).

However, among the 'very few volumes' published prior to the Russell and Atkinson book were the following significant works. In 1980 Harker first introduced his ideas on 'fakesong'³ in his book *One for the Money*. He was highly critical of the work of the early folk-song collectors, particularly Cecil Sharp, accusing them of mediating 'working-class culture'⁴ and imposing upon it their own bourgeois values. Harker later expanded on the notion of 'fakesong' in his book of that name (see footnote 1). In 1982 Michael Pickering published his study, *Village Song and Culture*⁵. He examined the cultural tradition of an Oxfordshire village community through the roles and meanings of the songs collected by Janet Blunt with respect to the lives of those that sang them. He argued that the achievements of the early folk-song and dance collectors 'must be set within the context of the cultural expropriation and the historical decontextualisation of these 'texts', [...]'.⁶ He regarded the practice of printing songs with no reference to the context in which they were sung as valueless and damaging. In his view such publications simply serve as 'coffins'⁷ for the songs.

It was over ten years after Pickering's book before Georgina Boyes published her book, *The Imagined Village*, and put forward the argument that the term 'the Folk' is an artificial construct to describe 'simple, untainted, country-dwelling peasants'. In her view the term had been

³Dave Harker, 'Chapter 9; 'Fakesong' in *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp. 146-158.

⁴Ibid. p. 146.

⁵Michael Pickering, *Village Song and Culture: A study Based on the Blunt Collection of Song from Adderbury North Oxfordshire* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 2.

⁶Ibid. p .2.

⁷Ibid. p .2.

invented to allow for the identification and acceptance of an English national culture through the transmission of a received history.⁸ In 2006, E. David Gregory provided a useful narrative history of the collection of English 'vernacular song' in the period leading up to the first folk song revival.⁹ More recently the historian and folk-song scholar Vic Gammon has written a study focusing on particular themes in folk-song which shows how they remained culturally consistent over a long period of time until the onset of urbanisation and industrialisation brought about changing social conditions which were then reflected in the 'vernacular and folk songs' of working people.¹⁰

In addition, there have been many articles on various aspects of folk-song and the folk-song revival, but as Gregory aptly stated, '[...] each of these provides only a small piece of a very large jigsaw puzzle [...].'¹¹ More substantial pieces of work have also been written in the form of unpublished theses. These include R. S. Thomson's work on the broadside ballad trade in which he argued that the broadside trade actually served to keep alive songs in the oral tradition as well as introducing new material.¹² This is a

⁸ Georgina Boyes, see chapter 1 'A Name for our Ignorance: The Invention of the Folk' in *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 1-21.

⁹ E. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Lyrics, 1820-1883* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2006), p. 3.

¹⁰ Vic Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

¹¹ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters* p. vii.

¹² R. S. Thomson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folk Songs' (University of Cambridge: unpublished PhD Thesis, 1975).

view now shared by other scholars such as Morag Shiach, Edward Thompson, Barry Reay and Bob Bushaway.¹³

Vic Gammon, in his thesis on 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914', presented a number of case studies on different aspects of musical activity in Sussex in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He investigated church music as performed by West Gallery village musicians, the singing of traditional songs, bell ringing and village band music. Gammon accepted the notion of *zeitgeist*, or the socio-cultural direction and 'spirit of the times'. However, he offers a more sophisticated interpretation drawing on the work of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In so doing he explains the tension resulting from the transposition of cultural capital, or dispositions, when change takes place. These 'dispositions' are formed by the commonly held schemes of perception, thought and action, or what Bourdieu termed habitus. Chapter five of Gammon's thesis has been published as a journal article on folk-song collecting in Sussex and is of particular interest in the context of this thesis.¹⁴ John Francmanis, has written a biography of Kidson's focusing on his involvement in the first folk-song revival from 1890 to his death in 1926. He explores Kidson's motives and methods and his relationship with others in the field,

¹³ Morag Shiach, *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis 1730 to the Present* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989). E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin Books, 1993, first published by Merlin Press 1991). Barry Reay, *Popular Culture in History 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1998). Bob Bushaway, 'Things said or Sung a Thousand Times: Customary Society and Oral Culture in Rural England, 1700 – 1900' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500 – 1850* edited by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 256-277.

¹⁴ Vic Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914' (University of Sussex: unpublished D. Phil Thesis, 1985) and . Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843 – 1914', *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980), 61–89 (p. 62).

particularly Cecil Sharp.¹⁵ Christopher Bearman's thesis covers the early years of the first folk revival encompassing song, dance and folklore. The thesis is somewhat preoccupied with a rigorous defence of Cecil Sharp against his present day critics, particularly Harker. It is a well researched and adversarial contribution.¹⁶

However, there has been nothing that specifically covers the FSS and the activities of its members from its foundation in 1898 to its amalgamation with the EFDS in 1932. This aim of this thesis is to address this deficit and provide a historical account of the FSS throughout the whole of its existence. The study focuses in particular on the motives of that group of folk-song collectors and enthusiasts of the late nineteenth century who together founded the society. It endeavours to determine if they were seeking to rescue a cultural tradition that was in danger of dying out with a view to revitalising it and restoring it to younger generations who, for a variety of reasons, had become disconnected from the oral tradition through which folk-songs were transmitted. Did they wish to reclaim a lost heritage, the last vestiges of which were to be found with an ageing population of rural workers? Or did they simply want to take advantage of a hitherto largely neglected oral tradition to satisfy their antiquarian curiosity?

¹⁵John Valdis Francmanis, 'The Musical Sherlock Holmes: Frank Kidson and the English Folk Music Revival, c. 1890 – 1926' (Leeds Metropolitan University: unpublished PhD Thesis, 1997).

¹⁶Christopher James Bearman, 'The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914' (University of Hull: unpublished PhD Thesis 2001).

The upsurge in folk-song collecting during the late nineteenth century coincided with a desire in classical music circles to re-establish an English national identity in music.¹⁷ The tunes that were being collected were identified as a means of providing a basis for this. This was a bonus for the collectors as it served to enhance their status in musical circles. The practice of the early collectors to select what to collect and what to leave behind has been severely criticised by Dave Harker and Georgina Boyes on the basis that, in so doing, they heavily mediated the material and returned to the public domain a body of material that did not represent the oral singing tradition as it actually was. Such criticisms are just. The motivation of the early collectors has also been questioned by various scholars and they have been very critical in their appraisal of them.¹⁸ Their criticisms have some justification. However, the assertion from some quarters that their folk-song collecting activities were politically motivated has no real foundation and at best misunderstands the parameters they set for themselves and the resulting mandate that was collectively agreed when the FSS was founded. Their actions must be examined in the context of the societal constraints and conventions that were dominant at the time.

This study sets out to show that those people who founded the society and gave up their time and energy to run it were not politically motivated to do

¹⁷Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, see chapter 2 'A Troubled Inheritance (1895-1914)' in *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2nd edn, 2001), pp. 52-82. Jeremy Dibble, C. Hubert H. Parry: *His Life and Times* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 257-258. Jeremy Dibble, *John Stainer: A Life in Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 265-268.

¹⁸See Harker, *Fakesong*; Boyes, *Imagined Village*; Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843 - 1914', *History Workshop Journal*, 10 (1980); Pickering, *Village Culture*.

so. That is not to say that they did not have political allegiances, indeed such evidence as is available shows that for the most part they leaned towards the Liberal Party. Undoubtedly their political views influenced the way in which they viewed the social and cultural changes taking place in society. Such changes were seen to militate against the continuation of an oral singing tradition and this gave rise to a sense of urgency to collect folk-songs before it was too late.

What this thesis will show is that the motives of these early collectors and the resulting actions were the result of their enthusiasm for musical pursuits which in turn was made possible by their privileged class position providing both the time and the financial security to pursue such interests. Any financial gain or political influence which may have resulted was incidental to their collecting and not the motivation for it.

Any organisation owes its existence and character to the individuals who make up its membership and the way in which they conduct themselves and go about the business of that organisation. To fully appreciate and understand the motivation that underpinned the activities of the 'movers and shakers' of the folk-song movement it is necessary to first understand the society in which they lived and carried out their song collecting. In short, we need to understand 'their time' since they were 'of their time'. These activists will be divided into the Victorian collectors, that is, those who were active during the reign of Queen Victoria and were the founding members of the FSS, and the Edwardian collectors who began their folk song

collecting activities during the reign of Edward VII. This is not an arbitrary distinction the two groups represented different approaches and different views. The thesis aims to contextualise their interests and actions in terms of the political, social and cultural ideologies that prevailed in late Victorian and Edwardian society

The initial membership of the society reveals that, for the most part, the membership was made up of people who were professional musicians, amateur musicians, antiquarians or educationalists, and sometimes a mix of these. In general they were from the professional and leisured sections of late Victorian society. Vic Gammon has described them as 'a well connected lot of musicians and musical amateurs'.¹⁹ These early folk song collectors had very clear ideas about the characteristics of what they deemed to be a folk-song and were only interested in noting down those songs that met their criteria. Both Harker and Boyes have argued that this practice has given rise to the collection of a highly selected body of songs and consequently we have been presented with a distorted view of the songs that were sung by those that created and perpetuated such songs.

The membership list in the first issue of the FSS journal (*JFSS*, 1899) gives the names of one hundred and ten members²⁰. Listed as members are such people as Lucy Broadwood, the folk- song collector, amateur concert singer,

¹⁹ Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843 – 1914', *History Workshop Journal* 10 (1980), 61–89 (p. 62). Also, Vic Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815-1914' (University of Sussex, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, 1985), p. 149.

²⁰ 'List of Members of the Folk Song Society', *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 1,1 (1899), i – iii.

a member of the Broadwood piano manufacturing family and a committee member of the Society; Mrs Kate Lee, a professional singer, folk-song collector and Honorary Secretary of the Society; the music publisher J. Spencer Curwen; the folk-song collector and antiquarian Frank Kidson, who was also a committee member; and the composers Edward Elgar and Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, who was one of the four Vice-Presidents of the Society and the Director of the Royal College of Music.

What was the motivation for members of upper-middle class society to take such an interest in the popular culture of working-class men and women?

Rules II and III of the FSS stated:

Rule II

The Society shall have for its primary object the collection and presentation of Folk Songs, Ballads and Tunes and the publication of such of them as may be deemed advisable.

Rule III

The selection of the words and tunes to be published by the Society shall be decided upon by a Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of Management.²¹

Rule II might nowadays be termed the 'mission statement' of the newly formed society and provides a clear statement of the main aim of the society. However, it does not reveal the motives of individual members.

It is interesting to note that the two 'Rules' provide statements which are as near to a declaration of the intent to deliberately mediate as we are likely to see. Indeed, we are presented in the *JFSS* with a selection of songs made by a Sub-Committee. The social and cultural historian Peter Burke has

²¹ 'Rules of the Society', *JFSS* 1,1 (1899), iv-v.

developed the concept of mediation and has described a mediator as a witness who stands between us and the event and whose record of it will be influenced by their own ideas and assumptions.²² The practice outlined above shows that the songs published in the *JFSS* were subjected to a process of mediation. The collectors selected what to collect in the field and a further selection was then made by the Sub-Committee for publication. The concept of mediation provides the basis of a major criticism of the work of the early collectors.

Harker argued that the early collectors sought to establish the 'myth' that there was a fast dying rural peasantry who were the carriers of an uncorrupted musical heritage that must be rescued and preserved before it is lost forever. He took issue with the very concepts of 'folksong' and 'ballad' when he stated:

But what I hope to have done is to show that concepts like 'folksong' and 'ballad' are intellectual rubble which needs to be shifted so that building can begin again. [...] there is no point in attempting, [...], to rehabilitate such concepts. They are conceptual lumber, and they have to go.²³

Harker contended that what has been presented to us as 'folksong' is a highly edited and selective representation and is therefore a deliberate distortion of the popular culture of working men and women. Boyes has given a more measured, but nonetheless damning, argument. She wrote:

Through the Revival, it is now suggested, cultural products of the rural working class were taken from them and daintily and selectively re-worked for school and drawing room performance by

²² Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1992), p. 22.

²³ Dave Harker, *Fakesong*, p. xii.

a coterie of upper-middle-class collectors who profited financially and in status as a result.²⁴

Boyes went on to comment on the ideological perspective in the dissemination of folk-song and dance and the establishment of the concept of the rural idyll when she stated:

First-hand accounts are vibrant with anticipation of a rehabilitated nation, a united and happy England-to-be. All the values projected on to rural life – simplicity, purity, directness, unaffected beauty – were suddenly given a focus and made available in the concrete forms of song and dance. A lyrical summation of the national character appeared in place of vulgar jingoism. At a stroke, the possibility appeared that the urban working class could be re-made in unthreatening form and provided with a role in a culture for all.²⁵

She argued that folk-song was used as a means of promoting the perceived benefits of country life such as clean air, green pastures away from the grime and noise of factories and towns, an environment in which people could ‘commune’ and live in harmony with nature; in short, the ‘rural idyll’. Folk-song and dance could be used for recreational activities for town and city dwellers and this would serve to re-connect them with country traditions and values.²⁶ The motive behind this, she argued, was to have the effect of creating a more submissive working class who would value country ways and try to replicate them in a town or city to make life more appealing. In this way a common bond between workers in the country and towns would be formed thus creating a national identity which is a prerequisite for patriotism. There was a general view towards the end of the nineteenth century that urban life and the factory system was a cause of

²⁴ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined village*, p. 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 71.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7.

social degeneration.²⁷ Furthermore, this degeneration was spreading out from the towns and into the countryside. For the early folk-song collectors the evidence for this was born out by their experience in the field when they found that the only people who knew, or valued, folk-songs were the older members of rural communities.

The Arts and Crafts Movement was also a reaction to this perceived degeneration.²⁸ The leaders of the movement believed that the industrial revolution and the development of mass production techniques removed from craftsmen the opportunity for creativity and individuality and this had a de-humanising effect on manual labour. In 1888 William Morris wrote that:

[...] it is not uncommon to hear regrets for the hand-labour in the fields, now fast disappearing from even backward districts of civilised countries. [...] many are looking forward with drooping spirits to the time when the hand-plough will be as completely extinct as the quern, and the rattle of the steam-engine will take the place of the whistle of the curly headed ploughboy [...].²⁹

The increased use of mechanisation in farm work was a further development of techniques used in the factories. It reduced the need for skilled workers and reduced labour costs. The Liberal M.P. for Norwich in a speech he gave in 1903 made this same point when he said, 'The terrible monotony and grind which the large increase in machinery has brought into all

²⁷ See, for example, Sir Hubert Parry, 'Inaugural Address' *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 1899 pp. 1-3 and Hughes and Stradling, pp. 46-47.

²⁸ See Steven Adams, 'Introduction' and Ch. 1 'The Founding Fathers' in *The Arts and Craft Movement* (London: Quintet Publishing, 1992), pp. 6-25. Robert Langley Sommer, 'Introduction' in *The Arts and Craft Movement* ed. Robin Langley Sommer (London: Grange Books, 1995), pp. 6-21. Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Craft Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), pp. 9-30.

²⁹ William Morris, 'The Revival of Handicraft: 1888' in *William Morris on Art and Design* ed. By Christine Poulson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), pp. 186-197 (p.187).

industrial pursuits takes much of the zest out of the daily task, and destroys the desire for perfection in the article produced [...].’ As compensation for this process of de-skilling he advocated ‘increased opportunities for leisure, recreation and mental culture’.³⁰

As far as the leaders of the Arts and Crafts movement were concerned the solution was to promote the setting up of small-scale production units which would allow craftsmen to re-connect with the product from its design through to its completion and thus counter the de-humanising effects of repetitive work demanded by the factory system. What is clear from this is that there was general agreement in upper middle-class circles that the new working practices based on the factory system were having a deleterious effect on the moral fibre of the working-class who were becoming more and more politicised and this was seen as a threat to the status quo. On the one hand the Arts and Crafts movement offered a highly idealistic solution by advocating a return to traditional working practices. At best this could only benefit a small number of workers. The folk movement, on the other hand, offered alleviation to the drudgery of factory work. The leaders of the music establishment recognised the potential of folk-songs in contributing to the re-establishment of an English identity in music and of engendering patriotic feelings among the working-class.

³⁰George White, M.P. ‘Nonconformist Conscience in its Relation to our National Life’ Presidential Address to the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 27 April, 1903, quoted in ‘Liberalism and the Nonconformist Conscience in Edwardian England’, Barry M. Doyle, *Historical Research*, 71,176 (1988), pp. 324-340 (p.331).

In 1893 Lucy Broadwood and James Alexander Fuller Maitland wrote that 'In almost every district, the editors have heard tantalizing rumours of old songs that "Old So-and-So used to sing who died a few years back," and have had in many cases to spend a considerable time in inducing the people to begin singing.' They went on to say that '[...] once started, [...] they are not unnaturally pleased to see their old songs appreciated by anybody in these degenerate days.'³¹ The reference to 'these degenerate days' strongly suggests that Broadwood and Fuller Maitland recognised that society was changing and, in their view, not for the better. Indeed, Broadwood later talked of the erosion of the oral tradition by the effects of urban popular culture and said that folk-song offered a 'natural basis for National Musical Education' going on to say that we should 'train our growing generations to reject of themselves the enervating slow-poison dished up so attractively for them by vulgar caterers in the art, literature, and popular amusements of to-day.'³²

Such views were informed by the belief towards the end of the nineteenth century among the folk-song collectors that younger generations in the countryside were rejecting the old folk-songs in favour of modern popular songs and in increasing numbers were moving to the towns to take up factory work. Richard Soloway wrote that '[...] the rapid growth of the towns and the transformation of Britain from a rural to an urban society was having a profound, deleterious effect upon the physical and, perhaps,

³¹ Lucy E. Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland (editors), *English County Songs: Words and Music* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1893), p. iv.

³² Lucy E. Broadwood, 'On the Collecting of English Folk-Song', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 31,1 (1904), 89-109 (p.97).

heritable characteristics of the populace.’³³ The solution to this was, in some way, to reinvigorate the national physique. One such solution, according to Soloway, was to have a ‘steady influx of sound, energetic, physically strong recruits from the countryside.’³⁴ Richard Sykes has put forward the idea that Sharp saw the role of folk-song ‘[...] in precisely the same regenerative terms [...]’³⁵ and the way to achieve this was through the promotion of folk-song in education.

Collecting folk-songs, and later folk dances, was part of a more general movement to establish a national identity. The political analyst Benedict Anderson, using a Marxist approach, has proposed that the nation is ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’ He extends this argument to the concept of communities when he stated, ‘In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined.’ Communities are imagined not in a make believe sense but ‘because members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members’.³⁶

Anderson’s argument leads us to assume that the way of life experienced by the community in one village was much the same as in other villages up and down the country. It is this assumed commonality that creates the nation state even though there is little or no first-hand evidence to confirm that

³³ Richard Soloway, ‘Counting the Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17, 1 (1982), 137-164 (p.138).

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.139.

³⁵ Richard Sykes, ‘The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890 – 1914’ *FMJ*, 6. 4 (1993), 446-490 (p, 477).

³⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, revised and extended edition, 1991), p. 6.

such commonality existed. In fact before road and rail networks were well established rural communities lived in relative isolation to each other.

Contact with people from other villages was confined to those occasions when villagers converged on the nearest market town on specific dates.

Nonetheless, there were some common features in both town and country and these have been identified by the sociologist Anthony Smith who defined nation as 'a named human population sharing an historical territory, common legal rights and duties for all its members.'³⁷ This is not incompatible with Anderson's idea of a belief in 'the law of the land', which underpins the notion of other communities living in much the same way. Such definitions emphasise the central role of a common cultural identity in the formation of a nation.

Both Harker and Boyes argue that the early folk-song collectors sought to present an idealised body of songs that were said to be representative of those sung by the rural peasantry of England and thus provided a common cultural identity. Indeed, the fact that different versions or variants of the same song were collected in different locations added weight to the collectors' claim.

The broadside trade from as early as the sixteenth century³⁸ had been a major influence in standardising the folk-song repertoire of singers.

³⁷ Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 14.

³⁸ Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962), p. 28. Also, Leslie Shepard, 'Foreword' in *An Analytical Index to*

Broadsides were songs printed on single sheets of paper and sold on the streets, at fairs or any place that people gathered. The song writers often took songs from oral tradition to be printed as well as songs they composed. These songs then found their way back, or were introduced, into the oral song tradition. The singer and folk-song scholar A. L. Lloyd summarised this process when he speculated that 'In fact the two kinds [songs defined as folk-songs and those printed on broadsides] are as mingled as Psyche's seeds, and probably the majority of our "folk songs proper" appeared on stall leaflets at one time or another, in this version or that.'³⁹ R. S. Thomson in his PhD thesis (1975) argued that printed versions of ballad texts have been of great importance to their survival in an oral tradition since the sixteenth century. The early collectors saw broadsides as damaging to the authenticity of folk-song but Thomson disagreed and argued that songs printed on single sheets of paper and widely distributed served to underpin the oral tradition.⁴⁰ Morag Shiach speculated that 'Perhaps the folk culture far from being destroyed by print was reinforced by it.'⁴¹ Barry Reay has put forward a cogent argument that there was an 'orality of print' and a 'hierarchy of print consumption'⁴² by which he means that those that were able to read disseminated the contents of broadsides and other printed ephemera to the community and in this way they served to both reinforce

the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, compiled by Hyder E. Rollins (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, pp. v-vi.

³⁹ A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967), p. 28.

⁴⁰R. S. Thomson, 'Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of English Folk Song' (University of Cambridge: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1975)

⁴¹ Morag Shiach, *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, gender and history in Cultural Analysis 1730 to the Present* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 117.

⁴² Barry Reay, *Popular Culture in History 1550-1750* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 48.

and add to the stock of songs in the oral tradition. Indeed, the early collectors were aware of the widespread distribution of these song sheets. This is evidenced in the *JFSS* where readers are often referred to a broadside text for the complete set of words to a particular song. By contrast the main focus of attention for the folk-song collector was the tunes. These were deemed to be unadulterated and the product of a genuine oral tradition since broadsides contained words only with sometimes a reference to the name of a tune to which a song might be sung.

John Francmanis, in his unpublished PhD thesis on Frank Kidson, argued that the work of Kidson and the other early collectors was the pioneering work that provided the basis on which Cecil Sharp was later able to able to 'legislate'. Francmanis provides a 'chronicle of the folk-song movement through the experience of one particular participant'.⁴³ He concentrates on Kidson's folk-song collecting activities and his literary output. He identifies Kidson as one of the few folk-song enthusiasts collecting in the field prior to the founding of the FSS and charts his fortunes in the movement from its beginning. In so doing Francmanis provides us with an erudite account of the development of the movement from the perspective of a key pioneering figure. As the movement entered its 'legislative phase' he identifies Cecil Sharp as the 'legislator' who came to be the 'leader, arbiter and theorist of the movement'.⁴⁴

⁴³Francmanis, 'The Musical Sherlock Holmes: Frank Kidson and the English Folk Music Revival, c. 1890-1926' p. 396.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 387.

Here he is referring to the work of the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman who postulated that:

The typically modern strategy of intellectual work is one best characterised by the metaphor of the 'legislator' role. It consists of making authoritative statements which arbitrate in controversies of opinions and which select those opinions which, having been selected, become correct and binding. The authority to arbitrate is in this case legitimized by superior (objective) knowledge to which intellectuals have a better access than the non-intellectual part of society.⁴⁵

The sociologist Thomas Osborne summarised Bauman's idea on the role of the intellectual when he wrote that:

Bauman's argument, which was situated, necessarily, in descriptive rather than explanatory or causal terms, was that the 'modern' model of the intellectual as legislative overseer of reason and rationalization had given way to the – humbler – 'postmodern' model of the intellectual as interpreter of otherwise divergent cultural traditions and language games.⁴⁶

With respect to the role of the intellectual as 'legislator' the American sociologist Nico Stehr has argued that '[...] one can easily substitute the noun "expert", "adviser", or "counsellor" for intellectual, which would, at least in the contemporary context, be more appropriate.'⁴⁷ As we shall see in chapter 5, Cecil Sharp set out to become the 'legislator', or 'expert' of the folk movement, albeit self-appointed.

The main criticism made by present-day scholars is that the early collectors were highly selective about the songs they chose to collect and, more importantly, to publish. It is not surprising therefore that certain songs

⁴⁵Zygmunt Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters: On Modernity, Post-Modernity and Intellectuals* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987, reprinted 1995) p. 4.

⁴⁶Thomas Osborne, 'On Mediators: Intellectuals and the Ideas Trade in the Knowledge Society' *Economy and Society*, 33, 4 (2004), 430-447 (p. 437).

⁴⁷ Nico Stehr, 'Review': [Legislators and Interpreters by Zygmunt Bauman], *The American Journal of sociology*, 94, 5 (1989), 1247-1249 (p.1248).

popular with singers and also thought worthy of collection should appear in different collections. There are many examples in the *JFSS* where reference was made to different versions of the same song.⁴⁸ Such a practice served to mask the fact that the collectors chose to select only those songs they deemed to be folk-songs for collection. It is interesting to speculate that if these early collectors were here to respond to their critics, they might say 'Ah, but it was the tunes we really wanted to save.' Be that as it may, Harker in particular contends that this selective practice was part of a drive to establish a national identity. A description of 'national identity' emphasises the central role of a common cultural identity in the formation of a nation. Philip Dodd argued that;

[...] Englishness and the "English spirit" were the preoccupation not only of the political culture, but also of what we might now call the institutions and practices of a cultural politics. [...] Certainly one does not have to think for long to acknowledge that many of our educational and, more generally, cultural traditions and institutions were forged in the later part of the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

Other academics and writers have taken a similar position with regard to the establishment of national identity and linked it to the perceived need to engender patriotism. Bryan Doyle argued that in the cause of 'national efficiency' in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain there was a concerted effort to introduce 'more effective programmes for educating, governing and mobilising a majority population to serve the British imperial mission at home and abroad.' Central to this was the role of schools which he stated

⁴⁸ See song No. 37 *George Collins*, in *JFSS*, 3.4 (June, 1909), 247-324 (pp.299-302). Two text versions are given and three tune variants – two with partial text.

⁴⁹ Philip Dodd, 'Englishness and the National Culture' in *Englishness; Politics and Culture 1880-1920* edited by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (London: Croom Helm 1986, pp. 1-28, (p. 1).

‘were expected to inculcate in the nation’s children a proper sense of patriotic moral responsibility.’⁵⁰ The introduction of Empire Day as an annual school event was a clear example of this inculcation.

Paul Ward has pointed out that:

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held turbulent decades for Britain. International and imperial rivalries broke in upon its mid century confidence. The same period saw the growth of an urban and industrial working class and from within it the foundations of the modern British labour movement. To meet these developments, patriotism and its necessary partner, the making of a national identity, became increasingly important to Britain’s ruling elites.⁵¹

The Trades Union Congress had been founded in 1868 but it was not until the 1880s onwards that semi-skilled and unskilled workers had their own unions. The so-called Great Depression in the late nineteenth century had engendered class antagonism and this together with the ‘New Unionism’ and a burgeoning in trade union membership was seen as a threat to the ‘ruling elite’ who were increasingly anxious to maintain the status quo.

This was summarised by Hugh Cunningham who wrote that:

The ruling class sought in patriotism a means of defusing the consciousness of the working class. The call for loyalty to the state rather than to any section of it was seen as a way both of reducing class conflict and of facilitating the imposition of greater demands on the citizen by the state. Patriotism, that is, became a key component in the ideological apparatus of the imperial state.⁵²

⁵⁰ Bryan Doyle, ‘The Invention of English’ in *Englishness; Politics and Culture 1880-1920*, pp.89-115, (p.90).

⁵¹ Paul Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881 – 1924* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998), p.196.

⁵² Hugh Cunningham, ‘Language of Patriotism’ in *Patriotism: the Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, edited by Raphael Samuel, 3 vols (London:Routledge, 1989), i, pp. 57-89 (p.77).

However, it was not until the early twentieth century that the role of folk-song became overtly politicised by its introduction into the elementary school curriculum. This is evidenced in the writing of Cecil Sharp who made it clear that it was his view that folk song could, and should, be used as a means of engendering patriotism and good citizenship. He stated:

The discovery of English folk-song, therefore, places in the hands of the patriot, as well as the educationalist, an instrument of great value. The introduction of folk-songs into our schools will not only affect the musical life of England; it will tend also to arouse that love of country and pride of race, the absence of which we now deplore.⁵³

It is clear from this that for Sharp folk-song was an essential part of being English and such a cultural heritage provided continuity with the past.

Similarly, and perhaps influenced by Sharp's ideas, Vaughan Williams thought that a continuing musical tradition was an essential component part of nationhood. He made clear his views when he argued that:

Music is above all things the art of the common man [...] the art of the humble [...]. The art of music above all other arts is the expression of the soul of a nation, and by a nation I mean any community of people who are spiritually bound together by language, environment, history and common ideals, and, above all, a continuity with the past.⁵⁴

These ideas about the potential of folk-song were prevalent in the early years of the twentieth century but were only one part of the more general desire to get re-connected with country roots. Paul Ward provided a neat summary when he wrote that:

By the beginning of the twentieth century four out of five Britons lived in towns. Yet Stanley Baldwin, Conservative prime minister three times between the wars, described the 'sounds of England' as 'the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the

⁵³ Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Song Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin, Novello and Taunton: Barnicott & Pearce, Athenæum Press, 1907), p. 136.

⁵⁴ Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 68.

corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone and the sight of the plough team coming over the brow of a hill.’⁵⁵

The establishment of a national identity, or ‘Englishness’ as it came to be known has been shown to be something of a nebulous concept that changes over time according to conditions and circumstances. This is explored by Ward in his work on ‘Britishness’⁵⁶ which he argued was a more appropriate concept than ‘Englishness’ since it embraces the multi-cultural nature of modern Britain. Nonetheless, at the time of the creation of the FSS the focus was on England and the ideas formulated by Sharp and others were largely informed by their experience of life in the rural areas of the southern half of England. In keeping with Ward’s ideas it may well be that the collectors saw the towns and cities as being too cosmopolitan and that the genuine uncorrupted traditions were to be found in the countryside. The validity of these ideas expressed by the early folk-song collectors have been challenged and criticised by present day scholars such as Harker, Boyes and Gammon.

However, Christopher Bearman in his PhD thesis (2001) was very critical of the work of other scholars in the field, in particular Dave Harker and Georgina Boyes. He claims that in their pursuit to show that folk-songs were the cultural creations of the ‘rural working class’ which were then appropriated by middle-class collectors who selected and re-fashioned the songs for publication, thus creating ‘fakesong’, they have allowed their

⁵⁵ Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 54.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 56.

Marxist, and in Harker's case Trotskyite, views to cloud their judgement and misrepresent the facts.⁵⁷

This thesis will endeavour to show that the early collectors in their enthusiasm to collect folk-songs were not consciously politically motivated but were nonetheless caught up in the rising tide of nationalism, patriotism and the establishment of an English identity. An essential part of this was to re-assert an English influence in music. It is no surprise therefore that they readily gave support to the efforts being made by the music establishment to this end. If folk-song could be used to help achieve this aim then so much the better.

Defining the Terminology

As a starting point it is necessary to define the terminology that will be used throughout this thesis. It has been shown above that simple terms such as 'folk-song' can be contentious. It is therefore necessary to be very clear as to what is meant by the use of such nomenclature. Terms such as 'country song', 'popular song', 'traditional song', 'national song' and 'peasant song' (a particularly contentious term that will be dealt with in some depth in Chapter 1) have all been used to describe the same thing. Of these, folk-song and traditional song are currently the most widely used terms to describe the genre of songs in question. However, the term national song was used during the last quarter of the nineteenth century alongside the term

⁵⁷ Christopher James Bearman, 'The English Folk Music Movement 1898 – 1914' (University of Hull: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2001), p. 137.

folk-song which at that time was beginning to be more widely used. The German musicologist, Carl Engel (1818-1882), who had moved to England in 1845, first to Manchester and, shortly after settling in London, used the term national song to describe what would now be identified as folk-song.

In an article in the *Musical Times* he stated;

We find among the rural population in some countries tunes still sung which are known to be above a century old. [...] It is surprising that their alteration is not very great considering that they have been preserved traditionally from mouth to mouth [...]. Now it is with this music, or with National Music in a more strict sense of the term, and not with the elaborate productions of distinguished composers, with which the reader is invited to occupy his attention.⁵⁸

The use of the terms folk-song and national song concurrently has been problematic. Those who chose to use national song to describe their published collections did so to describe songs which had been composed in imitation of songs that were a part of oral tradition and then set them to traditional tunes. To add to the confusion these collections often also contained folk-songs from the oral tradition. Those who used folk-song to describe the songs that they collected took a more purist position and made the distinction between 'national songs' and 'folk-songs'. Nonetheless, they attached more importance to the tunes than to the words of the songs they noted and were not above editing and collating sets of words, though they only used the texts of other versions collected from the oral tradition or the texts from broadsheets to do so. The use of broadsheets was justified on the basis that the distribution of broadsheets was recognised as the source of many songs that were taken up in the oral singing tradition. It is this

⁵⁸ Carl Engel, 'The Literature of National Music', *Musical Times*, 19. 425 (1878), p. 374.

practice together with the selection of only songs meeting their criteria for folk-song that has given weight to the criticisms put forward by Harker, Boyes and others.

Frank Howes, who was a Professor at the Royal College of Music and one-time editor of the *JFSS* and later the *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (JEFDSS)*, noted that the word folk is an archaic one that has Nordic roots but was 'still used in colloquial speech in such phrases as "Our young folks are gone".' He went on to say that the word, although used informally, was sufficiently current in the nineteenth century to make it available as a translation for the German word *volk*. He stated, 'folk song is a direct translation of the German *Volkslied*, which was used by Herder in 1773.'⁵⁹ The music teacher and folk-song collector Cecil Sharp said of the use of the term folk-song that 'Unhappily it is used in two senses. Scientific writers restrict its meaning to the song created by the unlettered classes. Others, however, use it to denote not only the peasant songs, but all popular songs as well, irrespective of origin, [...]'.⁶⁰ Sharp differentiated between the un-educated who he described as 'half or partially educated, i.e. the illiterate' and the non-educated which he described as 'the unlettered, whose faculties have undergone no formal training whatsoever and have never been brought into close enough contact with educated persons to be influenced by them.'⁶¹ Sharp argued that such people were the 'remnants of the peasantry' and were only to be found among the older inhabitants in

⁵⁹ Frank Howes, *Folk Music of Britain and Beyond* (London: Methuen, 1969), p. 3.

⁶⁰ Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 3-4.

the more remote rural areas. The early collectors were united in the belief that folk-songs were the cultural product of a fast disappearing peasantry and that there was therefore an urgent need to collect these songs before they died out with them. The idea that there was in the last half of the nineteenth century an English peasantry has been contentious and aroused fierce debate as will be discussed in Chapter 1.

The early collectors were very particular about the songs they would note down and such songs had to conform to their - by today's standards - narrow definition. Sharp believed that folksongs were products of individuals in the first instance but were then subject to communal approval and if they were popular they would then be subject to change as they were passed from singer to singer. In this way they became a communal product of the peasantry, and both tune and text must be collected from oral tradition in the countryside. If, say, an informant sang a song of music hall origin it would not be noted and the singer would be encouraged to sing only the 'old songs'. Sharp observed:

Most folk-singers, besides their own peasant songs, know a certain number of "composed" songs. Indeed, it is these songs that they will first offer to the collector in the mistaken belief that, like all educated people, he will prefer them to the old-fashioned songs.⁶²

Mark Freeman has provided corroborative evidence that rural singers did indeed know and sing 'composed' songs. He said that 'the demise of the traditional lore of the countryside [...] was in part the product of the substitution by the younger generation of urban cultural forms for the more

⁶² Ibid, p.110.

'real' and timeless culture of the 'folk'.⁶³ He went on to say of the novelist and writer on country matters Richard Jefferies (1847–1887) that he had noted, in his book *Hodge and his Masters*, 'some twenty-five years before Sharp' that 'many of the songs sung in rural communities were the products of music hall and could as easily be heard sung by London street arabs.'⁶⁴ To some extent this is corroborated by the artist Mrs H. M. Stanley (née Dorothy Tenant) when she wrote of 'ragamuffin' children in London knowing snatches of songs such as *God Save the Queen* and *Rule Britannia*.⁶⁵ It is quite reasonable to surmise that they would also have easily have picked up odd verses or even whole songs from hearing them sung by the broadsheet sellers around the streets of London.

While it is true that singers within an oral tradition did not limit themselves only to what might be termed home-grown songs and would include popular songs of the time in their repertoires, the style of performance remained a constant. The term popular song is used here to describe those songs that were specifically written for public commercial performance. When such songs were taken up the performance was personalised rather than slavishly copied from the commercial performance. Consequently such songs became, as you might say, 'folked' and nowadays may well be considered a part of the folk tradition, but this was not the view taken by the early

⁶³ Mark Freeman, *Social Investigation and Rural England: 1870 – 1914* (Woodbridge: the Royal Historical Society and the Boydell Press, 2003), p .67.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p .67. The term 'street arabs' is a 'nickname for young street vagrants' see J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, *A Dictionary of Slang: An Alphabetical History of Colloquial, Unorthodox, Underground and Vulgar English, Book 1: A – K* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1987, Originally published as *Slang and its Analogues*, by T. Poulter & Son for subscribers only, 1890), p .65.

⁶⁵ Mrs H. M. Stanley (Dorothy Tennant) *London Street Arabs* (London: Caassell, 1890) pp. 8-9.

collectors. Since the focus of this study is on the Folk-Song Society and the songs the early collectors targeted the term folk-song (in its hyphenated form since this is how the Society used the term) has been retained to differentiate such songs from those that were commercially composed and national songs which purported to represent national characteristics, beliefs and feelings. Sharp identified Dibdin as an example of a composer of national songs and stated:

Dibdin, it will be recalled, was commissioned by the Admiralty to write sea-songs for the people [...] I have no doubt that many of these were freely sung by the peasant singers of a previous generation, but they have evidently failed to survive the wear and tear of time and usage.⁶⁶

There is considerable debate at the present time on the suitability of the use of the term 'folk-song' to describe songs that were created and transmitted orally over successive generations of singers, hence the use of the alternative term traditional song which was the pioneer collector Lucy Broadwood's preferred descriptor. However, Gammon has drawn attention to the difficulties associated with the use of this term. He has argued that:

The term 'tradition' and the category 'traditional singer' are highly emotive in some folk song circles. [...] The categories are heavily invested with connotations that always derive from notions of authenticity. [...] Authenticity is not any sort of absolute state. It is an idea, or perhaps the working out of ways in which we classify the world.⁶⁷

In consequence of these difficulties the use of vernacular song as an alternative has gained favour in certain quarters. With respect to terminology the Canadian historian E. David Gregory has written:

⁶⁶ Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 111.

⁶⁷ Vic Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song*, p. 244.

It has been suggested, for example by Archie Green and also by Peter Narzáez, that one way round the ambiguity and ideological baggage associated with the word folksong is to dump it in favour of an alternative term, *vernacular song*. The label, they suggest, is less encompassing than the very broad term *popular music* but more flexible than that of folksong, which is often construed narrowly.⁶⁸

They might also have included the term 'traditional' since this is often used as an alternative to folk-song to describe the same thing. It is also interesting to note that Gammon, in the title of the book cited above, uses the terms 'folk' and 'vernacular'. Nonetheless, for convenience and clarity the term folk-song will be used to describe the nature of the songs that were collected and the description given by David Atkinson has been used.

Atkinson stated:

If a description has to be offered it is a song which is known to have passed from person to person for their own cultural use, often though not always orally, and which has been shaped stylistically by this process, as well as songs of similar style which may be known only from printed sources. Folk songs accordingly tend to exhibit characteristics of 'continuity and variation' or 'stability and change'.⁶⁹

This definition avoids some of the narrowness to which Gregory refers whilst allowing that songs did not always originate within an oral tradition but that some songs were drawn in and became a part of that oral tradition.

Sources Used

This thesis is based primarily on a study of the archives and publications of the Folk-Song Society itself. Of particular importance in this respect have

⁶⁸ E. David Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters: The Recovery and Editing of English Vernacular Ballads and Folk Lyrics, 1820 – 1883*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ David Atkinson, *English Folk Song Bibliography* 2nd edn. (London: English Folk Song and Dance Society, 1999), p. 2.

been the minutes of the committee meetings of the FSS and also of the EFDS. These documents have provided information about the aims and policies of the two societies as well as providing evidence to identify who were the principal 'movers and shakers' in the movement. Diaries and correspondence of leading members of the societies have also provided useful information.

The diaries of Lucy Broadwood were made available to the general public by the Broadwood family in 1995 and are now housed at the Surrey History Centre in Woking. Broadwood kept a diary from the age of twenty-four (1882) until the day before her death in 1929. Primarily she used her diary to record her day-to-day activities, such as the names of people she visited and those that visited her as well as comments on the weather (such as 'fine today'). Broadwood clearly enjoyed a variety of social events. For example, her diary entry for 16 August 1887 reads 'In afternoon we 4 girls to the Primrose League meeting at Ockley, where I was made a 7/6 member.'⁷⁰

The Primrose League had been founded in 1893 by Lord Randolph Churchill and John Gorst. The name of the organisation was chosen to commemorate the former Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) whose favourite flower had been the primrose. According to John Cannon the Primrose League was deliberately not made an official part of the

⁷⁰ Lucy E. Broadwood, Diary entry for 16 August 1887. Lucy E. Broadwood Collection, Ref. 6782/4, SHC.

Conservative Party and therefore could make no 'claim to influence the party's policy.' He went on to say that the Primrose League's success 'lay in combining political propaganda, [...], with a regular programme of social activities. These included music-hall, dances, teas, summer fêtes, train excursions and cycling clubs, all available very cheaply.'⁷¹ Some years later Broadwood's diary entry for 7 December 1897 recorded, 'I went to sing for the People's Concert Society at Bishopsgate. Pouring all night.'⁷² The People's Concert Society was formed in 1878 for the purpose of 'the dissemination of serious music among the poorer strata of society.'⁷³

Broadwood, in her diaries, gives no firm indication of where her political allegiance lay. It may be that she joined the Primrose League out of sympathy with Conservative Party policy or simply to take advantage of the social events on offer. Occasionally there are tantalising entries which provide a possible insight into her opinions of, and relationships with, certain members of her wide circle of friends and acquaintances as well as an indication of her views on social and current affairs. For example, her entry for 2 October 1900 simply records that the result of the General election was a 'CONSERVATIVE' victory.⁷⁴ There is no indication of her approval or disapproval of this result but writing the term 'conservative' in capitals suggests that, for her, the result was significant. Her diary entry for

⁷¹ John Cannon, 'Primrose League.' *The Oxford Companion to British History*. 2002. *Encyclopedia.com*. Available at <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1Q110-PrimroseLeague.html> [accessed April 8, 2011]

⁷² Broadwood, Diary entry for 7 December 1897, Ref. 6782/13, SHC.

⁷³ Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry*, P. 377.

⁷⁴ Lucy E. Broadwood, Diary entry for 2 October 1900. Lucy E. Broadwood Collection, Ref. 6782/14, SHC.

18 July 1902 records that she went to the opera '[...] where we heard 1st performance of Miss EM Smyth's very clever opera: 'Der Wald' (her own libretto).⁷⁵ In 1909 she went again to hear an opera by Ethel Smyth, 'The Wreckers'. She described the work as 'clever and interesting.'⁷⁶ Ethel Smyth was a militant suffragette. It is not known if Broadwood sympathised with the suffragette movement or not. It is clear, however, that Broadwood did not allow Smyth's militancy to influence her opinion of her work. This together with other snippets of information such as her friendship with T. G. Ashton, a Liberal M.P. and her membership of the Primrose League suggests that she was equally comfortable with people of different political persuasions. Whatever her political views Lucy Broadwood was a progressive thinker.

The diaries of Cecil Sharp covering his time in America are also of the aide memoire type but nonetheless provide useful information on his collecting activities. Of greater importance has been the correspondence that took place between the main 'players' in the movement.

Autobiographies and other writings of the key members of the folk-song movement have been used to further supplement the private papers and it is hoped that the result has been a balanced account of the views, actions and relationships of the people that came together to found and conduct the affairs of the FSS in the furtherance of its declared aims.

Chapter Structure

⁷⁵ Broadwood, Diary entry for 18 July 1902., Ref. 6782/16, SHC.

⁷⁶ Broadwood, Diary entry for 25 June 1909., Ref. 6782/22, SHC.

Chapter 1 identifies the group of people that were targeted by the early collectors as those who knew and perpetuated folk-songs. It aims to provide a balanced view regarding their categorisation as members of the peasantry or the rural working class and shows that arguments about the use of such terminology serves only to detract from the main issue of identifying who the singers were. It also identifies who the pioneer collectors were and provides a summary of the main published folk-song collections that were made prior to the establishment of the Folk-Song Society. In addition it outlines the development of the seats of learning for music in London and shows how these two separate musical movements became connected. Alongside this it is shown that out of the political campaign for home-rule for Ireland the Irish Literary Society of London (ILSL) was founded. The converging of these developments provided the conditions that gave rise to the idea for a Folk-Song Society.

In Chapter 2 the events that led to the foundation of the FSS are examined and the main activists identified. This involved an examination of the working relationships of the society's active members and of the extent to which they were able to work collaboratively and how differences were resolved to enable the Society to be founded. It describes how a number of unrelated events provided an opportune set of circumstances for the foundation of the FSS and shows that the idea originated with members of the ILSL.

Chapter 3 gives an account of the initial meetings that took place and the arrangements that were put in place to provide the FSS with a sound organisational base. It provides an analysis of the working relationships that evolved between the committee members as the society began its work and the events that led to its near collapse in 1903.

The early years of the new century witnessed a growing interest among professional and amateur musicians for collecting folk-songs. Chapter 4 shows how Sharp took 'centre stage' in the folk-song movement as a result of his unparalleled success as a collector and his ability to make use of public meetings and the press to promote his views. Sharp's dogmatic views regarding folk-songs in schools put him at variance with his fellow FSS committee members and in particular with Lucy Broadwood. The chapter analyses these events against the backdrop of the changes taking place in society in general.

Following the decision of the committee of the FSS to endorse the list of songs proposed for use in elementary schools and the resulting rift between Sharp and the Broadwood camp, Sharp turned his attention to folk dancing. Chapter 5 gives an account of these events together with an analysis of his working relationship with Mary Neal and their eventual split and the events that led to the founding of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS). This increased involvement in the wider folk movement and Sharp's growing reputation in the public domain is assessed in terms of how far it enabled him to influence the policy and direction of the folk movement as a whole.

Chapter 6 gives an analysis of how Sharp, being unable to make headway where folk-song was concerned, managed to position himself as a major figure in the dance movement. It shows how he embarked on a series of enterprises, the crowning glory of which was the founding of the EFDS enabling him to overshadow Neal's achievements and establish himself as the expert and leader of the folk-dance movement.

Chapter 7 describes how the two societies peacefully co-existed and continued working in their respective fields. It gives an account of how, as time went on, the EFDS increasingly encroached on what could be viewed as FSS territory and leading members of the EFDS became members of the FSS which served to prepare the way for the EFDS to have an increasing influence in the affairs of the FSS. The development of both societies is examined in this chapter to determine to what extent their respective paths crossed and how this affected the folk movement generally and in particular the fortunes of the FSS. Chapter 8 charts the fortunes of the two societies and shows how eventually the leadership of the EFDS were able to bring about the amalgamation of the two societies. It provides an analysis which shows that this was, in effect, a take-over by the larger society.

In this introduction I have put forward the case that the changes in the countryside, not least of which was the migration of young people from the country to the towns to work in the factories, and the increasing influence of urban culture in the countryside resulted in an erosion of country traditions.

In particular the oral singing tradition was identified as being seriously undermined. As the towns and cities became more crowded social conditions deteriorated and this was seen as the degeneration of urban society. It was deemed necessary therefore to re-connect the urban working class with their country roots, traditions and values. In so doing a new sense of patriotism could be instilled. The re-popularisation of folk-song was seen as one way of achieving this.

Chapter 1

The Songsters, the Early Collectors and their Folk-Song Collections

This chapter will identify the group of people who were targeted by the early collectors as those that knew and perpetuated folk-songs. It will discuss their categorisation as members of the peasantry or the rural working class and show that arguments about the use of such terminology serve only to detract from the main issue of identifying who the singers were. It will also identify the pioneer collectors and provide a summary of the main published folk-song collections that pre-dated the establishment of the Folk-Song Society. In addition it charts the development of the seats of learning for music in London and shows how these two separate musical movements became connected.

i : The Songsters¹

The Introduction has described the informants of those collectors who engaged in field work as, for the most part, members of the rural working class, or peasantry as the collectors described them. The use of the term 'peasantry' has been extremely contentious and given rise to major criticism of the early collectors for using what is deemed by their present day critics

¹ Broadwood claimed that the term 'songsters' was used in Sussex and the term 'outway songsters' described 'excellently good singers'. Lucy E. Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs: Words and Music*, (London: The Leadhall Press, 1893), p. iv.

as a misleading term. The early collectors used the term quite freely. For example, Lucy Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland in the preface to *English County Songs* (1893) stated, 'The large amount of material collected by Chappell does not by any means exhaust the tunes that remain among the English peasantry.'² In the preface to *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (1908) Broadwood stated in reference to the poet Robert Burns that,

Burns, an inspired peasant himself, perceived these beauties in peasant poetry, and some of his sincerest and most famous lines are taken from homely ballads, familiar to the unlettered country singer and to most collectors of traditional song.³

Kidson avoided using the term but commented that:

They are simply homely ditties such as were sung by the humbler classes in England round the fireside of farm kitchens or at the plough tail, and the little wit or brilliancy they may possess must not be judged by a very high standard.⁴

Sharp used the term much more readily and said; 'The English peasant still exists, although the peasantry as a class is extinct.'⁵

The Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould, clearly demonstrated his ideas on the class structure of rural society when he commented on the creation and dissemination of folk songs and their airs and stated that they were:

[...] an heirloom of the past, from a class of musicians far higher in station and culture than those who now possess the treasure. [...] It must be borne in mind that folk-music is nowhere spontaneous and autochthonous. It is always a reminiscence, a heritage from a cultured past. The yokel is as incapable of creating a beautiful

² Lucy E. Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland *English County Songs: Words and Music* (London: The Leadenhall Press Ltd. And J. B. Cramer and Co., 1893), p. iii.

³ Lucy E. Broadwood, *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (London: Boosey & Co., 1908), p. ix.

⁴ Frank Kidson, *Traditional Tunes: A collection of Ballad Airs, Chiefly Obtained in Yorkshire and the South of Scotland; Together with their Appropriate Words from Broadsides and from Oral Tradition* (Oxford: Chas. Taphouse & Son, 1891), p. xii.

⁵ Sharp, *Some Conclusions*, p. 119.

melody as he is of producing a beautiful sculpture, or of composing a genuine poem.⁶

Baring-Gould was arguing that country people did not have the creative skill to make up their own songs but took as the basis of their repertoire the products of a cultured past such as the songs created by travelling minstrels who settled in country places after they were forbidden to 'journey from place to place by the Act of 1597'.⁷ Elsewhere he commented on a collection of songs entitled *The Songs of England*, compiled by Halton. He wrote: 'Halton in "The Songs of England" has gone exclusively to printed music, and in these collections we have exactly the music which is *not* sung by the peasantry [...]'.⁸

A full understanding of the context in which this terminology was used by the early collectors will help to shed light on the cultural and class differences between them and their informants. Bearman makes great play of this and argues that current folk-song scholars such as Harker, Boyes and Gammon by substituting terms such as 'rural working class' are seeking to apply a Marxist ideology to bolster the claim that folk-song was the cultural product of the working-class as distinct from the peasantry. Indeed, he took Gammon to task on this very issue and stated, with respect to a journal article written by Gammon, that 'Vic Gammon applies to folk singers the

⁶S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *Songs of the West: A Collection Made From the Mouths of the People* (London: Methuen & Co. 1891), pp. ix-x.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. ix.

⁸S. Baring Gould and H. Fleetwood Sheppard, *A Garland of Country Song: English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies* (London: Methuen, 1895; facsimile reprint. With new introduction by Martin Graebe, Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1998), p. vi.

description of 'working people', 'labouring poor', 'rural poor', 'working person', 'rural working class' at least eleven times in twenty-five pages.⁹

Bearman's main target, though, is Harker and he observed that 'Harker defines 'peasant' in a rather sexist way as "English working men [cultivating] a patch of land for *subsistence*." (Harker's italics). Were there really no female peasants one wonders?'¹⁰

Harker argued that a peasantry no longer existed in late nineteenth century England and that the rural workers were wage earners and therefore working class. By and large this is true, however, there were still vestiges of earlier class relationships that set rural workers apart from their urban factory counterparts, for example the availability of tied cottages. Mark Freeman wrote that:

[...] a powerful defence of the rural paternalistic tradition and the system of payment in kind was launched. Richard Jefferies, writing as a spokesman for the farming interests in *The Times*, indicted the labouring population with their ingratitude for the 'many great benefits which are bountifully supplied them' by their superiors in rural communities; and the editorial of the same day expressed sympathy with this conception of agricultural life: 'Every farm, and, to a great extent, every parish, is, for the Labourer, one household, and he has the gratuitous use of common advantages.'¹¹

Bearman, quite rightly, makes the point that the use of terminology must be considered in the light of the beliefs, mores and mentality of the time of its use.¹²

⁹ C. J. Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', *Historical Journal*, 43. 3 (2000), 751-775 (p. 755).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 757.

¹¹ Mark Freeman, *Social Investigation and Rural England*, p. 51.

¹² Bearman, *The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914*, p. 140.

In support of Sharp he goes to great lengths to show that the people from whom folk-songs were collected were members of the peasantry, whereas the other aforementioned writers have described them as, generically speaking, working-class. To support his argument Bearman used a definition of 'peasantry' given in the *New English Dictionary* published in 1905. He justified the use of this definition on the grounds that it was current at the time the early collectors were active. He stated:

This defined peasant 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."¹³

Bearman's use of this definition is interesting since it does not strengthen his argument against Harker's claim that a peasantry no longer existed. It simply shows that, in late Victorian and Edwardian England the terms 'peasantry' and 'working class' when applied to those who worked on the land were interchangeable and used to describe the same workers. On this basis Harker et al. when using terms such as 'rural working-class' are appropriately describing the people that the early collectors targeted. Nevertheless, it was equally appropriate for the early collectors to have used the term 'peasantry' to describe their informants since that term was still in current usage but had come to mean one who lives and works in the country.

Harker et al. have argued that describing the song informants as peasants was a deliberate ploy to add weight to the idea of a rural idyll, the 'imagined village'. He said of Sharp's use of the word 'peasantry' that:

¹³ C. J. Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk?', pp. 759-760.

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. [...] 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 [...].¹⁴

In both cases the informants are being categorised in a way that does not quite fit the reality of class structure in the countryside at the time. It is true to say that an agrarian proletariat made up of wage-earning labourers was quickly evolving in the last half of the nineteenth century but the rate of this development was not the same in all areas. It was dependent upon such factors as location, agricultural practice and the size of the landholdings. Furthermore, such change took place alongside a diminishing group of people who could still be described as the peasantry using the definition given by Harker above. John Broadwood in 1843 described his singers, in the title of his collection, as the 'peasantry of the wealds of Surrey and Sussex' (see Figure 1). In an article marking the centenary of John Broadwood's collection, Frank Howes wrote that:

The original version had a remarkable title page, in which every fount of type in the office of Balls & Co., of 408 Oxford Street, who published it for private circulation, seems to have been used – roman, italic, gothic in every size. I [...] will content myself with reproducing the layout.¹⁵

¹⁴ David Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset: Some Conclusions', *Folk Music Journal*, 2, 3 (1972), 220–240 (p.226).

¹⁵ Frank Howes, 'A Centenary', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 4, 4 (1943), 157–160 (p.157).

Figure 1. Transcription of title page of *Old English Songs*, collected by Rev. John Broadwood.

OLD ENGLISH SONGS
AS NOW SUNG BY THE PEASANTRY OF THE
WEALD OF SURREY AND SUSSEX
AND COLLECTED BY ONE WHO HAS LEARNT THEM
BY HEARING THEM SUNG EVERY CHRISTMAS FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD
BY
THE COUNTRY PEOPLE
who go about to the Neighbouring Houses, Singing,
OR
"Wassailing," as it is called, at that season.
The Airs are set to Music exactly as they are now sung,
to rescue them from oblivion and to afford a specimen of genuine
Old English Melody.
The Words are given in their original Rough State
with an occasional slight alteration to render the sense intelligible
HARMONIZED
FOR THE COLLECTOR IN 1843
BY
G. A. DUSART
Organist to the Chapel of Ease at Worthing

The original title page of the collection of folk-songs made by John Broadwood in 1843 and privately published in 1847.¹⁶

OLD ENGLISH SONGS,
as now sung by the Country of the
WEALD OF SURREY AND SUSSEX,
and collected by one who has learnt them
by hearing them Sung every Christmas from early Childhood.
The Country People.
who go about to the Neighbouring Houses Singing
"WASSAILING" AS IT IS CALLED AT THAT SEASON.
The Airs are set to Music exactly as they are now Sung,
to rescue them from oblivion, and to afford a specimen of genuine Old English Melody.
THE WORDS ARE GIVEN IN THEIR ORIGINAL ROUGH STATE,
with an occasional slight alteration to render the sense intelligible.
Harmonized
for the Collector, in 1843.
 BY
G. A. D U S A R T,
 ORGANIST TO THE CHAPEL OF EASE, AT WORTHING.
 LONDON,
 Published for the Collector, by B. ALLS & CO. 408 Oxford Street
 For private Circulation.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Haydn Wright of Lewes Library, Sussex for providing me with a copy.

Mick Reed has provided evidence that a peasantry still existed much later in the century in the Weald of Sussex where John Broadwood had collected songs. He wrote that:

In the south-east they still survived throughout the 19th century. In the 1870s Henry Evershed described such people and their holdings as the Dicker in East Sussex. 'There are a number of farmers entrenched on a remarkable spot in the Weald of Sussex where they still hold their own, secure at present, on a poor soil which few people covert ... Any person ... desirous of seeing a farm labourer with land, should come down here before it is too late ...' He described the system, the small plot and cow-keeping of 'old England' which kept the family occupied and provided, for one family at least, weekly sales of butter amounting to 28s.¹⁷

The fact that the people described above farmed on land that 'few people covert' was an important factor to the survival of their way of life. Writing some thirty years earlier the historian J. D. Chambers argued that the small tenant-farmers were heavily depleted in number while the small farm owners were better able to hold their own. Tenancy was the key to this demise, it was easier to acquire, or re-possess, rented farms than to buy those that were owned. Chambers wrote that 'To facilitate the ascendancy and growth of the large farms these small units were taken over and absorbed.'¹⁸

Alun Howkins has put forward a case for the existence of a peasantry in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries while at the same time acknowledging that working practices were changing and that it was increasingly difficult for peasant farmers to exist completely independently

¹⁷ Mick Reed, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth Century England: A Neglected Class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18, 1 (1984), 53-76 (p. 57).

¹⁸ J. D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *The Economic History Review*, n.s. 5, 3 (1953), 319-343 (p.325).

of a capitalist society. He argued that '[...] even the most 'peasant' of producers saw a proportion of their product sold on the market. All but a few household producers, therefore, existed within capitalist market relations to a greater or lesser extent depending on precise local conditions.'¹⁹ He cited the description of a 'dual economy' given by E. J. T. Collins in which the practice of subsistence farming alongside waged work was carried out at certain times. Howkins has provided evidence of the existence of such practice in Lincolnshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire and the High Weald of Kent and Surrey. He stated that:

This dual economy was also, as Hall argues, a central part of 'peasant' Lincolnshire with many families following both labouring and artisan trades as well as holding land. But it must be stressed that these practices are widespread in many peasant societies. The 'classic' nineteenth century peasantry of much of southern Europe was deeply implicated in market production.²⁰

However, Howkins argued that, in effect, such practices were means to an end. The 'end' in this case was to maintain a 'peasant' way of life by supplementing subsistence from the land with earned wages and thus establishing a 'dual economy'. To elaborate on this point Howkins cited Reed who said that:

Unlike capitalist producers who sought to maximise the return on capital invested, household producers were preoccupied with the interests of the family rather than the individual. They concerned themselves more with family needs and neighbourhood obligations than with profits from trade.²¹

A peasant community is, therefore, a close-knit community with shared experiences and these are the conditions that Sharp and his collaborator

¹⁹ Alun Howkins, 'Peasants, Servants and Labourers: The Marginal Workforce in British Agriculture, 1870 – 1914', *Agricultural History Review*, 92, 1 (1992), 49–62 (p. 54).

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 54.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 54.

during his early collecting expeditions, the Reverend Charles Marson, identified as prerequisites for the creation and continuation of folk-song. Sharp and Marson described this type of community as a self-contained entity which 'built its own church, hanged its own rogues, made its own boots, shirts and wedding rings and chanted its own tunes.'²² Pamela Horn has described how members of such communities were inter-dependant. She wrote '[...] – carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, millers and saddlers – served the needs of the farmers and were reliant upon agricultural prosperity for their own well-being. Together they formed as tightly knit group [...].' She went on to say that this could sometimes lead to a narrow and parochial; outlook. To illustrate this she cited the case of a girl from Needham Market in East Anglia who was courted by a man from Creting, the next parish just a half-mile distant. Her father was opposed to the match and told her 'You must not do it! I can't have a daughter o' mine a-courting one o' those owd Creting *jackdaws*.'²³

Although social class structure in the countryside was clearly changing, albeit slowly, it is also clear that for many in country communities a peasant mentality still prevailed. Howkins endeavoured to quantify the extent of the peasant population in England when he offered the following estimation, 'Assuming one full-time worker per holding (which is clearly an underestimate) and reducing by about 15% for dual occupation, we find that

²² C. J. Sharp and C. L. Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset*, 5 vols (Taunton: The Wessex Press, 1904), i, xv.

²³ Pamela Horn, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975, reprinted, Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1995), p. 2.

there were in 1880 about 254,000 peasant 'workers' in England, [...].²⁴

However, there is by no means general agreement that a class such as the peasantry still existed in the nineteenth century. The American historian Francis Nielson argued that the enclosures resulted in the despoiling of the peasantry and as a result 'cheap labour was found to work on the farm.'²⁵

Chambers agreed with this view when he wrote 'by the late eighteenth century the scale of enclosure had been sufficient to reduce 'the peasantry to a landless proletariat [...]''.²⁶

Bearman argues that the use of terms such as 'working-class' to describe the people from whom folk-songs were collected presents an analysis of such activity from a class-conscious perspective. This is hardly surprising since the scholars and writers he takes to task are, by their own admission, 'left-wingers' and an essential part of their argument is that the cultural products of the working-class [folk-songs] were appropriated by middle-class collectors. To counter this Bearman sets out to show that the use of the term 'peasantry' was appropriate but adds that it was used 'at its narrowest' by which he means one who 'lives in the country and works on the land',²⁷ in which case he must surely have meant 'broadest' since such a description would include waged labourers. Harker, on the other hand, contests that Sharp's informants were not peasants by using the dictionary definition in its narrowest sense, that is, 'one who subsists on the land'. He argued that a

²⁴ Ibid. p. 57.

²⁵ Francis Nielson, 'The Conspiracy Against the English Peasantry', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 3, 3 (1944), 293-306 (pp. 321 - 322).

²⁶ J. D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Labour Supply', pp. 321-322.

²⁷ Bearman, 'The English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914', p. 141.

peasantry no longer existed in Somerset at the turn of the twentieth century. This may well be true of Somerset, however, it is also likely that when Sharp's informants were young men and women they may well have lived in a community such as that described by Howkins and Reed. If this is so, then Sharp's statement that 'the English Peasant still exists, although the peasantry as a class is extinct' has some validity. Consequently, Harker's comments that such a notion is 'a curious account of the working people of Somerset in early 20th-century England' [...] ²⁸ and elsewhere that it is a 'bizarre assertion' ²⁹ are unfounded. Bearman is right to challenge Harker on this and he made great play on the usage of language and what might have been meant by the term 'peasant' when used by middle-class town dwellers with respect to those that lived in the country.

Language changes over time and nowadays the word peasantry has taken on a different connotation. It is clear that the word peasantry was falling out of common usage in its literal sense and, indeed, was becoming a colloquial term that would only be used in a derisory and a derogatory way. Indeed, this is illustrated by the posthumous publication in 1927 of a collection of songs made by Frank Kidson. His niece, Ethel Kidson, was handling the matter with the publishers, Ascherberg, Hopwood and Crew, who wanted to call the collection *English Peasant Songs*. She is reported to have said:

"Please do not think I had anything to do with its title-I did not want the word 'peasant', it is not English and all country people would be

²⁸ David Harker, 'Cecil Sharp in Somerset', pp. 225 – 226.

²⁹ Dave Harker, 'May Cecil Sharp be Praised?', *History Workshop Journal* 14, (1982), 44 – 62 (p. 56).

much offended if you called them peasants, but the publishers wanted it, so I had to give way.”³⁰

Nonetheless, Cecil Sharp writing as late as 1919 still used the terms ‘peasant’ and ‘peasantry’. In the introduction to the 1920 edition of *English Folk Songs* he stated:

A few years later, with the passing of the last survivors of the peasant class, it would have been quite impossible to have recovered anything of real value and the achievements of a great peasant art would have been irretrievably lost. [...] That the postponement has added very materially to the difficulties of the collector – by compelling him, for instance, to take down his songs from aged and quavering throats instead of from young, fresh-voiced singers – is, of course true enough.³¹

Fundamentally, both Bearman and Harker have accepted that Sharp’s singers were countrymen and women that directly or indirectly relied upon agriculture for their livelihood. Taking the definitions previously cited in their broadest sense such people were by those definitions peasants. They could just as easily be described as rural working class and the argument, it seems, has descended into one about semantics. In both cases there is a failure to take full account of the way rural society in terms of social structure was changing. Such change was slow and uneven from district to district. Consequently ideas, beliefs, values and practices were slow to change. As is often the case, younger generations were more ready to accept change and adopt a modern outlook. The early collectors recognised this and made it their practice to seek out the older members of rural society

³⁰M.J. Dean-Smith (Editor), ‘Portraits: Frank Kidson 1855-1927, by some of his friends’, *JEFDSS*, 5, 3 (1948), 127-135 (pp. 129-130).

³¹Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs: Collected and Arranged with Pianoforte Accompaniment* (London: Novello, first printed in two volumes, 1920, Reprinted in one volume for the Centenary of Cecil Sharp’s birth by Novello, 1959), p. ix.

when collecting songs. Writing in 1907 (and again in 1919 as cited earlier)

Sharp said:

The folk-singers of today, [...] are the last of a long line that stretches back into the mists of far off days. Their children were the first of their race to reject the songs of their forefathers. Nowadays the younger generations despise them, and, when they mention them it is with a lofty and supercilious air and to pour ridicule upon them.³²

Sharp paints a picture of the older members of rural society as still cherishing and valuing the old songs, traditions and values that they had grown up with. One is left with the impression that they were both bemused by the changes taking place around them and unhappy that the values and practices that they held dear were now being rejected or not valued. This reluctance on their part to 'let go' of an older and slower pace of life may well have led the early collectors to conclude that these people were the 'remnants of the peasantry'.

The folk-song scholar A. L. Lloyd was right to point out that Sharp's romantic notions about a closed society in 'country districts which, by reasons of their remoteness, have escaped the infection of modern ideas' were fanciful³³. Nonetheless, this fitted with the ideas surrounding authenticity discussed in the Introduction. The early collectors were convinced that it was only in the countryside that genuine folk-songs still survived and that it was the older inhabitants that still sang them. Such people were far less likely to have had regular contact with the 'trappings' of modern life. As young men and women they would not have been exposed to such things as the increased mechanisation in farming, improved

³² Sharp, *English Folk-Song Some Conclusions*, p. 106.

³³ A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967), p. 14.

communication through road and rail networks and compulsory education, all of which were evident in the countryside in the late nineteenth century.

In this respect the so-called 'remnants of the peasantry' were deemed to be the inheritors and keepers of an uncorrupted folk-song tradition. By definition, such people would be the older members of rural communities.

This view was clearly summarised by Cecil Sharp when he wrote;

[...] the peculiar characteristics of a nation [are] concentrated in its humblest class. This is natural enough; because the peasantry, as a class, is of all others, the most homogeneous and the least affected by alien and outside influences. Unlettered and untravelled, the peasant has had no opportunity of producing an imitative, sophisticated art.³⁴

Much the same point had been made by Fuller Maitland when he spoke during the discussion session at the end of a lecture given by Lucy Broadwood. He was referring to his experience of folk-song collecting with Broadwood. He said that:

But it always strikes me that they are in such dreadful danger of disappearing altogether. We hear them always from the very old people in the villages [...]. as a rule these old people are the great source of folk-songs and they are dying out fast! We do not know how many songs we have lost, as activity in folk-song is very recent.³⁵

Given that this was the conventional wisdom of the time and in terms of the mentality of this 'remnant' Sharp's description of them as the peasantry may well have been more accurate than anyone has so far given him credit for.

³⁴ Cecil Sharp, 'The Folk-Song Fallacy: A Reply', *English Review*, (July, 1912), pp. 542-550, (p. 545).

³⁵ Lucy E. Broadwood, 'On the Collecting of English Folk Song', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 31, 1 (1904), 89-109 (p. 108).

ii : The Early Collectors and their Collections

. This section will describe the events that led to the growth of interest in traditional songs and music, identify the main players in the movement and examine the extent to which they operated in concert or independently of each other. It will show how, eventually, there was a sufficient meeting of minds to bring about the establishment of a Society which would have as one of its expressed aims the co-ordination of such collecting activity for the preservation and perpetuation of the folk-song tradition.

Field collecting, that is noting songs directly from those that sang them, did not become the norm until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The practice of taking songs directly from those that sang them traditionally was pioneered by John Broadwood, The title page of his published collection states that the songs were 'collected by one who has learnt them by hearing them sung every Christmas from early childhood' (see Figure 1. P.42). It is clear from this that he had learnt the songs himself and had later written them out. This method was radically different from the 'pencil and pad' method employed by later collectors.

The period from 1840 up to the foundation of the Folk-Song Society in 1898 witnessed a growing interest in traditional song and music. Those interested in such songs and ballads found an outlet and a disciplined approach through membership of learned societies. The first of these was the Percy Society. The Percy Society functioned essentially as a book club and was

founded in 1840 by William Chappell. Chappell was a member of the famous publishing business that bore his name, and prior to the foundation of the Percy Society he had published a two volume collection entitled *A Collection of National English Airs, Consisting of Ancient Song, Ballad and Dance Tunes* in 1838. Gregory described Chappell's work as 'groundbreaking'.³⁶

The Percy Society had been established to supplement the work of the Roxburghe Club which had been founded in 1812 and 'was a literary society that focused on the recovery of rare and lesser-known items of early English poetry, prose and drama.'³⁷ The membership of the Percy Society was made up of scholars who had an interest in rare vernacular poems and songs. The society took its name from Thomas Percy (1729–1811) who became famous as the editor of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* published in 1765. In 1751 he was ordained as a Deacon and in 1782 he became the Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. He was the senior member of Samuel Johnson's famous literary circle and provided James Boswell with much information for his biography of Johnson.³⁸

Joseph Ritson (1752 – 1803), earned his living as a conveyancer but spent all his available spare time in following his antiquarian research into early British poetry. He amassed, at the time, an unparalleled collection of

³⁶Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters*, p.81.

³⁷ Ibid. p.97.

³⁸ Bertram H. Davis, *Thomas Percy; A Scholar-Cleric in the Age of Johnson* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 281.

manuscripts and became an expert on the subject.³⁹ He was very critical of Percy's work. He commended Percy's collection as 'beautiful, elegant and ingenious'⁴⁰ but castigated him for his practice of 'polishing up' vernacular text by adding his own lines or by collating different incomplete versions to make up a complete version without making it clear what was original and what was new or had been added from other sources. Ritson regarded such editorial practice as tantamount to 'forgery' and he was acerbic in his criticisms of all those that exercised such editorial laxity⁴¹.

The members of the Percy Society in contrast to Percy and in keeping with Ritson's criteria took a much more 'purist' approach and were careful to print texts exactly as given in their sources. For the most part their sources were manuscripts to be found in libraries such as the Bodleian library, the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum and their own, and others, private collections. Very little field collecting took place. The Society published limited editions of collections of rare poems and songs compiled and edited by its members.

The late Victorian folk song revival followed on from and built on the body of work of these early Victorian enthusiasts for old songs and ballads. They were particularly influenced by those that were members of the Percy Society. Although the Percy Society was wound up in 1852 its work was to be taken up again, though with a much sharper focus on traditional songs

³⁹ Ibid. p. 30.

⁴⁰ Burd, Henry Alfred, *Joseph Ritson: A Critical Biography* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. II, No. 8, 1916) p. 96.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 96

and ballads, by the foundation of a new society in 1868, The Ballad Society. Both the Percy and the Ballad Societies encouraged research into old music and literature and published the collections of their members, for example the Percy Society had published the collection of James Henry Dixon in 1846. However, the aforementioned Reverend John Broadwood was not a member of the Percy Society and had died before the foundation of the Ballad Society. He had not set out to deliberately collect songs. He had learnt them by hearing them sung repeatedly over a number of years. He later decided to privately publish the results. Broadwood's collection had an unwieldy title (see Figure 1) but it is widely known as *Old English Songs*. Broadwood learnt songs directly from singers 'in the field' and presented both the words and the tunes to which they were sung. The collection of just sixteen songs was published with piano arrangements by G. Dusart, a church organist, and it is reported that Broadwood was insistent on having them printed exactly as he had heard and learnt them. This suggests that Broadwood was not sufficiently versed in musical notation to be able to transcribe the tunes himself.

In 1943 the editor of the *JEFDSS*, Frank Howes, wrote an article to mark the centenary of the collection and gave the following anecdote:

According to this Mr. [sic] Broadwood played a 'German flute' and when the organist cried out against a flattened seventh Mr. Broadwood who had an accurate memory and a good ear, confirmed his vocal intervals by violent blasts on the flute and replied 'Musically it may be wrong, but I will have it exactly as my singers sang it.'⁴²

⁴² Frank Howes, 'A Centenary', *JEFDSS*, 4, 4 (1943), 131–166 (p. 159).

Frank Kidson's entry in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* for John Broadwood stated: 'The Rev. John Broadwood, a brother of Henry Fowler Broadwood, may be claimed to be one of the earliest collectors of English folk-song in the modern spirit.'⁴³ The 'modern spirit' that Kidson refers to is the practice of field collecting and noting down the words and tunes exactly as given. However, Gregory has pointed out that he was not the only one to collect songs in this way and went on to say that '[...] unlike John Bell and John Clare he did go to the trouble of printing his small tune collection, thereby staking his claim.'⁴⁴ George Deacon has shown that the poet John Clare, based on the evidence of letters written by him, had been engaged in collecting songs as early as 'the 1820s'⁴⁵ Although he noted song texts it seems that he was more interested in the tunes. Edward Storey in his biography of Clare commented that 'Clare may not have come from such a strong folk-song tradition as Robert Burns but he did inherit a love of folk melodies and often wrote words to go with them.'⁴⁶

After the publication in 1846 and 1847 of the collections of James Henry Dixon and the Reverend John Broadwood respectively other significant collections started to appear. The folk song scholar Margaret Dean-Smith in her book *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections* has provided a comprehensive list with a short description of each work and brief

⁴³ J. A. Fuller Maitland, editor, 'Frank Kidson', in *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 5 vols, (London: Macmillan, 1919, reprint of 1904 edition), i. p. 804.

⁴⁴ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters* p. 389.

⁴⁵ George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition* (London: Sinclair Browne, 1983), p. 18.

⁴⁶ Edward Storey, *A Right to Song: The Life of John Clare* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 56.

biographical details of the collectors and editors.⁴⁷ It is interesting to read in her notes to John Broadwood's collection that the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books* gives 1847 as the date of publication, though it is commonly referred to as having been published in 1843 since this date appears on the title page where it is stated that the tunes were 'Harmonised for the Collector in 1843 by G. A. DUSART: Organist to the Chapel of Ease at Worthing.' The dates of publication for the Broadwood collection are important since one predates and the other antedates the Dixon collection. Although Dixon engaged in some field collecting, as the title of his collection implies,⁴⁸ it is largely made up of songs from printed sources and manuscripts from other people and presented without tunes. Consequently, Broadwood's collection, irrespective of its date of publication, is still regarded as the first to be taken directly from the oral tradition and presented just as it was collected. The reader is referred to Margaret Dean-Smith's work for full details of these and the collections that followed and what is presented here is a brief summary of those collections.

In 1856 Robert Bell published a collection of *Early Ballads*, without tunes, and in 1857 he published a revised and enlarged edition of Dixon's collection. Further collections appeared in the years leading up to the foundation of the Folk-Song Society. Notable among them are

⁴⁷ Margaret Dean-Smith, Foreword by Gerald Abraham, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections 1822 – 1952: With an Index to their Contents and an Introduction* (Liverpool: The University of Liverpool in association with The English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1954), pp. 25–44.

⁴⁸ James Henry Dixon, collector and editor, *Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England taken down from Oral Recitation and Transcribed from Private Manuscripts, Rare Broad-sides and Scarce Publications*, (London: T. Richards for the Percy Society, 1846).

Northumbrian Minstrelsy (1882) edited by Reverend John Collingwood Bruce and John Stokoe. The folk-song scholar A. L. Lloyd made the point that this collection was important in that it broke with the accepted practice of presentation and gave only words and melody with no accompaniment. John Stokoe was well known in Newcastle musical life, he was a judge at choral competitions and wrote a weekly article on local songs for the *Newcastle Courant*. He was also a small-pipes player and gave “live” illustrations to the lectures on north eastern ballads and music given by Collingwood Bruce to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1877-9.’⁴⁹

Other collections are Marianne Harriet Mason’s collection of *Nursery Rhymes and Country Songs Both Words and Tunes from Tradition* (1887–1888); Heywood Sumner’s collection *The Besom Maker and Other Country Folk Songs* (1888); the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould and the Reverend Fleetwood Sheppard’s collection *Songs and Ballads of the West* (1889–1892) and *Sussex Songs* (1890). *Sussex Songs* was a re-issue of the Rev. Broadwood’s collection with ten extra songs collected by his niece Lucy Broadwood and new arrangements by H. F. Birch-Reynardson.⁵⁰

At this point it is useful to give a little biographical information on Lucy Broadwood (1858-1929) since she was later to become a key figure in the

⁴⁹ A. L. Lloyd, ‘Foreword’ in facsimile reprint of *Northumbrian Minstrelsy: A Collection of the Ballads, Melodies, and Small-Pipe Tunes of Northumbria* edited by J. Collingwood Bruce and John Stokoe (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates Inc., 1965, first published Newcastle: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle–Upon-Tyne, 1882), p. xv.

⁵⁰ Margaret Dean-Smith, ‘Letters to Lucy Broadwood: A selection from the Broadwood Papers at Cecil Sharp house’, *JEFDSS*, 9, 5 (1964), 233-268 (p. 235).

Folk-Song Society. Lucy's father was a successful businessman who owned the famous piano making firm bearing the family name. Lucy was born at Melrose, Scotland and was the youngest of nine surviving children. As a child she moved from Scotland to the family estate in Lyne near the Surrey-Sussex border. She remained single all her life but she was able to support herself through private means and thus maintain her independence. When she was twenty-six years old (in 1884) her brother James became engaged to her friend Evelyn Fuller Maitland. This resulted in closer contact between the two families and as a result Lucy became much better acquainted with Evelyn's brother J. A. Fuller Maitland, or Alec Fuller Maitland as he was known. Alec Fuller Maitland was a composer, author and, from 1889 to 1911, the chief music critic of the *Times*.⁵¹ In 1904 he edited a new edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. She was later to collaborate with him in the publication of a collection of folk songs that would come to be regarded as a seminal piece of work.

Lucy remained at the family home in Lyne until her father's death in 1893, she then moved to London taking up residence with her mother at the Broadwood's town house in Pimlico. Following her mother's death in 1898 she gave up the lease on the town house and moved into a mansion flat in Westminster which she shared with her niece Barbara Cra'ster. Her interest in folk-song was inspired by the discovery of her uncle's collection when she was still an adolescent; the collection had been published before she was born. She was familiar with folk songs because her father, who had also

⁵¹ Frank Howes, 'Obituary: J. A. Fuller Maitland, April 7th 1856 – March 30th 1936', *JEFDSS*, 3, 1 (1936), 78.

collected songs at the same time as his brother, occasionally sang them at home to entertain the family. Gregory writes of Lucy Broadwood that:

[...] she evidently had plenty of time to devote to her chosen pursuits. The main ones were religion, art, reading and music. [...] To a large degree, Lucy Broadwood's life centred around music: concert-going (several times a week when she was in London for a 'season'); piano practice (she was a talented pianist, capable of accompanying professional singers); singing lessons (her principal singing teacher was named Walter Shakespeare); choirs (including membership of the prestigious Bach Choir); musical 'at-homes' and dinner parties; fund-raising 'entertainments' and charity concerts; collaborations with other musicians, either as pianist or singer; composing piano arrangements; and editing music manuscripts.⁵²

As she worked on preparing *Sussex Songs* for publication she was unhappy with the arrangements that G. A. Dussart had produced for the original edition and she enlisted the help of her cousin, Herbert Frederick Birch-Reynardson, and he agreed that Dussart's pianoforte arrangements needed to be replaced. Broadwood admired her cousin's musical compositions and in particular the music he had composed for "*A Masque of Flowers*, a production at the Prince of Wales Theatre in London, her diary records that she was 'enchanted with it'.⁵³ She was confident that he was the right person for the job and he agreed to do it. This joint project became public knowledge within London music circles and consequently Broadwood, was approached by William Alexander Barrett who asked her for examples of Sussex songs that he could include in the collection of folk-songs he was compiling for publication at that time. A mutual friend of Broadwood and Barrett, A. J. Hipkins, had written to her and asked her for permission to

⁵² E. David Gregory, 'Before the Folk-Song Society: Lucy Broadwood and English Folk Song, 1884 – 97', *FMJ*, 9, 3 (2008), 372–414 (p. 374).

⁵³ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters* p. 375.

give Barrett her address so that he could write to her.⁵⁴ A. J. Hipkins was an influential character in the London music circle, Fuller Maitland wrote of him that 'A. J. Hipkins was a benefactor to all the young pianists who were trained in England or who flocked over from abroad; he himself had been the tuner preferred above all others by Chopin on his visits to England, [...].'⁵⁵ Presumably she gave permission very promptly because Barrett wrote to her a few days later. In a letter dated 11 April 1889 he asked if he could use examples of songs from her uncle's collection to add to the one-hundred he already had for his forthcoming collection to be published under the title of *Quaint Songs*.⁵⁶ The 1 March 1889 edition of *The Musical Times* carried a short news item which, in effect, advertised Barrett's forthcoming work. It stated:

The suggestion made by Mr. Andrew Lang that an effort should be made to collect the popular songs has, to some extent, been already carried into effect by Mr. W. A. Barrett and a series of quaint songs, words and music derived chiefly from traditional sources and from the presses of the "Broadside" ballad printers, will shortly be published.⁵⁷

Barrett, who from 1876 was promoted from Assistant Vicar Choral to Vicar Choral at St Paul's Cathedral,⁵⁸ was also the music critic for the *Morning Post* from 1866 until his death. He was also one of the one-hundred and fifty Assistant Inspectors for schools and worked closely with John Hullah,

⁵⁴Letter from A. J. Hipkins to Lucy Broadwood, 5 April 1889. Lucy Ethelred Broadwood Collection, Ref.2185/LEB/1/4, SHC.

⁵⁵ Fuller Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music*, p. 110.

⁵⁶ Letter from W. A. Barrett to Lucy Broadwood, 11 April 1889, Lucy Ethelred Broadwood Collection, Ref.2185/LEB/1/5, SHC.

⁵⁷ 'Miscellaneous Concerts, Intelligence, &c.', *MT*, 30, 533 (1 March, 1889), p. 168.

⁵⁸ Dibble, *John Stainer*, fn. P. 177.

the government inspector (HMI) of music in schools and training colleges. Hullah had subscribed to Chappell's work *Popular Music of the Olden Time* and his name is listed at the front of the book as one of the subscribers.⁵⁹ The music historian Gordon Cox wrote that 'Chappell's influence was profound. He personally encouraged John Hullah's work, *The Song Book* (1866), which was comprised of national songs and was based largely on Chappell's collection.'⁶⁰ It may be that Barrett was influenced by Hullah and his own interests were fired by Hullah's interest in national song. This may have led Barrett to extend the study of national song and investigate the oral song tradition.

In addition to his work as an assistant Inspector and music critic Barrett was also the editor of *The Musical Times* and he was co-author of a musical dictionary with another HMI, and colleague at St Paul's, John Stainer, later to become Sir John Stainer. Stainer had been a Professor of Music at Oxford University and in 1872 accepted the post of organist at St. Paul's Cathedral with a salary of £400 per year. The composer C. Hubert H. Parry had been a pupil of Stainer's at Oxford and was quick to congratulate him on his new appointment. In his biography of Stainer Dibble quoted from a letter from Parry in which he said:

My dear old Professor
I really can't express to you how delighted I was at seeing by accident in the papers your translation to the see of St Paul's. Of

⁵⁹ W. Chappell, FSA, 'List of Subscribers' in *Popular Music of the Olden Time: A History of Ancient Songs, Ballads and the Dance Tunes of England with Numerous Anecdotes and Entire Ballads and a Short Account of the Minstrels* (London: Chappell & Co. 1858 – 1859, p. xviii.

⁶⁰ Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England 1872 – 1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), p. 67.

course one must feel sorry for poor Oxford, but from every other point of view one must congratulate oneself and the country as well as you.

[...] I feel almost inclined to fancy you and Barrett cooperating in the work of regeneration in which direction his pen and influence are always straight.⁶¹

Both Stainer and Parry were to become two of the four vice-presidents of the Folk-Song Society when it was founded in 1898 and here we see the beginnings of a network of educationalists and professional musicians that had an interest in, to use a generic term, vernacular song and music.

However, Dibble has pointed out that in spite of his support for the Folk-Song Society, Stainer had reservations about folk-song and 'did not consider the folk song an ideal educational agency, owing principally to the wide range of the melodies for children's voices.' Dibble went on to point out that the composer Charles Villiers Stanford, who was also to become a vice-president of the Folk-Song Society, took a very different view and had expressed in a paper delivered to the London School Boards in 1889 an 'unbridled desire to see the teaching of folk songs' as part of the school curriculum.⁶² Given Barrett's own interest in folk song and his collaboration and friendship with both Stainer and Hullah, it is quite probable that he too would have been a member of the Folk-Song Society had he survived.

However, with regard to Barrett's request to Lucy Broadwood for help, her response was that she felt unable to assist him in this matter. It may be that

⁶¹Dibble, *John Stainer*, p. 144.

⁶²Ibid p. 270.

she wanted to avoid any possibility of duplication between the two collections. Nonetheless, in 1891 William Barrett published his collection under the title *English Folk Songs* and not *Quaint Songs* as originally planned. Tragically, later in the same year, he very suddenly and unexpectedly died aged only fifty-seven.⁶³

Also in 1891 Frank Kidson privately published his collection entitled *Traditional Tunes*. Broadwood had sight of a copy of Kidson's collection and wrote in her diary that it was 'very interesting'.⁶⁴ Presumably her interest lay in the fact that Kidson, like her uncle, had adopted a strict antiquarian approach. He recorded tunes exactly as they were sung, though he did, as her uncle had done, edit some song texts, but unlike her uncle he presented the texts and tunes without piano accompaniment, as Stokoe and Collingwood Bruce had done. Broadwood subsequently wrote to Kidson about his collection, he replied promptly and enclosed a copy of his book. This was the start of a lifelong friendship and fruitful musical collaboration.

Broadwood and Fuller Maitland had decided to present their forthcoming collection with accompaniment and they justified this decision when they stated:

While to give the tunes without accompaniment is doubtless the most scientific method of preserving the songs, it has the disadvantage of rendering them practically useless to educated singers. The accompaniments have been kept as simple as possible,

⁶³ Obituary: 'William Alexander Barrett', *MT*, 32, 585 (1 November, 1891), pp. 659-660.

⁶⁴ Lucy Broadwood diaries, 30 June, 1891, Lucy Ethelred Broadwood Collection, Ref.6782/9, SHC.

and in all cases the editors have endeavoured to preserve the character of the period to which they suppose the tune to belong.⁶⁵

The reference to 'educated singers' is a clear indicator that the volume was aimed at as wide a market as possible. The practice of presenting only the air as the singer gave it would appeal, at this time, only to a limited market and this is probably why Kidson's collection was restricted to a run of two-hundred copies and published privately. The Stokoe and Collingwood Bruce collection was also published for a limited market, principally for members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Between the years 1891 and 1895 Baring-Gould and Sheppard published a second edition of *Songs of the West*, this was published in four parts and, in 1895, as one volume. Baring-Gould had also heard of Broadwood's work and he wrote to her about songs that he had collected in the West Country. Broadwood acknowledged the work of Barrett, Kidson and Baring-Gould in a letter she wrote to the Folklore Society, published in the December 1892 edition of the society's journal. The letter requested that readers contribute to her any songs that they may have noted. Presumably this was part of the strategy she used in order to gather songs from each of the English counties for the forthcoming collection that she and Fuller-Maitland were working on. She wrote:

Sir, - May I draw the attention of the members of the Folk-Lore Society to the branch of work in which I am especially interested, namely, the collecting of all kinds of *traditional tunes and songs*, chiefly of Great Britain?

⁶⁵ Broadwood and Fuller Maitland *English County Songs*, p.v.

There have from time to time been published a few small books giving rustic ballads with their tunes: the Rev. S. Baring-Gould in his *Songs of the West*, has rescued a great deal of old music lingering in Cornwall and Devonshire; Mr. Heywood Sumner's *Besom-Maker* is a small contribution; *Sussex Songs* embodying the collection made by the Rev. John Broadwood [...] with additions from myself; and Dr. Barrett's *English Folk-Songs* are others; besides the admirable volume of *Traditional Tunes* published by Mr. F. Kidson of Leeds, which deserves to be far better known than it is. [...]. If any members of the Folk-Lore Society should wish to help in this work, any contributions will be most welcome if sent to Miss Lucy Broadwood, Lyne, Rusper, Horsham.⁶⁶

At the time of writing this letter the Folk-Lore Society (FLS) was the only forum for folk-song collectors to either publicise or discuss their work. The fact that Broadwood was a member of the FLS and that her declared interest was in folk-song is a clear indication that she felt a need for such a forum. It is not surprising, therefore, that she embraced the suggestion, when it was first mooted, for a society dedicated to folk-song and had strong views on the policies such a society should adopt.

The Folk-Lore Society had been founded in 1878 for the expressed purpose of the study of all aspects of traditional culture including traditional music, song, dance and drama. One of the founding members was George Laurence Gomme who was an expert on the history of London and worked for the Metropolitan Board of Works, he was later knighted (1911) for his contribution to the work of the Board. His wife, Alice Bertha Gomme, was also a member of the FLS and would later be a founder member of both the FSS and The English Folk Dance Society (EFDS). The Folk Lore Society's work on music and song had aroused Lucy's interest, though not to the

⁶⁶ Lucy Broadwood, 'Folk-Songs and Music: To the Editor of Folk-Lore', *Folklore*, 3,4 (1892), 441-568 (pp. 551-552).

exclusion of other aspects of the society's work. With respect to Lucy

Broadwood's connections with the Folk-Lore Society the musicologist

Dorothy de Val stated in an essay on Lucy Broadwood and folk-song that:

Lucy Broadwood began attending meetings of the Folk Lore Society in early 1893; she had met the Gommes and the lively Charlotte Burne in May of the previous year, recording in her diary that the Burnes had learnt an Oxford Morris dance. Burne was also known to Broadwood through her book on Shropshire folklore, based on the work of Georgina Jackson. The Folk Lore Society meetings offered papers on topics from fairies to African fetishes; [...]⁶⁷

It is clear that at this time Lucy Broadwood was actively engaged in gaining as much knowledge as possible and enlarging her circle of friends and

contacts in all matters relating to folk-song. Shortly after the publication of

English County Songs Broadwood had been a guest of the Baring-Goulds at

their home in Devon. In a letter she wrote to a Mr. Farrer while staying in

Bude she stated:

I have just come from the Baring Goulds where I had delightful talks and walks with the quaint and entertaining author, & his wife and 14 children.

Now I am here with John Shearman's brother & his wife & like the fine sea and sand much. On the way back the Goulds bid me stay with them again, he & I capture old songs from old singers in the cottages & have great fun over it.⁶⁸

Another collection published at about this time was *Songs and Ballads of*

Northern England edited by John Stokoe with music arranged by Samuel

Reay. However, this volume largely comprised of the material published in

Northumbrian Minstrelsy with some additional material. Dean-Smith

⁶⁷ Dorothy De Val, 'The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong' in *Music and British Culture, 1785 - 1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. By Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 341-366 (p. 349).

⁶⁸ Surrey History Centre, from a book of letters maintained by Lord Farrer, available at [http://www.sbgas.org/Article%201%20\(Broadwood\).htm](http://www.sbgas.org/Article%201%20(Broadwood).htm) [accessed 09/10/2007]

commented that 'the book is, to a great extent a presentation for the singer desiring instrumental accompaniment of *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*'.⁶⁹

Samuael Reay was born in Hexham in 1822 but in 1864 he moved to Newark to take up the post of organist at the Parish Church and later the added post of 'Song-Schoolmaster under the Magnus Charity.'⁷⁰ A. L. Lloyd said of the musical arrangements that they were very disappointing and that *Northumbrian Minstrelsy* was by far the more important work of the two.⁷¹ There is some confusion over the date of publication of this collection, according to Margaret Dean-Smith it was published in 1892, and this is the year given in the book, but she stated that the British Museum Catalogue of Music gives 1899 as the year of publication.⁷² That said, 1892 is the date of publication generally ascribed to the book.

In 1893 Lucy Broadwood and James Alexander Fuller Maitland published their collection entitled *English County Songs*. The editorial practices of Broadwood and Fuller Maitland for *English County Songs* became a paradigm of folk song presentation. It was the first collection that endeavoured to bring together examples of folk songs from each of the English counties in one collection. According to Fuller Maitland in his autobiography, the idea for such a collection had come from Andrew Tuer of Leadenhall Press when all concerned happened to be on holiday in Scotland at the same time. He wrote that 'The idea of making this attempt had its origin with Andrew Tuer, the head of the Leadenhall Press, and it

⁶⁹ Dean-Smith, *Guide to English Folk Song Collections*, p. 29

⁷⁰ 'Samuel Reay, Mus. Bac.' Obituary, *JFSS*, 2,2 (1905), 140.

⁷¹ A. L. Lloyd, 'Foreword' in *Northumbrian Minstrelsy*, p. xvi.

⁷² Dean-Smith, *Guide to English Folk Song Collections*, pp. 29-30.

happened that he and his wife were at St Andrews when Miss Broadwood and my wife and I were there.'⁷³

Broadwood by this time had herself been actively engaged in field collecting and had collected songs in Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire, Surrey and Sussex. The project provided an opportunity to get some of her collection into print and she accepted the offer. More importantly, in gathering together examples from all the counties both Broadwood and Fuller Maitland were obliged to seek help from other collectors, hence Broadwood's appeal in the above cited letter. In this way Broadwood was able to establish a wide network of contacts and forge friendships with many of her informants and particularly with Kidson which was to lead to important collaborative work in the study and collection of folk-song during the years to come. In 1895 Baring-Gould and Sheppard produced *A Garland of Country Song: English Folk songs with their Traditional Melodies*.⁷⁴ This was the last collection to be published prior to the foundation of the Folk-Song Society.

What is clear from the publication of these collections is that there was a growing interest in collecting folk-songs in the field. The fact that such collections had been gathered independently suggests that this interest in recovering folk-songs was a common interest among a number of both professional and amateur musicians. Following the publication of the fruits

⁷³ Fuller-Maitland, *A Door-Keeper of Music*, p. 222.

⁷⁴ The titles given are those by which these collections are commonly known. For a full list and details of these and other folk song collections published between 1846 and 1898 see Dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk song Collections*, pp. 25 -30.

of their collecting activities their work became more widely accessible. These new collections were fundamentally different to previously published collections because they had been noted from an oral tradition and the versions collected had not before appeared in print. Earlier collections had been made from printed sources such as broadsides and manuscripts. It is not surprising therefore that the idea for a society to co-ordinate this independent collecting activity should be put forward. The next section examines the social and political context in which this idea emerged.

iii : The Social and Political Context

The growing interest in rural 'native' folk-song was spurred on in no small way by a growing tide of nationalism and patriotism and the perceived need for a national identity expressed through music. This was confirmed by Timothy Baycroft when he wrote:

Collection and research into folklore took off on a large scale during the nineteenth century, at a time when nationalism was an expanding political force throughout the continent. [...] both contain elements of the search for 'the people' and its authentic voice, [...]. Folklore often constituted one of the key elements of nation identities, a distinguishing feature of a group of people which could be identified as a nation through the folkloric cultural practices, stories, traditions, dwellings, songs, music costume, dialect, cuisine etc.⁷⁵

This was the prevailing mood which gave rise to the founding of the Folk Song Society (FSS) in 1898. Gordon Cox, the historian of musical

⁷⁵ Timothy Baycroft,, 'Introduction' in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century* edited by Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming)

education, commenting on music education in the late nineteenth-century summarised this well when he said:

It would be surprising if music education and its values was unaffected by the tumultuous historical upheavals that characterised these years; [...]. Indeed we shall find that issues of citizenship, patriotism, nationalism, class and race were great preoccupations which served to frame the development of a theory which would justify the place of music in the curriculum. Such a task fell to the Board/Department of education and its Inspectors.⁷⁶

Cuisine is an interesting example. The national song *The Roast Beef of Old England*, written in the eighteenth century, was included in the *National Song Book* for use in schools and endorsed by the Board of Education. It is a song of English patriotic sentiments that claims roast beef as a traditional English dish that provides Englishmen with the strength to overcome foreign foes. The first verse sets the mood for the rest of the song and runs:

When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
It ennobled our hearts and enriched our blood;
Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good
Oh! the roast beef of old England!
And oh! For old England's roast beef!⁷⁷

Even as recently as the 1960s, according to Anthony D. Smith, the so-called ploughman's lunch has become a 'symbol of Englishness'⁷⁸ offering us an eating experience that connects us with the countryside.

Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling have argued that the political upheaval in Europe during the 1870s and particularly in Germany following

⁷⁶ Cox, *A History of Music Education in England*, p. 5.

⁷⁷ 'The Roast Beef of Old England', in *The National Song Book Volume 1: A Complete Collection of the Folk-Songs, Carols and Rounds Suggested by the Board of Education*, edited by Charles Villiers Stanford (Boosey & Co., 1906), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁸ Anthony D. Smith 'Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations', *Nations and Nationalism*, 1.1 (1995), 3-23, (p. 4).

the Franco-Prussian War resulted in an upsurge of nationalism. The newly found national unity in Germany was helped by the German music tradition. They cited Ferdinand Hiller, an eminent German music historian, who said of German musicians 'What a propaganda they have made for the fatherland! That they speak a universal language does not prevent their uttering in it the best which we possess as *Germans*'. Hughes and Stradling went on to argue that this provoked a reaction in England in which 'A Music for England became a political priority, an extension of competing nationalisms.'⁷⁹ Chris Wingfield and Chris Gosden have written that '[...] the emergence of the German Empire after 1871 with its own industrial and colonial ambitions began to pose a threat to the comfortable hegemony of Victorian Britain.' They go on to say that 'a new imperial mood began to assert itself.'⁸⁰ The collection of English folk-songs was in no small measure a part of this rising tide of nationalism and the search for a national musical identity.

One way of establishing such an identity was to use 'authentic' folk melodies as the basis and inspiration for an English style of music. Folk-songs, and in particular their tunes, collected in the field and perpetuated through an oral singing tradition were taken as the unadulterated musical products of an unlettered and largely isolated English peasant society. As a result of this assumed isolation it was argued that such songs had not been subjected to outside modern influences and in this respect they were deemed

⁷⁹ Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, p. 25.

⁸⁰ Chris Wingfield and Chris Gosden, 'An Imperial Folklore? Establishing the Folk-Lore Society in London' in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century* edited by Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

to be the authentic products of an ongoing rural tradition. However, authenticity is a nebulous concept. It is a construct, or set of ideas, that reflect the way in which we 'classify the world.'⁸¹ The ethnologist Regina Bendix has written that;

Folklore [including folk-song] has long served as a vehicle in the search for the authentic, satisfying a longing for an escape from modernity. The ideal folk community, envisioned as pure and free from civilizations evils, was a metaphor for everything that was not modern.⁸²

The early collectors considered that all things associated with an idealised and harmonious rural way of life were a means of counteracting 'civilizations evils' and alleviating the lot of the working class in industrialised areas. Folk-song was seen as an essential ingredient in this process. To this end the early collectors selected from the oral singing tradition only those songs that met their criteria as 'authentic', or genuine, folk-songs and they rejected whatever else might be sung to them. Their collecting activities took place almost exclusively in England and their selective practice served to bolster English nationalist aspirations. Chris Williams has written that 'Very often, when English nationalists spoke or wrote of 'England' and the 'English', they took such terms to encompass the Scots and Welsh as well.'⁸³ This is perhaps understandable since the English make up about two thirds of the population of Britain.

⁸¹ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song*, p. 244.

⁸² Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p. 7.

⁸³ Chris Williams, 'The United Kingdom: British Nationalisms During the Long Nineteenth Century' in *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* edited by Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.272-292 (p. 275).

Consequently 'much of what has been labelled as 'British' nationalism may equally be understood as 'English' nationalism. In this respect it is difficult to distinguish between Britishness and Englishness.

To preserve an identity the Scots and Welsh have identified ethnic characteristics such as language, national heroes, a national flag, dress and folk-song. Welsh, Scottish and English nationalisms are essentially ethnic in nature whereas the all-encompassing term Britishness is civic in nature. Central government for the whole of Britain, imperialist ambitions and foreign nations perceived to be hostile to Britain as a whole served to forge a British identity. Britishness presented a united front to the world at large but within its own boundaries sub-cultures and identities could be established.

The early folk-song collectors by selecting exclusively only those musical racial products that met their criteria unwittingly subscribed to an English ethnic nationalism. As Williams put it 'England came to be defined not by the manufacturing powerhouses of the north, nor even by the commercial and financial vigour of the world's greatest city, but rather by the pastoral imagery of the rural south.'⁸⁴ The folk-song collectors made a significant contribution to this imagery. According to Bendix, 'The most powerful political movement, Nationalism, builds on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity, and folklore in the guise of native cultural discovery and

⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 283.

rediscovery has continually served nationalist movements since the Romantic era.’⁸⁵

The songs provided an outlet for the expression of what the Dutch social psychologist Geert Hofstede has identified as shared ‘common characteristics’ and ‘common traits’ within a national culture. Brendan McSweeney, in his critique of Hofstede’s work, summarised this as ‘[...] a unique national culture assumed to be individually carried by everyone in a nation.’⁸⁶ For the early folk-song collectors such a national culture had been eroded by ‘civilizations evils’ but still existed with those that lived and worked in the country. One way of eradicating the ‘evils’ of city life was to re-connect working people with their folk-song heritage. In short, they wanted to bring the country to the town through the medium of folk-song. As we shall see later, Cecil Sharp argued that introducing folk-song and, later, folk dance, into the elementary school curriculum was the best way to achieve this. Mark Hewitson writing on Britain in the 1870s stated, ‘Even in Britain, where the agriculture sector accounted for 13.3 per cent of the workforce, only just over half the population lived in towns. Many of these town dwellers had recently migrated from or retained strong links with the countryside.’⁸⁷ Sharp would later argue that as a result of this recent migration these town dwellers would instinctively be drawn to, and accept, folk-song and this would serve to arouse a love of one’s country and instil

⁸⁵ Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity* p. 7.

⁸⁶ Brendan McSweeney, ‘Hofstede’s Model of National Cultural Differences and their Consequences’, *Human Relations*, 55.1 (2002), 89-118, (p. 93).

⁸⁷ Mark Hewitson, ‘Conclusion: Nationalism and the Nineteenth Century’ in *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914* edited by Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 312-355, (p. 317).

patriotism. The establishment of an English style of music was an essential part of the nationalist movement.

Two non-musicians, Henry Cole and George Grove, were to play key roles in these developments. Henry Cole had worked closely with Prince Albert on the Great Exhibition and integral to this were plans to create a music school. Henry Cole (later to be Sir Henry Cole) had spent his working life in what would now be termed the 'civil service'. He helped in the introduction of the Penny Post and later he worked in the administration of the railways and was responsible for introducing a standard rail gauge, which allowed trains to access the whole of the rail network. From 1849 to 1851 he worked on the Great Exhibition and was in constant touch with Prince Albert who later paid tribute to him for his contribution to its success.

Out of this came the South Kensington scheme when a site was acquired for the development of facilities 'to enshrine the fusion of art and science'⁸⁸, a music school was integral to this plan. However, it was not until 1866, five years after Prince Albert's death, that plans got under way for such a college. It was proposed that the Royal Academy of Music (RAM) should be taken over and used as the basis for a much larger organisation. The Royal Academy of Music had been founded in 1822 but by the 1860s it was in decline, Hughes and Stradling record that 'By the end of 1868, only sixty-

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 19.

six day-students remained, [...].⁸⁹ However, the Academy resisted all attempts at a take-over and by 1873 Cole and his supporters decided to abandon ideas of a take-over and set up a new organisation to be known as the National Training School for Music (NTSM). The proposal for such an establishment was welcomed and Joseph Bennett wrote in the *Musical Times* that:

[...] the prospect of a new Training School for Music is one that everyone will welcome, [...]. It has often been said that, while the other Arts receive abundant patronage from public bodies, and high placed individuals, Music, the most universal and beneficent of all, is treated with neglect. The charge once had truth in it, beyond question; but the proceedings at the Royal Albert Hall, on December 18, proved that there is truth in it no longer. When Royalty, Ministers of State and representatives of the aristocracy of rank, wealth, and intellect come forward to do practical work for Music, we see the best possible evidence that a change has taken place.⁹⁰

The NTSM opened in 1876 with funding for a five-year period. In 1878, negotiations were once more under way for the amalgamation of the NTSM and the RAM but again, these were unsuccessful. It was therefore decided that a new college, the Royal College of Music (RCM), would open in 1881 when the NTSM was due for closure. To this end Cole had the support of the Prince of Wales, under whose aegis the project gathered further support from wealthy patrons and the leading musicians of the day. By this time Cole was seventy-three years old and was not fit enough to lead a major fund-raising campaign (he died a year later in 1882). The Prince of Wales therefore recruited George Grove to lead the campaign. Like Cole, Grove was not a musician but he had many friends and contacts in the music world. He was known both for his work as a civil engineer and for his work

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 21.

⁹⁰ Joseph Bennett, 'National Training School for Music' *MT*, 16, 371 (1874), p. 354.

as a musicologist. In 1842 he had built the Morant Point Lighthouse in Jamaica and he was later also involved in the Great Exhibition. He managed the removal of the structure that housed the Exhibition, known as the Crystal Palace, from Hyde Park to Sydenham. Later, in 1879, he edited and started to publish what would become the seminal and famous five volume *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

Fund raising was essential to ensure that sufficient money was available to administer and staff the new college. Grove soon set to work in his fund raising activities and he actively campaigned to establish a college that would be the seat of excellence in music education. Grove stressed the social and moral value of music and its civilising effects.⁹¹ The Prince of Wales in support said in a speech that such an institution would improve 'colonial co-operation and sympathy' and music would inspire 'among our fellow-subjects in every part of the Empire these emotions of patriotism which national music is calculated to evoke'. Furthermore, music would 'strengthen a common love of country.' Hughes and Stradling commenting on these sentiments said that; 'There could hardly have been a more emphatic statement of both the power of music and its political significance. By the 1880s, it seemed, the Empire had come to need English Music as much as it did the Royal Navy.'⁹²

Grove's fund raising was successful enough to enable the new college to open for business in May 1883. Hughes and Stradling wrote that

⁹¹ Grove cited in Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance* p. 30.

⁹² Hughes and Stradling p. 30.

‘Admittedly, when the dust settled, he had managed to reach only £110,000 from the target of £300,000, yet this – joined with the gifts of land and building – was sufficient to enable the College to open [...].’⁹³ Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Stanford were each given professorships at the new college and both would later be vice-presidents of the Folk-Song Society.

As we have seen, the enthusiasm for collecting folk-songs grew steadily in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It arose, in part, from the predilection of Victorians to collect, categorise and catalogue things ranging from artefacts from the past to plants, insects, birds, fish and animals. The work of Victorian taxidermists provides some evidence of this. Gammon refers to the ‘nineteenth century genius for collecting and classification’ and goes on to say that ‘This intellectual practice was applied to diverse subjects from archaeology to zoology [...]’.⁹⁴ For example, In 1855 Charles Kingsley coined the term pteridomania (fern madness) to describe the craze for collecting different varieties of ferns⁹⁵ which was widespread at that time and involved people from all social classes. The lure of the countryside and the wholesome way of life that country pursuits were deemed to provide served to further encourage such outdoor activities. The Arts and Crafts movement were later to propagandise the benefits of outdoor activities and country life.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 31.

⁹⁴ Vic Gammon, ‘Folk Song Collecting in Surrey and Sussex, 1843 – 1914’ *History Workshop*, 10 (1980), 61-89 (p. 74).

⁹⁵ Charles Kingsley, *Glaucus: or The Wonders of the Shore* (Boston: Tickner and Fields, 1855), p. 4.

The arts and crafts movement got under way in the 1880s and it was a romantic reaction to what was seen as the brutalising effects of factory work and the poor living conditions for working class people in large conurbations. Bill Luckin has written that this period also gave rise to 'degenerationist thought' and 'eugenically informed social investigation [...] to focus on patterns of fertility among urban communities.'⁹⁶ The eugenics movement was founded by Francis Galton, who was a cousin of Charles Darwin. Galton, in a speech to the Sociological Society given at the School of Economics in London, defined eugenics as '[...] the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage.'⁹⁷ According to Perkins, Galton was heavily influenced by his cousin's work but had misinterpreted it.⁹⁸

The political philosopher Allen Buchanan argued that 'fear of the city' gave rise to a general acceptance among the 'bourgeoisie' to accept the 'crucial eugenic factual beliefs'. He went on to say that:

[...] the belief that the major social problems of capitalist society were not due to its defective institutions, but rather to unseen biochemical entities within the bodies of "the **dangerous class**' was comforting to those who benefitted from those institutions and diverted attention from the possibility that they needed to be reformed or replaced by better institutions.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Bill Luckin, 'Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain 1830-1900', *Urban History*, 33.2 (2006), 234-252 (p. 238).

⁹⁷ Francis Galton, 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', (speech delivered on 16 May 1904), *American Journal of Sociology*, 10.1 (1904), 1-22 (p.1).

⁹⁸ Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, 2nd edition, (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 60.

⁹⁹ Allen Buchanan, 'Institutions, Beliefs and Ethics: Eugenics as a Case Study', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 15.1 (2007), 25-45 (p. 30).

The 'dangerous classes included the lowest paid unskilled workers, the unemployed and petty criminals and it was believed that they posed a serious threat to the status quo. This gave rise to what Harold Perkin described as a 'fear of the poor'.¹⁰⁰ Luckin wrote that ideas about 'tribalism and biological degeneracy in urban environments' coincided with 'strident anti-urban and arcadian reconstructions of a purportedly supportive face-to-face rural communalism.'¹⁰¹ He went on to say that '[...] this astonishingly unrealistic panacea held strong appeal for both conservatives and progressives. By the late nineteenth century arcadian pro-ruralism, rhetorical antidote to middle-class and aristocratic fear of the city, had become all-pervasive.'¹⁰²

Such fears were summarised by the Liberal M.P. Samuel Smith in 1885 when he wrote in *Contemporary Review* that:

I am deeply convinced that the time is approaching when this seething mass of human misery will shake the social fabric, unless we grapple more earnestly with it than we have done [...]. The proletariat may strangle us unless we teach it the same virtues which have elevated the other classes of society.¹⁰³

In a speech Smith delivered in 1888 at University College, Liverpool, he put forward ideas for alleviating the problem of the 'congested population'. He recommended 'extensive emigration' and 'the exercise of private benevolence in establishing colleges and schools and in providing healthy

¹⁰⁰ Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society*, p. 103.

¹⁰¹ Bill Luckin, 'Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration', p. 244

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 245

¹⁰³ Samuel Smith, cited in Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society*, p. 57.

amusements, libraries, parks and playgrounds for the poor.’¹⁰⁴ What is clear from this is that there was a growing fear among the upper and middle-classes of the lowest stratum of the working-classes described as the residuum, or the ‘dangerous class’. Alongside the interventionist ideas of Galton, charitable works were encouraged in order to, in effect, tame, civilise and integrate this underclass into mainstream society.

This theme had been taken up a few years earlier by the poet James Thomson whose poem *The City of Dreadful Night*, first published in 1874, depicted his perception of the horrors and decadence of life in the towns and cities. The poem gives a very pessimistic view of urban life, the tenor of the poem is provided by a typical verse which runs:

That City’s atmosphere is dark and dense,
Although not many exiles wander there,
With many a potent evil influence,
Each adding poison to the poisoned air;
Infections of unutterable sadness,
Infections of incalculable madness,
Infections of incurable despair.¹⁰⁵

The historian Richard Shannon argued that to social critics during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, such as William Morris, the factory system and the mass production of goods could only result in the ‘falsification of values’ and this was the basis of what Shannon described as ‘the crisis of late Victorian culture’. He argued that to the late nineteenth century social critics ‘the mass of men were deprived of a creative

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Smith M.P. ‘On the Economics of Charity’ (speech delivered at University College, Liverpool), *British Medical Journal*, 2.1455 (17 November 1888), p. 1130.

¹⁰⁵ James Thomson, *The city of Dreadful Night and other Poems: being a Selection from the Poetical Works of James Thomson (“B. V.”)*, with a Preface by Henry S. Salt, No.28 in the series The Thinkers library (London: Watts, 1932), p. 32.

relationship between self and environment by being condemned to live in crowded cities and tend machines in factories.'¹⁰⁶ The design historian Jaqueline Sarsby echoed this when she wrote of the architect-designer Alfred Powell that he:

'[...] tried to bring to fruition ideas about work, happiness and art, which he shared with John Ruskin, William Morris and Philip Webb. Like them, he believed that ordinary men and women – not just an élite – should be able to enjoy fulfilling work in healthy, beautiful surroundings, preferably Garden Cities or villages, and not smoke-laden cities.'¹⁰⁷

Closely allied to the Arts and Crafts movement was the 'back to nature' ideal spearheaded by Edward Carpenter, a disciple of Morris and a member of the Society of Sheffield Socialists. A collection of Carpenter's writings, in which he expressed his ideas on living off the land, was published in a book entitled *England's Ideal* (1887). The main theme of his writings centred on growing your own food to be self-sufficient. The ideas of Morris and his followers simply served to highlight the changes that were taking place in working practices and the unedifying influence that such changes were seen to be having in terms of the quality of life for working people. In such leisure time as workers had they had access to cheap forms of entertainment, principally the music halls. The historian of music hall Jeremy Crump, commenting on the audience at a Leicester music hall stated that 'Prominent among the crowd were shoe-hands employed by firms

¹⁰⁶ Richard Shannon, *The Crisis of Imperialism: 1865 – 1915* (St Albans: Paladin, 1976), p. 275.

¹⁰⁷ Jaqueline Sarsby, 'Alfred Powell: Idealism and Realism in the Cotswolds', *Journal of Design History*, 10, 4 (1997), 375-397 (p. 375).

which paid on Friday.’¹⁰⁸ At such venues the audience would be exposed to the latest commercial songs. The music establishment and folk-song collectors regarded such music as culturally inferior to the songs and music to be found in the countryside. In this way all things associated with country living came to be seen as more desirable than those associated with life in the towns and cities. Nonetheless, the continuing development of the factory system provided workers with the means to afford such entertainment. However, by 1870 it was generally agreed that a more literate and numerate workforce would be a necessity if the United Kingdom was to maintain its place as the leading industrial nation.

Alongside these developments the folk-song collectors discovered that folk-songs were being sung to modal tunes and the threat of their erosion due to the increasing availability in the rural areas of alternative commercial forms of musical entertainment gave rise to a sense of urgency for their recovery. Alternative forms of music had been made more accessible to the rural population by an improving communication network. The exodus of people from the countryside to the towns was aided by improved literacy resulting from the Education Act of 1870, which built on the work of the Church schools and other voluntary agencies and it was the younger, more able that left the country for the towns. During a debate in the House of Commons on the 1870 education bill W. E. Forster said:

We must not delay. Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to

¹⁰⁸ Jeremy Crump, ‘Provincial Music Hall: Promoters and Public in Leicester, 1863-1929’ in *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure* edited by Peter Bailey (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), pp. 53-72 (p. 65).

give technical education to our artizans [sic] without elementary education; uneducated labourers – and many of our labourers are utterly uneducated – are, for the most part unskilled labourers and if we leave our work-folk any longer unskilled [...] they will become overmatched in the competition of the world.¹⁰⁹

The advances made in manufacture during the nineteenth century gave rise to a need for a more educated work force. The Hammonds, commenting on the changes in nineteenth century Britain, said that ‘[...] when the factory was taking the place of the craft, the newspaper the place of the pageant, illiteracy was the worst disenfranchisement a man could suffer.’¹¹⁰ But it was the unlettered and illiterate members of rural communities that the folk-song collectors would seek out. The theory being that because these people were unable to read it would mean that they would be more likely to know ‘genuine’ folk-songs because they would be reliant on an oral tradition for news and entertainment and not be directly influenced by the printed word.

However, E. P. Thompson has argued that popular literacy and oral culture not only co-existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but complimented each other, he wrote ‘Traditions are perpetuated largely through oral transmission, [...] the most widely circulated printed products, such as chapbooks, almanacs, broadsides “last dying speeches” and anecdotal accounts of crime, tend to be subdued to the expectations of the oral culture rather than challenging it with alternatives.’¹¹¹ Bob Bushaway

¹⁰⁹ W. E. Forster House of Commons Debate on Elementary Education, 17 February 1870, *Hansard*, Vol. 199, cc 438–498 (c 465).

¹¹⁰ J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, 4th edition (London: Methuen, 1930), p. 231.

¹¹¹ E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin Books, 1993, first published by Merlin Press 1991), p. 8.

concurred when he wrote 'Far from subverting or displacing oral culture, popular printing tended to draw from its forms and to reinforce its idioms. Literacy and orality in rural England were mutually supporting during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'¹¹² Leslie Shepard the broadside scholar has argued that it was not uncommon for the broadside writers to take verbatim, or adapt, folk-songs for publication on broadsides. He wrote 'Many of the songs and ballads still current in the twentieth century are probably from broadsides of two centuries back which, in their time, had copied old country pieces!'¹¹³ It is no surprise, therefore, that broadsides found a ready market amongst working people since they mirrored the folk-songs with which they were already familiar.

The early collectors acknowledged that many of the song lyrics they recovered could be found on broadsides, sometimes known as ballad sheets, which suggests that at least some singers were literate. Indeed, it was not uncommon for the collectors to make use of broadsides to complete sets of words. In fact the first song (*Napoleon's Farewell to Paris*) in the first *Journal of the Folk-Song Society (JFSS)* has a footnote which reads 'This song was taken down by Miss Broadwood and myself from a gamekeeper at Lyne, Sussex, in 1893: the words were afterwards completed from a ballad-sheet. – J. A. F. M.'¹¹⁴ For this very purpose collectors would go out of their way to collect broadsides, in a letter that Lucy Broadwood wrote to

¹¹² Bob Bushaway, 'Things said or Sung a Thousand Times: Customary Society and Oral Culture in Rural England, 1700 – 1900' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500 – 1850* edited by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 256-277 (p. 258).

¹¹³ Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ J. A. Fuller Maitland, 'Napoleon's Farewell to Paris', *JFSS*, 1,1 (1899), p. 14.

William Albery, an amateur musician and business man in Horsham, she thanked him for the copies of broadsides he had sent her. She wrote '[...] they will be carefully pasted and catalogued, so far as the most important and old ones go; and all shall be kept and will serve various purposes, for reference etc. etc.'¹¹⁵ As long as the tune was a 'folk' creation, preferably modal, and not from printed source it was a valid find. This is not to say that tonal tunes were ignored but the modal tunes were most certainly given preference and their recovery was used as evidence that here was an uncorrupted quintessentially English form of music that had been preserved by the peasantry in the countryside.

As a result of the disenfranchisement mentioned above and its resulting isolation it was believed that the country singers would be reluctant to embrace new fashions and ideas and their musical heritage would remain uncorrupted. Drawing on her experiences as a collector Lucy Broadwood in a lecture given to the Musical Association in 1905 emphasised this point when, in reference to 'country singers' she stated, 'They are often very critical of modern melody, which one illiterate Surrey singer described as 'all chopped up into little bits often.'" She went on to say that, 'In teaching the growing generations the beautiful airs evolved by their forefathers we shall build upon the healthy artistic instincts of our people, and develop conditions necessary for a fine or characteristic English School of Music.'¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Letter from Lucy Broadwood to William Albery, dated 7 December 1916, Horsham Museum Archives, Ref. No. 2001.882.19.

¹¹⁶Lucy E. Broadwood, 'On the Collecting of English Folk Song', p.108, also reported in *MT*, 46,746 (1905), p. 258.

This chapter has described and examined the concatenation that led to the growth of interest in folk-song and music, it has identified the main players in the movement and examined the extent to which they operated in concert or independently of each other. It has shown how, eventually, there was a sufficient meeting of minds that would lead to the establishment of a society which would have as one of its expressed aims the co-ordination of such collecting activity for the preservation and perpetuation of the folk-song tradition.

Chapter 2

Laying Foundations: The Establishment of the Folk-Song Society, 1898

The previous chapter identified the main activists who were engaged in collecting folk-songs, outlined the criteria they set for the songs they were seeking and the people whom they targeted on the assumption that they would know these songs. It also outlined the developments that took place in music education and the social and political events that took place during the last half of the nineteenth century. The migration of people from the countryside to the towns, the introduction of compulsory education, the growth of popular commercial music and its perceived degenerative effects all militated against the conditions necessary for the continuation of a vibrant folk-song tradition. The leading musicians of the day recognised that folk-song tunes could contribute to the establishment of an English identity in music and this in turn could be used to counter the degenerative effects of commercial music and urban living and re-kindle patriotism in the working-class. Also, at this time, the campaign to establish 'Home-Rule for Ireland' was high on the political agenda and hotly contested. The failure of the home-rule movement at that time gave rise to a resurgence of interest in Irish literature, the Irish language and Irish folk culture. It was this revival that provided the main impetus for the establishment of a Folk-Song Society.

This next chapter will examine how these events and the players concerned eventually came together to provide the conditions and the motivation for founding the Folk-Song Society. It will examine the extent to which they operated in concert or independently of each other and the chapter puts their activities into the context of the Victorian mentality that was prevalent at the time in the upper echelons of Victorian society. It will show how, eventually, there was sufficient agreement to bring about the establishment of a Society which would have as one of its expressed aims the co-ordination of such collecting activity for the preservation and perpetuation of the folk-song tradition.

i : The Irish Dimension

In parallel to the developments in the music establishment and the gathering of English folk-songs there was also a clearly discernable mood among Irish writers, poets and musicians which manifested itself in an Irish literary revival and an ever-increasing desire on the part of these Irish writers, poets and musicians to re-assert their separate cultural identity. Such a desire was inextricably linked to the campaign for 'Home Rule for Ireland'. This is aptly illustrated by an address entitled 'The necessity for de-Anglicising the Irish Nation' which was delivered by the Celtic scholar, poet and cultural nationalist Douglas Hyde on the occasion of the founding of the Irish National Literary Society in 1892.¹

¹ Douglas Hyde, 1892 Address to the Irish National Literary Society cited by Brian Ó Cuív in the Introduction to *A literary History of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: 1899: T. Fisher Unwin, this edition London: 1967, Ernest Benn Limited), p. xx.

Prior to this, in 1891, Hyde and the celebrated poet and writer William Butler Yeats² had founded the Irish Literary Society in London (ILSL). Alfred Perceval Graves was a founder member of the ILSL; he was, like Hullah and Stainer, a School Board Inspector and he was also a Celtic scholar and song writer. It was from this quarter that the real impetus for the founding of the FSS came.

However, in his autobiography Graves made no mention of Hyde with respect to the ILSL. He stated, 'Plans for the formation of the society had been hatched in Mr. W. B. Yeats's rooms in Fitzroy Square.' He went on to identify 'the young active spirits in the movement'³ as Yeats, his (Graves') cousin Thomas Rolleston and Lionel Johnson. Rolleston was a classical and modern language scholar who had published a number of books including *The Encheiridion of Epictetus, trans. from the Greek with preface and notes* (1881) and *Boycotting: A Reply to Mr. S. Laing* (1888).⁴ Johnson, a journalist for such publications as the *National Observer* and the *Daily Chronicle*, was an Englishman who insisted he had Celtic roots and he had a strong interest in all things Irish. In 1891, he was received into the Roman Catholic church and in 1897 he published a collection of poems entitled *Ireland With Other Poems* which gave testimony to his involvement with Irish politics. Graves also identified Frank Fahy as part of this group. Francis A. Fahy was a civil servant who also contributed articles for various

² Domachadh O'Corraín, 'William Butler Yeats' available at http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/William_Butler_Yeats [accessed 13/11/2007]

³ Alfred Perceval Graves, *To Return To All That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), p. 262.

⁴ 'T. W. Rolleston, Life, Works, Criticism notes', available at http://www.pgil-eirdata.org/html/pgil_datasets/authors/r/Rolleston,TW/life.htm [accessed 14/11/2007]

periodicals and wrote songs including such popular titles of the day as *The Queen of Connemara*, *Haste to the Wedding* and *The Ould Plaid Shawl*.⁵ Nevertheless, W. B. Yeats was the acknowledged leader of the Irish literary renaissance. In 1889 he had written a long poem, *The Wanderings of Oisín*, in which he expressed strong nationalistic sentiments. He had a fascination for the occult and for Irish legends. His prose tales of Irish legends were published in two collections *Celtic Twilight* (1893) and *The Secret Rose*. (1897)⁶.

The first President of the ILSL, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, was at this time retired from public life and living in France. An ardent Irish nationalist, he had an eventful and dramatic career (see Appendix 4). He had retired to France in 1880 but retained his interest and involvement with Irish political and literary matters and had helped with the preliminary arrangements to establish the ILSL. Graves stated:

Late in the spring of 1891, at the invitation of the council of the newly formed Irish Literary Society of London, which had been organised by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and a set of his literary friends, I presided over an inaugural meeting in Hart Street, Bloomsbury.⁷

Duffy's involvement with the society and his appointment as president is a strong indicator of the nationalist sentiments and aims of the society, albeit through cultural enterprises rather than political action

⁵ Francis Fahy Society website, available at <http://www.kinvara.com/francisfahy/> [accessed 26/11/2007]

⁶ W. B. Yeats, available at <http://www.poets.org.php/PID/117> [accessed 26/11/2007]

⁷ Graves, *To Return To All That*, p. 261.

Even in retirement Duffy maintained his interest in Irish affairs, though by this time it appears that the revolutionary fervour of his youth had mellowed and he supported Irish independence through democratic political channels. The historian F. S. L. Lyons in his biography of Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, wrote of Duffy:

During the autumn of 1884 the former Young Irelander, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, [...], was deep in discussion of Irish politics with the Earl of Carnarvon. Carnarvon had twice been Colonial Secretary in previous Conservative administrations and within the year was to become Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Gavan Duffy suggested to him that the Conservatives should seriously consider the idea of granting an Irish parliament, promising to use whatever influence he possessed in Ireland to secure the support of the bishops and of moderates in general.⁸

The fact that Duffy was going to appeal to the 'moderates' in Ireland suggests that his own views had shifted to a more conciliatory position in terms of the 'Irish Question'.

However, by the 1890s the campaign for Irish home rule had taken a near fatal blow. This resulted from the scandal caused by the leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, Charles Parnell, committing adultery with Katherine O'Shea, the wife of one of his close allies. The ensuing divorce case received widespread publicity and a full report of the case appeared in *The Times*.⁹ Following this it became clear that the ground gained by the collaborative efforts of the Liberal leader, William Ewart Gladstone, and Charles Parnell was lost and a political solution to the 'Irish Question' was now something of a lost cause. These events shifted attention from Irish politics to Irish culture and the subsequent organised efforts to establish, or

⁸ F. S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, (London: Collins, 1977), p. 282.

⁹ 'The Connemara Divorce Suit', *The Times*, 17 November, 1890, p. 3.

re-establish, an Irish cultural identity. Seamus Deane, the poet and historian of Irish literature wrote that 'it meant that the young generation in Ireland turned in disgust from politics and gave their energies to cultural revival'¹⁰ and hence the foundation of the ILSL.

Alfred Perceval Graves took over as secretary of the ILSL from his cousin Thomas Rolleston in 1895. Graves at this time was a School Board Inspector in England. It would seem that he was a progressive in his views on education and wanted the best education for all children. This is evidenced by the Irish historian Joseph Lee who wrote in relation to education in Ireland, that by 1910 the government was spending one million pounds each year on primary education. Without the provision of scholarships to allow gifted children to continue their education this expenditure would, in effect, be wasted. To illustrate the point he quoted Graves:

The provision of scholarships of one-tenth that value would have been, as A.P. Graves pointed out, 'so much intellectual soil reclaimed and saved from that melancholy process of going back to bog which is the order of the day.'¹¹

However, politically Graves was far from being a radical; it would seem that he was a supporter of 'Home Rule' but not a separatist, he wanted Ireland to have its own parliament but to remain in the Union. This is made apparent in his autobiography when he said of the Isle of Man that 'Here was an island blessed with Home Rule [...]'.¹² He took a particular interest in

¹⁰ Seamus Deane, *A Short History of Irish literature* (London: Hutchinson, 1986), p. 176.

¹¹ Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 30.

¹² Graves, *To Return To All That*, p. 182.

physical education and in 1904 he wrote an article for *Contemporary*

Review in which he stated:

It has been repeatedly pointed out that English character has been largely formed in the playing fields of the public schools; and few Britons are inclined to dispute Wellington's assertion that "Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton." It is clear that English character should be similarly moulded in the playgrounds available for the use of the children in the people's schools.¹³

Such conservative views along with his Unionist leanings were bound to have an influence on and be evident in his song writing. Graves was the son of the Church of Ireland Bishop of Limerick. In addition to his role as a School Board Inspector, a post he held from 1875 to 1910, he was also an author, poet and song writer and, by the way, the father of Robert Graves the acclaimed poet and writer, one of the children by his second wife, Amy Von Ranke. Although he expressed Irish nationalist sentiments he remained conservative in his views and was a Unionist. He had collaborated with the composer Charles Villiers Stanford (they had been friends since childhood) in the publication of a collection entitled *Songs of Old Ireland* (1882) and *Songs of Erin* (1892). His most famous song *Father O'Flynn* provides a stereotypical comic characterisation of an Irish priest. It was one of many songs that he wrote which he set to traditional tunes and were then arranged by Charles Villiers Stanford.

Stanford was Professor of Music at Cambridge and a key figure at the Royal College of Music (RCM). He was a staunch conservative and a Unionist. He had established himself as one of the foremost composers of his day and

¹³ Alfred Perceval Graves, 'Physical Education in Primary Schools', *Contemporary Review* 85, (1904), pp. 888–898 (p. 898).

taught composition at the RCM numbering among his students such diverse talents as Vaughan Williams, Holst, Ireland, Frank Bridge and Hurlestone.¹⁴

He was one of 'the principal architects of the English Musical Renaissance' and firmly believed in the potential of music in education to produce model citizens for Victorian society. These views are neatly summarised in a comment from Stanford given in 1908 and cited by Gordon Cox:

I am inclined to think that the systematic development of art is a lever in the hands of education which if properly applied, will act more powerfully, if less slowly, than any measures of socialistic repression ... In music you have at your disposal the most powerful living agency for the refinement of the masses.¹⁵

The use of the word 'refinement' in this context has clear political connotations. Cox commented that, 'Gone here is any sympathy with the plight of the masses, as had been evident in Hullah's case'.¹⁶

Graves was not a 'diehard' conservative like Stanford, though he clearly had political leanings in that direction. The ILSL membership, it seems, was made up of both separatists, those who wanted complete independence for Ireland, and unionists, those who wanted 'home rule' whilst remaining a part of the United Kingdom. The common ground was the desire to re-establish an Irish cultural identity. Graves, in keeping with others in the Irish literary renaissance, had set many of his songs to music using the traditional Irish airs to be found in the collections of Edward Bunting (1773–1843), George Petrie (1789–1866) and F. W. Joyce (1827–1914). These musicians and collectors were only interested in the tunes and

¹⁴ 'In Memoriam, Charles Villiers Stanford 1852 – 1924', *MT*, 65, 975, (1924) p. 402-403.

¹⁵ Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England*, p. 69.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 70.

neglected song words. The Irish musician and folk song collector Seán O

Boyle summarised this practice very well when he wrote:

Petrie collaborated with Bunting and Joyce worked with Petrie and so formed throughout the nineteenth century a continuous chain of collectors imbued with the antiquarian spirit. Petrie may speak for all of them. He conceived it as a duty, he said: '... to preserve the native melodies, because of a deep sense of their beauty, a strong sense of their archaeological interest and a desire to aid in the preservation of remains so honourable to the national character of the country.'¹⁷

O Boyle went on to say 'But collectors never took down Gaelic words and music *together* in the field and English language texts, when used at all, were censored or bowdlerised or completely changed.'¹⁸ He described how such practice led to the production of artificial Irish folk-songs as the practice of writing words to be set to traditional tunes took hold. O Boyle makes reference to Thomas Moore (1780–1852) as the 'chief' practitioner in this respect. He wrote verse to be set to tunes in his own collection, *Irish Melodies* (1808–1834), and even changed melodies that he had collected to fit his verse. O Boyle states:

Later on, other poets, like Samuel Lover, Samuel Ferguson and Alfred Percival [sic] Graves used tunes in the printed collections to produce what I may call ersatz Irish songs – songs for an elite coterie and never assimilated into the repertory of the folk-singers. [...] These were songs written in English by sophisticated poets for sophisticated audiences.¹⁹

Such works were described as folk songs and this was to be a contentious issue when the FSS was founded. Graves had by this time a number of books to his credit one of which, *The Irish Song Book*, was first published in

¹⁷ Seán O Boyle, *The Irish Song Tradition*, (Dublin, Gilbert Dalton, 1976), p. 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 14.

1894²⁰. Graves' own editorial practice is clearly explained in his introduction to *The Irish Song Book*. With respect to the practice of changing or removing words or even whole stanzas Graves stated:

For this treatment of Irish song I shall no doubt be roundly attacked by those to whom every syllable of the "Battle of the Boyne" and "Shule Agra," or every single verse of our more recent national lyric is sacred. [...]

Modern taste will not tolerate the chanting of a dozen verses or more to the same tune. Few songs should exceed four or five, and a ballad, if it runs to greater length, can generally be compressed within a reasonable vocal compass, [...].²¹

The two songs mentioned above are two of the seven traditional songs in the collection. With respect to the practice of setting poems, or songs, to traditional tunes Graves said 'It will be recognised that I have found fresh partners for a few favourite airs and lyrics [...]'²² and he concluded:

It is indeed high time for us to restart a school of national Irish music. If not, we shall assuredly forfeit our national birthright of song; for, Antæus-like, our musicians have lost their power since they have been lifted from the touch of their native earth. If this collection of songs and airs, which from its size cannot pretend to give more than a fair sample of Irish lyrics, sets them thinking in this direction it will have served the main purpose for which it was compiled.²³

Although Graves was not a separatist the inclusion in his collection of two strongly nationalistic songs from the 1798 Fenian rebellion; *The Wearing of the Green* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* suggests that he was at least sympathetic to the cause. Also, the songs were sufficiently historical not to cause him any serious political embarrassment.

²⁰ *The Irish Song Book*, This was an edited collection of one hundred and twelve songs from fifty-four authors and an additional seven traditional songs. The book was one of a series of titles in The 'New Irish Library' from the publishers T. Fisher Unwin. The series editor was Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and the assistant editors were Douglas Hyde and Thomas Rolleston.

²¹ Alfred Perceval Graves, *The Irish Song Book* 4th ed. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897, first published 1894) pp. v-vi.

²² *Ibid.* p. vii.

²³ *Ibid.* p. xv.

In 1898 the ILSL organised the foundation of the Irish Texts Society which was to be 'an equally learned and a more purely literary movement.'²⁴ In the same year Mrs. Kate Lee, folk song collector and concert singer joined the ILSL. Kate Lee was also an active member of the Folk Lore Society (FLS) and had, from 1895, endeavoured to develop a career for herself as a concert singer. However, her success was short lived and by 1897 there was a 'falling off' in the number of engagements she received.²⁵ Graves said of her:

A striking personality joined the I. L. S. at this time in Mrs Kate Lee, the wife of an English M. P. with West Indian estates, who presented us with a piano and helped us at all our concerts.²⁶

In fact her husband, Arthur Morier Lee, had been unsuccessful in his bid to become an MP. He had stood as a Liberal Unionist candidate in the 1895 general election for the constituency of Newcastle-under-Lyme and narrowly lost by just one-hundred and eleven votes to William Sheppard Allen, a Gladstonian Liberal. Kate Lee had campaigned in support of her husband and she had opened an eve-of poll meeting by singing the song *Rule Britannia*.²⁷

The 1885 general election had left Charles Stewart Parnell's Irish Nationalists holding the balance of power. Gladstone needed their support to get the Home Rule bill onto the statute books. However ninety-three Liberals voted against the government on this matter. They believed that

²⁴ Graves, *To Return to all That*, p. 264.

²⁵ C. J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *Folk Music Journal*, 7.5 (1999), 627-643 (p. 628).

²⁶ Graves, *To Return to all That*, p. 266.

²⁷ Reported in the *Newcastle Guardian*, 20 July 1895, cited by C. J. Bearman, 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', p. 630.

Gladstone's Home Rule Bill would lead, ultimately, to complete independence for Ireland, and the resulting dissolution of the United Kingdom. This was a situation that they could not tolerate, and seeing themselves as defenders of the Union of Britain and Ireland they voted against the Bill. This breakaway group called themselves Liberal Unionists. Herbert Woodfield Paul, who was a barrister and a Liberal MP at the time of Gladstone's leadership, wrote in his biography of Gladstone that Gladstone and his cabinet recommended to the Queen to dissolve parliament and she reluctantly agreed. A new election took place in 1886 and Paul states:

The results of the General Election were disastrous to Home Rule. There were returned 316 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, as those Liberals who left Mr. Gladstone called themselves, 191 Liberals who adhered to him and 85 Parnellites as before. This gave the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists combined a working majority of 113.²⁸

These results made the Conservative Party the largest in the House of Commons but without an overall majority. Nonetheless, the Conservatives formed the next government and with the support of the Liberal Unionists were able to effectively govern. However, Gladstone was returned to power as Prime Minister following the 1892 General Election but was only able to form a minority government with Nationalist support. Paul provided us with a contemporary account when he wrote:

Never was a Government formed under greater difficulties. The Prime Minister was eighty-two, and though his strength was unabated, the infirmities of age were creeping upon him. His majority was entirely dependent upon the Irish vote, and the Irish party itself had not been reunited by the death of Mr. Parnell in October 1891.²⁹

²⁸ Herbert Woodfield Paul, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, [1901]) p. 271.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 319–320.

The election of 1895 dealt a crushing blow to the 'Home Rulers' or Separatists as *The Times* described them. Election statistics were reported in *The Times* and it stated that the Unionists, comprised of the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists were returned with a majority of one-hundred and fifty two members and with respect to the Separatists the paper commented that 'The General Election of 1895 will be remembered for the most crushing defeat that has been inflicted on any political party since 1832 [...].³⁰ These events effectively removed any hope of gaining Irish home-rule in the foreseeable future. It was against this political backdrop that Irish nationalists looked to a literary and musical cultural revival of all things Irish to assert their independence as a nation and not be seen and treated as merely an adjunct of England. However, the ILSL attracted to its ranks both separatists and unionists, what they had in common was a desire to promote Irish culture including Irish folk music and songs.

Simultaneously the political and economic changes in England and in Europe had produced a reaction in the English musical establishment which spurred on the quest for an English musical identity. That these two movements should coincide to consolidate a revival in English folk-song and music was by chance rather than planned or inevitable.

³⁰ 'Election Statistics', *The Times*. Wednesday July 31, 1895, p. 6, col. C.

ii : Events Leading to the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society, 1898

The foundation of the Folk-Song Society was a result of a series of meetings between all the interested parties to thrash out the principles, policies and rules of the new society. We cannot know for sure who first proposed the idea for founding the FSS but it is widely believed that it was Kate Lee. It was stated in Kate Lee's obituary that:

Shortly after the publication of 'English County Songs', many of which she sang with inimitable gusto and humour, she formed the idea of establishing a society to undertake the work of collecting songs from different parts of England and the world in general.³¹

On the occasion of the society's fiftieth anniversary the composer and former FSS committee member Frederick Keel wrote in the *JEFDSS* with respect to Kate Lee that, 'The foundation of the Society was largely owed to her enthusiasm and labours both in collecting Folk-songs and organising the initial meetings.'³² The American folk song scholar Donald Knight Wilgus concurred and wrote that, 'The Folk Song Society founded under the leadership of Mrs Kate Lee in 1898 had a nucleus of non-academic musicians and private scholars, though the professors held the vice-presidencies.'³³ Whilst it is most certainly true that Kate Lee was the most active of the initial participants in terms of organising and contacting people to make the idea of a folk-song society a reality it does not prove that she had the original idea. There is no evidence, anecdotal or otherwise,

³¹ 'The Late Honorary Secretary', *JFSS*, 2, 1 (1905), .p. 67.

³² Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898 - 1948', *JEFDSS*, 5, 3 (1948), 111 - 126 (p. 114).

³³ D. K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959), p. 57.

available to us that supports such a claim. Alfred Perceval Graves, on the other hand did claim credit for the idea.

In his autobiography Graves recalls the meeting at which the idea for a folk-song society was first mooted. Graves stated:

After a conversation which took place between Mrs. Kate Lee, Mr. Plunket Greene, my brother Charles and myself it was decided that an attempt should be made to draw all collectors of folk-song together into one society for the promotion of its best interests.³⁴

Harry Plunket Greene was an Irish baritone concert singer. He was a friend of Lucy Broadwood, who greatly admired his singing, she stated in her diary entry for 23 March 1898 that in the evening she went to 'the J A F Maitland's party. Mr H. Plunket Greene sang splendidly.'³⁵ Lucy Broadwood does not record the songs that he sang, but he regularly included in his repertoire songs from *English County Songs* and given that his host and Lucy Broadwood were the editors of that work it is likely that he sang songs from it on that occasion. The following year, 1899, Harry Plunket Greene married Gwendolen (Gwen) Parry, Sir Hubert Parry's youngest daughter. Sir Hubert Parry was to become one of the four vice-presidents of the society and it is possible that Plunket Greene encouraged him to accept the offer of the post of vice-president. The other person at that meeting was Charles Larcom Graves who was A. P. Graves younger brother. He was a journalist and worked for both the *Spectator* and *Punch*; in due course he became Assistant editor of the *Spectator* and later, in 1926, wrote a two volume biography of Parry.

³⁴ Graves, *To Return to all That*, p. 266.

³⁵ L. E. Broadwood, Diary 23 March 1898, SHC, Ref. LEB 6782/13.

Although A. P. Graves, in his auto-biography does not specifically lay claim to being the originator of the idea for the society this is inferred. That said, in a letter that he wrote to the *Morning Post* in 1904, cited by Bearman, he very clearly stated that the idea for the society was his when he said:

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.³⁶

In the same letter he also gave Kate Lee the credit for organising the preliminary meeting. He again, many years later in 1931, took ownership of the idea in a letter to Arthur Henry Fox Strangeways, the editor and founder of the journal *Music and Letters*. He was prompted to write to him having read in the *Observer* that Fox Strangeways was writing a biography of Cecil Sharp and was seeking information about him. Graves wrote to Fox Strangeways and told him that:

As I daresay you know, the Folk Song Society originated from a conversation I once had with Plunket Greene and my brother Charles on the subject of Folk Song collecting. They agreed with me that the collectors – Kidson, Lucy Broadwood, Vaughan Williams, C. Sharp and others should put their heads together and form a society. This was brought about by a meeting I called at the Irish Literary Society and eventually Kate Lee became secretary [...]³⁷

When Graves wrote to Fox Strangeways he was recalling events that took place thirty-three years earlier and it is clear from the content of the letter

³⁶ A. P. Graves, letter to the *Morning Post*, 27 January, 1904, cited by C. J. Bearman in 'Kate Lee and the Foundation of the Folk-Song Society', *FMLJ*, 7, 5 (1999), 627-643 (p. 627).

³⁷ Alfred Perceval Graves, letter to A. H. Fox Strangeways, 11 October, 1931 in Cecil Sharp Collection, Correspondence, Box 4, Folder 1, item 25, VWML.

that he is muddled with respect to the accuracy of his re-call. Sharp and Vaughan Williams did not join the society until 1901 and 1903 respectively. Nonetheless, these two instances in which he specifically laid claim together with the inference in his autobiography strongly suggest that he did indeed have the idea, especially since no one else has specifically said that the idea was theirs or, indeed, refuted Graves' claims. It is likely, therefore, that Graves did have the idea but it was Kate Lee who was the activist and it was her efforts that turned the idea into reality. Her actions in getting things moving have been widely recognised, not least by Graves. Nonetheless, without firm evidence to confirm things one way or the other it must remain a matter for conjecture as to whose idea it was to found the Folk-Song Society. It is of interest, and perhaps only fair that Graves should be given equal credit with Kate Lee, but of over-riding importance is that the society was founded.

The first of the meetings to establish a Folk-Song Society was planned for 27 January 1898 and a circular was prepared and distributed to all interested parties including the President of the Folk Lore Society (FLS), Alfred Nutt who had been elected to this post in 1897, taking over from Laurence Gomme. The circular was probably prepared and distributed by Kate Lee since, as Graves had pointed out, she had responsibility for organising the first meeting. A copy of this circular has only recently come to light (see Appendix 1). The copy was discovered by Stephen Miller, (an External Lecturer in the German Department at Vienna University). He found it amongst the papers of J. F. Gill which were deposited in the Manx National

Heritage Library in 2000 but the circular was only recently, in 2009, found amongst them.³⁸ The circular was found together with a letter to J. F. Gill from his brother W. H. Gill in which he wrote 'You will be interested to hear of a project to form a Folk Song Society (see circular letter enclosed, which please return).' He gave specific reference to Kate Lee when he wrote ' [...] the Hon. Sec. whose name you may recognise as a strong friend & supporter of Manx music [...].'³⁹ The circular is also mentioned in a letter that Kidson wrote to Broadwood dated 9 January 1898.⁴⁰ The call for a meeting to discuss the founding of a folk-song society was added to the agenda and discussed at a Meeting of Council of the Folk Lore Society (FLS) which took place on 11 January.⁴¹ It was decided that a deputation from the FLS should attend the meeting. The meeting went ahead as planned on 27 January at the premises of the ILSL, just off The Strand in London. The meeting was reported in *The Musical Times*, the report stated:

The preliminary meeting was held at 8, Adelphi Terrace, when amongst those who took an active part in the proceedings were Messrs. Alfred Nutt, J. A. Fuller Maitland, E. F. Jacques, F. Kidson, A. P. Graves, Mrs Gomme and Miss Lucy Broadwood, a list of names which promises well for the future good work of the Association. The Folk-Lore Society has since stretched out a very sympathetic hand, and its president, Mr. Nutt, has made the committee a generous offer which it is hoped it will be able to accept.⁴²

In addition to those mentioned above others who attended the meeting were Mr. Milne, and Marian Roalfe Cox from the FLS, Kate Lee from the ILSL

³⁸ Stephen Miller, 'You Will be Interested to Hear of a Project to Form a Folk Song Society', W. H. Gill and the Founding of the Folk-Song Society', *FMJ*, 10,1 (2011 [issued Nov. 2010]), 73-88.

³⁹ Letter from W. H. Gill to his brother the Deemster J. F. Gill dated 10 February 1898. Douglas Isle of Man National Heritage Library (MNHL) MS 09702.

⁴⁰ Letter from Frank Kidson to Lucy Broadwood, 9 January, 1898, SHC, Ref. LEB/4/95.

⁴¹ Folk Lore Society, Minutes of Meeting of Council, 11 January, 1898.

⁴² 'Occasional Notes', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 38, 661 (March, 1898), p. 165.

(though she was also a member of the FLS), W. H. Gill, W. B. Squire, and Francis Korbay. All those present were almost certainly known to each other either personally or by reputation. Broadwood was related by marriage to Fuller-Maitland who was in turn brother-in-law to W. Barclay Squire, the music critic for *The Globe*. Fuller-Maitland was a protégé of Sir George Grove and both Fuller-Maitland and Barclay Squire had contributed to *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and in 1889 Fuller-Maitland had written a substantial appendix to it.

Graves and Lee were members of the ILSL and Lee was also a member of the FLS as were Alfred Nutt, Milne, Roalfe Cox and Alice Bertha Gomme the wife of the former FLS president, George Laurence Gomme, she had published a seminal work on children's games entitled *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (published in two volumes 1894–1898). Marian Roalfe Cox had, in 1893, published a comparative study of 345 European variants of the story of *Cinderella*, widely regarded as one of the first scientific studies of folk tales. W. H. Gill was a Manx musician and folk song collector and he worked for the General Post Office in London.⁴³ In collaboration with Dr. John Clague and his brother John Frederick Gill, who was the Second Deemster of the Isle of Mann, they had published a collection of songs called *Manx National Songs* in 1896.

The collection was made up of Manx traditional tunes to which new words had been set. The original songs had been sung in the Manx language. Gill

⁴³ 'Brief Biography of W. H. Gill, available at <http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/people/antiqarn/whgill.htm> [accessed 30/11/2007].

explained this practice in the preface when he wrote that the Manx language was practically dead and he went on to write that, 'In many cases the original words possess little literary merit, or historic interest and in many others they are unfit for publication.' He went on to say that, 'The English words here given, whilst in some cases referring to the subject of the originals are in no sense translations, and in the majority of instances [...] have no connection with the original themes.'⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that some of the new songs had been written by A. P. Graves, W. H. Gill and others. Both Kate Lee and Lucy Broadwood included some of them in their concert performances. Kate Lee also included examples of Hungarian folk songs arranged by Francis Korbay. Korbay was an expatriate Hungarian. He had trained as a tenor singer and sang opera at the National Theatre in Budapest in the 1860s. The continued vocal demands took their toll on his voice and on the advice of his godfather, Franz Liszt, he took up the piano and composed music. From 1893 to 1903 he was professor of singing at the Royal Academy of Music and Kate Lee had been one of his pupils. E. F. Jacques was a musician and, at that time, music critic for the *Observer*. Frank Kidson was a friend of Lucy Broadwood and Fuller-Maitland and was also at that time contributing a series of articles entitled 'New Lights on Old Tunes', for *The Musical Times*. It is possible that this connection prompted the very positive coverage that the meeting received in that journal. In an additional commentary in the same edition it was stated that:

At first sight it may appear to some music-lovers that there is scarcely a need for a Society to take up the work which has been so widely carried out individually; but, although there has been much

⁴⁴ The Deemster J. Frederick Gill, Dr. J Clague and W. H. Gill, *Manx National Songs with English Words: arranged by W. H. Gill* (London: Boosey & Co. 1896), p. ii.

enthusiasm, there has not always been a corresponding amount of knowledge and several of the collections are marred by incongruous harmonies and even alterations of notes and phrases [...]. To correct such malpractice and preserve the people's tunes in their integrity, there is necessary the authority of a recognised Society. [...] The Folk-Song Society has therefore, our heartiest wishes for its success, for it has a useful and withal a pleasant mission.⁴⁵

At this meeting four of those present addressed the assembly; Lucy

Broadwood, Fuller Maitland, Kate Lee and A. P. Graves. Broadwood notes

in her diary that 'Graves talked of "restoring" traditional songs, which I

objected was the last thing that such a Society should do. Mr. J. A. F. M.

And Mr. Gill supported me.'⁴⁶ The differences between the two camps

were well known. A comparison of the ideas expressed by Graves in his

introduction to *The Irish Song Book* and the Preface to *English County*

Songs by Broadwood and Maitland clearly illustrates this. In a letter that

Fuller-Maitland sent to Lucy Broadwood shortly before the meeting of 27

January he stated:

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 to 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 that 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 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 [...].⁴⁷

⁴⁵ 'Occasional Notes', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 8, 661 (March, 1898), p. 165.

⁴⁶ Broadwood Diaries 27 January 1898, SHC, Ref. 6782/12.

⁴⁷ Letter from J. A. Fuller Maitland to Lucy Broadwood 21 January 1898, SHC, Ref. 2185/LEB/67.

Kate Lee had signed the circular and designated herself as 'Hon. Sec.',⁴⁸ (see Appendix 1), it is clear from the letter above that she had taken it upon herself to act in this capacity and had not discussed it with Graves who clearly had other plans. Grave's reaction to Lee signing herself as 'Hon. Sec.' strongly suggests that the idea for the Society was indeed his.

Harold Boulton was a musician and song writer, one of his most famous compositions was *The Skye Boat Song*. The exclamation mark after Boulton's name in Fuller-Maitland's letter suggests that Maitland regarded Boulton as one of the 'fakers', that is those people who composed songs that purported to represent widespread opinion and sentiment and could therefore, in their view, be described as folk-songs. Boulton, in collaboration with A. (Annie) C. Macleod and Malcolm Lawson, had compiled a collection of songs entitled *Songs of the North, Gathered Together from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland*. The collection was first published in 1884 and was very popular, running into fourteen editions. It included some folk-songs and songs composed by Boulton and others, such songs were set to traditional tunes. In this respect Boulton's practise with Scottish tunes and songs was the same as Grave's with Irish material. Graves' idea that Boulton should act as Honorary Secretary for the new society suggests that he had already formulated plans as to how such a society should be run and the policies it should adopt. His reaction to Kate Lee putting herself forward as Secretary is interesting and casts further doubt on the belief that the idea for the Society was Kate Lee's. It is a

⁴⁸ Gill Papers, Circular Letter 'Proposed Folk Song Society', MNHL, ref. MS 09702

strong indication that he claimed ownership of the idea and wanted to protect and oversee the foundation of the Society. His objection to Kate Lee's appointment as Honorary Secretary strongly suggests that he felt that control of the foundation of the society was being taken from him and this further supports the case that the idea of a society was his. Be that as it may, what is clear is that Kate Lee was very pro-active in terms of organising events and getting things moving and she did become Honorary Secretary of the Society when it was founded. Presumably some sort of compromise was reached and Kate Lee was persuaded to continue her involvement.

In her opposition to Graves' idea of 'restoring' songs (the practice of writing new words for traditional tunes) it is interesting to note that Broadwood was supported by Gill, who, on the face of it, would have been included with the 'fakers'. However, in the preface to the Manx collection he made it very clear that the purpose was to get the melodies back into circulation and that the work was popular rather than antiquarian. He also referred the reader to other earlier collections where they could access the original Manx song texts. One can only assume that it was this openness in declaring that the songs were not themselves folk-songs but new songs set to tradition folk tunes that, in the view of Broadwood et al., set him aside from the other so-called 'fakers'.

The 'generous offer' made by The Folk-Lore Society referred to above was that if the new Society can recruit one-hundred members at a membership

fee of one guinea the older Society would admit them to all the privileges that its own members enjoy. In addition, two of its meetings would be devoted to the business of the Folk-Song Society and the proceedings published. In effect, Alfred Nutt was proposing that the two societies should amalgamate and members of each would enjoy joint membership. However, it was also clear the new Society would be the junior partner in such an amalgamation. A sub-committee was set up to consider the practicalities of setting up such a society and the kind of practical work that it should undertake. Negotiations with the Folk Lore Society followed but no acceptable arrangements could be agreed and it was decided the new society should be entirely independent. Frank Kidson's entry in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* stated, 'FOLK -SONG SOCIETY. This society was definitely established in London on June 16, 1898, for the preservation and publication of folk-songs and melodies.'⁴⁹

The minutes of the inaugural meeting of the Folk-Song Society provide a summary of the negotiations that led to the foundation of the FSS on June 16 1898. The meeting took place on 16 May of that year in the rooms of the Shire Horse Society at the premises of the Royal Agricultural Society 12 Hanover Square. This was arranged by Sir Ernest Clarke who had connections with this organisation through his presidency of the Royal Agricultural Society. Fuller-Maitland took the chair at the meeting and he reported to the assembly on the negotiations that had taken place with the

⁴⁹ Frank Kidson, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* edited by J. A. Fuller Maitland in 5 vols (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. First published 1904-1910, reprinted 1919), 2 p. 70.

FLS by the sub-committee that had been appointed for that purpose. He reported that these negotiations had taken place over several months since the preliminary meeting but they had come 'to nothing because, from the beginning they were carried out under a misunderstanding and the society now to be formed would be quite independent.'⁵⁰

The inaugural meeting dealt with the election of the committee, to be twelve in number, issues of membership and the rules of the new society.

Considerable debate took place as to how much the membership fee should be. It was proposed that the membership fee should be set at one guinea with a view to achieving a target income of one-hundred guineas to cover the cost of publishing collections of folk-songs, society proceedings and pamphlets. The sub-committee had debated the idea of a two tier membership system whereby so-called 'ordinary members' paid one guinea per year and 'country members' five shillings. This was in recognition of the likelihood that 'country members' would be disadvantaged in terms of regular access to meetings and events by comparison with the 'town' or 'ordinary members'. However, it was finally decided that there should be only one class of member and a standard membership fee of half a guinea. This, of course, meant that the target membership would have to be two-hundred in order to achieve the desired income. The minutes records that 'the sub-committee were much influenced by the opinion of Mr. Kidson who represents the feeling in the North on the subject.' Kidson took the

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Folk Song Society, 16 May 1898, Minutes Book 1, p. 2, VWML

view that he could much more easily recruit members with a subscription set at half a guinea but would be able to 'do next to nothing [...] in the North at one guinea'.

The issue of the membership fee is an interesting one. Whether by default or design it acted as a 'gate-keeping' mechanism and ensured that the membership of the society was made up of members of the Victorian middle and upper-middle classes. The national average weekly wage in 1897 for ordinary agricultural labourers was thirteen shillings, ten and a half pence,⁵¹ with significant regional variations. For example, the folk singer and song collector Bob Copper, writing about his grandfather James Copper, was able to cite actual rates of pay from a wages and farm details sheet for 'William Brown's Farm, Challenors, Rottingdean, 1896', where his grandfather was foreman.. He stated that, 'The total weekly wage bill, not including overtime at lambing-time and haying and casual labour at harvest, was a little over £30.' The farm was 3,000 acres in size and employed fifty-five men and boys throughout the year. He goes on to say that:

'At the top of the list is *'Foreman James Copper. Wage 18/-.'* Then follow the details of the nine four-horse teams which include: *Carter. 'Oistup' Read (William) Wage. 14/-.* *Boy. Jim Copper: 4/- Team. Tommy, Tippler, Prince, Swallow.* The oxmen were paid a shilling more a week than carters while shepherds and cowmen, second only to the foreman, got 16/-. A labourer's wage was 13/-.⁵²

⁵¹ Dept of Employment and Productivity 1989, cited in <http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~alan/family/N-Money.html> page updated 04/11/2010 [accessed 29/01/2008 and 17/01/2011].

⁵² Bob Copper, Foreword by Ralph Wightman, *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years Of a Sussex Farming Family* (London: Heinemann, 1971), pp. 17-18.

Pamela Horn has noted that in Oxfordshire in the 1890s 'the day labourers received 10s. a week and a cottage. The shepherd, cowman and carter had 3s. per week extra and the boys 3s. per week.'⁵³ If any working class man or woman had wanted to join the society it is unlikely that they would have been able to afford what amounted to the better part of a week's wages to join. It is perhaps ironic that the very people identified as those who could supply the society with its raw material were those least able to afford membership in the event of their wishing to do so, however improbable that was. There were two notable exceptions to this, the above mentioned James Copper and his younger brother Thomas. However, more will be said about them below.

The remainder of the inaugural meeting was taken up with finalising the draft rules that the sub-committee tabled for consideration and the election of the Committee. The minutes identified the following people as those who were nominated for election to the proposed committee and unanimously elected; 'Mr. Kidson, Mr. E. F. Jacques, Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, Mrs Gomme, Miss Broadwood, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. W. H. Gill, Mr. A. P. Graves, Mr. Kalisch, Mr. Corder, Mr. J. D. Rogers and Mrs Lee. Mrs Lee was elected Honorary Secretary. The Committee to appoint its own Treasurer.'⁵⁴ The committee members not previously mentioned are Edgar F. Jacques who was a 'London-born Frenchman' an organist and conductor who had 'drifted into musical journalism' and at the time of the foundation of the FSS he was the writer of the programme notes for Henry

⁵³ Pamela Horn *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside*, p. 30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 3.

Wood's Promenade Concerts. He was succeeded in this role by another committee member, the music critic Alfred Kalisch.⁵⁵ Sir Ernest Clarke was a historian and lectured at the University of Cambridge. He was Secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society and an expert on the folklore of East Anglia. Frederick Corder was a composer and Professor of Composition at the Royal Academy of Music. John Davenport Rogers, a friend of the Lees, was a barrister, geographer and an author⁵⁶.

As stated earlier, Frank Kidson recorded that the FSS was publicly constituted on 16 June 1898. However, there are no minutes or record of the proceedings at this meeting. As the composer Frederick Keel pointed out in an article celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the FSS, at the first General Meeting which took place on 2 February, 1899, 'The Hon. Secretary's Report given at this meeting is the one clear statement that the Society was publicly constituted on June 16th 1898.'⁵⁷ The report stated 'The Folk Song Society was formally constituted at a public meeting held on the 16th June, 1898, [...].'⁵⁸ However, following the formal constitution of the society the elected Committee of Management met again on 6 July 1898 and at this meeting Fuller Maitland, who again took the chair, read a letter from Lord Herschell, who had served as a Liberal M.P. and had been the Lord Chancellor, accepting the presidency of

⁵⁵ Lawrence Poston, 'Henry Wood: The "Proms" and National Identity in Music 1895 – 1904', *Victorian Studies*, 47, 3 (2005), 397–426 (p. 405).

⁵⁶ In 1911 J. D. Rogers published *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* in 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).

⁵⁷ Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898 – 1948', *JEFSS*, 5, 3 (1948), 111 - 126 (f.n. p. 113).

⁵⁸ 'Report of the first General Meeting', *JFSS* 1, 1 (1899), pp. vi-vii. (p. vi).

the society. In addition, seven new membership applications were presented to the committee and all applicants 'were unanimously elected members of the Folk Song Society.'⁵⁹

There were to be four vice-presidents and the people who had been approached to fill these posts accepted the offers. They were Sir John Stainer, Professor of Music to the University of Oxford; Charles Villiers Stanford, Professor of Music to the University of Cambridge; Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music and C. Hubert Parry, Director of the Royal College of Music (just seven days later, on 13 July, Parry was knighted at Windsor Castle⁶⁰). The President and the Vice-Presidents acted as figureheads for the society. Their social and professional credentials added kudos to the newly founded society.

The committee met again on 20 July and at this meeting nine new members were elected to the society. Also at this meeting a pamphlet which listed 'Hints to Collectors of Folk Music' was presented, the list having been drawn up by a sub-committee made up of Mrs. Gomme, Kate Lee and J. A. Fuller-Maitland. The list is hand written in the minutes book but a printed copy has been pasted over the hand written version. This was the first pamphlet to be published by the society and has presumably been pasted in the minutes book as a record of the final and definitive version. The central and main publication of the society was, of course, to be the journal. The

⁵⁹ Minutes of the FSS, 6 July, 1898, Minutes Book 1, p. 15. VWML

⁶⁰ Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 356.

original intention had been to publish a journal bi-annually, but this required an income of approximately £100 per year. Having settled on a membership fee of 10/6d per year and a membership in the early years ranging from approximately one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty insufficient funds would be available. The journal, therefore became an annual publication.

At the committee meeting that took place on 15 December plans were made for the first General Meeting. Also, eleven new applicants were elected members of the society. Two of them are identified as 'Mr. W. Copper (Publican)' and 'Mr James Copper (Foreman)'.⁶¹ These are the two notable exceptions referred to above but Thomas Copper is listed incorrectly as 'W. Copper'. This will be further investigated in the next chapter.

The General Meeting took place on 2 February 1899 following an initial conversazione. After the general meeting Sir Hubert Parry, one of the Vice-Presidents, gave a short inaugural address. Parry's address was then followed by two short talks; one on 'Modal Survivals in Folk-Song' delivered by E. F. Jacques and the other by Mrs Kate Lee entitled 'Some Experiences of a Folk-Song Collector.'⁶²

This chapter has argued that a number of factors coincided to provide an opportune set of circumstances for the creation of the FSS. Most important of these were the activities of the folk-song collectors who had acted

⁶¹ Minutes of the FSS, 15 December, 1898, Minutes Book 1, p. 35. VWML.

⁶² All three addresses are printed in full in *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 1-25 (pp. 1-12).

independently of each other and had not co-ordinated their activities. The Victorian passion for collecting and categorising all manner of things provided the motivation together with the antiquarian interest of the collectors in the songs and in particular the tunes to be found in the country sung by the 'peasantry'. The growing movement to establish an English style of music free from the dominating influence of European, particularly German, music served to focus the attention of leading musicians on the songs that were being collected in the countryside. At the same time the establishment of the ILSL, which was influenced in no small way by the collapse of the 'Home Rule for Ireland' campaign brought together a few individuals who had an interest in folk-song and they recognised the need for co-ordinating and centralising folk-song collecting activity and it was from the ILSL that the idea for a folk-song society originated.

Chapter 3

The Early Years of the Folk-Song Society: 1898 – 1904

This chapter will describe the initial meetings that took place and the arrangements that were put in place to provide the FSS with a sound organisational base. It will provide an analysis of the working relationships that evolved between the committee members as the society began its work and the events that led to its near collapse in 1903.

The First General Meeting took place on 2 February 1899 at the home of Rachel and Frederick Beer at 7 Chesterfield Gardens, Mayfair, London, just seven months after the foundation of the Society. At this meeting, in accordance with Rule VI, half of the committee, in this case six members, retired and five of them put themselves forward for re-election. All were unanimously re-elected, and Mrs Beer was newly elected to replace the retiring member Mr. Frederick Corder who was unable to continue in this role. Only seventeen members are recorded as having been present and this list included three of the retiring members. The three retiring committee members who were not present were Frederick Corder, Lucy Broadwood and William Barclay Squire, presumably they had given prior notification regarding their availability for re-election to the committee. Two continuing committee members, Frank Kidson and Edgar F. Jacques, were also absent. In effect the election of these committee members was something of a fait accompli; the committee had been self-appointed in the first instance and

the membership had been recruited by them either through personal contact or by publicity in the musical press announcing that such a society now existed. No other names were put forward to contest the retiring members. It is not surprising, therefore, that their election was unanimously agreed.

Surprisingly, Rachel Beer is not listed as being present at the General Meeting, even though it took place at her home. It may be that she was busy making preparation for the converzatione that was to follow the meeting. Beer was the aunt of the poet Siegfried Sassoon, and famous as the first female editor of a national newspaper. She edited *The Observer*, which was owned by her husband Frederick and she was also owner-editor of *The Sunday Times*. Frederick Beer was a friend of former Liberal Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone; the Beers' wedding breakfast had been held at his home.

The two talks scheduled to take place after the converzatione went ahead as planned. The first was delivered by Jacques and the second by Kate Lee on her experiences collecting folk-songs. Details of her collecting experience with the Copper brothers (referred to in chapter 2) were given in her talk. She recounted that in November 1898 she and her husband, Arthur Morier Lee, were guests at the home of Sir Edward Carson¹ in Rottingdean.

During Kate Lee's stay in Rottingdean she heard about the two Copper brothers and invited them up to Sir Edward's house to sing for her. Bob

¹ Sir Edward Carson was a barrister and prominent Unionist who was bitterly opposed to Home Rule for Ireland. He had achieved prominence for his prosecution of Oscar Wilde who had been one of his contemporaries at Trinity College, Dublin. Arthur Morier Lee was also a Unionist, a barrister and a friend of Carson.

Copper, James Copper's grandson, has described the event and said that they were made to feel relaxed and comfortable in such alien surroundings by 'generous helpings from a full bottle of whisky standing in the middle of the table with two cut-glass tumblers and a decanter of water.' He went on to state that:

They sang, they drank and sang again and all the time Mrs Lee was noting down the words and music of their efforts. They kept this up all evening and were not allowed to leave until the bottle on the table was empty and the book on Mrs Lee's lap was full. After several more evenings, proceeding on the same lines as before only with different songs, she returned to London with what was later referred to as a 'copper-ful of songs'. It was, we are told, largely as a result of her great enthusiasm about her meeting with them that the formation of the English [sic] Folk Song Society came about in the following year.²

With anecdotal evidence such as this, coupled with her energy, enthusiasm and organisational skills it is not difficult to see how the belief that Kate Lee founded the society has taken hold and eclipsed any part that Graves may have had in the enterprise. However, her meeting with the Coppers was after the foundation of the FSS but one month before the first General Meeting and could not, therefore, have had any influence regarding the founding of the Society. In Bob Copper's account of Kate Lee's meeting with his grandfather and great uncle he wrote that they were made 'Honorary Members of the Society in recognition of their contribution of songs'³ In fact in the society minutes for 15 December, 1898, just one month after Kate Lee had met them and noted their songs, they are listed as 'Members' and not Honorary Members. This means, of course, that the subscription of 10/6d would have been due from each of them. It is highly

² Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season* p. 12.

³ *Ibid*, p. 13.

probable that Kate Lee put them forward for membership and paid the subscription, this may also explain the error in listing James Copper as W. Copper. Lee mistakenly thought that James was called William. In the address she gave at the general Meeting she referred to the two brothers as 'Mr William' and Mr. Thomas'.⁴ Furthermore, their names do not appear on the membership list for the following year, 1900, so the subscription was not renewed.

This account of Lee's meeting with the Coppers has served two purposes; firstly it illustrates the strategy employed by female collectors who found it very difficult to frequent public places such as public houses where folk-songs might be heard. Secondly, it clears up the confusion that has arisen over their membership. It also provides evidence that the collectors were more interested in the songs than they were the singers.

The first journal went to print shortly after the General Meeting. This is borne out by the fact that on the first page it states that the President of the society was Lord Herschell. However, this same page also carries a footnote which states that 'Since these pages were put into type, the Society has had to deplore the death of its first President.⁵ Viscount Cobham has kindly accepted the Presidency in succession to Lord Herschell.'⁶

⁴Mrs. Kate Lee. *Honorary Secretary of the Society* 'Some Experiences of a Folk-Song Collector', *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 8-13 (pp. 10-11).

⁵ Lord Herschell died on the 1 March 1899 and a report of his funeral appeared in the *The Times* on 23 March 1899, p. 8.

⁶*JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), p. i.

Viscount Cobham was Gladstone's nephew and he had served as a Liberal M.P. (1868–1872). It is probable that Rachel Beer used her friendship with Cobham's uncle, who had died the previous year, to secure Cobham's agreement to become the Society's President. At the time of his acceptance of the presidency he was serving, under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, as a Commissioner reporting to the Board of Trade.⁷

The report on this First General Meeting printed in the first *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (1899) stated that the Honorary Treasurer read the 'Financial Statement of the Society up to January 31st, 1898'. However, the actual report printed in the journal gives the date as 'January 31st 1899'. It was reported that the society had received £40 19s and spent £16 0s 2¹/₂d leaving a balance of £24 18s 9¹/₂d.⁸ The sum received represents subscriptions at half a guinea from seventy-three members one of whom had paid five years subscription in advance, while another member had paid for two years. The remainder of the meeting was taken up with an Inaugural address from Sir Hubert Parry and two papers referred to above.

The inaugural address by Sir Hubert Parry provides us with a clear view of how he and the membership of the FSS viewed what they saw as the vulgarising effects of 'the common popular songs of the day' and urban life in general. He observed:

If one thinks of the outer circumference of our terribly overgrown towns where the jerry-builder holds sway; where one sees all around

⁷ 'Charles George Lyttleton, 8th Viscount Cobham' available at <http://www.thepeerage.com/p1008.htm> [accessed 17/01/2010]

⁸ 'FSS, Balance Sheet, January 31st, 1899, *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), p. viii.

the tawdriness of sham jewellery and shoddy clothes, pawnshops and flaming gin-palaces; where stale fish and the Covent Garden refuse which pass for vegetables are offered for food – all such things suggest to one's mind the boundless regions of sham. It is for the people who live in these unhealthy regions – people who, for the most part have the most false ideals, or none at all – [...] It is for them that the modern popular music is made, and it is made with a commercial intention out of snippets of musical slang.⁹

It is interesting to note that, some twenty four years after the publication of James Thomson's poem *City of Dreadful Night* (cited earlier Chapter 1 p. 84) Parry is expressing similar sentiments to those expressed in the poem. Parry went on to say that the purity of folk music must be cherished and the music and songs preserved and in so doing it will go some way towards re-establishing the finer qualities of life for the people in general. He concluded his address by saying it is to be hoped that:

[...] our puzzling friend Democracy, has permanent qualities hidden away somewhere, which may yet bring it out of the slough which the scramble for false ideals, the strife between the heads that organise and the workmen who execute, and the sordid vulgarity of our great city-populations, seem in our pessimistic moments to indicate as its inevitable destiny.¹⁰

Georgina Boyes in her analysis of Parry's address contends that he proposed 'a solution which went beyond exclusively musical concerns.' She draws attention to the fact that Parry believed that it was not only the musical form of folk music and song that was uncontaminated by the trappings of modern life but the content of the songs themselves. She points out that he believed that the values embodied in true folk-song in which there was 'no sham, no got up glitter, and no vulgarity, nothing common or unclean' provided us with a summary of the 'qualities of the race.' Folk music and song had been collectively created by ordinary people and embodied 'their deepest

⁹ Sir Hubert Parry, 'Inaugural Address', *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 1-3 (pp. 1-2).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 3.

feelings, characteristics and aspirations.’ She goes on to argue that Parry saw this as giving us a ‘cultural standard which could be drawn upon to reverse the process of degeneration, and restore the old social balance’ and ‘from recognition of this national core, a new socio-cultural consensus could develop to restore the status quo.’¹¹ Dave Harker made much the same point but rather more forcefully when he stated:

Yet it is perfectly clear that what Parry and the Folk Song Society feared was bound for ‘extinction’ was not only that idealized ‘golden age’ of pre-industrial rural bliss, but their very own material security which was being thoroughly tested by a ‘Democracy’ which they suspected was not their ‘close friend’ at all.¹²

He goes on to argue that, even though they might not have fully realised it, they were involved in a ‘new level of struggle’ whereby a musical culture re-shaped by their own mediation would displace the commercial popular music and songs of the music halls. These were the products of the ‘cultural jerry-builder’ and there was a need to ‘impose onto working-class people what was ‘good’ for them, from the standpoint of the ruling class, and of capital.’¹³ This view, however, ascribes to the founders of the society a political awareness and level of political activity that is simply not corroborated by the evidence available.

While it is true that the members of the society and the musical establishment in general were members of the upper echelons of Victorian society and no doubt held views in keeping with their social status they were pre-occupied with the recovery of what they saw as a fast disappearing

¹¹ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village* pp. 26-27.

¹² Dave Harker, *Fakesong* p. 171.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 171.

musical cultural heritage. As far as their political allegiances are concerned the evidence available suggests that, for the most part, they supported the Liberal cause. However, their main concern was the recovery and rescue of folk-songs. If, in the process of recovering and re-packaging this cultural heritage, it had the effect of inculcating feelings of nationalism and patriotism then so much the better. Furthermore, if such a process helped produce model citizens who would be content with their lot then this would be a welcome side-effect, but there is nothing to suggest that these were the unwritten aims of the Society. Indeed, the minutes of committee meetings of the FSS provide no evidence of political allegiance let alone activity and if the members were politically motivated then that is the place that one would expect to find *some* evidence, even though minutes only record what a committee wants recorded. The minutes simply log the decisions made and actions required for the day-to-day running of the society, but no doubt there was 'off the record' discussion.

By comparison with Harker and Boyes the musical historians Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling provide a more measured view. They identified Parry as 'the acknowledged leader of the musical establishment' and concluded that 'He saw folk-music as an answer not only to musical evil but even to social and political vice.'¹⁴ The idea 'that Britain is not musical' held sway at this time, but Parry and others were intent on establishing an English identity in music. This was noted by Edward Elgar's obituarist when he said of him, as he summarised his achievements

¹⁴ Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance*, p. 174.

and provided background information, that 'Meanwhile Parry had been habituating people's minds to the novelty of giving serious consideration to music made in England.'¹⁵ Although Parry was a member of the 'musical establishment and his family were 'landed gentry' his biographer Jeremy Dibble points out that he was at variance with his father who disapproved of his 'Gladstonian sympathies'¹⁶, indeed, Dibble later identifies Gladstone as Parry's 'political mentor'¹⁷ and he presents Parry as someone with reforming ideals who wanted a just and stable society based on sound moral values. What is apparent from Dibble's biography and Parry's inaugural address to the Folk-Song Society is that he was disillusioned with what he saw as the erosion of values and standards in society and wished to use music, and in particular folk music, as a means of helping restore them. Boyes and Harker, on the other hand, saw Parry as a member of the ruling classes who wanted to maintain the class system in which everyone knew their place. Music would be used to engender and bolster feelings of nationalism and patriotism which were gaining ground at that time. However, such feelings were not the exclusive property of the political right. G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate summarised this well when they stated:

Moreover, Imperialism, though it was in due course to become identified with the Conservative Party, had, at the outset, some of its outstanding supporters well on the Left. Dilke and Chamberlain were Radicals who combined the demand for a domestic policy of

¹⁵H. G., W. Mcn. 'Edward Elgar 1857 -1934', *MT*, 75, 1094 (April 1934), pp. 305-313.

¹⁶ Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: His Life and Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 233.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 356.

radical reforms with a deep belief in the civilizing mission of the "Anglo Saxon race".¹⁸

Given the social and political climate at the end of the nineteenth century with the Boer War abroad and increasing industrial unrest at home as trade unions grew in strength and increasingly took industrial action, Parry's views should come as no surprise.

Kate Lee, in her address, explained that she 'began seriously to think of collecting songs about two years ago [1897].'¹⁹ She outlined her meeting with the Copper brothers and also 'a very old lady living in the East of London' (this lady is later identified as Mrs Mainwaring Bodell of Lloyd's Square, Clerkenwell in the footnote to the song, *The Bonny Irish Boy*, that Kate Lee noted from her and which was printed in the first journal). In describing her meeting with Mrs Mainwaring Bodell, she said:

I had qualms when she first threatened to come and sing to me; I thought she might be a burglar in disguise, so I took down songs with one eye on the umbrella and the other on the paper, but she did not take anything, but she left, I think, a good deal.²⁰

In her address it is clear that Kate Lee is endeavouring to amuse as well as inform her audience, but her comments also serve to illustrate the stereotypical view that 'society' people had of working-class people at that time.

¹⁸ G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, *The Common People: 1746 – 1946* (London: Methuen & Co., second and enlarged edition 1946), p. 424.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 10.

The foundation of the Folk Song Society in 1898 had coincided with the general air of apprehension and gloom that pervaded the *fin-de-siècle*.²¹

The historian Richard Shannon commented on the views of the novelist and poet Thomas Hardy who said that the constitution of the world was ‘malignantly topsy-turvy’ and that the virtuous and good were the predestined victims of a ‘conspiracy of circumstances’. Shannon went on to say that, ‘In the 1890s this ‘conspiracy’ metaphor was extended to embrace the whole decade, and *fin-de-siècle* was invoked by many writers as a literal and emotional fact.’²² This general disillusionment is summarised by Ross Terrill in his biography and assessment of R. H. Tawney, the economic historian and social philosopher, when he stated with respect to modern times that:

It is difficult to appreciate the concern of those who, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, saw England drifting without corporate direction, in need of a conception of what was sometimes called a “social form.” Socialist thinkers [...] tried to establish principles and institutions which would replace the social fragmentation brought about by industrialization with a new social cohesion.²³

This air of gloom is very well illustrated by Parry’s inaugural address to the Folk-Song Society. However, this was a bad time for Parry and his personal circumstances and frame of mind may have contributed to his general view of the state of society that he so vividly portrayed in his address.²⁴ Dribble wrote of him that ‘he was inwardly depressed’ by the news of events in the

²¹ Franklin L. Baumer, *Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas, 1600 – 1950* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), p. 121.

²² Richard Shannon, *The Crisis of Imperialism: 1815 – 1915* (St Albans: Paladin, 1976), p. 273.

²³ Ross Terrill, *R. H. Tawney & His Times: Socialism as Fellowship* (London: André Deutsch, 1974), pp. 158 – 159.

²⁴ Sir Hubert C. H. Parry, ‘Inaugural Address’ *JFSS*, 1 (1899), pp. 1–3.

Boer War and an unhappy home life on top of which he had to deal with some very difficult 'events at the College'²⁵. According to Shannon the war in South Africa had revealed 'unexpected and alarming British deficiencies in men and materials.'²⁶ Not least of these deficiencies was the physical state of large numbers of potential recruits rejected for army service due to their poor physical condition. Peter McIntosh in his history of physical education stated with respect to the Boer War that, 'The initial defeats on the field and the rejection of large numbers of recruits at home focused attention upon the physical state of the population of Britain.'²⁷ It is against the backdrop of these events and the prevailing mood of the period that the Folk-Song Society was founded.

To return to the affairs of the Society; as well as Parry's address and the aforementioned papers from Jacques and Lee the first journal also included a 'List of Members of the Folk-Song Society'. The list gives one-hundred and ten names of which only one was an Honorary Member, namely Mr. H. C. Mercer of Philadelphia, USA. Presumably new members were recruited very soon after the General Meeting, or existing members had not yet paid their subscription, since the financial report only accounts for the income from seventy-three subscriptions. Dorothy de Val summarised the make-up of the membership when she said:

The initial membership of the Folk Song Society was a mixture of performing musicians, composers, folklorists, folksong scholars and interested amateurs, mostly friends of the committee members. The

²⁵Jeremy Dibble, p. 369.

²⁶Richard Shannon, p. 294.

²⁷Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800* (London: G. Bell, 1952), p. 138.

musical establishment was well represented in the four vice-presidents [...] the committee of twelve was drawn from the folklorists, folksong collectors, and music critics.²⁸

She goes on to point out that the membership was made up of two-thirds men to one-third women and included prominent musicians such as 'the violinist Joseph Joachim, Plunket Greene and the fledgling Edward Elgar.'²⁹

To a large extent the activities of the new society during its first years were overshadowed by political and military developments. By 1900 the tide was turning and the British army were experiencing a run of military successes in the South African conflict. Ruth Slate, who was a clerk in a grocery firm, provides us with a first-hand account of the mood of the time in her diary entries. On 21 May 1900 she recorded 'The Boer report that Mafeking is relieved has been confirmed today. In London the excitement was dreadful, we hear.'³⁰ In this context she uses the term 'dreadful' to mean that the general public created great commotion and displayed great exuberance in the streets when the news broke.

Later that year the Conservative Party won a landslide victory at the general election. The election became known as the 'khaki election', the first to bear that sobriquet, because of the overt support for the war effort by the conservatives and the liberal unionists and their mischievous denigration of

²⁸ Dorothy de Val, 'The Transformed Village: Lucy Broadwood and Folksong' in *Music and British Culture: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (editors) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 341-366 (p. 350).

²⁹ Ibid. p. 351.

³⁰ Tierl Thompson (ed.), *Dear Girl: The Diaries of Two Working Women 1897 – 1917* (London: The Women's Press, 1987), p. 28.

the liberal party for their so-called anti-war stance. For example, during the campaign Joseph Chamberlain, the liberal unionist leader, stated 'Every seat lost to the government is a seat sold to the Boers.'³¹ More generally there was a feeling that the United Kingdom was under threat from foreign competitors and that British industry was falling behind in terms of efficiency and development by comparison with that of Germany and the United States.³² This was certainly the view of the conservative Prime Minister Arthur Balfour. The historian Richard Shannon wrote of Balfour that he thought that educational system was 'utterly behind the age, making England the laughing stock of every advanced nation in Europe and America, putting the English not merely behind our American cousins but the German and the Frenchman and the Italian'.³³

As a reaction to these conditions, events and developments there was an effort to revitalise a sense of patriotism amongst the population at large. This manifested itself in various ways and not least in educational reform through the Education Act of 1902. The 1902 Education Act is commonly attributed to Arthur Balfour, the then Prime Minister; indeed it is referred to as Balfour's Act. However, Tony Taylor has argued that the real architect of the act was a civil servant, Robert Morant, who worked in the Education Department. Taylor concluded that:

It was indeed Balfour's Bill, but it was also Morant's, the Church Party's and the Bishops' Bill too. All had combined to pull together in an effective and secretive alliance which had persuaded Balfour to

³¹ 'Chamberlain, Joseph', Section 5.1 'Khaki Election' available at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Joseph_Chamberlain [accessed 17/05/2008]

³² Richard Shannon, pp. 294-296.

³³ Ibid, p. 303.

put through a major Bill, [...] After 1902, Balfour gave up contact with education. Morant had received his reward for helping draft the Bill by being appointed Secretary to the Board of Education, but beyond that the two men who had been so close in 1901-2 drifted apart.³⁴

As a result of the 1902 Act the counties and county boroughs became Local Education Authorities. The educational historian J. Stuart Maclure wrote that 'The results of the Education Act of 1902 [...] were seen most dramatically in the provision of county secondary schools and teacher training colleges. But the aim of unifying the education system was far from achieved.'³⁵ In 1904 Robert Morant, who was now the Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, introduced 'Regulations for Secondary Schools'. In essence these regulations required the schools to put in place a curriculum based on that of the grammar schools. The regulations stipulated that the instruction must be 'general in nature' and stated that:

A certain minimum number of hours in each week must be given, in each year of the Course, to the group of subjects commonly classed as 'English' and including the English Language and Literature, Geography, and History: to Languages, ancient or modern, other than the native language of the scholars: and to Mathematics and to Science.³⁶

The regulations went on to state that ample time would be available to include other subsidiary subjects and included in the list was 'singing'. It was the inclusion of 'singing' that was of particular interest to certain members of the FSS.

³⁴ Tony Taylor, 'Arthur Balfour and Educational Change: The Myth Revisited' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 42, 2 (June, 1994), 133-149, (p.148).

³⁵ J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816 to the Present Day* 3rd edition (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 149.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 158.

Also in 1902 a special day to celebrate the British Empire was established. The idea had been considered in 1897 but it was in 1902 that it was decided to establish such a commemorative day. The day chosen for Empire Day was 24 May, Queen Victoria's birthday. Queen Victoria had died the year before and the choice of date was to mark the growth of the empire during her reign. However, it was not until 1904 that such celebrations started to become widespread. The historian Jim English has described Empire Day as being indicative of the 'prevailing sentiment that pervaded the Edwardian era and had the potency to excite and inspire children and adults alike.'³⁷ The Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm has pointed out that to ensure the success of such a celebration the focus of attention was on the schools since in this way there would be 'captive audiences of school-children.'³⁸

The childhood recollections of Florence Edith Clarke, who was born in 1906, were recorded by her during the 1980s. As a child she attended elementary school in Edmonton, North London. In her recollections she states that 'One of my pleasant memories of school was Empire Day.' She recalls how 'dignitaries' would attend and the children would march past them in the playground. The children would then sing for them 'stirring patriotic songs' such as *Rule Britannia*.³⁹ The song *Rule Britannia* had been published in all six song books which had been 'specifically aimed at

³⁷ Jim English, 'Empire Day in Britain 1904 – 1958', *The Historical Journal*, 49, 1 (2006), pp. 247–276, (p. 248).

³⁸ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875 – 1914* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), p. 70.

³⁹ Florence Edith Clarke, '1900 Schooling in Working Class London: Silver Street School Edmonton' available at <http://www.colepotteries.btinternet.co.uk/1900s-schools.htm> [accessed 09/06/2008]

schools'.⁴⁰ One of these was Cecil Sharp's collection *A Book of British Song: for Home and School*⁴¹ and the *National Song Book Part I*⁴². It was the *National Song Book* that had the official backing of the Board of Education. In this way the inclusion of singing in the school curriculum in accordance with the 1904 Regulations was now being used as a means of inculcating a sense of national identity and patriotism into children.⁴³

By the end of the nineteenth century and following on from John Hullah's work in music education, music as part of the school curriculum was being championed by W. H. Hadow. Gordon Cox describes him as 'the influential chairman of the consultative committee of the Board of Education'. In 1903 he had published *Songs of the British Islands: One Hundred National Melodies Selected and Edited for the Use of Schools*. In October 1904 he was asked by the Board of Education to put together a list of folk-songs for use in elementary schools. This was probably in response to the 1904 regulations. He would have been aware that the composer Arthur Somervell, who at that time was the Inspector of Music to the Board of Education, had already started work on just such a project and he

⁴⁰ Gordon Cox, 'Towards the National Song Book: The History of an Idea', *British Journal of Music Education*, 9,3 (1992), pp.239-253, (p. 250).

⁴¹ Cecil J. Sharp, *A Book of British Song: For Home and School* (London: John Murray, 1902, second impression 1904), p. 3.

⁴² Charles Villiers Stanford, Ed. *The National Song Book Volume 1: A Complete Collection of the Folk-Songs, Carols and Rounds Suggested by The Board of Education* (London: Boosey and Co., 1906), p. 278.

⁴³ It is interesting to note that, at the present time through the creation of the Music Manifesto, developed by a number of government agencies, music is once more being used in schools as a means of combating anti-social behaviour and promoting social-cohesion. The manifesto states that 'We believe that music is important for the social and cultural values it represents and promotes, and for the communities it can help to build and unite.' The manifesto pledges to 'put singing back at the heart of primary education.'

therefore agreed to this on the proviso that Arthur Somervell be allowed to revise it as he saw fit.⁴⁴

Hadow's name appears in the first membership list of the folk song society and he was still a member in 1905, so at the time of the approach by the Education Board he had been a member of the society since its foundation.⁴⁵ Arthur Somervell had been a student of Stanford's at Cambridge University and of Hubert Parry's at the Royal College of Music. Somervell was a promising composer and is best remembered for his settings of Tennyson's *Maud* (1898) and Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* (1904). In 1901 Somervell was appointed as Inspector in Music to the Board of Education. The vacancy was the result of the death of Sir John Stainer who had held that position and who was also one of the vice-presidents of the FSS.

It has already been noted that among those actively engaged in gathering folk songs for wider dissemination two distinct approaches were represented. There were those represented by Graves and others who were reliant on printed sources and had no qualms or saw anything incorrect in editing words or writing new words for traditional tunes. Clearly, for them, the essence of folk-song was the melody; the words were of secondary importance. The other camp was represented principally by Broadwood and Kidson, but also included Lee and Fuller Maitland, and they were committed to 'field' collection. However, the 'field collectors' also edited

⁴⁴ Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England 1872 – 1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), pp. 76 -77. In fact, Arthur Somervell and Harold Boulton co-edited Volume 2 of *The National Song Book*. See footnote 40.

⁴⁵ 'List of Members of the Folk-Song Society' *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 1-25 (pp. ii – iii).

and completed sets of words from both printed sources, such as broadsides, and other versions of the same song that had been previously collected. They too were preoccupied with the melodies. They were particularly anxious to seek out those songs that were set to melodies that used the 'ancient modes'.⁴⁶ The essential difference between them was that one set collected in the field and gave priority to songs sung to modal tunes. The other set collected in the library and were not concerned if the tunes were modal or not. The field collectors regarded the practice of composing new words to folk melodies as 'faking' but saw nothing wrong with the practice of completing sets of words from other sources, such as printed versions of folk-songs or from other collectors manuscripts since these too had been collected in the field. The fact that there may have been regional variations that changed the general character of the song does not seem to have been of concern. Furthermore the field collectors were not above bowdlerising texts to make them acceptable for publication. It is clear that both 'camps' attached the greatest importance to the tunes and regarded the words as of less importance, albeit to different degrees. Although Lee and Fuller-Maitland aligned with the field collectors they seemed to have had a mediating role between the two camps. Nonetheless, the 'Rules' for the society reflected the views of the 'field' collectors so one must assume that they held sway.

⁴⁶ The address given by E. F. Jacques at the Inaugural meeting of the Folk-Song Society outlines the importance that was attached to the modes. E. F. Jacques, 'Modal Survivals in Folk-Song' *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 4-6 (p. 4).

The membership list, as stated above, included Edward Elgar and his name continued to appear in all the membership lists until its last entry in 1908. It is interesting to note that in the minutes for the committee meeting of 21 July 1899 it noted that 'the Hon. Sec. was requested to write to Mr. Edward Elgar asking him to read a paper on this occasion on the songs collected by him in Worcestershire.'⁴⁷ The occasion referred to was to be the next General Meeting, Elgar, however, evidently declined the request since no such paper was delivered. Indeed, there is no evidence to show that Elgar ever collected any songs, so whether the committee had assumed he had been active in this respect or had been misinformed is a matter for conjecture. The minutes also recorded that the issue of 'whether the Society's journal should be submitted to the press for review' was discussed. A decision was made to hold the matter in 'abeyance for one year' with the proviso that any member of the society who was also a member of the press should be at 'liberty to act on their own discretion'.⁴⁸ One assumes that in this way the journal would only be submitted for review to those who were sympathetic to the aims and activities of the society.

The second issue of the journal appeared in 1900 and included a report of the Second General Meeting which had taken place on 2 November 1899 at the Royal Academy of Music. The report delivered by Fuller-Maitland is entirely taken up with a summary and description of the songs contributed

⁴⁷Minutes of the FSS, 21 July 1899, Minutes Book 1, p. 84. VWML.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 83.

to the sub-committee for consideration for inclusion in the journal. After the report two papers were read. The first was 'Folk-Song survivals in Jewish worship-Music' which was delivered by the Rev. Francis L. Cohen and the second was on 'Sailor Songs' by Frank Kidson, both were printed in full in the journal. Also included was an updated membership list which now amounted to one-hundred and twenty-one names.

Both issues were reviewed together in *Folklore*, the journal of the FLS, but it is not known which member exercised their 'discretion' in this respect but it is likely to have been Kate Lee since her name is given at the end of the review as a contact. The review opened with a somewhat patronising sentence which stated, 'Our unpretending but vigorous offshoot the Folk-Song Society, has now been at work for two years and has fully justified its claim to a separate existence.' The review went on to give a detailed description of the contents of the two journals but also made the point that 'More attention, however, has been paid to the music than to the words, [...]'. The review concluded by encouraging members of the Folk Lore Society to engage in song collecting and to use the expertise of members of the Folk-Song Society in assessing the value of their discoveries. The concluding sentence ran, 'With this end in view, the Honorary Secretary (a member herself of the Folk Lore Society) will forgive us for adding her name and address: Mrs. Kate Lee, 8, Victoria Road, Kensington, London, W.'⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Reviews, 'Journal of the Folk-Song Society. Vol. 1 No. 1, 1899, pp.viii,26. No. 2, 1900, pp.viii, 27 – 62. Printed for the Society by Spottiswoode & Co.' *Folklore*, 11, 4 (1900), 417-419 (p. 417 and p. 419).

The committee met again on 15 January 1900 and it was proposed that a 'Special General Meeting' should be convened immediately after the third Annual General Meeting with a view to altering Rule III (relating to the rate of membership subscription).⁵⁰ The matter was again raised at a committee meeting which took place on 8 February 1900. The minutes record that the acting Honorary Secretary presented a letter from Frank Kidson relating to the proposed alteration of Rule III. It was decided that the letter should be read at the Special General Meeting.⁵¹ However, the subscription remained at 10/6d and it was resolved that members who could afford to do so be asked to subscribe more. At the Special General Meeting it is recorded that 'The Hon. Sec. should send a circular to all the members of the Society asking them whether in view of the Society's lack of funds they would be willing to pay an additional subscription of 10/6 per annum.' In return, they would be able to bring up to three guests to each of the society's 'converzationes'.⁵²

At a committee meeting in March 1900 A. P. Graves volunteered to approach Lady Londonderry to request that the society be 'entertained at Londonderry House during the autumn for an Irish night'. However, this event did not take place until 25 June 1901. The minutes of the committee meeting for 22 May 1901 state that 'discussion took place about the meeting to be held at Lady Londonderry's house in June.'⁵³ The meeting went ahead and was attended by only twelve society members but also by about two-

⁵⁰ Minutes of the FSS, 15 January 1900, VWML.

⁵¹ Minutes of the FSS, 8 February 1900, VWML.

⁵² Minutes of the Special General Meeting of the FSS, 22 February 1900, VWML.

⁵³ Minutes of the FSS, 22 May 1901, VWML.

hundred guests. Graves delivered a lecture on Irish songs and examples of Irish songs were sung and Irish traditional dances were performed. There is no written record of the event and Graves' lecture is not printed in any issue of the journal. There is no record of the songs that were performed on this occasion, but if they were of the 'faking' variety it is probable that Broadwood, Fuller Maitland and Kidson, all of whom contributed to editing the journal, deliberately chose not to report on the event.

It was also proposed at this meeting that the next journal (no. 4) be delayed until the spring of 1903. More importantly, the minutes for this committee meeting recorded an item of business which, in due course, would be highly significant: the election as a member of the society of 'Mr. Cecil Sharpe [sic] of Hampstead Conservatoire [sic] of Music'.⁵⁴ The third issue of the journal had been published in 1901 and consisted entirely of fifty-two songs all collected by a society member, William Percy Merrick, from one informant, Henry Hill a farmer of Lodsworth in Sussex.

The committee had met seven times in 1899 and eight times in 1900 but only three times in addition to the AGM in 1901. No subscriptions were collected in 1903 and the committee did not meet again until 1904. The main reason for this inactivity seems to have been the illness of the Honorary Secretary, Kate Lee. She became ill round about the beginning of 1902. However, it appears that she was reluctant to hand over her responsibilities to anyone else and consequently the day to day business of

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 126.

the society became neglected. There also surfaced at this time a clear personality clash between Kate Lee and Lucy Broadwood.

By 1903 the Folk-Song Society had ceased to function. During its first three years of existence its affairs had been conducted as one would expect. There had been regular committee meetings, organised entertainments and converzationes. By 1902 things had started to go wrong, and by 1903 the society was completely inactive. The first four journals had been published annually from 1899 to 1902 but no journal appeared in 1903. The fourth journal, in spite of the proposed delay, was published in 1902. It included only songs, twenty-two songs from Surrey and Sussex collected by Lucy Broadwood. In fact it was the fifth journal that was delayed and this did not appear until 1904. (See Appendix 1.) Cecil Sharp was very critical of the inaction of the FSS. He gave an illustrated lecture at the Hampstead Conservatoire on 26 November 1903 in which he gave voice to his criticisms of the FSS. The lecture was reported in the *Morning Post*.⁵⁵ In response to the report Kate Lee wrote to Sharp and told him 'I suppose you have heard of my terrible illness, this being the reason why the Society has for the time being become stationary.' She went on to explain that she wanted to call a committee meeting so that the affairs of the society can be 'carried on somehow or other.' She concluded by saying that she would be in London for some time as she was undergoing 'Xray treatment.' The

⁵⁵ A. H. Fox Strangeways in collaboration with Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 47.

letter was sent from the South Kensington Hotel and dated 3 December 1903.⁵⁶

Early the following year Sharp gave an interview which was reported in the *Morning Post* on 2 February 1904. Fox Strangeways in his biography of Sharp cited this interview and Sharp said:

As for the folk-Song Society, it has published 109 folk-songs in six years, its Honorary Secretary is ill, and there have been no meetings for two years. [...] the Folk-Song Society should surely see that it must now either wake up, clean its slate, and start again on new and efficient lines, or else retire from the scene altogether, so that the field may be occupied by a more effective organisation.⁵⁷

It seems that Sharp, although a recent recruit to the folk-song movement was anxious to play a leading role, if not the leading role in the affairs of the FSS.

During Kate Lee's term of office as Honorary Secretary Lucy Broadwood was in a position to take a more active part in the affairs of the society but chose not to do so. She attended committee meetings but there is no record of her ever having attended any of the public events. The reason, or reasons, for this seeming lack of commitment on the part of a committee member is not clear but the death of her mother in 1899, the personality clash with Kate Lee and her disapproval of the inclusion of certain members of the committee whose views she disagreed with, ('the faking party'), may well have been contributing factors. That said, in response to Sharp's public criticisms Broadwood took direct action. In a letter she wrote to Sharp

⁵⁶ Letter from Kate Lee to Cecil Sharp, dated 3 December 1903, Cecil Sharp Collection Correspondence Box 4, item 28. VWML.

⁵⁷ A. H. Fox Strangeways and Maud Karpeles, pp. 48–49.

dated 2 February 1904, the same day that Sharp's views were published in the *Morning Post*, she stated that 'I am delighted with your pricks and pokes at our Folk-Song Society', she said she had spoken to 'Mr. Fuller Maitland' and that he had told her that 'Mrs. Kate Lee had expressed her wish to call a Committee once again before she died! Which would be in 2 or 3 months time at latest.' She went on to say that she had visited Kate Lee herself and had been told by her that 'she could not attend at any Committee but she made no offer of handing her papers etc. over to anyone, tho' I gave her a hint that I would receive them.' Lucy Broadwood was clearly frustrated by this meeting and firmly believed that Kate Lee was a hypochondriac and said that she came away from her meeting with her 'more than ever suspecting that she is a "malaise imaginaire", and that 'she has not the least the look of a person who can last only a month or two at the longest, as she says.' She confided to Sharp that ever since she first met Kate Lee ten years ago she had always struck her as an 'imaginary invalid'. What she wanted from Sharp was his agreement to serve on the committee with one or two people of similar mind so that as a ginger group they would be able to 'pull things together'. She concluded her letter by saying 'Please don't say that I don't believe in poor Mrs Lee's illness. This is private.'⁵⁸ Kate Lee resigned as secretary in March 1904 and Lucy Broadwood was elected Honorary Secretary in her place and she proposed that Cecil Sharp should be seconded to serve on the Committee. 'He was unanimously elected and Mr Kalisch was asked to invite him to accept.'⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp, 2 February 1904, Cecil Sharp Collection, Correspondence Box 4, item 5. VWML.

⁵⁹ FSS Minutes, 18 March 1904, VWML.

The first membership list of the society was published in the first issue of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (1899) and listed one hundred and ten members. By 1900 the list had grown to one hundred and twenty-one members. The next three journals (1901, 1902 and 1904) did not include a membership list as had been the practice in the first two journals. Nonetheless the Annual Report for 1904 did include a membership total, which is dated for 10 June 1904, and the narrative recorded that 'there are at present 133 Members of our Society.'⁶⁰ This report was printed in the 1905 journal but the same journal included an updated membership list dated 'March, 1905'. This list recorded one hundred and sixty-three members, only sixty-eight of whom were on the original membership list. A small number of members had died, but the majority of the forty-two members missing from the 1905 list had let their membership lapse and no doubt the failure to collect fees for two consecutive years had some bearing on this. Nonetheless, there seem to have been plenty of new recruits to take their place.⁶¹ No explanation for this sudden increase in membership is given, but it may be that Lucy Broadwood canvassed widely among her friends, existing members and their friends to, in effect, re-launch the society. Perhaps the inclusion of this updated list alongside the figure of 133 for the 1904 membership given in the Annual Report was a subtle way of showing how efficiently the new Honorary Secretary was carrying out her duties. The membership was still largely made up of members from London and the Home-Counties; these accounted for ninety-one of the total. However, the membership now included four members from the USA and one from

⁶⁰ FSS, 'Annual Report: June 1904', p. 4. VWML.

⁶¹ 'Members, March, 1905', *JFSS*, 2, 1 (1905), 1-67 (pp. iv-vii).

Germany and also eleven UK institutions including the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, the Bodleian Library, Oxford and a number of public libraries. Three institutions from the USA were also listed, namely the New York State Library, Carnegie Hall and Cornell University Library. Clearly, the society was beginning to be taken more seriously as a scholarly society both at home and abroad.

The Annual Report given in June 1904 and printed in the 1905 journal (no. 6) records that the committee had 'remitted all subscriptions for the year 1903.' The same journal provided cash statements for the years 1902 and 1903 and gave a footnote explaining the drop in revenue. It stated that it was brought about 'by the protracted illness of the Hon. Sec. during which time the Society remained inactive [...]'⁶². The cash statements recorded that in 1902 only £21 10/6d had been collected in membership fees, this amounted to subscriptions from forty one members. In 1903 only £4 14/6d in subscriptions was collected, this equates to subscriptions from just nine members. This is a remarkable statistic since the committee was made up of eleven members, so even if it is assumed that nine of them paid their subscription, and one would assume that the committee members would not need a prompt from the Honorary Secretary, two did not. Unfortunately there is no record of who actually paid in 1902 and 1903. It can be concluded from this that Kate Lee was the most active member in terms of the day to day running of the Society. The lack of revenue from subscriptions was due to the fact that she was not in a position to 'chase

⁶² Ibid. p. xi.

members up' for payment. Given the fact that the committee was made up of people who, with the exception of Lucy Broadwood, had busy professional lives this is perhaps not surprising. The committee, it seems, made decisions and then delegated Kate Lee to carry them out. In the early years the society functioned as much as a club as that of a scholarly society. The converzationes and other events that were organised had more to do with entertainment than scholarly activity.

Kate Lee died of cancer on 25 July 1904, aged forty-five. She had held on for five months rather than the two she had herself predicted. Her obituary appeared in the 1905 *JFSS* and it was said of her that 'Nothing speaks more eloquently of her personal ardour in the work, than the fact that during her illness the society's activities were in abeyance.'⁶³ This statement confirms that Kate Lee was the person that kept things moving. However, a new and equally active Honorary Secretary was now in place. From this point on the society took on a new lease of life but with a discernable change in its general character.

This chapter has shown how events panned out to allow both Lucy Broadwood and Cecil Sharp the opportunity to each take a central role in the affairs of the FSS. The illness of Kate Lee led first to her resignation from her post as Honorary Secretary and later to her untimely death. The hiatus that resulted from Kate Lee's protracted illness and her subsequent inability to carry out her duties provided the opportunity for Lucy Broadwood to take

⁶³ 'The Late Honorary Secretary', *JFSS*, 2, 1 (1905), 1-67 (p. 67).

over as Honorary Secretary. Shortly after her appointment to this role she was instrumental in getting Sharp co-opted onto the FSS committee. This provided Sharp with the opportunity to influence FSS policy and actions. However, Sharp's ideas and his campaign to promote them would eventually bring him into conflict with Broadwood and most other committee members.

Chapter 4

New Members and Song Collecting During the Edwardian Period: Developments in the FSS, 1904 - 1906

The early years of the new century witnessed a growing interest among professional and amateur musicians for collecting folk-songs. This interest had, in no small part, been aroused by Sharp's unremitting use of the media to encourage interest in folk-song and support for his ideas. The term 'Edwardian Collectors' is used here to describe those activists who did not start any field work before the reign of Edward VII. Principal among these new collectors were the brothers Henry and Robert Hammond, George Gardiner and Percy Grainger. These new collectors brought a new approach to collecting folk-songs, they were not so constrained by the class conventions as their predecessors and, like Sharp, felt comfortable in working and mixing with the rural working class, though whether their informants felt as comfortable with these encounters is debatable.

During the Edwardian era technological advances and improved rail and road transport systems brought town and country closer together. Furthermore, the rise of socialism, the suffrage movement and the growth of the trade union movement brought about a growing politicisation of the working class.¹ Such developments provided the backdrop for the field work of the new collectors who were now joining the FSS. They brought

¹ Wilfrid Mellers and Rupert Hildyard, 'The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years: The Edwardian years' in *Early Twentieth Century Britain*, Volume 8 of *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain* in 9 Volumes, edited by Boris Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 2-18, (p. 8).

with them a more progressive mentality and, for the most part, they seem to have kept aloof from the split that developed between Sharp and Broadwood during this period. They looked to Broadwood for advice on what they should be collecting and where they should collect it but followed Sharp's example on how to go about it. This new wave of collecting activity helped to revitalise the society and further its reputation as a serious and learned organisation. The events that led to the split between Sharp and Broadwood are examined below and this will show how Broadwood in her dual roles of Honorary Secretary and journal editor was able to influence and shape policy.

The year 1904 was an eventful time for the FSS. The pioneer folk-song collectors the Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould and the Rev. Charles Marson joined the society. It is quite likely that they were encouraged to do so by Cecil Sharp. Marson was Sharp's collaborator during the early years of Sharp's collecting in Somerset and Sharp was the musical editor of a revised edition of Baring-Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard's collection *Songs of the West* which was published in 1905. Also that year Viscount Cobham resigned as president of the society 'owing to his inability to attend meetings as he would have wished,'² though he remained a member. He was succeeded by Lord Tennyson, the son of the famous poet. In March of that year Arthur Somervell turned his attention to the idea of introducing the singing of folk-songs into the elementary school curriculum and, with the assistance of a fellow school inspector and member of the FSS committee,

² Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song society 1898 - 1948', *JFDSS*, 5,3 (1948), 111-126 (p. 117).

A. P. Graves, the committee was informed at the meeting held on 18 March that he had an 'educational scheme to propose to the Society.' No further discussion is recorded in the minutes so presumably this announcement was simply to alert the committee that a proposal would be forthcoming. It was at this same committee meeting that Lucy Broadwood was elected as Honorary Secretary and, on her proposal, Cecil Sharp was elected to the committee.³

The minutes of the next meeting, which took place on 6 May 1904, recorded a number of important items. The most important was the report from Fuller Maitland that Dr. Somervell had approached him to know if the society 'would be prepared to issue popular, cheap and simply harmonised sets of folk songs for the use of schools'. The committee thought the proposal 'an excellent one' and it was decided to appoint a sub-committee to look into the practicalities of such a venture.⁴ This issue was to lead to serious disagreement between Sharp and the rest of the FSS committee.

Also at this same meeting Mrs Milligan Fox resigned her membership in order to take up the position of Secretary of the newly formed Irish Folk Song Society. She requested that an arrangement be put into place whereby the two societies would exchange journals and this was agreed. In addition, sixteen new members were elected to the society and these included Ralph Vaughan Williams, Walter Ford, Herbert F. Birch-Reynardson

³ FSS, Minutes of Committee Meeting, 18 March, 1904, VWML.

⁴ FSS, Minutes of Committee Meeting, 6 May 1904, VWML.

(Broadwood's cousin), the artist Heywood Sumner, who had published in 1888 a collection of songs called *The Besom Maker and other Country Folk Songs* which he had illustrated and the Rev. Geoffrey Hill who had presented to the society a copy of his book *Wiltshire Songs and Carols* containing a selection of songs he had collected. Of these new recruits Vaughan Williams would play a leading role in the affairs of the FSS.

It was also arranged at this meeting that a revised edition of the pamphlet *Hints to Collectors* should be prepared by Broadwood and Sharp. No doubt Sharp's advice and help was sought due to his success in gathering so many songs in Somerset in a relatively short span of time. At this time the relationship between Broadwood and Sharp was friendly and co-operative. Having proposed him for membership of the committee she clearly saw him at that time as an ally. While they were preparing the revised edition of *Hints to Collectors* Broadwood wrote to Sharp to inform that she would be away from home and to give him forwarding addresses so that they could keep in touch. One of these addresses was the home of 'T. G. Ashton Esq. M. P'⁵ in Sussex. Thomas Gair Ashton was the Liberal M.P. for Luton. Broadwood never made public her political allegiances but it is possible from this that she supported the Liberal Party, or it may be that he was known to her simply because they both moved in middle and upper-middle class circles and his political allegiances had no bearing on their friendship.

⁵ Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp, dated 13 May 1904, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, VWML.

At the time of his election as a member of the society Vaughan Williams was a protégé of Lucy Broadwood. In an article commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Vaughan Williams's death and the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Lucy Broadwood's birth Derek Schofield wrote:

Broadwood and Vaughan Williams maintained a friendship for over thirty years until Lucy's death in 1929. He was invited to her musical 'at homes' and tea parties from 1897, and soon he was arranging songs by Bach for the two of them to perform together. [...] when he gave a lecture series on folk song in Bournemouth in 1902, Lucy Broadwood sang some of the illustrations.⁶

Vaughan Williams had encountered his first folk-song 'in the field', namely *Bushes and Briars*, in 1903 and from that point on became an active field collector. He later acknowledged Broadwood's influence and in a letter he wrote to her in 1923 he thanked her for introducing him to the music of Purcell and Bach and said 'As to folk song it was you who first introduced me to it.'⁷ Walter Ford was a singer and Sharp had used him to give musical illustrations of folk-songs at his lectures, he sang at the first of Sharp's lectures on folk-song which was given at the Hampstead Conservatoire on 23 November 1903.⁸ This was the lecture in which Sharp had been critical of the FSS. It is probable that Sharp, following his election to the committee, encouraged Ford to join the FSS.

Shortly after the committee meeting of 6 May 1904 Lucy Broadwood wrote to Cecil Sharp to enlist his help in re-vitalising the society and putting like-minded people onto the committee. She identified certain committee

⁶ Derek Schofield, 'Ralph Vaughan Williams on Lucy Broadwood' in *English Dance and Song*, 20,2 (2008), pp. 12–14, (p. 12).

⁷ Letter, Ralph Vaughan Williams to Lucy Broadwood, [the letter is not dated] ref. 2185/LEB/1/202, SHC: Lucy Broadwood Holdings.

⁸ A. H. Fox Strangeways, in collaboration with Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, p. 47.

members whom she would like to see replaced but was anxious about being seen as 'in league with Mr. Fuller Maitland against certain people'. The people identified were 'Mr. Jacques, Mr. Graves, Dr. Todhunter etc.' of whom she said 'Mr F. M. heartily wishes replaced by other people just as we do.' John Todhunter was a doctor, a poet and playwright. He was a founder member of the ILSL and the FSS. He was a friend of Graves and had been elected to the FSS committee during the society's first year. Later in her letter Broadwood added Mr. Alfred Kalisch, the Honorary Treasurer, to the list. Kalisch had also taken on the responsibility of acting as press editor for the publication of that year's journal. She told Sharp that he had confided to her that 'it was entirely his fault that the journal has been delayed and now "rushed" [...]'. Now he also means to resign Treasurership, and I shall keep him to it.' She went on to say that they should proceed slowly and cautiously and said 'When we are stronger and have proved our worth by business capacity for a year, we may re-elect with better results, and with less chance of offending the old and original (and in many cases undesirable) members of Committee.' She also raised the issue of Dr. Somervell's 'motion' and said:

'It was impossible to discuss the other day, owing to the length of the agenda. I only brought it forward then with a view to getting Mr. Maitland to report that he had had such a communication. It needs a meeting to itself.'⁹

It was not long before she started to get her way, though whether this was by design or default is not known. The report of the Annual General Meeting on 24 June 1904 records that, in accordance with rule VI, five

⁹ letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp, 11 May 1904, Sharp Correspondence Box 5, VWML.

members retired from the committee but were eligible for re-election.

Among them were A. P. Graves and E. F. Jacques and of those two only A. P. Graves was re-elected. There were also three new members up for election onto the committee. These were Miss Carr Moseley; Mr. Walter Ford; Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams and of these three Walter Ford and Ralph Vaughan Williams were elected onto the committee. At this time both Broadwood and Sharp seem to have been 'singing from the same hymn sheet' so far as the aims of the society were concerned. The committee was in effect the engine of the society and both Broadwood and Sharp wanted to make sure that the right 'parts' were in place to ensure its smooth running.

By this time Sharp had established himself as a very successful and effective collector and as such was able to exert influence over the new active members that were now coming onto the scene. He was committed to the idea of teaching folk-songs in schools but he was insistent that they should be genuine folk-songs (that is those recovered from the oral tradition) and not national songs (those composed by a known author and purporting to reflect the popular view and mood of the people). On this basis he had taken issue with the list that Somervell had proposed which included both folk-songs and national songs. Sharp was insistent that the list should include only folk-songs and his intransigence on this matter was to result in a bitter row between himself and Somervell and to some extent isolate him from members of the FSS committee, particularly Broadwood. She had worked hard to get Sharp elected onto the committee and it is clear

from her correspondence with Sharp that she felt let down by him. The content of this correspondence is dealt with a little later.

In October of 1904 Somervell wrote to Sharp taking him to task on his insistence that only genuine folk-songs should be taught in schools.

Somervell argued that the list was a necessary compromise in terms of its content. He wrote:

But no one can ignore a force when engineering a movement. Even if I don't sympathise 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 wish to draw the line; it is a question of where it is politic to draw the line.

Sharp held very firm views on the type of songs that should be taught in schools and put simply, nothing but genuine folk-songs would do.

Somervell may well have shared this view. Indeed in his letter he said 'I think your tone regarding my commitment with folk music is, to say the least, not quite understanding, [...]'.¹⁰ Later in the letter he reminded Sharp of the collection of songs that he [Sharp] had published for 'Home and School' which was a mix of folk songs from published and manuscript collections and national songs such as *Rule Britannia*, *Hearts of Oak* and *Here's a Health unto his Majesty*. The book had been published in 1902, before Sharp had heard his first folk song sung 'in the field'. However, it is worth noting that a second impression of the book was issued in 1904 without alteration.¹¹ Somervell's comments and criticism of the book no doubt touched a raw nerve. Nonetheless, Somervell did not take account of

¹⁰ Letter from Arthur Somervell to Cecil Sharp dated 19 October 1904, Sharp Correspondence Box 2, VWML.

¹¹ Cecil J. Sharp B.A., *A Book of British Song for Home and School*, (London: John Murray, first published 1902, second impression 1904).

the fact that since the book was first published Sharp had encountered live folk-song and embarked on an energetic and successful collecting career, the experience of which had caused him to re-think and clarify his views. Sharp had become a zealot and for him there could be no compromise. He continued to make his views publicly known in his lectures which were reported in the press.

The list compiled by Somervell would eventually form the basis of the content of the *National Song Book*. Given the political climate of the time the inclusion of national songs which by their very nature are designed to engender feelings of patriotism and nationalism would have been an expectation so far as the Board of Education was concerned. This is what Somervell meant when he wrote to Sharp that 'it is a question of where it is politic to draw the line.' In spite of Sharp's protests the Board of Education went ahead with their proposals to include both national and folk-songs in the elementary school curriculum.

The minutes for the committee meeting of the Folk- Song Society for 10 May 1906 simply stated that 'The Chairman read a letter from the Board of Education in reply to the resolution addressed to them by the Committee of the Society, concerning their list of recommended songs for the use of schools.' The list was included in a publication by the Board entitled *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the work of Public Elementary Schools*. It was issued as a 'Blue Book' by the Board of Education in 1905. Two hundred songs were

listed and included folk-songs alongside national songs. On behalf of the committee Lucy Broadwood had written to the Board in a letter dated 2 February 1906, she wrote:

The Council have observed with pleasure the suggestions on pages 70 to 72 of the blue-book that Folk Song should be sung in Schools, but at the same time they regret that more Folk songs have not been included in the "Lists of Songs" given in Appendix VI.

They are of the opinion also that a clear distinction should be made between the folk-song (traditional) and the "national song" whose origin is traceable to a particular composer since much confusion is apt to exist between these.¹²

The Board of Education replied to Broadwood's letter and in a letter dated 12 March 1906 it was stated that 'the list of songs given in Appendix II of the "Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers" was not in any way intended to be exhaustive, but only to give instances of the type of songs which might be suitably taught in Elementary Schools.' The letter concluded with an expression of thanks and 'to the Council of the Folk Song Society for their suggestions and offer of assistance, [...]'.¹³ There is confusion here regarding the number assigned to the Appendix, but it is clear that both Broadwood, on behalf of the FSS and E. Chambers replying on behalf of the Board of Education, are referring to the same list.

As negotiations between the Board of Education and the Folk-Song Society progressed Sharp's publicly declared views were becoming an

¹² Minutes of the Folk-Song Society 25 January 1906 [a copy the letter is pasted into the Minute Book at the end of the minutes for that meeting], VWML.

¹³ Letter from the Board of Education to Lucy Broadwood dated 12 March 1906, Broadwood Collection, Correspondence Box, VWML.

embarrassment. In an effort to bring him into line Lord Tennyson in his capacity of President of the Folk-Song Society wrote to Sharp. He said:

I request you to moderate your views in your speeches, reported consistently, and appeals through the press. The Society doesn't want the whole system of teaching National Music destroyed at the start. We shall have the Education Board and all the leaders of music against us. We must move carefully and not harm the cause that you and I have at heart by over-violence.¹⁴

The term 'over-violence' was a strange one to use but it is indicative of the way in which Sharp was perceived by his colleagues in the FSS as being aggressive in expressing his views.

The matter came to a head after the committee meeting which took place on 4 July 1906. Broadwood had been charged, at the committee meeting of 10 May, with preparing the Annual Report to be presented at the Annual General Meeting in the autumn. She presented the draft for approval at the meeting on 4 July. The minutes for this meeting record that Dr Vaughan Williams 'was in the chair' but Sharp is not recorded as having been present. It is further recorded that 'After amendment the Report was approved together with the Balance Sheet. It was agreed that the Report brought up to the month of June should however not be circulated until the autumn, the time agreed on for the next General Meeting.'¹⁵ However, prior to the General Meeting Sharp had been alerted to the content of the report with respect to the 'Lists of Songs' to be used by the Board of Education and it is clear that he made his views known to Broadwood. It is not known how Sharp became aware of the contents of the report but it is

¹⁴ Letter from Lord Tennyson to Cecil Sharp, dated 10 June 1906, Sharp Collection, Correspondence Box 2, VWML.

¹⁵ FSS Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 4 July 1906, VWML.

likely that Vaughan Williams, who had chaired that meeting, had told him.

In a letter Broadwood wrote to Sharp, dated 22 November 1906, in response to his protests she defended the report. She wrote to him pointing out that the report had been fully discussed and approved by the committee on 4 July and that it was not the custom to distribute proofs prior to meetings.

If I may be allowed to write unofficially I should like to say that I can see nothing whatever compromising to you personally in the paragraph on p.5. You did not disapprove (I remember you approving at a committee) of the chapter X in the Blue Book [...] Not one word is said in the report about the unfortunate List which you will remember we all officially disapproved of as containing fewer genuine folk songs than we wished. [...] If I may say so I think that as the list is not headed "Lists of Folk Songs" but only "Lists of Songs" we cannot criticize it as anything but a list containing National Songs generally.

She added a PS to the letter which said:

You were one of the Committee who on January 25th approved the resolution addressed to the B. Of Education containing the following para: (prepared by R. V. W.) The Council have observed with pleasure the suggestions made on p^s 70 – 72 of the Blue Book that Folk Song should be taught in schools, but at the same time regret that more genuine Folk Songs have not been included in the "Lists of Songs" etc. The para. In the report is merely a repeat of such approval as I read it.¹⁶

Sharp replied to Broadwood the following day and wrote 'sorry to add to your burdens [...] but you do not understand my point.'¹⁷ He followed this with another letter dated 25 November with which he enclosed a typed copy of an amendment to the report that he proposed to move at the General Meeting and which he presumed would be circulated to members prior to the meeting. Broadwood replied promptly thanking Sharp for his letter and the amendment. She told him that she would refer the matter to Sir Ernest

¹⁶Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp dated 22 November 1906, Sharp collection, VWML.

¹⁷Letter from Cecil Sharp to Lucy Broadwood dated 23 November 1906, Sharp Collection, VWML.

Clarke, who was now the permanent chairman of the FSS committee, because she could not take responsibility for distributing an amendment before a meeting since in her experience this was not the accepted practice.¹⁸ Sharp wrote to Broadwood on 30 November 1906 telling her that he had received a 'long letter from Sir Ernest Clarke with reference to the form my resolution should take.' He told her that he was withdrawing his resolution in favour of a resolution to be moved by 'Dr Williams'.¹⁹

It is clear that Broadwood was both frustrated and impatient with Sharp over his protests. In keeping with the majority of the committee she took the view that by supporting Arthur Somervell in his efforts to get folk songs into schools it would do 'infinitely more good than by ignoring it'.²⁰ She clearly thought that Sharp's principled stand on this matter was naive and she took the view that any progress in this area was better than none.

The argument rumbled on but at the Annual General Meeting, which did not take place until 6 December 1906 and not in the Autumn as planned, the report was tabled and its adoption moved by Sir Charles Villiers Stanford and supported by Mr. Hadow. However, Vaughan Williams moved that an amendment be made to the paragraph relating to the action of the Education department for re-consideration. This was seconded by Sharp but only five

¹⁸ Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp dated 26 November 1906, Sharp Collection, VWML.

¹⁹ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Lucy Broadwood dated 30 November 1906, Sharp Collection, VWML.

²⁰ Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Cecil Sharp dated 22 November 1906, Sharp Collection, VWML

members voted in favour and thus the report without amendment was adopted. The *Musical Times* reported on the meeting simply stating that:

In the course of the meeting two prominent collectors earnestly urged that the Society should lose no opportunity in making clear its position as regards the meaning of the word 'Folk Song' [...] Dr. Vaughan Williams, Mr. Cecil Sharp, Sir Charles Stanford, Mr. W. H. Hadow and others took part in the discussion.²¹

The fact that the *National Song Book*²² had been published that same year edited by Sir Charles Villiers Stanford cannot have helped matters and Sharp felt that the committee, in tacitly supporting the list put forward by the Board of Education, had lent his name to a project of which he disapproved. Indeed he had said so in his letter to Broadwood dated 23 November. He wrote that 'This leaves me in an awkward dilemma. I must either maintain silence and acquiesce in what I believe to be a mistaken view; or I must take steps to dissociate myself from all responsibility for that part of the Report.'²³ After the General Meeting and the correspondence between Sharp and Broadwood that had preceded it the relationship between Sharp and Broadwood, which hitherto had been genial but not close, became very cool. Vaughan Williams seems to have had a foot in both camps. His friendships with both Broadwood and Sharp continued without, it seems, undue detriment.

²¹ 'Folk Song Discussion' *MT* July 1907 p. 41.

²² Charles Villiers Stanford, (editor) *The National Song Book Volume 1: A Complete Collection of the Folk-Songs, Carols and Rounds suggested by the Board of Education* (1905), Edited and Arranged for the use of Schools (London: Boosey, 1906).

²³ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Lucy Broadwood dated 23 November 1906, Sharp collection, VWML.

Following on from Sharp and Vaughan Williams joining the society other important new, and established collectors, also joined the society in the early 1900s. These included, as previously noted, the Rev. Sabine Baring Gould and the Rev. Geoffrey Hill. Other new members included the brothers Henry and Robert Hammond, George Gardiner, Percy Merrick, Anne Gilchrist, Janet Blunt, George Butterworth and Clive Carey. All, in due course, undertook field work and presented their findings to the society some of which was published in the journals.

Two particularly important collections from these new collectors were those gathered by the Hammond brothers and George Gardiner who had joined the society in 1905. Henry Hammond and George Gardiner had worked together on the staff of the Edinburgh Academy and had become firm friends. In 1899 Henry Hammond had taken up an appointment as Director of Education in Rhodesia, but after only one year in this post he had to return to England due to a 'severe breakdown in health', he was never to have regular work again. In the meantime George Gardiner had developed an interest in folk song and had undertaken some small scale collecting in Scotland. The folk-song, broadsheet enthusiast and singer Frank Purslow, who undertook the task of indexing the Hammond and Gardiner folk-song collections for the VWML, has given an account of how their respective collecting activities came about, he wrote that 'Early in 1905 the two men [Henry Hammond and George Gardiner] were staying at Minehead, Somerset, and decided, as Hammond put it in a letter to Lucy Broadwood,

“to collect some of the gleanings of Mr. Sharp’s harvest”.²⁴ The Hammond family were from Somerset and were acquainted with Charles Marson and, through him, with Cecil Sharp. After Hammond and Gardiner had collected songs in Somerset Gardiner had to leave to go to Cornwall where he continued his song collecting activities and worked with two local musicians. While Gardiner was in Cornwall Henry Hammond with the help of his brother Robert and a local church musician continued collecting songs in Somerset and noted a further eighty three songs.

In June 1905, at the suggestion of Lucy Broadwood, Gardiner turned his attention to Hampshire and in August the two Hammond brothers turned their attention to Dorset.²⁵ It is probable that Broadwood felt that Somerset and Cornwall had been well covered by Sharp and Baring-Gould respectively. In the 1907 *JFSS* a selection from the Hammond collection was printed and in the Introduction Henry Hammond wrote that their practice was for his brother to note the words and he would note the tunes.²⁶

With respect to Gardiner, Purslow wrote that when collecting in Hampshire he enlisted the help of his nephew, Balfour Gardiner, who noted the tunes.²⁷ However, in an article he wrote later he corrected this when he wrote Gardiner focussed his attention on ‘the largely unexplored territory of Hampshire where Balfour Gardiner, the composer – no relation – whose

²⁴ Frank Purslow, *Marrowbones: English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner Mss.* (London: E.F.D.S. Publications, 1965) p. ii.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. ii.

²⁶ H. E. D. Hammond ‘Introduction’ *JFSS*, 3.11, (1907), 59 – 60, (p. 59).

²⁷ Frank Purslow, *Marrowbones* p. ii.

home was at Sutton Scotney, had promised to help in noting tunes.'²⁸ In a letter from Balfour Gardiner to Lucy Broadwood dated 8 June 1905 he told her, in reference to his collecting expeditions to note tunes for George Gardiner, that 'Dr Gardiner will no doubt send you his results later.'²⁹ His reference to George Gardiner as 'Dr Gardiner' seems to confirm that they were not related. Balfour Gardiner was a composer who was at that time establishing a reputation as a fine musician. He was also a close friend of Percy Grainger and a member of the FSS having joined the same year as Gardiner and the Hammonds. The practice of collecting in pairs followed the advice given in the society's pamphlet, *Hints to Collectors* which had been revised by Broadwood and Sharp and re-issued in July 1904. The pamphlet still retained the advice that:

'In the case of songs, it is better if two persons can join together in taking them down – one to confine his attention to the words, the other to the tune. If this cannot be managed, it is advisable for the collector not to encourage the singer to repeat the words without the music [...]'³⁰

In 1906 George Butterworth, a young and aspiring musician, met Vaughan Williams and Cecil Sharp. According to his biographer, Michael Barlow, Butterworth's enthusiasm for folk-songs began after this meeting, he wrote of Butterworth that 'He joined the Folk Song Society in 1906, [...], and shortly afterwards, in September of that year, began his collecting of folksongs, a task which occupied him intermittently until March 1913.'³¹

²⁸ Frank Purslow, 'The George Gardiner Folk Song Collection', *FMJ*, 1.3 (1967), 129–143, (p. 132).

²⁹ Letter from Balfour Gardiner to Lucy Broadwood dated 8 June 1905, Ref. 2185/LEB/1/116. Lucy Broadwood Collection. SHC.

³⁰ 'Hints to Collectors of Folk Music' printed in *MT* 1 October, 1904, p. 640.

³¹ Michael Barlow, foreword by Vernon Handley, *Whom the Gods Love: The Life and Music of George Butterworth* (London: Toccata Press, 1997) p. 72.

Another of Lucy Broadwood's protégés, Percy Grainger, was elected to the committee in 1906. The minutes for the Annual General Meeting which took place on 6 December 1906 record that 'Mr. Percy Grainger, who had joined the society the previous year, was elected a member of the Committee in the room of Dr. John Todhunter resigned.'³² Broadwood was slowly but surely getting her own way in replacing 'the old and original (and in many cases undesirable) members of Committee'

In 1902, a year after Grainger's arrival in London, he came to the attention of Mrs Lowry. Grainger's biographer John Bird described her as 'A great patron of the arts and particularly fond of helping young musicians'.

Grainger was to become a regular performer at the musical evenings she arranged at her home and it was at these meetings that he met the tenor Gervase Elwes, who was just beginning to make a name for himself, and the composer Balfour Gardiner.³³ Elwes had only started to sing professionally since 1903. Prior to that, he was employed in the diplomatic service. As an amateur he had earned a reputation as a very fine singer and once he became professional he was in great demand, particularly for the great oratorio roles. Fuller Maitland in his autobiography said of Elwes that '[...] Elwes seemed as if he had been raised up on purpose to sing the part of Gerontius as it had never been sung before, and to delight all who love the best songs.'³⁴

³² Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the FSS, 6 December 1906, VWML.

³³ John Bird, *Percy Grainger*, (London: Faber & Faber 1976 republished in paperback, 1982) p. 73.

³⁴ Fuller-Maitland, *Doorkeeper* p. 145.

The patronage that Grainger received from Mrs Lowry gave him greater exposure. The resulting growing reputation as a talented pianist and composer brought him, in due course, into contact with other musicians principally Frederick Delius and Edvard Grieg. The minutes for the committee meeting of 4 July 1906 record that Percy Grainger informed the Secretary that Dr Edvard Grieg had 'expressed the greatest admiration of the English folk tunes published in the journals of the folk song society'. Lucy Broadwood proposed that, in accordance with Rule X which allows a limited number of foreign authorities on folk music to be elected to the society, Grieg be 'elected as an Honorary Member of the society.'³⁵ The motion was seconded and passed unanimously. Grainger recalled of Delius:

When he and I first met in 1907, I had never heard a work of mine performed except some small choruses at the most rural of Competition Festivals [...] so when Elgar, in 1908 or 1909, asked Delius to join him in forming a 'League of British music' Delius' only stipulation was that representative works of mine should be given at the first Festival of the League. That is how my 'Irish Tune from County Derry' and 'Brigg Fair' came to be sung at the Liverpool festival of 1909.³⁶

Grainger's interest in folk song had been aroused as a child when he first encountered Grieg's settings of Norwegian folk-songs. Gervase Elwes' wife Lady Winefride Cary-Elwes had a particular interest in the 'folk culture of North Lincolnshire' and John Bird surmises that it was as a result of this common interest that Grainger first met Lucy Broadwood at the London home of the Elwes'.³⁷ On 14 March 1905 Lucy Broadwood had given a lecture on collecting folk song to the Musical Association and

³⁵ Minutes of the FSS Committee meeting 4 July 1906, VWML.

³⁶ Peter Warlock (Philip Heseltine), *Frederick Delius* (London: Bodley Head, revised edition 1952), p.177.

³⁷ John Bird, p. 103.

Grainger attended. It is interesting to note that the Chairman in his remarks after Broadwood had delivered her paper mentioned the importance of collectors 'putting down precisely what they hear.' He then added:

I could almost wish for the first time in my life, for a gramophone. I should like them noted down with all the errors and not have them changed according to the good taste or the bad taste or whim or humour of those who take them down.

During the discussion that followed Fuller Maitland commented on the use of a gramophone and said 'I think the Chairman's suggestion of the gramophone is most excellent. If the Folk-Song Society were rich enough we would buy one at once.'³⁸ On hearing Broadwood's lecture and the following discussion Grainger was inspired by the idea of collecting folk songs and wasted no time in pursuing this in a typically active way. Copies of the pamphlet *Hints to Collectors* had been distributed at the meeting and, initially, Grainger followed the advice therein. His involvement in folk song collecting was to be both highly significant and controversial.

During the early 1900s Gervase Elwes and his wife, Lady Winefride Cary-Elwes, both encouraged and organised music competition festivals in Lincolnshire. The 1905 North Lincolnshire Musical Competition, held in Brigg in April, included a new category, an open competition class for folk songs. Frank Kidson had been invited to judge the entries and both Lucy Broadwood and Percy Grainger accompanied him to the festival. While he was there Grainger met the singers who had entered the competition and this group became his main informants for his subsequent collecting activities in Lincolnshire. On that first visit he noted some of the songs he heard with

³⁸ Lucy E. Broadwood, 'On the Collecting of English Folk-Song', pp. 107-108.

'pencil and pad' following the advice given in the pamphlet, Grainger, however, found such a procedure unsatisfactory, it would usually require the singer to repeat the song a number of times before all the variations could be noted and this was not usually a practical option. The result therefore was an accurate noting of the text of the song but with a skeletal outline of the tune.

Grainger returned to Brigg in September 1905 to note more songs and again in May 1906, this time with Lucy Broadwood to attend the Musical Competitions arranged for that year. On both occasions he stayed with his friends the Elwes. The group of singers that performed at the Brigg competitions were remarkable for their ability to decorate and weave around the basic tune. R. S. Thompson summed this up very well when he compared the songs Grainger later collected in Gloucestershire with those from Brigg. He wrote 'Apart from one or two of the shanty-men, none of Grainger's informants had the variety of vocal nuances at their command that the Brigg Festival singers demonstrated.'³⁹ It was this virtuosity that Grainger was so anxious to capture and felt that he could not do so by the conventional 'pencil and pad' method. To this end Grainger returned again to Brigg in late July 1906 but this time he was equipped with an Edison-Bell phonograph. Whether or not it was the discussion that took place after Broadwood's paper at the Musical Association that gave him the idea for this is not known, but it seems highly probable. Grainger was not the first collector to use recording equipment. Broadwood records in her diary that

³⁹ R. S. Thompson 'Songs from the Grainger Collection' *FMJ*, 2.5 (1974), 335 – 351. (pp. 33-336).

the baritone James Campbell McInnes, another protégé of hers, and his secretary and companion the composer Graham Peel called on her in May 1905 with phonograph recordings they had made of singers in the Isle of Skye.⁴⁰ Two years later Peel taught Broadwood how to use a phonograph for recording singers.⁴¹ However, Grainger was the first to use recording equipment extensively in England. He used his host's house as his base and the singers would come to the house to record their songs. Having a recording of the songs collected enabled Grainger to put into musical notation with great precision every variation in the melody, changes in rhythm and accentuation and he painstakingly did so.

The 1908 edition of the *JFSS*, (no. 12), was given over entirely to an article by Grainger on his experiences and the advantages of using a phonograph to record the singers, and it included twenty seven songs, sixteen were collected in Lincolnshire in 1906 using the phonograph and the remainder were examples of the songs he had noted either on his own or with the help of H. E. Piggott in various locations. The article and the songs filled one hundred and two pages. This was larger than average for the journal and the lengthy musical notation for the phonographed songs increased the cost of production for this edition. The minutes for the Annual General Meeting which was held on Wednesday 25 November 1908 record that, for a standard run of seven hundred and fifty copies, the printing costs for journal number 12 was £66 - 6s. This gives a unit cost of 1/9d, to the nearest

⁴⁰ Lucy Broadwood Diaries, 18 May 1905, Ref. 6782/19, Lucy Broadwood Collection, SHC.

⁴¹ Lucy Broadwood Diaries, 21 June 1907, Ref. 6782/21, Lucy Broadwood Collection, SHC.

penny. The unit cost for journal number 11, which was ninety pages, had been 1/3d, to the nearest penny. At the same cost of printing even if journal number 11 had been one hundred and two pages long the unit cost would only have been 1/5d. The reason for the increased cost for printing journal number 12 is explained in the minutes where it is stated that 'Printing 750 journals no. 12 102 pages into special typographical arrangements in letter press and music - £66 - 6 - 0'.⁴² The increase in expenditure could be seen as, in effect, an expression of interest and even encouragement of the work that Grainger was doing. Indeed, Lucy Broadwood, Cecil Sharp and Vaughan Williams made use of the phonograph when collecting songs, but their experience led them to believe that, though a valuable tool in certain limited circumstances, it was not practical to use in the normal course of events and they returned to the 'pencil and pad' method.

Grainger's practice of notating every note from the recordings and some of his conclusions generally about folk song was to lead to criticism from other collectors. In essence the article was a very enthusiastic report by Grainger on the advantages of using a phonograph and an analysis of the songs recorded. In the section of the article headed 'Folk Scales in the Phonograph' he stated that 'of seventy-three tunes phonographed in Lincolnshire, forty-five are major, and twenty-eight modal.' He went on to say that, in the modal tunes recorded, singers often start in one mode and

⁴² FSS, Minutes for the Annual General Meeting Wednesday, November 25th, 1908, VWML.

drift into another in the course of the same song,⁴³ the result being that, 'Most are in a mongrel blend of Mixolydian and Dorian.' This was contentious stuff and this section of the article was accompanied by a footnote stating:

The Editing Committee, in considering Mr. Grainger's theories which are based on most careful observations, wish to point out that the general experience of collectors goes to show that English singers most rarely alter their mode in singing the same song.⁴⁴

Indeed, one of the principal tenets of the society was that many folk songs were modal and this survival of an ancient form of music had been preserved by a 'peasantry' who had been isolated from modern ways, and had therefore continued to sing their songs to these old tunes. It was these tunes that needed to be rescued before they died with the singers. At the lecture that Grainger attended Broadwood had said that 'The country singers show a great preference for modal airs. They are often very critical of modern melody, which one illiterate Surrey singer described as "all chopped up into little bits often".'⁴⁵ It was constantly reiterated that it was the older inhabitants of rural communities that were the repositories of this stock of folk-songs and to recover them was a race against time. Grainger's conclusion undermined such a belief and provoked a reaction.

The Lancashire collector Anne Geddes Gilchrist had joined the society in 1906 and was immediately co-opted to provide editorial commentary on

⁴³ A clear explanation of the modes is given by Vic Gammon in 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843 - 1914' *History Workshop*, 10 (1980), 61-89 (pp. 69-70).

⁴⁴ Percy Grainger, 'Collecting With the Phonograph' *JFSS*, 8, 3 (1908), 147-169 (p. 156).

⁴⁵ 'The Collecting of English Folk Songs', *MT* 1 April 1905, p. 258.

materials contributed for publication in the journal.⁴⁶ In a letter that

Gilchrist sent to Lucy Broadwood she wrote:

I may say at once that though not 'holding with' his mixed-mode scale [...] I have no particular wish to 'tread on the tails of his coat' (there wouldn't be room for all our feet on it anyway!) and am quite content to leave it to Mr. Fuller Maitland and yourself to record my dissent along with your own in the way you think most advisable.⁴⁷

Cecil Sharp, albeit courteously and politely, also took issue with Grainger.

In a letter he wrote to him dated 23 May 1908 and printed in full in an article by the modern day folk-song collector Michael Yates, Sharp wrote:

[...] I cannot regard the phonograph as an ideal collecting instrument, if used exclusively, and I would advise collectors, like yourself, always to note down songs in the ordinary way before or after using the phonograph. [...] I have found the phonographic record very untrustworthy in the matter of words. [...] But my chief objection to the phonograph does not only lie here. In transcribing a song, our aim should be to record its artistic effect, not necessarily the exact means by which that effect was produced.⁴⁸

This was the crux of the matter, Grainger was interested as much in the singers as in the songs. For him the singers' attitudes, values and feelings were reflected in the performance and therefore he wanted to record the whole performance. Other collectors were interested primarily in the song, but that is not to suggest that they did not care about the singers. This difference is neatly summarised by Grainger himself when he recalls an event during one of his collecting forays. He said:

⁴⁶ Catherine A. Shoupe, 'Anne Geddes Gilchrist: An Assessment of her Contributions to Folk Song Scholarship' in *Folk Song: Tradition, Revival and Re-Creation* edited by Ian Russell and David Atkinson (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2004) pp. 253–265 (p. 255).

⁴⁷ Letter from Anne Geddes Gilchrist to Lucy Broadwood dated 1st and 2nd June 1908 ref AGG/8/141-142, VWML. Also cited in Michael Yates, 'Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph' *FMJ*, 4, 3 (1982), 265 – 275 (p. 266).

⁴⁸ Michael Yates, 'Percy Grainger and the Impact of the Phonograph' *FMJ*, 4, 3 (1982), 265 – 275, (p. 268-269).

H. G. Wells, the novelist, who was with me during a “folk-song hunt” in Gloucestershire, on noticing that I noted down not merely the music and dialect details of the songs, but also many characteristic scraps of banter that passed between the old agriculturalists around us, once said to me: “You are trying to do a more difficult thing than record folk-songs; you are trying to record life”; and I remember the whimsical, almost wistful, look which accompanied the remark.⁴⁹

At the same time that all this collecting activity was being undertaken by the newer members of the society, Lucy Broadwood continued in her efforts to re-shape the society. The list of officers printed in the 1906 journal identified Mrs Laurence Gomme as Honorary Treasurer and included a new post of Assistant Honorary Secretary, to which Miss B. M. Cra'ster had been appointed. Barbara Cra'ster was Lucy Broadwood's niece and, up until 1902, had also shared Broadwood's home with her. The impression of Lucy Broadwood that seems to emerge from this sequence of events is that of a very single minded person with firmly held views on how the society should pursue its aims and who would be the best people to see that through. She then appears to have orchestrated things so that the 'right' people are put into place.

All the new active members of the Society looked to Lucy Broadwood for advice, guidance and approval and in this regard her influence was profound. However, Sharp's enormous success as a collector resulted in his collecting methods being copied by the new collectors. In terms of field collecting Sharp was the undisputed leader but in terms of the activities of the Folk-Song Society and the editorial policy of its journal Lucy

⁴⁹ Percy Grainger, 'The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music' *The Music Quarterly*, 1, 3 (1915), 416 – 435 (p. 420).

Broadwood had control. So far as the Folk-Song Society was concerned she was, in effect, a one-person steering committee.

The FSS now had among its members a group of younger and very successful folk-song collectors who were supplying the society with a plentiful supply of folk-songs. The active members of the FSS were all agreed as to what constituted a folk-song and there was unanimous agreement that such songs were to be found in the countryside and were being kept alive by the older members of rural communities. Sharp was convinced that the best way to re-connect young people with their cultural heritage was through the elementary school curriculum. Furthermore he was convinced that to mix folk-songs with national songs would simply confuse things and undermine a folk-song revival. On this issue he was largely on his own. The other collectors did not share his passion for folk-songs in schools, they were content for folk-songs to be used in this way alongside national songs. Sharp's strong views put him at odds with his fellow committee members and his resulting isolation would eventually lead him to pursue a growing interest in folk dancing while still maintaining his commitment to folk-song.

Chapter 5

Cecil Sharp the Dissenter: The Folk-Song Society 1906 – 1910

The decision of the committee of the Folk-Song Society to endorse the list of songs proposed for use in elementary schools had been met with protest from Cecil Sharp which he voiced at the Annual General Meeting (December 1906), but to no avail. This marked the beginning of a rift between Sharp and Broadwood and those who supported her. Earlier in the year Sharp had turned his attention to folk dancing alongside his continuing passion for folk-song and this was to take up more and more of his time in the period leading up to the First World War. However, he still found time to remain an active committee member of the FSS. Sharp's relationship with the new song collectors who were coming onto the scene and his fellow members of the FSS committee will be examined below. In particular, his growing involvement with folk dancing will be a major focus of this chapter. His increased involvement in the wider folk movement and his growing reputation in the public domain is assessed in terms of how far it enabled him to influence the policy and direction of the folk movement as a whole.

Sharp was comparatively new to the folk movement. He had not joined the society until 1901, although his first encounter with live authentic folk music had been in Headington, Oxfordshire in 1899 while he and his family were staying at his mother-in-law's home over the Christmas period. On

Boxing Day he saw from the window of his mother-in law's house a group of morris dancers. He went out to talk to the dancers and according to his biographers A. H. Fox Strangeways and Maud Karpeles they apologised to him for dancing at Christmas: Whitsun was the proper time for such dancing, but they were out of work and trying to raise some cash. The following day Sharp noted five tunes from the team's musician, the concertina player William Kimber. He was later to note many more tunes from Kimber and the two became firm friends.¹

Sharp's first encounter with the oral folk-song tradition was in 1903 when he was staying with his friend the Rev. Charles Marson at the vicarage in Hambridge, Somerset. Sharp had met Marson during his time in Australia and the two had remained friends. While he was staying at Hambridge he overheard the gardener, John England, singing while he worked. The song he heard was *The Seeds of Love*. Sharp, by this time, was familiar enough with folk songs in printed collections and the *JFSS*, which as a member of the society he would have received, to recognise this as a folk-song. He immediately noted the song and this was the start of his search for other folk-songs in Somerset, in collaboration with Charles Marson. Sharp's collecting activities are well documented by writers such as his biographers Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, both very pro-Sharp. Their account is countered by a very critical piece by Dave Harker.² A more and balanced critical analysis of Sharp's collecting activities and his views on folk-song is

¹ A. H. Fox Strangeways, in collaboration with Maud Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 27.

² Dave Harker, *Fakesong*, Ch. 8, 'Cecil James Sharp', pp. 172 -197.

provided by Vic Gammon in the Introduction to the book *Still Growing*, a selection of songs collected by Sharp to commemorate the centenary of the collection of his first song, *The Seeds of Love*. The book also gives a brief profile of Charles Marson written by David Sutcliffe³ and it is therefore unnecessary to recount their content here.

Sharp was in agreement with the widely held belief among members of the FSS that time was against the collectors, the generation of country dwellers who knew the old songs were fast dying out and the songs were in danger of being lost forever. This was a view that found general acceptance and was echoed, or taken up, by others not directly involved with the Folk-Song Society or the activities of its members. For example, in 1909 C. F. G. Masterman, a Liberal M. P., put forward in his book *The Condition of England* the argument that improved transport had allowed urban dwellers to invade the countryside in ever increasing numbers and modernisation in farming and manufacture had taken its toll on the traditional way of life. He said:

From these villages themselves not only the evidence of activity has departed but the very memories of it. They cannot, today, make the folklore popular songs. They cannot even cherish the folklore songs which were made by their fathers. And 'few sadder or more thought-begetting experiences can be undergone', is the testimony of a lover of this land, 'than to sit in an inn in a remote country village, and hear rustics troll tin-kettle ditties about Seven Dials and the Old Kent Road.'

³ Vic Gammon, 'Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music' and David Sutcliffe, 'The Reverend Charles Latimer Marson (1859 – 1914) in Steve Roud, Eddie Upton and Malcolm Taylor (eds.) *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection*, (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society in association with Folk South West, 2003), pp. 2-22 and p. 23.

Regrettably, Masterman did not identify the 'lover of this land'.⁴ His use of the term 'folklore songs' suggests that he was not directly involved with the folk-song movement but nonetheless aware of it. This is, perhaps, evidence of the success of FSS members and Sharp in particular in bringing to public attention the issues surrounding the recovery of folk-songs and raising awareness of folk-song more generally. As Lord Tennyson pointed out, Sharp seldom missed an opportunity to make use of the national press to air his views. Consequently his name became more readily associated with folk-song by the general public than the names of more established members of the FSS.

Simon Featherstone has identified three voluntary movements during what he described as '[...] the Edwardian period, a golden age of Englishness that was also a golden age for worrying about England's identity and future.'⁵ The movements he identified were Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts, Mary Neal's Espérance Girls Club and Cecil Sharp's campaign to get folk-song and dance into elementary education (and later the foundation of a dance society). It is the latter two that are of concern to us here.

In the autumn of 1905, Mary Neal made contact with Cecil Sharp to request information and help in introducing folk-song to the girls in her club.

Sharp's involvement with the Club and his dealings with Mary Neal and

⁴ C. F. G. Masterman, *The Condition of England* 4th edition (London: Methuen, 1910, reprinted 1911), p. 174.

⁵ Simon Featherstone, *Englishness: Twentieth Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) p. 28.

Herbert MacIlwaine, the musical director of the club, strictly speaking, lie outside the scope of this study. Nonetheless, they are worth some comment since the development of the dance movement would, in due course, have a profound impact on the Folk-Song Society.

Roy Judge, an expert on morris and folk dancing, has described how Mary Neal was moved by reading *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* and subsequently joined the Wesleyan Methodists West London Mission in February 1888 as 'Sister Mary'.⁶ One of the tasks assigned to 'Sister Mary' was running a 'Club for Working Girls'. Mary Neal was passionate about improving the lot of working women. Judge cited a passage written by her for the *Fourth Annual Report* (1891) of the Mission in which she said 'If these clubs are up to the ideal which we have in view, they will be living schools for working women, who will be instrumental in the near future, in altering the conditions of the class they represent.'⁷ She was joined in 1891 by Emmeline Pethick and the two worked together running the club. In 1895 they both left the Mission and started their own club in Cumberland Market, St Pancras, which they called the Espérance Club. In addition they established a tailoring business which they called Maison Espérance. Neal, in her unpublished autobiography, gave her own account and said that:

We never lost the overwhelming sense of injustice and wickedness of a Social System which drained the workers of youth and vitality to fill the pockets of employers and capitalists and it was the havoc

⁶ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris' *FMJ*, 5, 5 (1989), 545–591 (p. 547).

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 547.

made amongst the young girls that especially filled us with the determination to do something practical to alter the state of things.⁸

This was strictly a business undertaking 'but was also advertised as having an eight-hour working day, a living wage, a good well-ventilated workroom and so on.'⁹ However, in 1901 Emmeline Pethick married a wealthy, philanthropic young lawyer called Frederick Lawrence. Following their marriage he added his wife's name to his own and became known as Frederick Pethick Lawrence. She met him in 1899 when he attended the club display.¹⁰ Maison Espérance and the Passmore Edwards Settlement, where Lawrence lived, were both in Bloomsbury, presumably this provided the opportunity for Frederick and Emmeline to meet. Emmeline left the Espérance Club after her marriage to concentrate on her work for the women's suffrage movement and Frederick assisted her in this work. She later became the treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU).

The settlement movement provided members of the middle-classes the opportunity to engage in some form of social work and this was also the driving force behind Mary Neal's and Emmeline Pethick's involvement with the Espérance club. However, for Neal and Pethick there was also a political dimension to their work. This is summarised by Neal in her autobiography when she wrote:

⁸ Mary Neal, *As a Tale That is Told* p. 88, unpublished autobiography available on-line at <http://www.maryneal.org/object/6360/chapter/1003/> [accessed 27 February 2010].

⁹ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', p. 549.

¹⁰ Roy Dommett, 'How do you think it was?', available on-line at <http://www.maryneal.org/artist/6284/> [accessed 28 February 2010].

But it was not until I had been in London for some years and had had experience in social work and the revelation this work gave of the conditions in which the working class lived that I realised the utter futility of charity and philanthropic work to make any dent in the hard crust of poverty and degradation [...] Then I woke up to the realisation of the need for political and economic changes [...].¹¹

It was their politicisation resulting from their social work that led them both to give their support to the suffragette movement.

When Emmeline left to get married in 1901 her role in the Espérance Girls Club was taken up by Herbert MacIlwaine. MacIlwaine was an Irish novelist, the son of Canon MacIlwaine of Belfast Cathedral. He had spent time in the Australian bush working on a cattle-station and during his time there he had written a number of novels, amongst them were *Fate the Fiddler*, *The Undersong* and *The Twilight Reef*.¹² He had moved to London and was living at the Passmore Edwards Settlement and it is likely that he was introduced to Mary Neal by his neighbour Frederick. MacIlwaine acted as musical director for the dances and songs the girls would perform. In 1905, he had read an interview with Cecil Sharp in the *Morning Post* on the subject of English folk-song and he later suggested to Mary Neal that this might be suitable material to use for the Club's forthcoming Christmas party.¹³ Mary Neal contacted Sharp, the two met and Sharp agreed to help. The songs that Sharp introduced were so well received by the girls and by those that they subsequently performed them to that Neal was prompted to

¹¹ Mary Neal, *As a Tale That is Told* p. 88, [accessed 27 February 2010].

¹² Biographical information on Herbert MacIlwaine sent to A. H. Fox Strangeways for his biography of Cecil Sharp. Hand-written note, writer not identified. Sharp Correspondence Box 5, VWML.

¹³ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', p. 549.

ask Sharp if there were any dances that would be in keeping with them. Sharp told her of his meeting six years previously with the Headington Quarry Morris Dancers and gave her William Kimber's name. From this point on Sharp became closely involved with the Espérance Girls' Club.

Neal made contact with William Kimber and arranged for him, and his cousin, to come up to London to teach the dances to the girls. The Morris dances and folk-songs the girls had learnt were performed at the Christmas Party and were a great success with the audience. The following December MacIlwaine gave an account of the performance at the Christmas party and said:

The Morris dance flourished at once, and astonishingly, just as the folk-songs had flourished, amongst these working girls, strangers to the countryside. They learned the dances with quite wonderful readiness; and when they gave their annual private performance to friends of the club, the audience, one and all were so struck with its appeal and novelty [...] that the principal of the club was urged to repeat the performance in public.¹⁴

This success was followed up with a public performance in April 1906 at the Queen's Small Hall, Langham Place in central London. It was billed as 'An English Pastoral' and was created by MacIlwaine.¹⁵ Sharp by this time had achieved considerable publicity for his activities and his views on folk-song. By 1906 he had seen into print, in collaboration with Charles Marson the first three of five volumes of *Folk Songs from Somerset* selected from their joint collection. In 1905 he had edited a new edition of Baring Gould's collection *Songs of the West* and he was music tutor to Prince Edward and

¹⁴ H. C. MacIlwaine, 'The Revival of Morris Dancing' *MT*, 47.766 (1 December 1906), pp.802 -805, (p. 804).

¹⁵ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', p. 550.

Prince Albert, the children of the Duke of York (later to be crowned King George V). He was regarded as an expert by the general public on the subject. Never shy of publicity, he took the opportunity to air his views in the lecture he gave to the audience at the Queen's Small Hall on 3 April 1906. No doubt he had in mind the forthcoming Annual General Meeting of the FSS discussed in the previous chapter. Sharp concluded:

To advocate, as the Ed. Authorities are doing, the revival of such songs as Tom Bowling, Drink to me only with thine eyes, [...] and songs of that type is to flog a dead horse. I appeal to them [the Board of Education] to open their eyes, to perceive the golden chance they are missing. Let them introduce the genuine traditional song into the schools and I prophesy that within the 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.¹⁶

Sharp's use of the term 'genuine traditional song' is a clear indication of his point of view regarding the type of songs that should be included in the list of songs proposed by the Board of Education. Indeed, the following year, 1907, he and Baring Gould published a selection of songs from their respective collections in a volume entitled *English Folk Songs for Schools*. Sharp and Baring Gould used this publication as an opportunity to criticise the policy of the Board of Education. They wrote that 'In our primary and secondary schools no provision has been made for the teaching of folk-music to our children.'¹⁷

¹⁶ Cecil Sharp, typed lecture notes for the Queen's Small Hall meeting 3 April 1906, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder G, VWML.

¹⁷ S. Baring Gould and Cecil J. Sharp (collectors and arrangers), *English Folk-Songs for Schools* (London: Curwen, n.d. [1907]) p. iii.

Sharp remained a loyal supporter of the dance movement and seems to have been content to let Mary Neal take the lead. Judge described Sharp's role at this time as principally that of 'musician and historical scholar'.¹⁸ By this time members of the Espérance dance team were in demand and at the request of organisers of village fetes and celebrations were travelling all over the country teaching the dances to groups who would then perform locally. Indeed, Sharp helped in this, a request came from the Rev. Francis Etherington, who was the vicar at Minehead (Somerset) and a friend of Sharp. He wanted to put on a show for a visit by the Somerset Archaeological Society¹⁹ and wanted to include morris dancing as a part of it. In a letter dated 25 May 1906, Sharp told him that 'the men from Axford (a traditional Morris side) were all in full work and would find it difficult to attend.' He went on to say:

On the other hand Miss Neal can supply you with the second pair of girls – the best pair are dressmakers in the height of their work – but she is nervous about letting them go so far by themselves. She would I think be quite willing to come with them if you could manage to put her up. She is very nice and you would I am sure like to know her. You ought to have the instructors for at least 3 days. The dances are not at all easy and I expect country girls are not quite so quick at picking up dances as the Cockney variety.²⁰

It is also interesting to note Sharp's view of 'country girls' and perhaps this gives an insight into his view of country people, and probably the view of urban dwellers generally. The comment suggests that he saw country people as entrenched in their own ways and slow to learn new things. Nowadays they might be described as less 'streetwise' than their town and

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 550.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 551.

²⁰ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Rev. Francis Etherington, dated 25 May 1906, Sharp Correspondence Box 1, VWML.

city counterparts. This seems to contradict the widely held view, exemplified by MacIlwaine's comment cited above, that country people would be much more intuitively drawn to folk-song and dance than their urban counterparts. It is clear that at this time Sharp was on good terms with Mary Neal. Featherstone wrote that both Sharp and Neal '[...] argued that the decay of character, physique and traditional knowledge in English youth was due to the destructive effects of industrial and urban modernity.' They advocated a 'restorative primitivism' through the introduction of folk dance and song.²¹

Sharp's involvement with the Espérance Club provided him with the opportunity to have influence and practical involvement in the folk movement outside of the FSS. Sharp's response to the decision of the FSS committee to endorse the Board of Education's song list which contained both folk and national songs was to set out his views on folk-song in a book. Fox Strangeways wrote that Sharp said: 'I felt the book must be written, and I went home straight from the meeting and wore out three fountain pens.'²² Having written the book he could not find a publishing house that was willing to make the necessary financial commitment. Nonetheless, Sharp was determined to see his book in print and to this end he financed the publishing himself. He chose to use the Taunton firm of printers Barnicott and Pearce who were also engaged by the FSS to print the journal. The FSS had chosen the Taunton firm because they had provided the most

²¹ Simon Featherstone, *Englishness*, p. 28.

²² Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 64.

competitive quote for printing costs. Whether or not his choice of publisher was in some way intended to make a point or irritate the FSS committee or because their quote was again the most competitive we have no way of knowing. There is nothing to suggest that his action elicited any response from the FSS. Nonetheless, his choice of a publisher so far from his home address in London is interesting. The book was published in October 1907 and was entitled; *English Folk-Song Some Conclusions*.

In the opening pages of the book, Sharp, in a roundabout way, criticised the Folk-Song Society when he said of the Folk Lore Society that they had formulated a definition of folk lore which informed and directed the work of the society. He quoted the definition that the Folk Lore Society had arrived at through discussion and debate as 'The science which treats of the survival of archaic belief and customs in the modern ages.' He went on to say that; 'It is to be hoped that the "Folk-Song Society" will some day follow this excellent example and frame an equally clear definition of the term folk-song.'²³ The Folk-Song Society had, by this time, been in existence for eight years, Sharp was therefore, in a roundabout way, saying that the founding members of the society had no clear idea of what they were trying to achieve. Such criticism was hardly likely to win support from his fellow committee members, least of all Lucy Broadwood who had been a member of the FLS since 1892 as well as a founding member of the FSS. Furthermore, to put such a statement into print without explaining that it had

²³Cecil Sharp, *English Folk-Song some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin & Co. Ltd and Novello & Co. Ltd; Taunton: Barnicott & Pearce, Athenæum Press, 1907) p. 3.

taken the Folk Lore Society seven years to reach an agreed definition could be construed as a little mischievous. The Folk-Lore Society was founded in 1878 and the definition cited above was adopted at the Seventh Annual Meeting 27 June 1885²⁴. The one ally Sharp had on the committee was his friend Ralph Vaughan Williams who had supported Sharp's views and tabled an amendment to the Annual Report regarding the Board of Education's song list.

Prior to the publication of his book Sharp had sent a draft copy to Vaughan Williams for comment. Roger Savage wrote that Vaughan Williams took issue with Sharp on a particular matter and provided the following quotation from a letter that Vaughan Williams wrote to Sharp:

I suppose I'm prejudiced but I lose all control when I see the expression 'Merrie England' (at all events why not 'Merry'?) it seems to my mind to be connected with Ruskinianism and 'Home industries' and all the worst kind of obscurantism. If the folksong has nothing to say to us *as we are now* without a sham return to an imaginary (probably quite illusionary) arcadia of several centuries ago, if the folksong means this then I would burn all the collections I could lay my hands on and their singers with them.²⁵

It is intriguing to note that the sentiments Vaughan Williams expressed in this letter form the basis of the criticism and argument put forward by Harker and Boyes referred to earlier. Notwithstanding Vaughan Williams' critical appraisal Sharp went ahead and used the term 'Merrie England' twice in the book. Indeed, Sharp did seem to subscribe to the idea of 'the good old days' and the first time he used the above phrase he said:

²⁴The Folk-Lore Society, 'Seventh Annual Report of the Council' *Folk-Lore Journal* 3, 4 (1885), 385 – 396 (p. 388).

²⁵ Roger Savage, 'Vaughan Williams Brings in the May: Sydenham, 1911.' *Journal of the RVW Society*, 28 (2003), 12–17 (p. 16).

Reformers would dispel the gloom which has settled on the country side and revive the social life of the villages. Do what they will, however, it will not be the old life that they will restore. That has gone past recall, it will be of a new order, and one that will bear but little resemblance to the old social life of the "Merrie England" of history.²⁶

Sharp's reference to the 'Merrie England of history' is a clear indication that he shared the idyllic view of country life in former times as one in which all were content with their lot. Later in the book he wrote that 'Prior to Purcell, however, musical England held a proud position among the nations of Europe.' And he went on to quote Erasmus who had written in 1509 that the English were 'the most accomplished in the skill of music of any people.' He added that 'In still earlier days we were known as "Merrie England" and renowned throughout Europe as a nation of dancers and ballad-singers.'²⁷

On the subject of folk-song Sharp concluded that such songs were subject to an evolutionary process. Although a song may well have started as the product of one person the evolutionary process very soon made it a product of the community. In the introduction to his book he said:

The main thesis of this book is the evolutionary origin of the folk-song. [...] The claims, for example, made by those who advocate the re-introduction of folk-songs into our national life, all hinge upon this question of origin. They rest upon the assumption that folk-music is generally distinct from ordinary music; that the former is not the composition of the individual and, as such, limited in outlook and appeal, but a communal and racial product, the expression, in musical idiom, of aims and ideals that are primarily national in character.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid. p. 119.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 128.

²⁸ Cecil Sharp, *Some Conclusions* p. x.

For Sharp this was the crux of the matter and so-called national songs simply did not meet this criterion. National songs were those composed by a known author and purporting to express widely held national beliefs and sentiments. Sharp asserted that if we:

[...] establish the fact that that the folk-song has not been made by the one but evolved by the many, and its natural character and its fitness to serve a national purpose follow as a natural consequence. Musicians would then no longer place "Tom Bowling" and "The Seeds of Love" in the same category.

Presumably Sharp chose to use the song *Tom Bowling*, which was written by Charles Dibdin, as an example because it was included in Somervell's list and appeared in Vol.1 of the *National Song Book* edited by Stanford. Sharp presented his views on folk-song as fact rather than theory and here we have the first clear indication that Sharp was adopting for himself the role of 'legislator'. Sharp's views, however, were not fully shared by other leading members of the society and when it was published, Sharp's book received some cool reviews. Frank Kidson reviewed the book in the *Musical Times* and gave a detailed and considered appraisal. In the opening paragraph to his review he made the following statement:

Mr Sharp's 'conclusions' have certainly not been hastily arrived at, for they bear upon the face of them an assured conviction as to their soundness. Whether all will agree with his deductions is another question, but there is no doubting the fact that they have been well and honestly thought out.²⁹

He challenged Sharp's idea that folk-songs proper are the product of the community while at the same time acknowledging that there is 'a considerable amount of truth in this'. He argued that there have been many 'art-songs' created by known composers 'which having won the affections

²⁹ Frank Kidson, 'English Folk-Song' *MT*, 49, 779, 1 January 1908, pp. 23–24 (p. 23.)

of the people have really become 'communal'.³⁰ He concluded his review with the comment:

Mr Sharp's book is a work that no folk-song student can afford to be without. As I have before said his 'conclusions' may not be everybody's, but he has written a vigorous book full of thoughtful reasoning which cannot be lightly set aside.³¹

Herbert Hughes was more forthright in his review which was published in *The New Age*. He wrote that:

Nothing can be more ridiculous than to assert that a people which has assimilated the characteristics of Romans, Danes, and Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Parsees, Irishmen, and Park Lane Jews, has a spiritual life peculiar to one square acre of untilled Anglo-Saxon land in Somersetshire, and sings in authentic Greek modes at the present moment in Essex.³²

Francmanis has pointed out that six years after the publication of Sharp's book Kidson wrote in the *Musical Herald* commenting on Sharp's views that 'Conjectures are not conclusions, for such must stand the scrutiny of men who want proofs.'³³ The inference here is clear, just because Sharp said so it did not follow that it was so. Sharp did not get much support for his viewpoint from his fellow FSS committee members and he increasingly turned his attention to folk dancing.

With all the increased interest in morris dancing there was a need to provide instruction books and this was met by Sharp and MacIlwaine. Together

³⁰ Ibid. p. 23

³¹ Ibid. p. 24.

³² Herbert Hughes, 'Book of the Week. English Folk-Song: Some conclusions. By Cecil Sharp'. *The New Age: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature and Art*, 30 November 1907, p.92.

³³ John Valdis Francmanis, 'Frank Kidson and the Folk Music Revival', p. 336. Also quoted by Vic Gammon in 'Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music' in *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection* (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society in association with Folk South West, 2003) p.17.

they collected dances, Sharp notated the music and MacIlwaine the steps. The results of their labours were published in the first four parts of *The Morris Book*. Part 1 appeared in 1907. By the winter of 1907 the dance movement had gained both widespread popularity and publicity. Demand was such that instructors from the Espérance Club had been teaching dances as far afield as Devon, Derbyshire, Norfolk and Monmouth.³⁴ With all this increased activity Neal wanted to found an organisation that would enable her to spread the workload and better organise the growing demand for their services. To this end a meeting to discuss the future of the movement was arranged to take place on 14 November at The Goupil Gallery, an art gallery in Regents Street, London. On the day before the conference the event received some unexpected publicity. A cartoon and a brief, but positive, comment on the revival of folk dances together with a notice of the forthcoming conference appeared in the magazine *Punch*. Mary Neal recorded in her autobiography that she knew nothing about it until she received a telegram from a friend congratulating her on the publicity. She wrote: 'I went out and bought a copy of *Punch* and was much thrilled to find the cartoon.' She went on to record that she and Herbert MacIlwaine took the copy of *Punch* to show it to Sharp. They were somewhat dismayed by his reaction:

[...] as he looked at it I saw a sort of blind come down over his face. Before many minutes he said he was not coming to the Conference, it was too soon to begin a large national movement. I pointed out that the Conference was his Conference as much as mine, that it really centred round him and that it put me in a very difficult position if he did not attend. He persisted that he would have

³⁴ Roy Judge, 'Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris', p.551.

nothing to do with it and Herbert MacIlwaine and I left him bewildered and worried.³⁵

The cartoon had the caption 'Merrie England Once More', (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2.

Copy of cartoon that appeared in *Punch* on 13 November 1907.



³⁵Mary Neal, *As a Tale That is Told* p. 88, [accessed 28 February 2010]

What it was about the cartoon and short paragraph that appeared in *Punch* that provoked Sharp to react in this way is unclear. Perhaps he thought that the cartoon, which depicted Mr. Punch leading a group of dancers, trivialised, or even mocked, the dance movement, or perhaps it was the paragraph that mentioned Mary Neal's, but not his, involvement. However, Sharp did attend the conference and when he addressed the assembly he alluded to the cartoon. He said that:

Merrie England is gone – we cannot revive it. [...] We have no wish whatever to put back the clock or to attempt any theories like 'Back to the Land', etc. We do not seek to revive the Merrie England of the past, we want to create a Merry England of the present.³⁶

Perhaps he had taken heed of the views of his friend Vaughan Williams, referred to earlier. Sharp went on to stress that the scope of the new 'Society' should restrict itself to the popularisation of folk dance and song. The *Morning Post* reported on the meeting and stated:

Last night's conference at the Goupil Gallery should certainly increase public interest in the revival of English folk-songs, singing games and morris dances, which has led to several delightful performances at the Queen's Hall, and many a pretty pageant of song and dance in the half deserted villages of the English countryside. The work of the Esperance Club [sic] deserves every encouragement, since it makes for the greater gaiety of country life, and it is the intelligence department of an artistic campaign against the devastating influence of the latest ditty from the so-called music-halls.³⁷

It is clear from the report that the 'folk' propaganda, of which Sharp was the major exponent, was working. Sharp had some misgivings about the proposed new society but went along with the idea. He was appointed onto

³⁶English Folk-Music in Dance and Song' transcript of the Conference held at the Goupil Gallery 5 Regent Street, Thursday 14 November 1907, at 8.30pm. available on-line at <http://www.maryneal.org/object/6193/chapter/1004/> [accessed 27 February 2010]

³⁷ *Morning Post* 15 November 1907.

the committee to organise the new association but soon resigned when it became clear that his ideas were not shared by most of the other committee members. Mary Neal records that:

At the time Mr. Sharp was having a serious dispute with the Folk Song Society of which Miss Lucy Broadwood was Honorary Secretary. He said he wanted our new Society to have such a strict constitution that it would be possible to control it in a way impossible with the simple constitution of the Folk Song Society.³⁸

In spite of Sharp's resignation the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music was formed. The new association grew in strength throughout the next year, but Sharp grew increasingly disturbed by Neal's public portrayal of the role of the *Esperance* initiative in which she was claiming that it had 'originated the whole Folk-song movement'³⁹ and he dissociated himself from such claims. In a letter he wrote to Lucy Broadwood he stated 'I have nothing whatever to do with the "Association of the Revival and Practice of Folk Music" I attended the preliminary and public meeting and spoke, confining myself to the prayer that the proposed association should not include the collecting of folk-music amongst its objects.' He went on to tell Broadwood that 'I also deprecated very strongly the impertinent assumption of the *Esperance* [sic] Society that they had originated the whole folk-song movement.'⁴⁰ In essence this is true but at the meeting Sharp was more restrained in expressing this view. A verbatim transcript of the meeting records that he said '[...] the "Folk Song Society" are doing the collecting part extremely well – all the scientific part, the dull

³⁸ Mary Neal, *As a Tale That is Told* p. 88, [accessed 28 February 2010]

³⁹ Roy Judge, p. 556.

⁴⁰ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Lucy Broadwood dated 10 November 1908, Sharp Correspondence Box 5 Folder F, VWML.

part – they cannot do the popularisation. I would suggest making popularisation almost our sole object.’⁴¹

Furthermore, Sharp was concerned that Neal was, in effect, diluting the tradition through the practice of inviting traditional morris dancers to teach her girls who would learn the dances in a purely practical and visual way. The Morris books that he and MacIlwaine were producing at that time, were viewed by Sharp as handbooks to be used principally, but not exclusively, by experts for teaching the dances. Sharp was firmly of the opinion that learning the dances solely by observation, no matter how skilled the demonstrators were, would lead to inaccuracy in performance. Moreover, if dance steps were forgotten it would be difficult to organise repeat demonstrations since the traditional dancers did not live nearby. Sharp insisted on the importance of using a handbook (and having a qualified teacher, where possible) to ensure accuracy and to maintain what he described as ‘the spirit of the dance’. As he commented in the *Morris Book Part 3*, ‘we have seen again and again how easily the Morris may degenerate into a disorderly romp.’⁴²

Sharp’s ideas on folk dance run counter to his theories on folk-song. Folk-songs, he argued, were subject to an evolutionary process as they passed from singer to singer and any resulting variation was a part and a feature of

⁴¹ ‘English Folk-Music in Dance and Song’ transcript of the Conference held at the Goupil Gallery 5 Regent Street, Thursday 14 November 1907, at 8.30pm, [accessed 27 February 2010].

⁴² Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book Part 3: with a Description of Dances as Performed by the Morris-Men of England* (London: Novello, 1910), p. 8.

a living tradition. Teaching folk dance in the way described above would prevent any such evolutionary process from taking place. One can only assume that his justification for this is the fact that a morris dance is a team effort and therefore synchronisation between dancers is of the utmost importance to prevent the dance degenerating into 'a disorderly romp'. Folk singing on the other hand is a solo performance and as such is individualised. Nonetheless, one is left with the uncomfortable feeling that folk-song is being encouraged to develop whereas folk dance is, in effect, being 'glass-cased'. It is inconceivable to think that Sharp believed that morris dances had never evolved over the years and it is likely that he felt that such evolutionary development could, and should, only take place with traditional performers.

Sharp, during this period of increased involvement with the dance movement, still remained a committee member of the FSS and continued to collect songs. He was actively engaged in collecting folk songs in England from the summer of 1903 to the early part of 1909. In total he collected, 2,813 tunes in England, 1,500 of them in Somerset, and almost 800 song texts. Variants of many of the song texts were noted several times which explains the disproportionate balance between tunes and texts. In terms of collecting methods he pioneered what has become known as 'collecting in depth', that is, the practice of visiting singers on several occasions to note all their songs. The collectors who preceded Sharp had less opportunity to 'collect in depth'. The male collectors had less time at their disposal to re-visit singers several times due to their professional and domestic

commitments. The female collectors were hampered by the conventions of society and, for the most part arranged for singers to come to see them at their own home or the home of a friend. In the case of Broadwood, she had a network of friends who would inform her of any singers in their locality and use their house as the meeting place. The collectors that came after Sharp, such as Gardiner and the Hammond brothers, followed Sharp's example.

Sharp's strategy in visiting singers several times was to note songs from them until 'they are emptied', as he was later to say. For example, in reference to one of his collecting trips to Kentucky in America he wrote to his friend the art critic Paul Oppé⁴³ that he had been very ill for a long time with 'a touch of typhoid [...] in a disguised form' and had been bedridden. He described how Maud Karpeles had nursed him back to health and as he recovered he was able to note songs by 'the emptying of a few singers whom the faithful Maud brought to me in bed!'⁴⁴

Maud Karpeles had sought out singers who lived locally and previously noted the words of their songs. She then arranged for them to visit Sharp in his hotel room. Sharp lay in bed and noted the tunes when the singers were

⁴³ Paul Oppé was an art scholar and collector. In 1905 he worked for the Board of Education and specialised in teacher training standards. It is probable that Sharp met Oppé at that time through his dealings with the Board and the two became firm friends. However, at the time of writing Oppé was the Deputy Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum. He returned to the Board of Education in 1913. Paul Oppé's wife, Lyonna, shared both her husband's and Sharp's interest in folk dance and she later joined the EFDS in 1912.

⁴⁴ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Paul Oppé dated 22 June 1917, Sharp Correspondence Box 6, Folder C, VWML.

brought to him. This must have seemed very strange to them and one wonders what they made of it all.⁴⁵ The use of the term 'emptying' suggests that Sharp viewed his informants as little more than repositories and once exhausted of their contents he would move on to the next. In this respect he was no different to other collectors except that he returned to his singers, sometimes several times, to ensure that he had noted all that they knew. Nonetheless there is evidence to show that Sharp was able to strike up a good relationship with his informants and there is evidence to show that he had little difficulty in doing so. His personality was such that he was able to win the trust and friendship of those people from whom he collected songs. For example, in a letter that Louie Hooper, one of Sharp's singers from Hambridge, wrote to Fox Strangeways in response to his request for information for Sharp's biography she said:

Now I must say I Louie Hooper and my sister Lucy White both of this place knew him quite well and spent many a happy hour singing to him at the Vicarage Hambridge with Father Marson his friend. [...] I liked him very much, he was a very kind gentleman. [...] He also gave the old men tobacco that used to sing to him. It was a happy time.'⁴⁶

Over a period of three years Sharp noted a hundred songs from the two sisters. The use of the unfortunate term 'emptied' does need to be considered in context. He only used the term in private correspondence when he was enthusing over his collecting activities. It was not a term he used in public and it may be that in his almost fanatical obsession with the

⁴⁵ For a full account of Cecil Sharp's collecting expeditions in America see Mike Yates, *Cecil Sharp in America: Collecting in the Appalachians*, (1999) available at <http://www.mustring.org.uk/articles/sharp.htm> and Mike Yates, 'Cecil Sharp's Appalachian Journey' pp.3-27 in *Dear Companion: Appalachian Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection* (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society in association with Sharp's Folk Club, 2004).

⁴⁶ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 45.

perceived urgency in the recovery of folk-songs he used the term unguardedly when writing to friends and colleagues on his collecting activities without thought that it might, in the future, be interpreted as exploitation of the source of the material he was so anxious to gather. Sharp was clearly aware that he was taking something of value from his informants and in return, as, Louie Hooper in her letter testifies he would give gifts; on one occasion he gave her a concertina and he gave her and her sister a new blouse each. She goes on to say that 'He gave me a book of songs after he had mine and he said exchange was no robbery. And he wrote it in the book.'⁴⁷ Whether or not it was a 'fair exchange' is a matter for conjecture given that Sharp would receive royalties on the sale of the book.

The issue of collecting 'in depth' and 'emptying' informants is an interesting one. Sharp, in pursuing this practice was able to establish a good and friendly working relationship with his informants, as illustrated above. Those collectors who discovered singers and noted some songs from them and then moved on did not have sufficient contact with their informants to do this to the same extent. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that their approach was more exploitative than Sharp's. For example, in a letter that George Gardiner wrote to Lucy Broadwood he apologised for not being able to attend a party she was giving and in conclusion he said 'This afternoon I am going to hear an old man near Andover and on Saturday I

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.45.

have a gathering of ancients at an inn not far from here.'⁴⁸ The use of the term 'ancients' to describe his informants seems to convey a degree of patronisation. In contrast, the increased contact that Sharp had with his singers enabled him to establish a more personal relationship with them. Furthermore, the limited contact that some other collectors had with their singers must have made such contact seem more like a business meeting than a convivial one. Sharp was able to get more from his informants as a result of his increased contact with them, and in 'emptying' them it could be argued that he gathered a more reliable collection of folk-songs in terms of what was actually being sung in the oral tradition. The other collectors were noting those songs that the singer selected probably on the basis of what they thought would interest the collector, or, in the case of bawdy material, choosing not to sing it to a relative stranger who, in their minds, would be associated with those people in authority. The increased contact that Sharp had and the trust he was able to establish went a long way to remove such barriers. This in no way devalues the collections of the other activists it is simply to suggest that, by comparison, they are not as complete as Sharp's. At this point it must be noted that all the collectors of this first folk-song revival were selective in terms of the songs they collected and Sharp as well as the others confined his collection to only those songs he considered folk-songs. Sharp's collection is the largest and most representative of those songs deemed to be folk-songs sung in the oral tradition at that time but because of the selection practised it is no more

⁴⁸ Letter from George Gardiner to Lucy Broadwood, 8 June 1906, Ref. 2185/LEB/1/116, Lucy Broadwood Collection, SHC.

representative of the entire stock of songs sung orally than any other collection made at that time.

Ralph Vaughan Williams had started collecting folk-songs a little later than Sharp and since they were friends they no doubt discussed the best way to do this. Vaughan Williams, however, was not able to collect 'in depth' to the same extent as Sharp due to his other commitments. Both men led busy professional lives but Sharp had the advantage of school holidays which gave him the opportunity to devote longer periods of time to his collecting activities.

Vaughan Williams' first encounter with folk singing in the oral tradition was just as fortuitous as Sharp's, but less well-known. Throughout 1902 and 1903 Vaughan Williams was giving Oxford University Extension Lectures on folk-song, he had taken advice and information from Lucy Broadwood for this venture. On 21 January 1903 he gave the first of a series of six lectures at Montpelier House School, Brentwood in Essex. In the audience there was a lady called Georgiana Heatley. Inspired by the lectures she started to seek out those villagers that knew the old songs. She noted down the words of the songs but was unable to note the tunes. At the last of the lectures on 1 April 1903 she handed to Vaughan Williams the songs she had noted. Frank Dineen wrote that 'eight months were to pass before events, [...], drew Vaughan Williams to Ingrave to investigate.'⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Frank Dineen, 'The Priming of Miss locksie' *Journal of the RVW Society*, 13 (1998), 16–19 (p.19).

Ingrave in Essex was the home of Georgiana Heatley and her father the Rev. Henry Heatley was the Rector of Ingrave. Vaughan Williams was invited to attend a tea party at the Rectory on 3 December and to meet some of the parishioners. Sue Cubbin of the Essex Record Office has described how Vaughan Williams was introduced to Charles Potiphar who was one of these parishioners. Potiphar told Vaughan Williams that he would sing for him if he visited him at his home. Vaughan Williams did so the next day and noted the tunes to seven songs and as much of their texts as he could manage. The first song he noted was *Bushes and Briars*. Vaughan Williams later commented on hearing this first song that 'An old man began to sing a song which puts all my thoughts about folksong at rest.'⁵⁰

The collectors such as the brothers Henry and Robert Hammond and George Gardiner who followed in the wake of Sharp and Vaughan Williams also followed their example in terms of visiting the singers in their own environment and sometimes on several occasions. In the case of the Hammonds, Purslow wrote that:

[...] the Hammond family were well-known in social circles in Clevedon [Somerset] and both Henry and Robert may have had contact with the Rev. C. Marson (father of Sharp's collaborator), who was vicar of Clevedon; or with the Birch family one of whose daughters, Constance Dorothea, was married to Sharp [...]. Through either of these contacts they could have met Sharp and talked to him about English folk song.

In the end-notes Purslow wrote that 'Miss Cecily Hammond has since confirmed that both Marson and Sharp were friends of the family at

⁵⁰ Sue Cubbin, '*That Precious Legacy*': *Ralph Vaughan Williams and Essex Folksong* (Chelmsford: Essex Record Office, 2006), p. 8.

Clevedon.’⁵¹ This being so it is very likely that they took advice from Sharp and Marson on the ‘scientific’ approach to collecting folk songs. George Gardiner was a close friend of Henry Hammond so no doubt the advice was passed on

Throughout this time of increased folk-song collecting activity Neal continued to work in promoting folk dancing. However, in 1908 MacIlwaine resigned from his position as musical director for the *Espérance* Club and his position was taken up by Clive Carey. Carey had attended Clare College, Cambridge as an organ scholar in 1901 and during his time there he combined his undergraduate studies with a Grove Scholarship in Composition at the Royal College of Music. He was a singer, a baritone, and later was to become ‘singer and director of operas at the Old Vic Opera Company’.⁵² He was very keen on morris dancing and assisted Neal in collecting dances. The fruits of these labours appeared as two volumes entitled *The Espérance Morris Book* (1910), edited by Mary Neal, and Neal saw them as reference manuals to be used by everyone. In this respect she was at variance with Sharp in that the books could be used by non-experts. She had also at this time established the *Espérance* Guild of Morris Dancers. Carey later turned his attention to song collecting.

⁵¹ Frank Purslow, ‘The Hammond Brothers’ Folk Song Collection’ *FMJ*, 1, 4 (1968), .236-245 (p. 238).

⁵² Carey, Francis Clive Savill (1883–1968) available at [http://ianus.lib.cam.ac.uk/db/node.xsp?id=CV%2FPers%2FCarey%2C%20Francis%20Clive%20Savill%20\(1883-1968\)%20baritone%2C%20opera%20directo01r%20and%20teacher](http://ianus.lib.cam.ac.uk/db/node.xsp?id=CV%2FPers%2FCarey%2C%20Francis%20Clive%20Savill%20(1883-1968)%20baritone%2C%20opera%20directo01r%20and%20teacher) [accessed 23/09/2008]

In 1909 the Board of Education recognised morris dancing in its revised syllabus for physical education. Both Sharp and Neal were anxious to have their version recognised for school use. To meet this new requirement Sharp established a School of Morris Dancing with himself as Director and this had the support of the Physical Training Department of the South-Western Polytechnic in Chelsea. The polytechnic authorities gave their full support and Sharp was able to train, examine and grant certificates to teachers of morris dancing.⁵³ The Folk-Song Society in the 'Annual Report, June 1908-9' acknowledged Sharp's involvement in the dance movement and it was stated in the report that:

The work of Mr. Cecil Sharp and Mr. MacIlwaine in collecting and recording Morris Dances and Tunes also deserves to be chronicled, especially in view of the interesting announcement from the Board of Education that these are now to be included in the curriculum of the Elementary Schools.⁵⁴

In terms of getting official approval Sharp out-manoeuvred Neal.

Alongside these developments Cecil Sharp still remained a committee member of the Folk-Song Society, though with all the distractions of the dance movement he was much less active where song was concerned. The FSS continued to function and the publication of the journal had now settled so that editions were no more than a year apart. The main function of the journal was to publish folk-songs collected by members of the FSS and occasional articles on folk-song all of which would be subject to approval by the editorial team headed by Broadwood. Also around this time a young musician called George Butterworth became interested in folk-song. He

⁵³ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 78.

⁵⁴ 'Annual Report June 1908-9', *JFSS*, 4, 1 (1910), pp.iii - vi (p. iv).

was a friend of Vaughan Williams who had introduced him to folk-song. He joined the FSS in 1906 and actively collected songs over the next seven years. Barlow, his biographer, identifies the summer of 1907 as the most 'fruitful period.'⁵⁵ He also became a close friend of Cecil Sharp and developed a keen interest in morris dancing.

The 1907 Folk-Song Society journal (no. 10) was issued in the summer of that year and contained songs that had been collected by Lucy Broadwood in County Waterford, Ireland in August the previous year as well as songs collected in Cumberland, Northumberland and the 'southern counties' contributed by a number of other collectors. Journal no. 11 was issued in the winter of 1907 and contained forty songs collected by the two Hammond brothers in Dorset.

On 1 February 1908 Sir Hubert Parry wrote to Lucy Broadwood and in the opening sentence of his letter he said 'What a terribly alarming item of agenda! What does it mean? Are you going to withdraw your inspiring and unifying hand from the helm?' The 'item of agenda' to which he referred was her resignation as Honorary Secretary which was formally announced at the Committee Meeting of 26 February 1908. Item 2 of the minutes of the meeting recorded that the Chairman formally announced Lucy Broadwood's resignation as Honorary Secretary but added that she was willing to continue 'the valuable services that she had rendered in connection with the editing of the Journal. Item 3 recorded that Fuller

⁵⁵ Michael Barlow, *Whom the Gods Love*, p. 79.

Maitland proposed that Mrs Walter Ford be appointed as Honorary Secretary and this was seconded by Frederick Keel.⁵⁶

The next journal (no. 12) appeared in May 1908 and this was the issue devoted to the songs collected by Grainger in Lincolnshire. Also in 1908 Lucy Broadwood published a collection of songs entitled *English Traditional Songs and Carols*. This collection contained forty eight songs, eighteen of them collected from a singer called Henry Burstow of Horsham in Sussex. Broadwood had first noted songs from Henry Burstow in 1893 when, at her invitation, he had made the short trip from Horsham to her home at Lynne. In the Preface Lucy Broadwood wrote of Henry Burstow that 'He has a list of more than four hundred songs, old and new, which he knows by heart. Amongst them about fifty or sixty are of the traditional ballad type, and these have been noted and preserved'.⁵⁷ This comment provides as good an example as any of the selective practice that all the collectors engaged in at that time with regard to the songs that they chose to note. Broadwood sent complimentary copies of the book to various people among them were Henry Burstow and Percy Grainger. Percy Grainger sent her a letter from his London address in which he expressed his delight at receiving the book when he was in Australia. He told her 'I felt such delight that perhaps the thoroughest-yet [sic] folk song arrangement publication should be by a woman!'⁵⁸ The comment provides an interesting example of

⁵⁶ FSS Committee Minutes for 26 February 1908, VWML.

⁵⁷ Lucy E. Broadwood, *English Traditional Songs and Carols* (London: Boosey & Co. 1908), p. xi.

⁵⁸ Letter from Percy Grainger to Lucy Broadwood dated 1 July 1909, Ref. 2185/LEB/1/139, Lucy Broadwood Collection, SHC.

the mores of the time suggesting, as it does, surprise that a woman should have had such success in what was at that time a male dominated area of activity. The copy that Broadwood sent to Henry Burstow had the following inscription 'To Mr. Burstow with all good wishes for the continuance of his health and voice. From Lucy Broadwood, Oct. 9th 1908.'⁵⁹

Journal number 13 appeared in June 1909 and this contained forty-five songs collected in Hampshire by George Gardiner. The songs were selected from his 'budget' of 'nearly eleven hundred songs' which he had collected over a period of four years. As with other collectors he had noted several variants of songs and he stated that 'Among these there are probably not more than four hundred distinct songs.'⁶⁰ This journal also contained the Report of the Annual General Meeting for the year ending 31 May 1908 which stated that:

Owing to the rapid growth of the Folk-Song Society and the serious increase of work in connection with it, Miss Lucy Broadwood has felt compelled to resign the office of Honorary Secretary, held by her for five years. Mrs Walter Ford, at the invitation of the Committee, has kindly accepted the Secretaryship, while Miss Broadwood retains the position of Honorary Editor.⁶¹

The report also stated that the society now had an official address, a room had been offered by the Incorporated Society of Musicians at their offices that could be used as the official address and for society meetings and

⁵⁹ Inscription to Henry Burstow from Lucy Broadwood, copied from Burstow's copy of *Traditional Songs and Carols*, displayed at Horsham Museum as part of the exhibition 'Ralph Vaughan Williams: Horsham's Hidden Connection' 17 July to 20 September, 2008. [viewed on 7 August 2008].

⁶⁰ George B. Gardiner, 'Introduction' *JFSS*, 3, 4 (1909), 247.

⁶¹ 'Report of the Annual General Meeting, June, 1909.' *JFSS*, 3, 4 (1909), pp. iii – v, (p. iv).

business. The new address was 19 Berners Street, London W. and this was the address that appeared in that journal. In the list of officers Miss Lucy Broadwood, *Hon. Editor* was listed as a Committee member and Mrs Walter Ford as Honorary Secretary.⁶² L. Ethel M. Ford was the wife of Walter Ford who already served on the FSS committee and was a friend of Broadwood and Sharp. The position of assistant Honorary Secretary was not listed. It may be that this post had been created by Lucy Broadwood as part of her strategy to show that she was overwhelmed with the amount of work and needed assistance to allow her to 'pave the way' to finally to relinquishing the post and return to the committee. Broadwood was the only member of the society's management team who was able to apply herself more or less full-time to the affairs of the society. In her dual roles of journal editor and Honorary Secretary she had been able to steer and direct the society to reflect her own ideals to a considerable degree. Now that she had got the majority of the committee populated by people of her choosing she could exert her influence more readily as a committee member. The position of Honorary Secretary was now taken up by someone who would act in a purely administrative capacity and carry out the instructions of the committee. Furthermore, with the editorship of the journal, which was the main business of the society, she more or less had complete control.

The FSS journals are important documents in that they are the only published evidence of the work of the society. The editorial policy purported to present only genuine folk-songs exactly as they were collected

⁶² *Ibid*, p. iv.

in the field. In fact this was only true of the tunes for in some cases only part of the text and in some instances none of the text was printed. This practice was justified with a comment that the words were available on a broadside or were much the same as an alternative version or that they were unsuitable for publication. Nonetheless, the journals provide access to a large number of songs (see Appendix 2) that would otherwise, at the time of publication, not have been available in the public domain. They also contain scholarly commentary on the songs chosen for inclusion.

Throughout the period of the FSS existence the journals provided a forum for folk-song enthusiasts to engage in research, discussion and analysis that it would not have been appropriate to include in the books of folk-songs that were published during this period for the general public. The reputation that the FSS journals have achieved as highly regarded scholarly publications is due to the exacting standards that Broadwood set during her time as journal editor.

This chapter has focused on the period 1906-1910 of the society's history during which time the split in the ranks of the FSS committee became quite apparent. On one side was Cecil Sharp who had campaigned to get only real folk-songs into the public domain via the school curriculum. His motive for doing so was borne out of a belief that by restoring folk-song to the urban working-class it would in some way reignite patriotic feelings and inculcate those values associated with country living. These values had been clearly outlined by Sir Hubert Parry in his inaugural speech at the foundation of the FSS. Parry had stated that 'All the things that mark the

folk-music of the race also betoken the qualities of the race, and, as a faithful reflection of ourselves, we needs must cherish it.’⁶³ Boyes provided a useful summary of Parry’s view when she wrote that ‘There was a common cultural standard which could be drawn upon to reverse the process of degeneration and restore the old social balance.’ She went on to say that ‘By collecting and making available the forms of folk music, their inherent values would also be propagated. [...] From recognition of this national core, a new socio-cultural consensus could develop to restore the status quo.’⁶⁴ The result would be a content and passive workforce. Sharp’s campaign was in essence the practical application of Parry’s ideas. This was the belief and conviction held by those that wanted to popularise folk-song and dance. Margaret Dean-Smith put this well when she wrote:

The account is very characteristic of its period:- [...] the implicit belief in the goodness of truth and beauty, and the ‘mission’ to try and bring this beauty into the place of squalor is everywhere evident. The conviction that the countryman has the better part, & the belief that the practices of the countryside are a ‘language’ among the inarticulate, a language easily learned by girls and boys only a generation or so removed from country life, is evident: but these are a priori convictions behind the revival, rather than a theory or philosophy of ‘the folk’.⁶⁵

The Broadwood camp on the other hand wanted to proceed more cautiously. While they were tacitly in support of the views expressed by Parry they were sceptical of Sharp’s strategy for re-introducing folk-songs to the urban

⁶³ Sir Hubert Parry, ‘Inaugural Address’ *JFSS*, 1, 1 (1899), 1–3. (p. 3).

⁶⁴ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, p. 27.

⁶⁵ Margaret Dean-Smith, ‘Notes on an Unpublished Autobiography of Mary Neal’ p. 3 Of 120 available on-line at <http://www.maryneal.org/file-uploads/files/1950ss|a.pdf> [accessed 27 February 2010]

population through the school curriculum. Vaughan Williams summarised Broadwood's position when he wrote of her some years later that she:

[...] loved the songs she had herself collected with an almost personal affection and she shrank from bringing into the bright light of publicity songs which had grown up in the stillness of the countryside and which it was her delight to ponder over in the quiet of her study. [...] To her, folk songs were largely a matter for the study, treasures to be pondered over in solitude and only occasionally to be displayed to the chosen few.⁶⁶

Frank Kidson was of the opinion that folk-songs were not suitable for singing in schools. In a letter he wrote to Sharp he said that 'folk songs are delicate morsels' and that children would not have the knowledge, voice and sympathy to do them justice. He went on to say that:

As of course you will know it isn't every kind of folk song that is suitable for a child. They very often deal with man's and women's passion and it is hard to turn them into meet for children. Again there is another difficulty, if a song bears the stamp of a school song public singers will fight shy of it. It's this unfortunate thing that prevents many of our fine English songs being sung at concerts, in consequence people never hear them in full beauty.⁶⁷

Sharp's differences with Mary Neal centred on how folk dance should be taught and performed. Sharp favoured what Douglas Kennedy has termed the 'analytical method' in which every step is learnt exactly as recorded from the traditional dancers. Kennedy wrote that 'In our teaching instruction we followed closely, almost slavishly, the form of Cecil Sharp's printed descriptions.' Neal, on the other hand, favoured the 'intuitive method'. The vital factor in this method is demonstration by traditional performers to show the learners the rhythm, style and fluency of the

⁶⁶ Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Lucy Broadwood 1858 – 1929' *JEFDSS*, 5, 3 (1948), 136–138, (p. 137).

⁶⁷ Letter from Frank Kidson to Cecil Sharp dated 26 December 1910, Sharp Correspondence Box 4, Folder 1. VWML.

movements and the resulting combined action.⁶⁸ Sharp felt that dancers who learnt in this way would not be able to accurately reproduce the dance steps and that this would detract from the quality of the performance. Both Neal and Sharp wanted to popularise folk dancing but for Sharp it must be taught by expert teachers to ensure that the accuracy and quality of performance was in no way diluted, whereas Neal was more interested in perpetuating the spirit and joy of the dance.

Ironically, in the case of folk-song, it was Sharp's critics who thought that the introduction of folk-songs into the elementary school curriculum would result in performance that would be neither accurate or of good quality. Furthermore, many songs were deemed to be unsuitable and would have to be either omitted or bowdlerised and therefore a distorted view of the folk-song repertoire would be presented. Sharp however, thought that folk-songs in schools was the best way to get them back into wider circulation and get them sung once more by the descendents of those that created them. Consequently Sharp was out of step with most of his fellow FSS committee members and with Neal and her supporters in the dance movement. Nonetheless Sharp was convinced that he was right and he continued in his efforts to 'legislate' and get things done his way.

⁶⁸ Douglas Kennedy, 'The Educational Element in Folk Music and Dance' *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 5 (1953), 48-50 (p. 49).

Chapter 6

Song and Dance: Developments 1910 - 1914

As we have seen in the last chapter, Sharp had serious differences with the leadership of the FSS and with Mary Neal who, at that time, was the leading figure in the dance movement. Sharp was unable to make headway where folk-song was concerned but he was determined to position himself as a major figure in the dance movement. In due course he embarked on a series of enterprises, the crowning glory of which was the founding of the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS), and this enabled him to overshadow Neal's achievements and establish himself as the expert, 'legislator' and leader of the folk-dance movement. This new society would, in the years ahead, have a profound impact on the fortunes of the FSS. It is in this context that the development of the dance movement and the EFDS is examined and analysed in this chapter.

The year 1910 was a busy time for the FSS. Two journals were published, one in June and one in December. The June journal, number 14, included the obituary of George Gardiner, who had died in January of that year. However, the bulk of the journal was taken up with a collection of traditional carols collected in Herefordshire by Ella Leather in collaboration with Ralph Vaughan Williams. Twelve titles are given with variants of some of them, which gave a total of twenty-one carols. Ten of these were recorded using a phonograph but unlike Grainger, Vaughan Williams did not notate every note he simply gave the essential melody. Ella Leather

(née Smith) was the daughter of a gentleman farmer and was born in Dilwyn, fifteen miles from Hereford. She married Frank Leather, a solicitor, in 1893 when she was nineteen years old. She had been interested in folk-song and folk-lore from an early age and she took a particular interest in the songs and stories of gypsies who would come to Herefordshire at hop picking and apple harvest time. Richard Birt wrote that in order to overcome the prejudices and class barriers of her day she would try to mix with the gypsies by working alongside them and he said 'To get closer to the gypsies she learned how to pick hops, which was not something women of her class did.'¹ Ella had joined the FSS in 1907 and in 1908 she invited Vaughan Williams and his wife Adeline to stay with her at her home in Weobley near Hereford. She wanted their help in gathering songs particularly in the gypsy encampments. Vaughan Williams and his wife were to return on a number of occasions in the three following years.

Alongside the activities of the folk-song collectors and the FSS during the late Edwardian years the dance movement, led by Mary Neal, gathered momentum and was becoming a national phenomenon. Sharp was increasingly turning his attention to folk dance and particularly to morris dancing, initially in collaboration with Mary Neal. However, major differences in terms of performance aims and objectives begun to surface and by 1910 the dance movement was split between those that followed Mary Neal and the philanthropic philosophy that underpinned her

¹Richard Birt, 'Wise and Fair and Good as She' *Journal of the RVW Society*, 13 (1998), 2 and continued on 24, (p. 2).

organisation, the *Espérance Morris Guild*, (which had superseded the Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music), and those that followed Sharp's ideas embodied in the 'School of Morris Dancing' of which he was director. The School of Morris Dancing had been set up in connection with the South Western Polytechnic (later to become the Chelsea Physical Training College). Dorette Wilkie was the founder and Head Mistress of the college and in keeping with the Board of Education's official recognition of morris dancing as a part of the physical education syllabus in 1909 she had co-operated with Sharp and enabled him to establish the school and learning morris dances completed the training programme for student teachers' of physical education.

Both Sharp and Neal, in their own way, saw traditional dances and song as a means of bringing about social cohesion. Neal took a populist and somewhat romantic view of the dance revival. She believed that the return of traditional dance to the general public at large would have a therapeutic effect giving rise to 'a reawakening of that part of our national conscious which makes for wholeness, saneness and healthy merriment.'² As we have seen, the origin of Neal's organisation had developed from her experience of and involvement in the 'settlement movement'. The Guild of Play also grew out of the settlement movement, it became a movement in its own right and other branches sprang up elsewhere. Martha Vicinus wrote that:

The severe discipline necessary to maintain order in classes of seventy children left little room for the imagination, much less for free play. [...] 'Sister Grace' Kimmins at the Bermonsey Settlement

² Mary Neal, *The Espérance Morris Book* (London: J. Curwen and sons, 1910), p.2.

founded the Guild of Play to teach children under ten folk dances, songs, and medieval plays.³

One such branch was the Dockland Settlement No.1, to become later the Mayflower Centre, in Canning Town in the London Borough of Newham.⁴

Two of the volunteers at Canning Town were the sisters Maud and Helen Karpeles, they wanted to learn folk-songs and dances to teach to the children. To this end they attended the 1910 Stratford-Upon-Avon festival. In an obituary for Maud Karpeles written by Margaret Dean-Smith she wrote that Maud was 'in search of something new to teach East-End children in her Guild of Play'.⁵ This is corroborated by David Atkinson who said the two sisters enrolled in dance classes under the direction of Cecil Sharp with the intention of learning the dances and then teaching them to 'settlement children in Canning Town in the East End of London.'⁶ In due course the sisters, particularly Maud, became close friends, disciples and colleagues of Cecil Sharp. Maud was to become a key figure in the folk-song and dance movement.

In April 1910 Neal published the first of two volumes of the *Espérance Morris Book*. These events brought the differences between Neal and Sharp to a head and they were aired in public. Fox Strangeways wrote that Sharp had written to the *Morning Post* on 1 April 1910 to let it be known that he

³ Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850 – 1920* (London: Virago Press, 1985, reprinted 1994), p. 235.

⁴ W. R. Powell (editor), 'West Ham Philanthropic Institutions' in *A History of the County of Essex Volume 6* (1973) pp. 141–144, available on-line at <http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42763> [accessed 08 January 2009]

⁵ Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Dr. Maud Karpeles, O.B.E.,: 12 November 1885 – 1 October 1976' *Folklore*, 88,1 (1977), 110–111 (p. 110).

⁶ David Atkinson, 'Resources in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library: The Maud Karpeles Manuscript Collection' *FMJ*, 8, 1 (2001), 90–101 (p. 90).

was disclaiming any connection with the Guild. Neal countered this by writing to *Vanity Fair* on 14 April 1910. Fox Strangeways quoted from both letters. Sharp had written:

It is, however, obvious that if our folk-dances are to be revived amongst the lettered classes it is of supreme importance that they should be accurately taught by accredited instructors and that only those dances should be disseminated which are the survivals of genuine and unbroken tradition. And these, of course, are questions for the expert.

In response Neal wrote:

It behoves those of us to whom has been entrusted the guidance and the helping of this movement [...] to see to it 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 handling on of them and the development should also be left in the hands of the simple-minded and of those musically unlettered and ignorant of all technique.⁷

Two interesting points emerge from this: firstly, Neal was applying to dance Sharp's theory for song with respect to communal involvement. Secondly, Sharp's insistence that dances should be learned from experts who would teach each step exactly as it was danced on the occasion it was noted from tradition, contradicts the criticism he made of Grainger's practice of notating every note that a singer sang from phonograph recordings to ensure an absolutely accurate record. Sharp's practice in noting song tunes was to capture the essential melody sometimes including a few examples of variations of the tune. Sharp's method with dances was to ensure that they were synchronised to ensure all dancers were in step with one another and executing each step in exactly the same way. However, this does ignore the

⁷ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, pp. 81–82.

fact that a traditional dance team is made up of individual dancers who have learnt the dances from other traditional dancers and not from an 'expert' with a handbook to ensure each dancer executes each step in exactly the same way. Learning the dances traditionally ensures that all the dancers perform the same steps but each dancer will introduce their own subtle variations. For Neal the result of the combined team movements would be a performance full of vigour and unaffected spontaneity. Her aim was to spread 'joyful participation'. Sharp, on the other hand, thought that the dances must be step perfect with all dancers performing each step in exactly the same way. Douglas Kennedy, one of Sharp's disciples, wrote of this dispute that 'The Neale [sic] episode hardened Sharp's attitude on the question of "traditional form", a phrase which was to lead to endless discussion in the years ahead.' And he added that there were those that feared 'for the loss of the spirit in the pursuit of the letter, but these doubters were dubbed "Nealites" for their pains.'⁸ This was important because in 1909 the Board of Education had recognised morris dancing in its revised syllabus for physical education.

Physical education had been on the minds of a number of educationalists since the poor state of health and physique of young men had been highlighted during recruitment for armed service in the Boer War. Alfred Perceval Graves, in his role as a school inspector, had taken a particular interest in the need for a more organised approach to physical education. His ideas centred on organised games as a part of the school curriculum to

⁸ Douglas Kennedy, 'Folk Dance Revival' *FMJ*, 2, 2 (1971), 80-90 (p. 84).

improve the physical well being of children. Shortly after the Liberal Party's landslide victory in the 1906 General Election Graves was presented with the opportunity to put his views directly to Augustine Birrell, the newly appointed Education Minister. This opportunity came about at a dinner party organised to allow Augustine Birrell to meet with his Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. Graves was seated next to Birrell and he wrote that he was asked by the Minister if he had 'any educational ideas which want airing?' Graves duly sent to the Minister a summary of his ideas about the need to introduce organised games into the curriculum to improve the physical fitness of the school children. Birrell approved his ideas and instructed Mr. Edmund G. A. Holmes, the Chief Inspector, to consult with Graves and introduce a new article into the code. The article provided for 'properly organised games for older children under competent supervision and instruction.' Graves wrote that 'Birrell accepted it and it became law.'⁹ The article was included in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907. This Act also laid upon the school authorities the responsibility to provide a medical inspection of children upon entry, or as soon as possible thereafter, to an elementary school. Attending to the health and fitness of children was clearly becoming something of a priority.

Physical education in schools was not a new development, military drill had been introduced in 1871 and was a part of the secondary school curriculum, however entry to secondary school was limited and most children left school only having attended elementary school. To address the lack of physical

⁹Graves, *To Return to All That: An Autobiography* p. 289.

training in elementary schools the Board of Education in consultation with the War Office issued a document entitled *A model course of Physical Training for use in the Upper Departments of Public Elementary Schools*.

This was also based on the army methods of training and used military drill together with dumbbell and barbell exercises.¹⁰ The educational historian H. C. Barnard wrote that 'more sensible methods of physical education were suggested in a syllabus issued by the Board of Education in 1909. This was based largely on the practice of Sweden and Denmark [...]'. According to Barnard these practices had transformed the teaching of gymnastics.¹¹ The 1909 National Syllabus stated that:

[...] physical exercises in Public Elementary Schools should be thoroughly enjoyed by the children [...]. Hence, it has been thought well not only to modify some of the usual Swedish combinations in order to make the work less exacting, but to introduce games and dancing steps into many of the lessons.¹²

This prepared the way for further developments in physical education and the introduction of folk dancing was a part of this. Both Sharp and Neal were anxious to have their version recognised for school use but following a meeting between Sharp and the Chief Inspector to the Board of Education Edmund Holmes it was Sharp's version that was adopted. He was given a free-hand at the South Western Polytechnic to oversee the training of teachers with respect to the teaching of folk dancing.¹³

¹⁰ Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London: G. Bell, 1952), p. 139.

¹¹ H. C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760 2nd edition* (London: University of London Press, 1961), p. 226.

¹² Board of Education, 'Prefatory Memorandum', *The Syllabus of Physical Education for Public Elementary Schools* (London: HMSO, 1909).

¹³ Anne Bloomfield 'The Quickening of the National Spirit: Cecil Sharp and the Pioneers of the Folk-Dance Revival in English State Schools (1900-26)', *History of Education*, 30, 1 (2001), 59-75 (p. 69).

The success of this strategy was confirmed in a report prepared for the Board of Education by the Chief Medical Officer in 1912 which stated that:

It has been found by experience that English Country Dances [...] and Folk Dances of the Scandinavian Countries (all of which can be modified for young children) are the most appropriate for instruction in schools. [...] Morris Dances also have been largely adopted for school use, and the charming music, the relatively simple steps and the vigorous exercise involved, easily explain their attractiveness.¹⁴

This confirmation of the appropriateness of folk-dancing in schools was due in no small measure to the efforts of both Neal and Sharp in promoting and popularising folk dancing. Commenting on these events Mary Neal wrote:

After the recognition of the traditional dances by the Board of Education, Mr. Sharp started a school of teachers at the London South-Western Polytechnic, [...]. As lately as 1911 these young ladies from the Polytechnic have formed the nucleus of the Folk-Dance Society, [sic] with Mr. Sharp as Director, while the Espérance Guild of Morris Dancers also continues its work.¹⁵

Sharp was in broad agreement with the philanthropic motives and views of Mary Neal and the potential social effects her organisation could have, but he was in complete disagreement about the methods of teaching. He was appalled at what he perceived as the lax standards of accuracy of the Espérance dancers. He thought that their practice would trivialise the dances and turn people away from them and thus, in due course, kill the revival. Indeed, Sharp had written to Neal telling her that she had 'deliberately isolated' herself from those who were 'better acquainted with the subject than yourself and animated by higher artistic ideals.'¹⁶ In spite of Sharp's criticisms the activities of Neal's dancers gained widespread

¹⁴ Board of Education, 'Physical Education', *Report of the Chief Medical Officer*, 1912.

¹⁵ Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (Cambridge: University Press, 1915), p. 160.

¹⁶ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Mary Neal, dated 26 July 1909, correspondence Box 5, folder F, (London: Vaughan Williams memorial Library).

publicity and acclaim. This led to a decision by the organisers of the Shakespeare Memorial Festival to arrange an additional festival to be held later in the year during July and August to include, as Neal described, '[...] out of doors special plays and performances of a pageant nature [...]'.¹⁷ These events would include folk dancing and folk singing and they were added to the programme for the first of these extra festivals which took place in 1910. Earlier in that year Mary Neal had organised a vacation School in Littlehampton with Florence Warren and Clive Carey as instructors in dance and song respectively. The school was attended by sixty teachers who wanted to learn folk dancing. The perceived success of this venture prompted the Governors of the Memorial Theatre at Stratford-Upon-Avon to transfer the School to be a part of the 1910 festival and Mary Neal wrote that 'about two hundred availed themselves of the opportunity of learning the songs and dances.'¹⁸ She later wrote that:

The renaissance of this individual race-consciousness is to-day in England finding an outward and visible sign in a revival of folk-art in drama, dance and music and in a love of nature and outdoor life. [...] The evidences of this awakening are all around us in England today. In cities and in towns young men and women are spending the hours of recreation in singing the folk-songs and dancing the folk-dances evolved from the tillers of the soil, as an expression of race-consciousness [...].¹⁹

The dispute between Sharp and Neal came to a head over the competition between the two camps to take charge of the Summer School for folk

¹⁷ Mary Neal, 'Folk Art: The Stratford-upon-Avon Festival Movement and its Developments' in Reginald R. Buckley, *The Shakespeare Revival and the Stratford-Upon-Avon Movement* (London: George Allen, 1911), pp. 191-213. (pp. 203-204).

¹⁸ Mary Neal, 'English Folk-Dance' in *English Folk-Song and Dance*, Frank Kidson and Mary Neal (Cambridge: University Press, 1915), p. 166.

¹⁹ Mary Neal 'Folk Art: The Stratford-Upon-Avon Festival Movement and its Development' pp. 204-205

singing and dancing for the 1911 Stratford-upon-Avon Shakespeare Festival. Archibald Flower was a member of the Stratford brewing family and Flowers Brewery was the largest employer in Stratford. As such he was a very influential businessman and he was the Chairman of the Board of Governors for the festival. Frank Benson was an actor-manager of a theatrical touring company, he managed the Shakespearean festival at Stratford from 1888 to 1919. He was also a keen sportsman with a passion for cricket. In addition to the theatrical productions he organised for the festival he also introduced some sporting activities as part of the annual celebrations. Both Flower and Benson considered that folk dance should be a part of the festival. Indeed morris dancing was a fringe feature of the original festivals, which were scheduled to take place over a three week period around 23 April, the date celebrated as Shakespeare's birthday, and Neal made mention of a 'famous troop of morris-dancers from a neighbouring village' dancing up the street after the church service which opened the festival.²⁰ The dancers referred to may well have been the Bidford-upon-Avon Shakespearean Morris Dancers. This was a side that was revived in 1885 by D'arcey Ferris, an antiquarian who set himself up as a 'Designer, and Director of Fetes, Festivals and Functions'. He had a particular interest in pageants and old English customs and Roy Judge wrote that he described himself as 'a patriot, one who loved his country; he loved it, and its institutions and customs, which he desired should not be allowed

²⁰ Ibid, p. 198.

to die out.²¹ Judge goes on to say of the Bidford morris side that in the 1904 and 1905 'Shakespearian Birthday celebrations in Stratford-on-Avon, seven out of ten performers had been in the original group [...].'²²

Neither Flower nor Benson had qualms about the relevance of folk dancing, and in particular morris dancing, to the festival since in the minds of the audience that the festival attracted morris dancing was synonymous with Shakespeare and his times owing to the fact that he makes reference to it in a number of his plays.²³ Furthermore, the Bidford morris side had regularly performed as a fringe event at the Shakespeare festivals and in an article on Shakespeare and morris dancing Alan Brissenden wrote that:

The morris had great popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it was often associated with may-games, and in a few places, particularly in Oxfordshire and neighbouring counties, it has genuinely survived to the present. [...] James Boswell's *variorum Shakespeare of 1821*, [...] gathers together evidence of morris dancing from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.²⁴

The issue was to whom the event should be entrusted to ensure accuracy and high artistic standards. Both Neal and Sharp competed to win their favour to be the one chosen to organise the Summer School for 1911, which both hoped would become a permanent feature of the festival. Benson was aware of the criticisms that Sharp had made against Neal and in a letter he wrote to a colleague, who is only identified in the salutation as 'My dear

²¹ Roy Judge, 'D'Arcey Ferris and the Bidford Morris' *FMJ*, 4, 5 (1984), 442 – 480 (p. 448).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 475.

²³ Morris dancing is mentioned several times in Shakespeare's plays, for example, *All's Well that Ends Well* (Act II, scene II), *Henry V* (Act II, scene IV), *Henry VI* (Act III, scene I)

²⁴ Alan Brissenden, 'Shakespeare and the Morris', *The Review of English Studies*. n.s., 20, 117 (1979), 1-11 (p. 1).

William', [probably William Hutchings, JP, a member of the Board of Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre] he said:

With regard to Miss Neal the difficulty is this; as far as I can see neither Miss Neal or Sharp are dancers, their own movement which they have revived has called for people that are. I am not at all sure that public opinion would accept Sharp's definition; I don't think it would. Kidson the great authority on Folk Song, Miss Lucy Broadwood and Fuller Maitland would be in the opposite camp. The only solution seems to be a conference. [...] Sharp to state his views, Miss Neal to state hers, Stratford on Avon to publish its comments on both, and the policy it is going to adopt in competitions.'²⁵

Sharp's lobbying proved the more successful and he was appointed Director of the School, Mary Neal withdrew from taking any part in the festival.²⁶ In terms of getting official approval Sharp had out-manoeuvred Neal. Sharp wrote to his friend Paul Oppé and said:

As you have already heard, I have got Stratford. They decided to put the technical direction in my hands and asked me if I had any objection to Miss Neal remaining as Hon. Sec. and doing the organising. Of course I said No, but she wouldn't co-operate on any terms, rejecting every kind of olive branch offered.²⁷

Mary Neal's version of these events was rather different. She wrote that:

It was decided to hold a conference to discuss points of difference with a view to making the work at Stratford-on-Avon both national and permanent. In view of this conference I resigned my position as Hon. Secretary of the Folk-Dance School [...]. But no conference was held, and Mr. Sharp was appointed Director of the School.²⁸

She repeated this account in a letter she wrote to Fox Strangeways after receiving a complimentary copy of his biography of Sharp. She congratulated him on his 'vivid pen' and said that it was a 'wonderful

²⁵ Letter from Frank Benson to William [probably Hutchings] dated 11 November 1910, Sharp correspondence Box 6, folder C, VWML Archive.

²⁶ Mary Neal, 'English Folk-Dance' in *English Folk-Song and Dance*, p.167.

²⁷ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Paul Oppé dated 3 May 1911 Sharp correspondence Box 6, folder C, VWML Archive.

²⁸ Mary Neal, 'English Folk-Dance' in *English Folk-Song and Dance*, pp. 166 - 167.

biography, and I wish I had never seen the other side of "our Punch".' This was a clear reference to the cartoon that appeared just before the Goupil Gallery Conference. She went on to explain that she resigned from her position as Honorary Secretary at Stratford 'because Mr. Flower promised a Conference before anything was settled, but within a week he appointed Mr. Sharp and did not have the Conference for about two years. So you have not got that quite right. But it does not matter now.'²⁹

Sharp saw his appointment as Director of the Vacation School of Folk Song and Dance as an opportunity to bring folk dancing before a wider public and further popularise the dances which, in his view, would be for the public good. Regarding the addition of the vacation school to the festival he wrote that ' [...] if the art of a country is to reflect national ideals, [...] it must be deep rooted in and intimately related to the primitive art of the unlettered folk.' He went on to say 'Shakespeare is called our greatest national poet [...] he was the spokesman of our race the mouthpiece, as it were, of the English folk, [...] It is here that the link between the two movements, now associated with Stratford, is to be found.'³⁰ It is clear from this that Sharp believed that greater awareness of traditional heritage would instil in people a greater sense of national identity and patriotism and thus contribute to the establishment of social cohesion.

²⁹ Letter from Mary Neal to A. H. Fox Strangeways dated 31 December 1933 available online at <http://www.maryneal.org/object/6169/character/6030/> [accessed 28 February 2010]

³⁰ Cecil J. Sharp, 'The Stratford-Upon-Avon Vacation School of Folk Song and Dance' in *A Handbook to the Stratford-Upon-Avon Festival, with Articles by F.R. Benson, Arthur Hutchinson, Reginald R. Buckley, Cecil J. Sharp. And Shakespeare Memorial Council* (London: George Allen, 1913), pp. 31 – 32.

During the years leading up to the First World War political and industrial leaders saw social cohesion as a pre-requisite for stability and social harmony. Sharp promoted folk-song and dance, particularly in education, as a means of establishing social cohesion. His actions, I believe, had more to do with the role he had adopted for himself as 'expert' or 'legislator' than with his political convictions. The prevailing socio-political mood provided the opportunity for him to promote himself as well as folk dance and song.

In his biography of Richard Henry Tawney, Ross Terrill argued that during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the years leading up to the First World War there was growing fear among political and industrial leaders that competition in commerce and industry from overseas would undermine Great Britain's hitherto pre-eminent position. He said, 'Imperialist success and the myths surrounding it delayed national doubt and softened for a time the acuteness of latent social conflicts. [...] But the problem that preoccupied social critics was the apparent loss of social cohesion.' He goes on to argue that the Edwardian years 'brought mounting industrial unrest' and that the outbreak of war led to a climatic realisation 'of the loss of social cohesion in part because in translating men from factory bench to battlefield it brought a searchlight to play upon their alienated and apathetic condition.'³¹ For Sharp the way to combat such alienation and apathy among the working-classes was to introduce folk-song and dance into the elementary school curriculum. In 1910 he had written:

³¹ Ross Terrill, *R. H. Tawney and His times: Socialism as Fellowship* (London: André Deutsch, 1974) pp. 200 – 201.

In order that a boy or girl may become a good Englishman or a good Englishwoman, training in English characteristics must be a prominent feature in education – English History, English games, English ideals are of the utmost importance. A wholly national and, at the same time, a wholly spontaneous expression is found in folk-dances and songs.³²

By 1911 Sharp had gathered around him a coterie of disciples and like-minded folk-dance enthusiasts. The sisters Maud and Helen Karpeles with Peggy (Margaret) Walsh and Helen Kennedy had formed a folk dance club and 'gave demonstrations to illustrate Sharp's public lectures.'³³ All four were later recruited by Sharp to act as dance instructors for the dance school events at the 1911 Stratford festival during August (the festival dance school was repeated for one week in late December 1911). As a result of this collaboration the Dance Club gained Sharp's patronage and out of this association came the idea for a dance society. In December of that year, under his leadership, they founded the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS). At a meeting, which took place on 6 December 1911 at St Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, London, Cecil Sharp moved that 'a Society, to be called The English Folk Dance Society, be established, having its headquarters in London, [...]'.³⁴ The motion was carried and a committee was appointed. Those appointed to the committee were Alice Gomme (now Lady Gomme), Maud Karpeles and her sister Helen Karpeles, who was Honorary Secretary, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Percival Lucas, Sir Archibald Flower, George

³² C. J. Sharp, cited in Anne Bloomfield 'The Quickening of the National Spirit', p. 12.

³³ Ibid, p.90. and Derek Schofield, "Revival of the Folk Dance: An Artistic Movement": The Foundation of the English Folk Dance Society in 1911' *FMJ*, 5, 2(1986), 215–219 (p. 217).

³⁴ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 88.

Wilkinson, Charlotte Sidgwick, Hercy Denman and Cecil Sharp as Honorary Director. Captain William Kettlewell was appointed Honorary Treasurer and Miss Peggy (Margaret) Walsh, (later to become Mrs Kettlewell), was appointed Secretary.

The Society's mission was to 'disseminate a knowledge of English Folk Dances, Folk Music and Singing Games, and to encourage the practice of them in their traditional forms.' Douglas Kennedy in an article on the early years of the EFDS summarised the main activities of the Society as:

- (a) The instruction of members and others in folk dancing.
- (b) The training of teachers of folk dancing and the granting of certificates of proficiency.
- (c) The holding of public demonstrations of folk dancing.
- (d) The holding of dance meetings for members at which dancing will be general (Country Dance Parties) and at meetings at which papers will be read and discussed.
- (e) The publication of literature dealing with folk dancing and kindred subjects.
- (f) The foundation, organisation and artistic control of local branches in London, the Provinces and elsewhere.³⁵

The constitution of the new Society was similar to that of the Folk-Song Society but only one third of the committee retired each year whereas it was half the committee of the FSS that retired each year. However, in both cases the retiring members could stand for re-election. Those with official roles, such as Honorary Secretary, were obliged to stand for election each year at the Annual General Meeting. On the face of it this presents a very democratic structure. However, all the committee members had, in the first

³⁵ Douglas Kennedy, 'The Folk Dance Revival in England', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 2 (1935), 72-79. (p. 74)

instance, been appointed rather than elected and all were known personally to Cecil Sharp. Maud and Helen Karpeles demonstrated dances at his lectures; Alice Gomme was a fellow committee member of the FSS, as was Ralph Vaughan Williams, he was also a close friend of Sharp; Sir Archibald Flower was the Chair of the Board of Governors of the Stratford Festival; Hercy Denman, was a morris dance enthusiast who had informed Sharp of traditions in his area of Nottinghamshire. Charlotte Sidgwick was a founder member of the Oxford Society for the Revival of the Folk-Dance and this was later to become a branch of the EFDS.³⁶ She was married to Arthur Sidgwick, a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, she was an active member of the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women (AEW) and a supporter of the suffragette movement. She was supported in both these movements by her husband who was also the Chairman of the Oxford City Liberal Association from 1886 to 1910. The historians of Oxford University, M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, argue that his support for the AEW, and his membership of the Oxford University Home Rule League 'may have cost him the presidency of Corpus in 1904.'³⁷ It is interesting to note that both the FSS and the EFDS attracted as members people that at the time would be described as progressive and liberal. The belief that in some way the promotion of folk-song and dance would enhance and make more tolerable the daily lives of working people seems to have been the common denominator.

³⁶ Roy Judge, 'A Branch of May' *FMJ*, 2, 2 (1971), 91-95 (p. 91).

³⁷ M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, (Editors), *Volume VII The History of The University of Oxford: The Nineteenth Century Part II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 624.

George Jerrard Wilkinson was a professional musician and had succeeded Sharp as music teacher at the Ludgrove preparatory school, which prepared pupils for public schools, mainly Eton. Sharp had held this position from 1893 to 1910 when, according to Fox Strangeways, he was persuaded by his wife to resign his post and give his time fully to folk music. Alongside this post from 1896 to 1905 he had been the Principal of the Hampstead Conservatoire, owned by Arthur Blackwood, whom Sharp had met during his time in Australia. The two posts amounted to full-time work and Sharp had used the school holidays for collecting dances and songs and evenings and weekends for lectures, teaching dancing and adjudicating for exams and competitions. After 1905, Ludgrove was his only source of regular income so to give it up was something of a 'leap of faith' since he was left with only lecture fees and royalties from book sales to live on.³⁸ The remaining member of the committee was Percival Lucas who was the younger brother of E. V. (Edward Verrall) Lucas the noted travel writer and biographer of Charles Lamb. Percival Lucas was a genealogist and writer and he edited the first two numbers of the English Folk Dance Society Journal. Percival Lucas was married to Madeleine Maynell, the daughter of William Maynell the writer and critic, her mother was Alice (née Thompson) the poet and essayist.³⁹ William Maynell had bought a large farm in Greatham, Sussex and had given to each of his children one of the estate cottages. Madeleine's sister, Viola, was a friend of the writer D. H. Lawrence and in early 1915 the Lawrence's lived in her cottage. Roger Ebbatson wrote that:

³⁸ Fox Strangeways, p. 80.

³⁹ 'Lucas Family', http://www.manfamily.org/Lucas_Family.htm [accessed 14/11/2008]

Lawrence informed his old Eastwood friend Willie Hopkin:

It is the Meynell's place. You know Alice Meynell, Catholic poetess rescuer of Francis Thompson. The father took a big old farm house at Greatham, then proceeded to give each of his children a cottage. Now Viola lends us hers.⁴⁰

Lawrence based one of his characters on Perceval Lucas, and this is discussed below. Dorrette Wilkie, the Head Mistress of the South Western Polytechnic in Chelsea, and George Butterworth were subsequently added to the committee membership. George Butterworth had attended the December school at Stratford as a student and Fox Strangeways wrote that George Butterworth said of the experience that 'it was one of the few occasions when he felt he had lived in a really musical atmosphere.'⁴¹

The first President of the Society was Lady Mary Trefusis who accepted the appointment in 1912. Sharp had known her during his time in Australia where she was known as Lady Mary Lygon before her marriage to Colonel Trefusis. She was the 'eldest daughter of the Earl of Beauchamp, and, [...], Woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Mary.'⁴² She was very enthusiastic about dance and worked tirelessly in her home county of Cornwall to bring folk dancing to as wide a public as possible.

The English Folk Dance Society got off to a good start and during its first year the membership was one-hundred and forty-four, by 1914 this had risen to two-hundred and eighty full members and forty-one associate

⁴⁰ Roger Ebbatson, "'England, My England': Lawrence, War and Nation", *Literature and History*, 9, 1 (2000), 67 – 81 (p. 68).

⁴¹ Fox Strangeways, p. 87.

⁴² Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, pp. 115–116.

members (see Appendix 3). In little over two years the membership of the EFDS had all but equalled that of the Folk-Song Society. However, the makeup of the dance society membership was strikingly different to that of the song society. From the outset the membership was predominately female. At the first count of one-hundred and forty four members only forty-eight were male (33 per cent) and of the female membership sixty-nine (72 per cent) gave their title as 'Miss', which suggests that the Society was attracting to its ranks young women. However, we cannot know this for sure since the EFDS records do not include any information regarding the age of its members. By 1913 the male population of the society remained static but had dropped to 24 per cent as more females joined and 73 per cent of them now gave their title as 'Miss'. The only members who were professional musicians were George Butterworth, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Walter Ford and Cecil Sharp.

By 1912 Sharp had established a demonstration morris dance team which included George Butterworth, Douglas Kennedy (who had been introduced to folk dancing by his sister Helen Kennedy), James Paterson, Perceval Lucas, Arthur Claud Wright (known as Claud) and George Wilkinson.⁴³ Claud Wright and James Paterson were students at the Chelsea Polytechnic and they had impressed Sharp sufficiently to prompt him to recruit them to his team. The other four were non-Chelsea students who had been drawn to folk music and dance through a network of dance friends and musicians

⁴³ James C. Brickwedde, 'A. Claud Wright: Cecil Sharp's Forgotten Dancer', *FMJ*, 6, 1 (1990), 5-36 (p.14).

who worked with Sharp. A seventh member, R. J. E. (Reginald John Elliot) Tiddy, who lectured in Classics at Oxford University, was later added to the team. Barlow wrote of Butterworth that he 'was an excellent dancer and exponent of intricate dance movements and he held a prominent position in the original men's morris side, [...]'.⁴⁴

The original side of six morris dancers gave its first public performance on 27 February 1912 at the inaugural 'At Home' event organised by the newly formed EFDS. From that time on they were frequently, often with the addition of R. J. E. Tiddy, called upon by Sharp to provide practical demonstrations at his lectures. However, in December 1912 they made their first appearance on a London stage at the Savoy Theatre. The venue had been 'lent for a matinee performance by Miss Lillah McCarthy and Mr. Granville Barker'. The actress Lillah McCarthy was married to the actor Harley Granville Barker and they jointly managed the Savoy Theatre at that time. Granville Barker was presenting a series of Shakespeare's plays during 1912 at the Savoy. It may be that Sharp's association with the Stratford festival prompted Granville Barker and his wife to offer the use of the Savoy for a display of morris dancing. Presenting morris dancing at the theatre alongside Shakespeare's plays served to further reinforce the connection between the two.

Claud Wright and James Paterson were trained as physical education teachers and as such brought to the morris team a more energetic

⁴⁴ Michael Barlow, *Whom the Gods Love*, p.75.

performance than the other four. In due course, as the team became established this difference in approach started to cause a rift in the ranks. James C. Brickwedde quotes from an interview he had with Douglas Kennedy about the team and these differences, Kennedy told him that, 'We [Sharp, Kennedy, Butterworth, Wilkinson, et al.] were really more musicians than physical people ... Paterson and Wright ... stood out like sore teeth [sic] in our eyes because they were doing things from a physical point of view.'⁴⁵ Nonetheless, in the early years Wright was a key dancer for Sharp and was often called upon to demonstrate solo morris jigs. At the 1912 Stratford-Upon-Avon festival Sharp had appointed him as one of the instructors. It was at this festival that Wright was introduced to George P. Baker, Professor of Dramatic Literature at Harvard University. He had become interested in the use of traditional drama and dance in theatrical productions and his visit to Stratford was through his connections with the Memorial Theatre.⁴⁶ Baker was one of a party of Americans visiting the festival, others in the group represented the developing and growing interest surrounding the Playground Association and the Girl Scout Movement. They saw folk dancing as healthy exercise and their interest in morris dancing had been aroused by Mary Neal and Florence Warren who had lectured and taught on the subject during their recent visit to America. The upshot of this meeting was to result in an invitation to Claud Wright to visit America and teach the dances. Wright accepted the offer and Baker organised a teaching tour.

⁴⁵ James C. Brickwedde, 'A. Claud Wright: Cecil Sharp's Forgotten Dancer' *FMJ*, 6.1,(1990), pp. 5 – 36. (p. 11).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 16.

The invitation to Wright and his subsequent acceptance resulted in a definite cooling of Sharp's relationship with Wright. In Sharp's view protocol had been breached since the invitation had been sent straight to Wright and not through Sharp who felt that as Director of the dance school at the festival any invitation to one of his instructors should be through him. Brickwedde summed up the situation when he wrote:

As the surviving correspondence indicates and Douglas Kennedy's recollections substantiate, four points are quite clear:

1. George Baker invited Claud Wright to America.
2. Claud Wright went as a 'free agent'.
3. Sharp understood these arrangements.
4. The invitation for Wright to go to America was made without Sharp's prior consent.⁴⁷

Wright accepted the invitation and went to America. However, upon his return his reception was cool and his place in the demonstration team had been filled and from then on he was effectively 'sidelined' from Society activities.

What seems to emerge from this is that Sharp's personality was that of a controller. While he maintained control of the Dance Society affairs and members 'towed his line' then he was generous and magnanimous in his dealings with them. However, in the case of Claud Wright it appears that he saw him as a threat to his authority and did everything in his power to undermine his activities in America. Furthermore, Kennedy's account of the treatment Wright received by other members of the team suggests that Sharp's animosity towards Wright was taken up by them. Brickwedde

⁴⁷Ibid. p. 16.

quotes from a letter Wright wrote to Baker after his first trip to America in which he said 'I talked to Sharp of the trip and it was curious the way he took it. Since then the old jealous attitude of the Wilkinsonites is very marked and I almost wonder if Sharp is very happy that I have been so successful.'⁴⁸ In addition to this, in Fox Strangeways and Karpeles biography of Sharp both Wright and Peterson are only mentioned by name, no detail about them is provided as it is for the other members of the dance team and there is no mention of Wright's activities in America. It appears that the biography by Fox Strangeways and Karpeles is not as balanced as one would wish. This is hardly surprising, they were both close friends of Sharp, greatly admired his work and accepted him as the leader of the folk-song and dance movement. It is interesting to note that Sharp's position as 'Lord of the Dance' and his reaction to any perceived threat to that position is not too far removed from the reaction of the founding members of the Folk-Song Society to his appearance on the scene and his challenge to their authority.

Nonetheless, Sharp's energy and commitment to all things folk was unbounding. This was in spite of his continual health problems, he was a chronic asthmatic and suffered from severe arthritis which affected his eyes (iritis) and gave him periodic acute headaches and temporary loss of sight. As well as building up the English Folk Dance Society and collecting new

⁴⁸ James C. Brickwedde, p. 23.

dances he still found time to add another three hundred and fifty songs to his collection in the three year period 1912 to 1914.⁴⁹

The essential difference between Sharp's approach to traditional dance and that of Neal's was that Sharp wanted precision which required expert teachers and recognition of achievement through certification. Neal on the other hand was more interested in capturing the 'spirit'. In later years Douglas Kennedy one of Sharp's loyal supporters admitted that Sharp may have put too much emphasis on technique and in so doing undermined the spontaneity and joy of the dance. He expressed his surprise and shock when both Vaughan Williams and his close friend Gustav Holst told him that they preferred Sharp's demonstration team's performances better than those of the traditional teams.⁵⁰ On reflection this is perhaps not so surprising since both men, given their musical training, would have been more attuned to the strict synchronisation of the movements rather than the more exuberant and freer style of the traditional dancers.

The FSS simultaneously continued its work seemingly unaffected by the turmoil in the dance camp. Journal number 15 appeared in December 1910, just six months after number 14, and contained a number of songs contributed by various collectors. In the 'List of Officers' it identified Frederick Keel as Honorary Editor of the journal and in the Annual Report it stated 'In June, 1910, the Committee received with great regret Miss Lucy

⁴⁹ Fox *Strangeways and Karpeles*, p. 116.

⁵⁰ Douglas Kennedy, 'Folk Dance Revival' *FMJ*, 2, 2 (1971), 80-90 (p. 86)

Broadwood's resignation of the Hon. Editorship of the Society.' The Report went on to thank Broadwood for her 'untiring zeal' and devotion to the interests of the Society and to welcome Frederick Keel as the new Honorary Editor.⁵¹ Now that the committee, with the exception of Alfred Graves, was made up of people that had Broadwood's approval it seems that she felt that she could now relax a little, though she remained a part of the editorial team and still contributed to the journal. This edition also included the obituary for Henry Edward Denison Hammond who had collected songs in Dorset with his brother Robert, he died on 16 June 1910 aged just forty-four years.

The next journal, number 16, was published a year later, in December 1911. It was an extended edition of one-hundred and fifty-eight pages instead of the normal length of between eighty and one-hundred pages. It contained one-hundred and five songs of occupation from the Western Isles of Scotland, all of them collected by Miss Francis Tolmie. In the journal Francis Tolmie wrote that she had been introduced to Lucy Broadwood by the Rev. George Henderson and she expressed her gratitude to her for organising the 'opportunity of uniting scattered memories into a whole which may serve some purpose for illustration and comparison, even though the songs may never more be sung in this world.'⁵² For this edition of the journal Lucy Broadwood once more acted as editor, presumably to ensure that the Tolmie collection was presented as she wished.

⁵¹ 'Annual Report, June 1909 -10' *JFSS*, 4, 2 (1910), pp.iii – iv, (p. iii).

⁵² Francis Tolmie, 'Notes and Reminiscences' *JFSS*, 4, 3 (1911), 143–146 (p. 146).

The next journal, number 17, was published thirteen months later in January 1913 and the editorship returned to Frederick Keel. It contained twenty-eight songs collected by George Butterworth chiefly in collaboration with Francis Jekyll but also with Vaughan Williams, two songs were transcribed from phonograph recordings. The report for the 1911–1912 Annual General Meeting, which took place at the Steinway Hall, recorded that, after the necessary business had been concluded a concert of Gaelic and English songs was given. One of the singers was identified as Clive Carey. His name first appears in the membership list for 1911 and he was immediately proposed and elected to serve on the committee. He was on good terms with Lucy Broadwood and his name appears seven times in Broadwood's Visitors Book between October 1911 and October 1914.⁵³

The membership list printed in journal number 17, gave a membership total of three-hundred and forty-six but the Annual Report for 1911-12, which did not appear until January 1914 in journal number 18, stated that the society now had recruited 'to its numbers no less than 101 new members thus bringing the total to 358 against 257 at the end of 1911 see Appendix 3). Presumably eleven new members had joined after the list was compiled and printed in journal 17. The membership for the few preceding years had settled at around two-hundred and forty so this was a remarkable increase in the membership. The report suggests that the increase was, for the most part, due to the publication of the Tolmie collection since there had been 'a

⁵³ Lucy Broadwood, 'Visitors Book for 34 Carlisle Mansions, Westminster, London, October 1911 – April 1920', Horsham Museum Archive.

great number of Scotsmen [sic] who have joined our ranks.’⁵⁴ However, this increase in membership was short-lived.

Journal 18 contained a selection of songs collected by Cecil Sharp, fifty-five titles plus some variants giving a total of eighty-seven songs. It is interesting to note that twenty-five songs had been collected from inmates of workhouses. Eighteen were collected in Marylebone Workhouse, London, three from Ely Workhouse, two from Newcastle Workhouse and one each from Bourne and Cirencester. Sharp, and others, were turning to the Workhouses as a places where they could locate the older inhabitants of the community who would be more likely to know folk-songs. Later that year war with Germany was declared and this was to effectively put a hold on the field work and other activities of both the Folk-Song and the English Folk Dance Societies.

The establishment of the EFDS with Sharp as Honorary Director and a committee made up of people of his choosing enabled him to establish policy and direct the activities of the society in accordance with his ideas and beliefs. He was clearly not a person who was prepared to compromise and because he had not been able to get his own way with the FSS he turned his attention to folk dance. He was determined to be the leader of the dance movement. He was a skilled propagandist and effectively out-manoeuvred Mary Neal in gaining key positions to achieve this. Within the EFDS he gathered around him those people who shared his views and vision and if

⁵⁴ ‘Annual Report, 1911 – 12’, *JFSS*, 5, 1 (1914), 104–105 (p. 104).

they 'stepped out of line' they were isolated and effectively prevented from exerting any influence, as in the case of Claud Wright. The popularity and rapid growth in the membership of the EFDS and the loyalty of those closest to him is testament to Sharp's proselytising skill. Under his leadership the EFDS would become the major force in the folk movement.

Chapter 7

In War and Peace: The Folk-Song Society 1914 – 1924

Following the foundation of the EFDS the two societies peacefully co-existed and continued working in their respective fields. However, as time went on the EFDS increasingly encroached on what could be viewed as FSS territory and leading members of the EFDS became members of the FSS which served to prepare the way for the EFDS to have an increasing influence in the affairs of the FSS. The development of both societies is examined in this chapter to determine to what extent their respective paths crossed and how this affected the folk movement generally and in particular the fortunes of the FSS.

Cecil Sharp's advocacy of the use of folk song and dance to restore a national cultural identity and bolster patriotism was to be instigated through the school curriculum, as we have seen. The Stratford-upon-Avon Summer Schools for folk dance and, to a lesser extent, song associated as they were with the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Festivals, provided good publicity for the dance movement and proved to be a useful recruiting ground for the new Society. The 1914 Summer School went ahead as planned, however, plans to run a winter School in December 1914, were deemed to be 'inadvisable'¹ following the outbreak of war on 4 August. Paradoxically the war provided an unexpected opportunity to take folk music, song and dance to a new audience in the form of armed service personnel. This was

¹EFDS Committee Meeting Minutes for 17 November 1914, VWML.

important to the movement because the recruits were from the generation that collectors had identified as having rejected the songs and dances of their parents and grandparents. Here then, was an opportunity to re-introduce them to their cultural heritage, albeit through the written word, by making available a small book containing the words of folk-songs. It had been resolved at a committee meeting of the EFDS, in December 1914, to consider the publication of a 'small and handy book containing the words only of those folk songs that are especially suited for chorus singing.' It was suggested at this meeting that the Director, Cecil Sharp, 'be asked to compile and arrange for the publication of such a volume.' The suggestion for such a volume was, reportedly, in response to 'an urgent demand', but there is no indication regarding the origin of this 'urgent demand'. The resolution was moved by Lady Gomme in the chair and seconded by Maud Karpeles.²

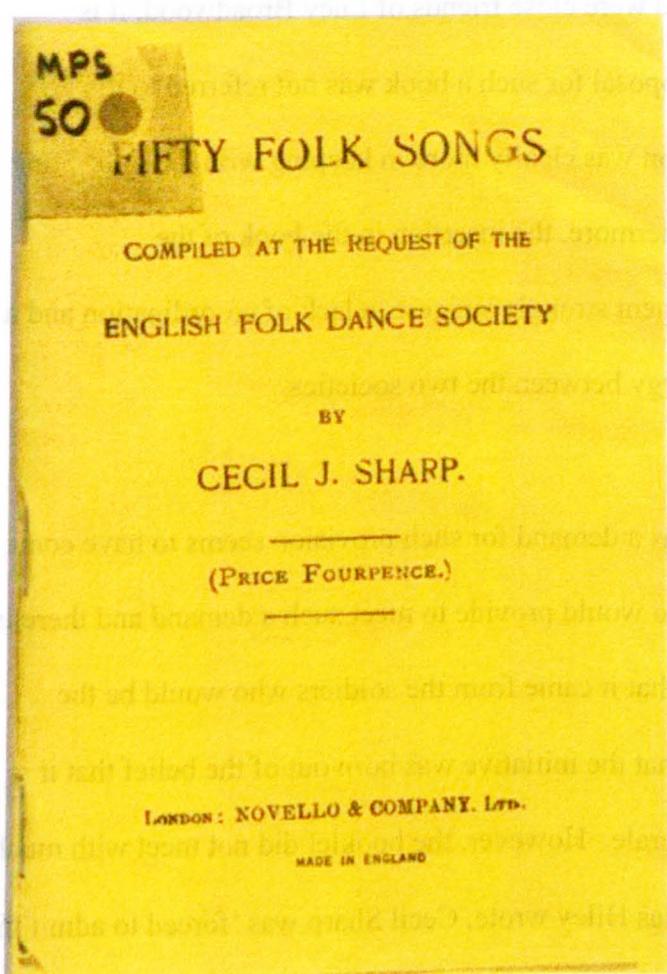
At the next EFDS committee meeting, some two weeks later, Sharp reported that arrangements had been made with the publishers Novello and Co. 'to publish a small book containing the words of 50 songs and in the front of the book the following statement should be printed "Published at the request of the English Folk Dance Society": the book would be sold at 3^d a copy.' Maud Karpeles offered to pay for a copy of the book to be sent to each member and associate member of the EFDS 'with a letter pointing out the usefulness of the book in introducing folk songs to the soldiers in training,

²EFDS Committee Meeting Minutes for 1 December 1914, VWML.

[...]³ Clearly, this constituted an encroachment by the EFDS on the terrain of the FSS and a consequent blurring of the boundaries between the two societies. (The book was actually published at 4^d per copy, see Figure 3).

Figure 3.

Front cover of the booklet of fifty folk songs (words only) published by Novello & Co. It is clearly stated that it is published on behalf of the EFDS.



Actual size.

This booklet is not listed in the bibliography of Sharp's published works given by A. H. Fox Strangeways and Maud Karpeles in their biography of

³EFDS Committee Meeting Minutes for 18 December 1914, VW£ML.

Cecil Sharp⁴. This is surprising because Karpeles paid for copies to be sent to every member of the EFDS. Perhaps they thought that it was of no particular significance because it was little more than a pamphlet. However, it is important because it is a collection of songs published by the EFDS and is evidence of the dance society getting involved with song initiatives. Furthermore, given that Lady Gomme, Sharp, Butterworth, Carey and Vaughan Williams were also committee members of the FSS and that Carey and Vaughan Williams were close friends of Lucy Broadwood, it is significant that the proposal for such a book was not referred to the FSS since such a publication was clearly more in keeping with the Folk-Song Society's remit. Furthermore, the insertion in the book of the aforementioned statement strongly suggests a lack of co-ordination and a failure to realise synergy between the two societies.

The idea that there was a demand for such provision seems to have come from those people who would provide to meet such a demand and there is no evidence to show that it came from the soldiers who would be the recipients. It seems that the initiative was born out of the belief that it would be good for morale. However, the booklet did not meet with much success and as Nicholas Hiley wrote, Cecil Sharp was 'forced to admit that they [the songs] had failed to catch on because the "average Tommy" was 'too much of a townsman''.⁵

⁴Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, pp. 221–224.

⁵Nicholas Hiley, 'Ploughboys and Soldiers: The folk song and the gramophone in the British expeditionary force 1914 – 1918' *Media History*, 4, 1 (1998), 61–76 (p. 69). (Hiley is here quoting from Haker's book *Fakesong* p. 204 who in turn quoted from a letter by

Following the proposal for a song book by the EFDS the *Musical Times* reported that Dr. W. Walford Davies had achieved a great deal in connection with camp concerts and bringing music to soldier audiences. The article commented on and quoted from an article that Dr. Walford had written for the *Times*. On the question of camp choirs he said they should be 'small, skilled, and mobile, partly modestly professional and partly amateur, armed with a carefully prepared series of suitable songs – not patriotic effusions about enlistment, but homely ditties, folk-tunes, rounds, and catches, sea chanties, a few songs frankly solemn and even religious, [...]'. He concluded by saying that 'The Committee for Music in War-time seeks to allay distress among a body of men and women who (as its first circular said) deserve well of the public.'⁶

In keeping with the idea that music and song was good for morale Michael Hurd wrote of Vaughan Williams that after he had enlisted 'he was detailed to play the organ for church parades'.⁷ He was later, towards the end of the war, made 'Director of Music, First Army, B.E.F., France – charged with drumming up choirs, orchestras, and anything else that might seem useful in the circumstances.'⁸

Nonetheless, the use of folk-song as a common denominator to engender nationalism had its critics. The distinguished music critic and regular

Cecil Sharp dated 24 October 1915 and marked 'Batchelor' to be found in the Sharp Collection, VWML).

⁶ 'Music for Soldier Audiences', *MT*, 56, 871 (1 September 1915), p. 540.

⁷ Michael Hurd, *The Great Composers: Vaughan Williams* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970) p. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 39.

columnist in the *Musical Times*, Ernest Newman, reiterated the earlier criticisms he made in an article he wrote for *The English Review* of using folk-song as the basis of a national style of music.⁹ He argued strongly against the use of folk-song to establish a national identity and said that 'One of my difficulties has always been to find a common denominator between 'Anglo-Saxon' types as different as the Yorkshireman, the man of Dorsetshire, the East Anglian and the Cockney, [...].'¹⁰ What emerges from his article is a theory of regionalism rather than nationalism, and that if music were to progress, the composers should take inspiration and ideas from any source, and that to impose criteria based on folk-music would severely limit such development. He wrote that 'a still more serious drawback is that it narrows all dramatic psychology down to that of the peasant. For the Folk idiom is so racy of the soil that it carries a suggestion of the soil with it wherever it goes.'¹¹ Newman argued that to base English music on the 'folk idiom' would stifle its development and serve to prevent any cross-fertilisation from other musical sources. The folk-song advocates on the other hand were saying that it was just this 'suggestion of the soil' that would give English music a national character though, of course, they did not accept that this would in any way stifle development, rather, it would direct the development of English music. Sharp, in his reply to Newman's criticisms in *The English Review*, wrote;

⁹ Ernest Newman, 'The Folk-Song Fallacy', *The English Review*, (May, 1912), pp. 255-268.

¹⁰ Ernest Newman, 'Russian Operas and Russian 'Nationalism'', *MT*. 55, 858, (1 August, 1914), pp. 505-507, (p. 505).

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 508.

It will be seen that Mr Newman realises that if he sets out to deny the reality of a national musical idiom, he must logically go a step further and deny the existence of all national characteristics; for, if a nation has distinctive attributes, these must manifest themselves in its music as in everything else. Mr. Newman is thus a whole-hogger, and refuses point blank to admit that the Englishman, say, possesses any distinctive qualities by means of which he may be differentiated from the Frenchman or the Spaniard.¹²

Later in the article Sharp declared that; 'But it is clear that if we are to have a distinctive school of English music, our native composers must in some way or other develop a national style, one that is intimately related to the folk-music of their own country.'¹³

However, Newman declared that 'Personally I would not give one movement of a Beethoven Symphony [...] for ninety-nine per cent of the folk-songs of England. I would rather be a good musician than a good patriot.'¹⁴ On the face of it this seems an extraordinary thing to say on the eve of war with Germany, the home of the composer he mentions. His argument was that 'of all the arts music was the most cosmopolitan' and he was concerned that the war would bring about what might be described as a 'little England' mentality resulting in 'small music' because it is trying to be exclusively English. In musical terms, Newman regarded Europe as 'one country' and it was the cross-fertilisation of ideas from musicians from different cultures that provided the stimulus for continued development. For Newman the 'real music of the future' could only result from the 'emotional

¹² Cecil Sharp, 'The Folk-Song Fallacy: A Reply', *The English Review*, (July, 1912), pp. 542-550 (p. 542).

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 549.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 507.

solidarity of mankind. From that sense alone can the real music of the future be born'.¹⁵

Following the outbreak of war it was not long before some of the leading members of the two folk societies, such as Vaughan Williams, Butterworth and Carey, enlisted in the armed services. As far as the EFDS was concerned the full impact of this momentous event was not immediately felt. However, in the case of the FSS it did have an immediate effect.

During the summer of 1914, Frederick Keel, the FSS Honorary Secretary and journal editor, was on holiday in Bavaria. He was arrested and put in a prisoner of war camp where he remained for the duration of the war.

Frederick Keel described the events in the 1948 edition of the *JEFDSS* commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the FSS. He stated:

In July 1913 I attended a Committee meeting destined to be my last for nearly five years, and, as Editor I came away with the material for the next *Journal* to prepare for publication. I took it with me on my holiday in Bavaria when, on July 28th I and my family walked right into the heart of trouble, and though my wife was able to return to England I had to enjoy the hospitality of the Germans in Ruhleben Camp until March 1918.¹⁶

Presumably the year given by Keel in his recollection should be 1914. The minutes for the committee meeting of the FSS which took place on 13 April 1915 record that 'Mr. Frederick Keel, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, who had gone to Bavaria for a holiday with his wife and family at

¹⁵ Ernest Newman, 'War and the Future of Music' *MT*. 55, 859, (1 September, 1914) pp. 571–572.

¹⁶ Frederick Keel, *The Folk Song Society 1898 – 1948 JEFDSS*, 5,3 (1948), 111 – 126 (p. 121).

the end of July 1914, (a week after the last meeting of the Committee) had been arrested by the Germans as a political prisoner on the outbreak of the War.¹⁷ The Annual Report for 1915 stated that 'The committee regret to report that Mr. Frederick Keel [...] is still detained by the Germans as a political prisoner at the concentration camp at Ruhleben, near Spandau, Berlin.'¹⁸

As a result of Keel's enforced absence his wife and the committee chairman, Sir Ernest Clarke carried out the secretarial duties and Lucy Broadwood once more took on the task of editing the FSS journal. The minutes went on to record that Frederick Keel had taken with him the material that he and Clive Carey had compiled for the next journal (No. 19) and that Lucy Broadwood had agreed to prepare and edit new material in its place.¹⁹

The English authorities had also taken similar strict action. The Government had imposed a ban on the performance of German music and German musicians resident in England, or visiting at the time, together with anyone else from an enemy nation, were interned as 'enemy aliens'.²⁰ The Austrian artist and writer Paul Cohen-Portheim was interned in a camp at Wakefield from May 1915 until the end of the war. In his account of his experiences he said of the policy of the English government that:

The Germans in England, the foreigners of enemy nations in all countries, must not be allowed to endanger the safety of the

¹⁷ FSS Committee Meeting Minutes for 13 April 1914, VWML.

¹⁸ Ernest Clarke, Annual Report for 1915, *J FSS*, 5, 3 (1916), viii – x, (p. viii).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. viii.

²⁰ Hughes and Stradling *The English Musical Renaissance*, p. 85

countries they happened to have been in when war broke out. They were therefore rounded up and locked away in camps because that was the easiest way of dealing with the problem. As a sop to certain qualms of conscience (for thousands of these prisoners had friends who knew them as harmless or likeable people) each government gave out that they were only following the enemies' example.²¹

In addition to Keel's enforced absence the committees of both the FSS and the EFDS were depleted as a result of members enlisting for armed service.

The Editorial Note in the FSS journal for 1916 stated that:

Mr. George Kaye Butterworth, Dr. Vaughan Williams and Mr. Clive Carey, were amongst the earliest volunteers to enlist in the New Army, and all have used their fine musical gifts and training unstintingly in various ways amongst our soldiers, to whom they have brought the best of music, including folk-song, with excellent results.²²

The note might also have mentioned dance since all three were active in the EFDS as well as the FSS. Indeed all three served on the committees of both the FSS and the EFDS.

George Butterworth was a member of Sharp's demonstration morris team alongside Percival Lucas, Douglas Kennedy, James Patterson, George Jerrard Wilkinson and Claud Wright. Reginald John Elliot Tiddy was later enlisted to the team. Lucas, Wilkinson and Tiddy also enlisted in the army and Wright enlisted in the navy.

A letter from Butterworth to Sharp describes how he taught soldiers at Aldershot a sword dance collected by Sharp. Butterworth told him that 'Our

²¹ Paul Cohen-Porthem, 'Barbed Wire Air' in *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* edited by David Cesarini and Tony Kushner (London: Frank Cass, 1993) pp. 219-224, (pp. 220-221)

²² Lucy Broadwood, 'Editorial Note', *JFSS*, 5, 3 (1916), 343.

training is at a standstill. [...] The great difficulty is to keep the men occupied. Things were so slack at Aldershot that I got up a set for the Earsdon sword-dance. They learnt it in 4 lessons.' He then goes on to say that 'You would have been interested to see how quickly they picked it up - instinctive, of course - there was no difficulty with the music as almost anyone can play jig-tunes on a mouth-organ.'²³ Butterworth's use of the word 'instinctive' is interesting since it provides evidence of the belief that anything 'folk' was a part of the Englishman's psyche. (However, Sharp's comment in his letter to the Rev. Etherington, cited on p. 188, that 'Cockney' girls were quicker to pick up dances than country girls seems to run counter to this). This belief, of course, was what fuelled the idea that folk dance and folk-song tunes could provide the inspiration and foundation for an English style and identity for composed music.

Percival Lucas had enlisted in the army soon after war was declared but was not immediately posted and therefore was able to continue his work for the EFDS throughout the early months of the War. He served on the EFDS committee and he also edited the first two issues of that society's journal. A review of the first issue appeared in the Folklore Society journal and simply stated that 'The first number of the Journal issued by the English Folk Dance Society, and edited by Percival Lucas, shows that this new Society is now well started and engaged in valuable work.'²⁴ Eventually he was

²³ Letter from George Butterworth to Cecil Sharp dated 7 March 1915, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, VWML.

²⁴ W. Crooke, 'Review: The English Folk Dance Society's Journal', *Folklore*, 25, 3 (1914), 393.

posted and was wounded in action in July 1916, shortly afterwards dying of his wounds. Sharp on hearing of Lucas' death, while he was in America, wrote in his diary '[John] Campbell brought me my mail including one from Helen telling me of poor Lucas's death – which shocked me terribly.'²⁵

In 1915, whilst living in a cottage belonging to Percival Lucas' sister-in-law, which was close to Percival Lucas' cottage, D. H. Lawrence wrote a short story entitled *England, My England*, which was originally intended to be published in the *Strand* magazine but actually appeared in the *English Review* in October 1915.²⁶ In the story Lawrence's central character was Evelyn Daughtry and Lawrence described him as 'refined and tending towards dilettantism'.²⁷ He based this character on Percival Lucas. Having portrayed Daughtry (Lucas) as a man of no real substance when he heard of his death he regretted having done so and, according to Ebbatson, 'wished the story 'at the bottom of the sea''.²⁸

However, in 1921 Lawrence wrote a revised and lengthened version of the story and changed Evelyn's name to Egbert. In this version he modifies his portrayal and credits Egbert with 'a passion for old folk-music, collecting folk-songs and folk-dances, studying the Morris-dance and the old customs.

²⁵'Cecil Sharp Diaries' entry for 2 August 1916, available at <http://library.efds.org/exhibition/sharpdiaaries/sharpdiaaries.html> [accessed 23 April 2010].

²⁶ Roger Ebbatson, "England, My England": Lawrence, War and Nation' *Literature & History*, 9, 1 (2000), 67–82 (p. 68).

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 69.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 68.

Of course, in time he would make money in these ways.²⁹ Roger Ebbatson puts forward the argument that by 1921 when Lawrence wrote his revised and lengthened version of the story Lawrence portrays Egbert as a 'representative of a certain strand of English culture'³⁰ and Ebbatson argued that :

The English musical renaissance sought by Cecil Sharp and his co-workers in the field was based upon a number of tenets: first, a rejection of the dominant European musical tradition; secondly the rediscovery of Elizabethan music [...] and thirdly, the large scale project centred upon the English Folk Dance and Song Society [sic] and its collectors. Thus Egbert is imagined taking part, as Percival Lucas did in fact, alongside Sharp, Vaughan Williams, Maud Karpeles, Percy Grainger, George Butterworth *et al* in a folk revival conceived as rooted in the soil.³¹

It would seem that Lawrence clearly associated the folk movement with the notion of what has now come to be known as 'Englishness'. His use of the folk movement connections of Lucas to illustrate the interests and activities of his central character suggests that this aspect of 'Englishness' had, by this time, become generally accepted as established fact.

Lawrence's change in his portrayal of Lucas from being a dilettante to someone who had a passion for 'old folk-music, collecting folk-songs and folk-dances, studying the Morris-dance and the old customs' is, on the face of it, far more accurate. However, in a letter from Viola Meynall, Lucas' sister-in-law, to Martin Secker the publisher of Lawrence's book she expressed her concern that 'the children [of Madeline and Percy Lucas upon

²⁹ D. H. Lawrence, 'England, My England', in *The Collected Short Stories of D. H. Lawrence* (London: Wm. Heinemann, reprinted by arrangement by Book Club Associates, 1974), pp. 286–313, (p. 288).

³⁰ Roger Ebbatson, p. 69.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

whom Lawrence's story is based] will reads some day of how their father cared nothing for his two second children' [...] she continued that she had written her strongest protest to Lawrence when the story first appeared and said that it is 'agonising' that it has been published again' and concluded by saying that she will do 'anything in the world' to 'stop this and to avenge this'.³² According to Fox Strangeways, Sharp said of Lucas that 'he was the first man who really understood what the folk-dance revival meant.'³³ As well as Lucas, Butterworth, Wilkinson and Tiddy were all killed in the Battle of the Somme in 1916.³⁴ Sharp was in America when he received news of their deaths. His wrote in his diary on 7 September 1916 that:

Then the English mail reached me and I read the awful news of poor Tiddy's death. Now that he Butterworth, Lucas and Wilkinson have gone I seem to have lost all my pillars except one – V. Williams and any day something may befall him. I feel too sad to get to work to do anything.³⁵

The 1916 edition of the *JFSS* carried an obituary of George Butterworth in which it was reported that he had been killed in action on the Western front on 4 August 1916, coincidentally two years to the day from the start of the war (the date of his death is reported elsewhere as 5 August 1916). The *Times* also printed an obituary of Butterworth in which it was stated that 'he took an active part in the formation of the Folk - Dance Society [sic]'.³⁶

³² University of Nottingham, Manuscripts Online Catalogue, Letter from Viola Meynall to Martin Secker, n.d. (but after the publication of *England, My England*) available at [http://longford.nottingham.ac.uk/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqAPP=Archive&dsqDB=Catalogue&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=\(RefNo=="La/Z5/5/1"\)](http://longford.nottingham.ac.uk/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqAPP=Archive&dsqDB=Catalogue&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo==) [accessed 12/05/2010]

³³ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 113.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 113.

³⁵ 'Cecil Sharp Diaries' entry for 7 September 1916, available at <http://library.efds.org/exhibition/sharpdiaaries/sharpdiaaries.html> [accessed 23 April 2010].

³⁶ 'Lieutenant George S. Kaye Butterworth. M.C., Durham Light Infantry. Killed in Action on August 4th, 1916, Aged 30 Years' *Times*, obituary reprinted in *JFSS*, 5, 3 (1916), 341.

Butterworth was a close friend of both Sharp and Vaughan Williams. In a letter that Vaughan Williams wrote to his friend Gustav Holst he stated 'I sometimes dread coming back to normal life with so many gaps – especially of course George Butterworth – he has left most of his MS to me [...].'³⁷ The war had wiped out more than half the members of Sharp's dance team. Sharp was in America on Armistice Day and he wrote in his diary 'A wonderful day, but I do not feel like making a noise [...]. I cannot forget poor Butterworth, Tiddy, Percy [Lucas] and the many others. Here they have made few sacrifices.'³⁸

The war had put a hold on the activities of the FSS and limited those of the EFDS. The FSS Annual Report for 1915 recorded that 'Certain of our more active collectors of old songs and melodies have been engaged in military operations at the front while others have been preoccupied in connection with War duties either at home or abroad'.³⁹ However, the FSS was able to use the backlog of collected material to fill up the journals throughout the war years. The publication of the journal had become the main function of the Folk-Song Society, all other activities other than the Annual General Meetings and committee meetings having been dropped. Indeed, the Welsh poet, journalist and folk-song collector Iolo A. Williams, who later became the Honorary Secretary of the Folk-Song Society (1920 to 1924), wrote of the FSS in 1935 that 'for all but a fraction of its career, [it] was little more

³⁷ Cited in Michael Hurd, p. 37.

³⁸ Cecil Sharp's diary entry for 11 November 1918 cited in Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 140.

³⁹ Ernest Clarke, Annual Report for 1915, *J FSS*, 5, 3 (1916), p. viii.

than a publishing society, and publication and discussion, rather than organised singing, is the major part of what any society can do for the traditional songs.⁴⁰

Earlier in 1916, Mrs Frank Gibson had resigned from the FSS and retired from the Committee.⁴¹ It was decided that the Chairman should write to Arthur Henry Fox Strangeways to ask if he would be willing to accept nomination for the seat on the Committee that had become vacant. A. H. Fox Strangeways was an authority on the music of Hindostan, a translator of German, a distinguished music critic and had a lifelong interest in folk-song.⁴² He was on good terms with Lucy Broadwood and the 'Visitors Book' for the period November 1911 to April 1920 for her home at 84 Carlisle Mansions, Westminster shows that he was a guest on ten occasions between June 1912 and July 1917 and in 1912 he was a guest for Christmas dinner⁴³ which suggests that he was a reasonably close friend of Lucy Broadwood. He was duly elected to the Committee at the Annual General Meeting which took place on 29 March 1916. He was also a close friend of Sharp and after Sharp's death he wrote his biography in collaboration with Maud Karpeles. He was later, in 1919, also elected to membership of the

⁴⁰ Iolo A. Williams, with an introduction by Sir John Squire, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1935) p. 190.

⁴¹ FSS Committee Meeting Minutes for 12 January 1916, VWML.

⁴² 'Obituary, Mr A. H. Fox Strangeways: Sept. 14th 1859 – May 2nd 1948.' *JFDSS*, 5, 3 (1948), 157.

⁴³ Lucy Broadwood, 'Visitors Book for 34 Carlisle Mansions, Westminster, London, October 1911 – April 1920', Horsham Museum Archive.

EFDS.⁴⁴ In due course, he was to play a significant role in bringing the song and dance societies together.

Another new FSS member elected in early 1916 was Janet Blunt who lived at Halle Place, West Adderbury near Banbury in Oxfordshire. Michael Pickering wrote of her that '[...] she lived out her days as a spinster, and as a latter-day exemplar [sic] of a dying breed, the Lady of the Manor.'⁴⁵ She had a particular interest in music and Pickering suggests that collecting songs seemed a natural extension to both her interest in music and the interest she took in the lives of the villagers and those who worked on her farm and estate, he wrote that 'the collecting began c. 1910'.⁴⁶

Cecil Sharp had written to Lucy Broadwood on 7 December 1915 and offered 'new' songs for the 1916 FSS journal (No. 20). The offer was accepted with thanks and it was decided that Sharp should be requested to prepare and edit the journal. However, it is noted in the minutes for the Committee meeting of 29 March 1916 that owing to Cecil Sharp's departure to America the journal would now have to be prepared and published under the direction of Lucy Broadwood. Nonetheless, it seems that Sharp did select some songs to be included since in the Preface to the journal it was stated that 'grateful thanks are offered on behalf of the Society to Mr. H. E.

⁴⁴ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 24 January 1919, VWML.

⁴⁵ Michael Pickering, *Village Song and Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1982) p. 4.

⁴⁶ Michael Pickering, 'Janet Blunt – Folk Song Collector and Lady of the Manor' *FMJ*, 3, 2 (1976), 114-149, (p. 141).

Piggott (H.E.P.) and Mr C. J. Sharp (C.J.S.), whose contributions form the bulk of the *Journal*'.⁴⁷

It is clear from this that Sharp declined to prepare and edit the journal because of his planned return trip to America. What is odd about these events is that Sharp, who the minutes record as being present at the committee meeting of 12 January 1916, does not seem to have told anyone on the FSS committee of his plans. Since his trip to America was to involve song collecting one would have thought that he would have discussed the trip with his FSS colleagues. There is no suggestion that such a discussion took place. At the time of the meeting on 12 January 1916 he already knew that he would be leaving for America yet the minutes for the following meeting held on 29 March 1916 read as if his departure was unexpected. There was clearly a lack of communication between the parties concerned and this seems indicative of the coolness and distance that by now existed between Sharp and his fellow FSS committee members. The publication in 1915 of the book *English Folk-Song and Dance* written by Frank Kidson and Mary Neal may well have contributed to this coolness. Kidson was a close friend of Broadwood and she shared his doubts about Sharp's 'conclusions'. The aforementioned Visitors Book records that Mary Neal was also a guest of Lucy Broadwood on five occasions between October 1912 and November 1915, the period during which the Kidson/Neal book was written and published. One of those visits was as a guest at the same Christmas dinner as Fox Strangeways.

⁴⁷ Lucy E. Broadwood, 'Preface', *JFSS*, 5, 3 (1916), not paginated.

The book was in two parts, the first part by Frank Kidson dealt with folk-song and the second part by Mary Neal dealt with folk dance. In the book Kidson challenged the 'communal theory of folk-song origin'⁴⁸ which Sharp had put forward in his book *Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (1907). In the section on dance Mary Neal re-stated her belief that the way to learn the dances was from traditional dancers and not qualified dance instructors as Sharp advocated.⁴⁹ The book received an unfavourable review from E. Phillips Barker in the *Musical Times*. He acknowledged the difficulty in writing a 'small manual' and went on to say of Kidson's part that 'This essay in general suggests that Mr. Kidson underrated the difficulty and attempted to compress his material before he had it clear-cut, thus inevitably achieving a treatment slight rather than concentrated. 'His criticism of Mary Neal's part of the book is rather more cutting. He wrote that 'With the second part of the volume it is difficult to deal seriously. Miss Neal writes with evident enthusiasm and sincerity, but is presumably more at home in other subjects.'⁵⁰

Phillips Barker was a classics scholar and a university lecturer and he had collaborated with Sharp in preparing the introduction to the three volumes of Sharp's work *The Sword Dances of Northern England*. In the preface to Volume 1 of that series Sharp acknowledges Phillip Barker's expertise and help in advising on matters relating to traditional sword dances. He stated

⁴⁸ Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p. 14.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.165 – 167.

⁵⁰ E. Phillips Barker, 'The Compendious Way', *MT*, 56, 873 (1 November 1915), pp.670–671, (p. 670).

‘To Mr E. Phillips Barker the Author owes a large debt of gratitude, not only for reading the proofs, [...] but also for materially helping in the writing of the Introduction, of which he is to be regarded as the joint-author.’⁵¹ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles stated in their biography of Sharp that ‘From 1911 onwards Sharp submitted all drafts of his dance books to Dr. E. Phillips Barker, and acknowledged more than once the assistance which he got from his clear and analytical mind.’⁵² Phillips Barker had been elected as a ‘Special Member’ of the EFDS in April 1912. His election to special membership status was proposed by Cecil Sharp and seconded by Helen Karpeles.⁵³ In accordance with Rule 8 of the EFDS Special Members were those people that the ‘Committee of Management’ could invite to join the society on the basis that they were ‘likely to advance the interests of the Society’. Their membership was at the reduced rate of 5/- per year.⁵⁴

The negative review from Phillips Barker prompted a response from not only the authors of the book but also from Lucy Broadwood, W. G. Whitaker and Helen Kennedy. Kidson’s response to the criticisms was to point out that the book was intended as an introduction to the general reader and was in no way aimed at the specialist. He also drew attention to an inaccuracy in Phillips Barker’s review. Kidson had written that the tune *Joan’s Placket is Torn* was ‘played at the execution of Mary Queen of

⁵¹ Cecil J. Sharp, ‘Preface’ in *The Sword Dances of Northern England Part 1*, published in 3 parts (London: Novello, n.d but given by Fox Strangeways and Karpeles as 1911 - 1913).

⁵² Fox Strangeways, p. 104.

⁵³ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 30 April 1912, VWML.

⁵⁴ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 3 January 1912, VWML.

Scots'⁵⁵, Phillips Barker in his review stated that 'Surely it was 'Jumping Joan', not 'Joan's Placket' that was played at the execution [...].'⁵⁶ Kidson in his reply stated that 'the two names stand for exactly the same air [...].'⁵⁷. He went on to point out that *Joan's Placket* was the name given to the tune at the time of the execution and that the title *Jumping Joan* was not given to the tune until about 1760. Neal followed much the same tack and also pointed to errors in the review. W. G. Whitaker, who was not a member of either the EFDS or the FSS, wrote to say that the Northumbrian pipes were still played in the North East; something which Mary Neal had stated but which Phillips Barker had disputed. Lucy Broadwood wrote in defence of both Kidson and Neal and again highlighted the errors that Phillips Barker had made. It may well be that the visit Mary Neal made to Lucy Broadwood in November 1915 was to discuss the response that should be made to the review.

Helen Kennedy, in her capacity as Honorary Secretary of the EFDS wrote to confirm that Mary Neal had indeed written to the EFDS to ask for a list of publication on folk dance which had been supplied. She went on to say that it was not the responsibility of the EFDS to keep her informed of future publications. Phillips Barker had made the criticism that Neal was not up to date with recent publications. Neal explained that the copy had been sent to the publisher in January 1913 and the final proofs in March 1913 but

⁵⁵ Kidson and Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance*, p. 31.

⁵⁶ E. Phillips Baker, 'The Compendious Way' p. 670.

⁵⁷ Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood, W. G. Whitaker, E. Phillips Barker, Mary Neal, Helen Kennedy, 'Correspondence' *MT*, 56, 874 (1 December 1915), pp. 730 – 732, (p. 731).

publication of the book was held up 'owing to the War,'⁵⁸ consequently anything published after March 1913 could not have been used.

Sharp had returned from America in July 1915 (his second trip in that year) and did not go back to America again until February 1916. There is no evidence to suggest that Phillips Barker discussed his review with Sharp, but there is a strong possibility that he did, given their close collaboration on matters of dance. Sharp's offer of 'new' material for the FSS journal referred to above may have been an attempt to distance himself from the controversy of the review.

Sharp had been in America, at Granville Barker's request, to act as dance advisor for his production in New York of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He had previously arranged the music and dances for Granville Barker's production of the play at the Savoy Theatre in London. During his time in America he met Mrs Olive Dame Campbell who showed him songs and ballads that she had noted in the Appalachians when she accompanied her husband John Campbell who was engaged in a project to upgrade the Appalachian school system. Sharp recognised Mrs Campbell's collection as 'original and valuable material'⁵⁹ and plans were made for his return to collaborate with her in collecting more material in the Appalachians. According to the collector and folk song scholar Mike Yates, Mrs Storrow, a philanthropic supporter of Sharp's work, 'invited Sharp to return to

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 732.

⁵⁹ Mike Yates, *Cecil Sharp in America: Collecting in the Appalachians* (1999), pp.1 – 39 (p.7). available at <http://www.mustrand.org.uk/articles/sharp.htm> [accessed 18/04/2009]

America in 1916 to continue his teaching work'. Sharp agreed, on the proviso that he would be able to spend a month or two in the Appalachians to collect songs and Yates wrote that 'In the final weeks of 1915 Mrs Storror wrote to Sharp offering him the sum of \$1000 to use as he saw fit in the mountains. Sharp accepted at once and began preparation for his first collecting trip into the Appalachian Mountains.'⁶⁰ On the face of it one can only assume that Sharp thought he could get everything ready for the FSS journal before his return to America. However given his experience in these matters, this seems unlikely. It is possible that his return visit had unexpectedly been brought forward, but there is nothing to suggest that this was the case.

Sharp returned to America in early February 1916 accompanied by Maud Karpeles, who took on the role of both secretary and companion. During the first part of the visit Sharp found work teaching and giving lectures. He wrote from Kalamazoo to his friend Paul Oppé and told him:

I have managed to get plenty of work since I arrived here about 7 weeks ago [...]. They are mad on Masques and Pageants and I have been swept into the Shakespeare Festivals they are having everywhere. It enables me to at any rate to get some control over the songs dances and music they use and that is something.⁶¹

Sharp and Karpeles returned to England in December 1916. They went back to America for a further collecting trip in April 1917 and stayed until December 1918. Due to these protracted absences Maud Karpeles had written to the EFDS committee tending her resignation as a committee

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 7.

⁶¹ Letter from Cecil Sharp to Paul Opie dated 13 April 1916 Cecil Sharp Papers Box6 Folder C , VWML.

member. The minutes for the committee meeting of 5 April 1918 record that her resignation was refused and that it was decided to co-opt an additional member to the committee to fill the vacancy and reduce the number necessary for a quorum to three. It was proposed that Miss Dorothy Caroline Daking should be the member co-opted and this was agreed.⁶²

Throughout this time Frederick Keel remained interned as a political prisoner in Germany but had been using his time in collecting songs and tunes from his fellow prisoners and organising musical entertainment for them. He wrote to Lucy Broadwood thanking her for the copy of her book *English Traditional Songs and Carols* which she had sent him and told her that it had been put to good use. He went on to tell her that he was enjoying the company and songs of his French companions and had managed to get together a collection of songs from them. He offered to do any work that could be sent out and stated that 'I do not think any difficulty would be raised against my sending back music, or FSS literature.'⁶³ In the 1916 FSS journal, Lucy Broadwood reported to the membership that Frederick Keel had 'noted a number of traditional songs from Brittany from a Breton speaking native' and that he had arranged traditional songs in parts for the camp madrigal choir, given lectures on folk music for the entertainment of his fellow internees.⁶⁴

⁶² EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 5 April 1918, VWML.

⁶³ Letter from Frederick Keel to Lucy Broadwood, dated 28 July 1916, Lucy Etheldred Broadwood Collection, Ref. 2185/LEB/1/185, SHC.

⁶⁴ Lucy Broadwood, 'Editorial Note', *JFSS*, 5, 3 (1916), 343.

The EFDS also experienced disruption to its day to day activities but to a lesser degree. This was due largely to two factors. Firstly, unlike the FSS, the EFDS had organised itself so that a network of branches had been established. Secondly the membership was overwhelmingly female and consequently, even when members were engaged in war work they remained at home. The branches organised dance instruction and social dance events. By its very nature dancing involved more people actively and this is reflected in the membership figures. In the first sixteen months of its existence the EFDS had recruited two hundred and sixty-seven members,⁶⁵ overtaking the membership of the FSS and by 1914 the membership had grown to nearly five hundred and twenty-one provincial branches had been formed.⁶⁶ By the end of the war the membership of the EFDS had outgrown that of the FSS by a large margin, (see Appendix 3).

The war also interrupted the Summer Schools for folk dancing at the Stratford-upon-Avon festivals. The 1914 Summer School went ahead in August of that year, just as war was declared, with Sharp as director and the Demonstration Morris Team intact until the end of the month. At the end of the Summer School the morris team members went their separate ways and as Fox Strangeways noted poignantly they were 'never to dance together again.'⁶⁷ However, in 1915, in addition to the usual summer School at Stratford-upon-Avon, there was also a week long dance school at Easter and a proposal to hold a Summer School at Cheltenham. In 1916 the Stratford

⁶⁵ EFDS, Minutes of the first Annual General Meeting, 13 March 1913, VWML.

⁶⁶ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p.106.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.122.

Summer School took place in July instead of the usual date in August. At the EFDS committee meeting held on 26 January 1917 it is recorded in the minutes that the 1917 Summer School at Stratford would not run due to 'difficulties in travelling'.⁶⁸ At the same committee meeting it is also recorded in the minutes that a proposal was made by Sharp, seconded by Mrs Kettlewell and resolved 'that Mr Gretton, Mrs Oppé and Mrs Hobbs be elected to fill the vacancies on the committee caused in the deaths of Mr. Lucas and Mr. Butterworth and by the appointment of Mr. Massé⁶⁹ as Hon. Treas.'⁷⁰

Massé had been a member of the FSS since 1908 and a member of the EFDS since July 1912. It is interesting to note that in 1913 he had written to the FSS suggesting that there should be more frequent changes to the personnel of the committee, the idea was rejected. Although he had been elected to the committee of the EFDS, albeit proposed by Sharp, the election procedure was much the same for both societies. Serving members were elected for a two year period and were then eligible for re-election if they so wished. This procedure did not prevent other members being proposed for election but Massé's idea for the FSS would necessitate retiring members not putting themselves forward for re-election to create vacancies for new

⁶⁸EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 26 January 1917, VWML.

⁶⁹ H. J. L. J. (Henri Jean Louis Joseph) Massé was a church historian and had contributed several volumes to the series of books known as Bell's Cathedrals, so called because the series was issued by the publisher George Bell.

⁷⁰ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 26 January 1917, VWML.

committee members, he made no such suggestion for the EFDS committee elections.

May Elliot Hobbs joined the EFDS in March 1912, she was the wife of Robert Hobbs who was a 'gentleman farmer', a noted breeder of short horned cattle and a renowned judge of cattle both at home and abroad. They lived on Bradshaw's Farm in Kelmscott, Oxfordshire and were neighbours of May Morris, the daughter of William Morris, who lived at 'The Manor'.⁷¹ In her 'Memories of Kelmscot' [sic] Marjorie Brakespeare recalled that 'We all went to the Women's Institute and learned many useful things there [...]'. Sometimes May Morris was President and sometimes Mrs Robert Hobbs from Bradshaws. There seemed to be a little rivalry about holding of the office.'⁷² The minutes for the committee meeting of 21 July 1912 stated that May Elliot Hobbs was elected as a correspondent member.⁷³ Rule 16 of the EFDS states that 'The Committee may appoint local correspondents to further the work of the Society. All correspondents must be members of the Society.'⁷⁴ In October 1912 May Morris joined the EFDS⁷⁵ and in November a set of rules for the Kelmscott Branch of the EFDS were submitted to the society and approved by the committee, the Branch to be known as The English Folk Dance Society – Kelmscott and District Branch.⁷⁶ The writer Jan Marsh has stated that 'The most common form the

⁷¹ Marjorie Brakespeare, 'My Memories of Kelmscot', available at www.morrissociety.org/JWMS/SU83.5.3.Brakespeare.pdf [accessed 18/04/2009]

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 2 July 1912, VWML.

⁷⁴ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 3 January 1912, VWML.

⁷⁵ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 31 October 1912, VWML.

⁷⁶ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 28 November 1912, VWML.

revival took in rural districts was that organised by an enthusiastic local lady such as May Morris at Kelmscott.’ This was, in fact, not the case. As we have seen, May Morris joined the society after May Elliot Hobbs had been elected as the ‘correspondent member’ for Kelmscott and she was therefore the main organiser of that branch.

The Women’s Institutes did have links with the EFDS and Marsh cited the Reading Folk Dancing Festival, at which Sharp was an adjudicator, as an example writing that the dance sides were ‘drawn from Women’s Institutes’.⁷⁷ In his biography of Sharp, Fox Strangeways quoted from a letter sent to him from a member of one of the teams that took part in the Reading Festival. She described the team as ‘not a good team; they had only had a very few lessons, were none of them under forty (to put it kindly!), and were all busy working women.’ She then quoted Sharp’s comments on their performance and wrote that he said:

I should like especially to congratulate this team. I understand that it is composed entirely of – a little hesitation here as I think he nearly said “grandmothers” – married ladies. [...] They have learned to appreciate one of the greatest charms of folk dancing, namely that it was not intended only for the young, but for the recreation of the workers of the world, as it has the power like nothing else of taking their minds off the daily drudgery which must fall to their lot.⁷⁸

The correspondent, whom Fox Strangeways does not identify by name, is clearly pleased with Sharp’s compliments and does not feel that his comments were patronising, which is how others might interpret them.

What is particularly interesting is the notion that folk dancing can be an

⁷⁷Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in Victorian England from 1880 to 1914* (London: Quartet Books, 1982) p. 84.

⁷⁸Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, pp. 107–108.

antidote for 'the daily drudgery'. There is no suggestion that working conditions should be reformed and that folk dancing should be simply a pleasant recreational activity. Sharp reveals himself here as someone who does not wish to change the status quo but at the same time someone who wants to improve the lives of working people, in short, a romantic idealist. Throughout the War the EFDS actively sought out organisations with which it could forge links to further its aims. The EFDS established links with the YMCA in France. At the committee meeting held on 12 November 1917 Miss Dorothy Caroline Dakin was chosen as the society's inspector to superintend the work of the branch at Le Havre in France and it was proposed that the branch name be changed to the YMCA Branch of the EFDS.⁷⁹ Nicholas Hiley wrote that 'Caroline Daking of the English Folk Dance and Song Society [sic] was actually invited to France by the head of the YMCA at Le Havre to experiment with the teaching of folk dancing with the troops. This proved to be a greater success than the folk singing.'⁸⁰ As a result of this, folk dancing was provided as a recreational and exercise activity at the 'rest camp' behind the lines which were provided by the YMCA. Commenting on the activities of the EFDS during the war years Winfred Shuldham Shaw wrote that 'Throughout the war it supplied several teachers under the leadership of Miss Daking to work with the Y. M. C. A. behind the lines, and at rest camps in France and England,'⁸¹

⁷⁹EFDS, *Minutes of the Committee Meeting*, 12 November 1917, VWML.

⁸⁰ Nicholas Hiley, 'Ploughboys and Soldiers', p. 69.

⁸¹ Winifred Shuldham Shaw, 'Cecil Sharp and Folk Dancing', *Music and Letters*, 3, 1 (1921), 4-9 (p. 8.).

At the next meeting on 5 April 1918, the society President, Lady Mary Trefusus, was asked to write to Mr. Fisher at the Board of Education (B.O.E.) to 'enquire if he would receive a deputation from the EFDS.' The society was anxious to contribute in any way it could to the training of teachers to teach folk dancing and folk singing in the schools. The same minutes also record that folk dancing should be introduced to Naval instructors and that 'Mrs Kennedy, Miss Daking and Miss Kennedy be appointed to consider the qualifications of any teacher who is to be sent out to France.'⁸² Mrs. Kennedy and Miss Kennedy were related by marriage, and coincidentally both were called Helen. Mrs Helen Kennedy was the wife of Douglas Kennedy and the sister of Maud Karpeles. Miss Helen Kennedy was the sister of Douglas. She was a trained teacher and one of Sharp's demonstration dancers at the vacation schools held at Stratford-upon-Avon and elsewhere.

The minutes for the meeting on 10 May 1918 record that a deputation made up of Lady Trefusis, Lady Gomme, Mrs H. Kennedy and Mr Massé were to meet with Mr. Fisher later that month. Herbert Albert Laurens (known as H. A. L.) Fisher had been elected as Liberal M.P. for Sheffield Hallam in 1916. He joined the government of Lloyd George as President of the Board of Education. In this post he was influential in the formulation of the 1918 Education Act. He was also the brother-in-law of Vaughan Williams. As a result of this connection with the EFDS he would certainly have been aware of the Society's aspirations. It was also resolved at this meeting that all

⁸²EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 5 April 1918, VWML.

teachers teaching in camps in England were 'to wear an armband with the letters EFDS in white on a dark background and the badge of the Society.'⁸³

The meeting with the B.O.E. took place and Lady Trefusus reported back to the committee that they had in fact met with Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer at the Board of Education, who made three proposals:

1. That an appendix written by a member of the EFDS be attached to the new syllabus,
2. The B.O.E. will send a physical instructor to see classes of
3. the EFDS to be trained to take the society's certificate.
3. That an inspector qualified to take physical training also be recommended to the B.O.E. by the Society.⁸⁴

With reference to the first point, it was resolved that 'Mr. Sharp be asked' and with reference to point three 'Miss Kennedy's name was suggested.' It was also resolved at this meeting that 'Members of His Majesty's Naval and Air Forces be admitted as Assoc. To the Soc. An annual payment of 1/- was adopted.' Mrs Kennedy reported that she had 'made special arrangements' with the music section of the YMCA to include folk dancing as part of their ordinary scheme for holiday work and had so recruited more than twenty volunteers.⁸⁵ The President of the EFDS, Lady Mary Trefusus, was later to be invited by the Conservative M.P. Mr. Chamberlain to attend an 'After-War Committee of the YMCA to be held on 31 October 1918.'⁸⁶ Mrs Kennedy had also had a meeting with Lady Baden Powell and it had been decided that the Girl Guides should be affiliated to the EFDS on two

⁸³ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 10 May 1918, VWML.

⁸⁴ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 26 January 1917, VWML.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 2 July 1912, VWML.

conditions: firstly that they have a society teacher at their school and secondly that they have a society teacher at their tests.⁸⁷

The meeting with the B.O.E. had clearly paid off, since in the early part of 1919 Fisher had decided to emphasize the musical side of teaching, and in February of that year Sharp was invited to become an 'occasional' inspector in Folk-Song and Dancing at the Training Colleges. Fisher had sent a member of his department, Geoffrey Shaw, to discuss the matter at Sharp's home. Following the meeting Sharp wrote to Fisher outlining his terms for accepting the post. He told Fisher he would work for one hundred and fifty days per year for a stipend of £400 plus 'out of pocket expenses'. Sharp expected that the appointment would need to be for two or three years before he could achieve his aims in training teachers for the elementary and secondary schools. He also asked for singing games to be included in his 'province' and he went on to say that in his opinion 'it would be impolitic to make folk-dancing a branch of the Medical Department.' No doubt he had in mind that Sir George Newman who had met the EFDS deputation when he was Medical Officer with the B.O.E. had now been made Chief Medical Officer of the newly created Ministry of Health.

Sharp also informed Fisher that he was the author or co-author of all the available text books on English folk-dancing and he was concerned that

⁸⁷ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 24 October 1918, VWML.

using them might be 'contrary to departmental regulation'⁸⁸. Sharp's claim was not strictly true, in *English Folk-Song and Dance* Mary Neal acknowledges Sharp's work but added 'I have also edited, with the help of Mr. Clive Carey, Mr. Geoffrey Toye and Miss Florence Warren two volumes called *The Espérance Morris Book* and Mr. John Graham has collected Midland, Lancashire and Cheshire dances in two volumes.'⁸⁹ The *Espérance Morris Book* included morris dances, country dances, sword dances and sea chanties. Since Clive Carey was, along with Sharp, a member of both the FSS and the EFDS committees it is surprising that Sharp made the claim that his books were the only ones available. However, he did so in private correspondence with Fisher and it is therefore likely that neither Carey nor Neal knew of his claim.

Fisher replied and proposed that Sharp meet with Sir George Newman, Miss Dickson and Mr. Ward to discuss his 'plan of operations in the Training Colleges'. He went on to say that he agreed with Sharp that his work would be musical rather than medical but explained that there was no music department. He assured Sharp that a place in the Medical Department would not in any way limit his musical activities. He concluded his letter by saying that there was no objection to Sharp using his own text books and wrote that 'indeed there is happily no alternative.'⁹⁰ Fisher was clearly unaware of the existence of Neal's two volumes or those of John Graham.

⁸⁸ Letter from Cecil Sharp to H.A.L. Fisher dated 6 February 1919 Cecil Sharp Papers Box 7 Folder C, VWML.

⁸⁹ Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, p. 126.

⁹⁰ Letter from H.A.L. Fisher to Cecil Sharp dated 7 February 1919 Cecil Sharp Correspondence Box 7 Folder C, VWML.

Sharp accepted the post and in a letter from Fisher to Sharp dated 9 April 1919 Fisher wrote 'I am very glad to learn that the terms of your appointment under the Board have now been satisfactorily settled'.⁹¹ In 1920 Mrs Helen Kennedy was also appointed as an 'occasional' inspector.⁹²

In addition to networking initiated by the EFDS the Workers Educational Association (WEA) approached the society and asked them to affiliate. The offer followed the 1919 *Final Report* published by the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction which had been set up to look into the future development of non-vocational adult education. The report encouraged the development of courses in music, drama, dance and the creative and domestic arts to be organised on 'W.E.A. lines'.⁹³ The EFDS would be required to pay two guineas and in return the society would have the right to send a representative to the General Council of the WEA. On the face of it this would allow the EFDS to bring folk dance to a wider audience and broaden its proletarian membership base, the offer was accepted and it was resolved that Cecil Sharp or May Hobbs should be the representative, to be decided by them.⁹⁴ The first meeting of the WEA at which the EFDS was represented took place on 25 January 1919 and it was Sharp who attended.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Letter from H.A.L. Fisher to Cecil Sharp dated 9 April 1919 Cecil Sharp Papers Box 7 Folder C, VWML.

⁹² Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, pp. 180–181.

⁹³ Bernard Jennings, *Knowledge is Power: A Short History of the W.E.A. 1903–1978* (Hull: The University of Hull, Department of Adult Education, Newlands Papers No. 1) p. 26.

⁹⁴ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 31 December 1918, VWML.

⁹⁵ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 24 January 1919, VWML.

A few days earlier a meeting had been called to discuss 'folk-music propaganda' and the founding of a School of English Folk-Song and Dance. The meeting took place at Wigmore Hall on 21 January 1919 and it was chaired by Sir Henry Hadow.⁹⁶ *The Musical Times* reported that the speakers at the meeting were;

Mr. Plunkett Greene, Dr. Arthur Somervell, Mr. Granville Barker and Mr. Cecil Sharp [...] The following resolution was carried unanimously:

'If the English Folk Dance Society is prepared to enlarge its activities, and is ready to organize an appeal for funds to secure a suitable headquarters in London (to further the dissemination of folk-music and folk-dances, to establish a reference library and a centre for practice, experiment, and instruction), this meeting appoints an advisory committee of the E.F.D.S. to consider ways and means.'

The minutes of the EFDS Committee for 24 January 1919 record that Cecil Sharp had been asked to serve on 'the Advisory committee elected at the Public Meeting'.⁹⁷ Lucy Broadwood had also attended the meeting and she wrote in her diary that she had attended a meeting on 'Reconstruction in Music' and that it was for the 'great glorification of Mr. C. Sharp'.⁹⁸ However, it was to be eleven years before such a 'headquarters' became a reality.

The affiliation with the WEA was renewed annually until 1923 when the WEA informed the EFDS that the 'minimum affiliation fee was being raised to £5, 5/-'. The minutes record that 'In view of the fact that the Society had derived no benefit the Committee decided to withdraw their affiliation with

⁹⁶ 'English Song and Dance', *MT*, 60, 913 (1 March 1919), p. 129.

⁹⁷ EFDS, Minutes of the Committee, 24 January, 1919, VWML.

⁹⁸ Broadwood Diaries January 1919, Lucy Etheldred Broadwood Collection, Ref. 6782/30, SHC

the Association.’⁹⁹ The period 1911 to 1919 was a time in which the EFDS went from strength to strength and one in which the FSS marked time.

Ralph Vaughan Williams summarised the development of the EFDS when he wrote that;

Its activities were practical rather than academic, and, whereas the Folk Song Society existed to preserve English folk music through the publication of material exactly as it had been collected, the English Folk Dance Society set out by instruction and demonstration to give back to the people of England their heritage of folk dances that were all but forgotten. Within six months branches of the Society had been formed in Oxford, Liverpool and Manchester, in Gloucestershire and Suffolk. [...] Within a few years Branches were formed in most counties of England.¹⁰⁰

An important part of the strategy of the EFDS was to return to the general public their own cultural folk heritage, or to be more accurate that part of the song and dance tradition that the EFDS deemed to be ‘folk’. Sharp wanted to establish song and dance in the school curriculum and with the help and support of H. A. L. Fisher this had been achieved.

During the same period the FSS continued in its role as a ‘publishing society’ and, under the editorship of Lucy Broadwood, had published in the Society journal an interesting selection of material from the back-log of songs that had been deposited with the society by various collectors. The leading members of the FSS who were solely FSS members were now Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood and Annie Gilchrist. Kidson’s reputation as a folk-song authority had been somewhat dented by the poor reviews the book he co-authored with Mary Neal had received.

⁹⁹ EFDS, *Minutes of the Committee Meeting*, 31 May 1923, VWML.

¹⁰⁰ Ralph Vaughan Williams, ‘The English Folk Dance and Song Society’, *Ethnomusicology*, 2, 3 (1958), 108–112 (p. 109–110).

Sharp's ideas as expressed in his book and his public speeches had become widely known and accepted by the general public. The publication eight years later of *English Folk-Song and Dance* (1915) by Kidson and Neal did little to change this. Kidson had identified the general reader as the target audience for his and Neal's book. However, the eight year gap between the publication of the two books had allowed more than enough time for the general reader to accept Sharp's views at face value. Added to this Kidson had presented his views in a straightforward way in an effort to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. A comparison of the two works shows Sharp's book to be the more erudite of the two while Kidson's work appears lightweight by comparison. Through careful planning and networking, Sharp, through the activities and organisation of the EFDS had managed to eclipse the FSS and establish himself in the public mind as the leading authority on both folk-song and dance.

In 1917 Sir Hubert Parry died. Of the original four Vice-Presidents of the FSS he had been the most active in the affairs of the society. This reduced the number of Vice-Presidents to two. It was decided to invite two candidates to become Vice Presidents to bring the number back up to four. Invitations were given to Dr. (later Sir) Hugh Allen, Director of the Royal College of Music and Dr Walford Davies, Professor of Music at the University of Wales;¹⁰¹ both accepted the invitation. In March 1918 Frederick Keel was released from prison in Germany and returned to

¹⁰¹ FSS, minutes of the Committee Meeting 19 March 1919, VWML.

England. He once more took up his role as Honorary Secretary. The war had disrupted the work of the FSS, the 1918 Annual Report stated that:

The dispersal of most of the Committee-Members – some being on active service abroad, and all being busied with important work of some kind – has reduced the meetings of the Executive to the fewest possible: [...]. It has not been possible to collect particulars about the work done for Folk-Song by collectors, lectures and composers, but it may be mentioned that our distinguished musicians and members of the Folk-Song Society, Dr. Vaughan Williams, Mr. G. Holst, Mr. Alfred Hale and Captain Clive Carey have been, and still are, organising the musical life of our fighting forces in various centres abroad, [...].¹⁰²

The FSS committee were keen to get the Society back onto an even keel following the disruption caused by the war. They were keen to re-establish their position in the folk movement and be seen as equal to the EFDS.

In 1919 Douglas Kennedy was 'co-opted a member of [EFDS] committee,'¹⁰³ he would later become a key figure in the society. In all other respects, the period 1919 to 1924 was busy but routine for the EFDS. The EFDS continued to develop the branch network and further strengthen its links with outside agencies. For the FSS this period was more eventful. In 1919 Maud Karpeles joined the FSS¹⁰⁴ and this provided a further link between the two societies. The FSS journals published for the years 1920 (no. 23) and 1921 (nos 24 and 25) were taken up with the collection of Irish songs from Ballyvouren in County Cork made by Martin Freeman. He had joined the FSS in 1915 and made his collection available for publication in the journal and the first part of the collection had been planned for 1916. However, due to his being posted abroad on active service this was delayed.

¹⁰² FSS, 'Annual Report of the Committee for the Year 1918' VWML.

¹⁰³ EFDS, *Minutes of the Committee Meeting*, 11 July 1919, VWML.

¹⁰⁴ FSS, *Minutes of the Committee Meeting*, 21 November 1919, VWML.

On his return to civilian life Martin Freeman was co-opted on to the Editorial Board of the journal. With the help of his friend Dr. Robin Flower of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum and lecturer in Celtic Studies at University College, London, he prepared his collection for publication in the journal. The FSS committee saw an opportunity here and used a marketing ploy to gain extra members and therefore much needed extra funds. At that time the journals were only available to members of the FSS. With a view to increasing the membership of the FSS, members of the Irish text Society and the Irish Folk Song Society were contacted and informed of the Irish collection to be published in the journals. They were invited to join the FSS for at least a year to obtain these journals.¹⁰⁵

According to Frederick Keel a large number did so 'in order to obtain these three important issues of the *Journal*.'¹⁰⁶ However, the membership numbers given in the journals show only a small increase during this period (see Appendix 3).

Frederick Keel continued in his role as Honorary Secretary but in April 1920 he gave notice that due to increased work load he was resigning as Honorary Secretary.¹⁰⁷ However, he stayed in post for almost another year. At the committee meeting that took place on 21 April 1921 Keel proposed that Iolo Williams should be appointed in his place. Lucy Broadwood

¹⁰⁵ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 21 November 1919, VWML. See also Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁶ Frederick Keel, 'The Folk Song Society 1898 – 1948' *The JEFDS*, 5, 3 (1948), 111–126. and EFDS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 21 November 1919, VWML. See also Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁷ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 21 April 1920, VWML.

seconded the proposal and Iolo Williams became Honorary Secretary. At the same meeting it was proposed, seconded and carried that Vaughan Williams be invited to become a Vice President.¹⁰⁸ Vaughan Williams accepted the invitation and he was duly elected at the Annual General Meeting that took place on 7 May 1921.¹⁰⁹ The FSS now had five Vice-Presidents.

At the committee meeting of 11 February 1922, Vaughan Williams stated that his friend Ernest John Moeran 'had some material likely to be of use to the Society.'¹¹⁰ E. J. Moeran was a composer who had studied at the Royal College of Music under Sir Charles Stanford and, like Vaughan Williams, he had an interest in folk-songs and had collected around one hundred and fifty songs in Norfolk and Suffolk. Moeran was subsequently elected as a member of the FSS,¹¹¹ and his collection of songs from Norfolk appeared in journal no. 26 published in December 1922. He was later elected on to the committee of the FSS at the 1923 Annual General Meeting.¹¹² Shortly before the Annual General Meeting took place Sharp wrote to the Society offering to resign due to his inability to regularly attend meetings. This was, presumably, because of his other commitments and a prolonged period of ill-health. A reply was sent to him asking him to continue to serve on the committee.¹¹³ Also in 1923 Frank Kidson was awarded an Honorary M.A.

¹⁰⁸ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 21 March 1921, VWML.

¹⁰⁹ FSS, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 7 May 1921, VWML.

¹¹⁰ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 11 February 1922, VWML.

¹¹¹ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 24 June 1922, VWML.

¹¹² FSS, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 30 November 1923, VWML.

¹¹³ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 20 October 1923, VWML.

from the University of Leeds and at the committee meeting of 3 November that year he was made an Honorary Member of the FSS.

The main activity during 1924 was the production of the journal. Lucy Broadwood was still the journal editor and the material for it was compiled and prepared by Annie Gilchrist. This was to be the first part of collection of Manx songs from the Clague collection. No further activity by members is recorded. In fact the membership had remained more or less static since the end of the war. The membership was aging and very few younger members were joining. The next FSS committee meeting did not take place until November 1924, a year since the last meeting. The minutes recorded some important developments. The English Folk Dance Society applied for membership and was elected as a member and Clive Carey resigned from the committee due to his prolonged absence in Australia. He had taken up a teaching post directing singing studies at the Adelaide Conservatory and he was also working with a dramatic repertory company. The minutes also recorded the death of Cecil Sharp who had died earlier that year on 24 June. A memorial edition of the journal dedicated to him was proposed by Vaughan Williams and agreed.¹¹⁴ Sharp had established himself as the acknowledged leader of the folk movement in the eyes of government officials and the general public. However, this was not a view shared by Broadwood and those in her sphere of influence. Nonetheless, Sharp's death had a profound catalytic effect and set in motion a series of events that would in due course bring about the foundation of one society

¹¹⁴ FSS, Minutes of the Committee Meeting, 15 November 1924.

dedicated to folk-song and dance thus posthumously realising his overriding ambition.

The war had disrupted the work of both societies and had also robbed them of a significant number of key activists. For both societies the period immediately after the war was time for taking stock and re-vitalising themselves. Sharp had dominated the folk-song and dance movement during the last twenty years of his life. Of all the people involved with the folk-song and folk dance movement his name was the one most readily associated with anything 'folk' by the general public. Through his efforts to get folk-song and folk dance onto the school curriculum and the establishment of the EFDS he had made great headway in bringing them to the public's attention. However, Sharp's unfulfilled ambition for a single society dedicated to both dance and song had not been realised. This legacy would be pursued over the next few years by the leading members of the EFDS and in particular by his successor as Director of the EFDS, Douglas Kennedy.

Chapter 8

The Folk Song and Dance Societies 1924 – 1932

After the conference at Wigmore Hall in 1919 at which Sharp had spoken in favour of a society that would promote both folk-song and dance, no progress had been made in this regard. After Sharp's death his disciples and successors in the EFDS carried on the work of that society but it was not until Lucy Broadwood died that any move was made to amalgamate with the FSS and therefore realise the proposal made at the Wigmore Hall meeting. Whether this was by design or not is not known but there is no record of any such discussions taking place and it is reasonable to assume that Broadwood would have strongly resisted any such amalgamation. This chapter will chart the fortunes of the two societies and show how eventually the leadership of the EFDS were able to bring about the amalgamation of the two societies and show that this was, in effect, a take-over by the larger society.

The death of Cecil Sharp on 24 June 1924 was an event that was publically mourned, though not mourned by everyone privately. The journal of the Folklore Society carried an obituary written by Lucy Broadwood in which she acknowledged the great contribution that Sharp had made to folk-song and dance. She wrote that 'The Folk-Lore Society has lost a very distinguished member through the death of Mr. Cecil J. Sharp, well known as a collector of English folk-songs and dances and as founder and Director of the English Folk-Dance Society.' It is interesting to note that his

membership of the Folk-Song Society was given only a brief mention, when she stated '[...] he joined the Folk-Song Society, and in 1906 some first fruits of his collecting in Somerset appeared in its *Journal*'. And yet, in a great measure due to her influence, he had been one of her fellow committee members of that Society for the previous twenty years. The piece acknowledges Sharp's contribution but lacks any real emotion. She made it clear that Sharp was a very successful collector but also one that had followed in the footsteps of several others. She concluded by saying:

'Mr Sharp was by temperament an educationalist. [...] he stands out as being the first to make a life-work during twenty-five years of what has been for others a secondary pursuit or a recreation; and the first to urge the introduction of folk-song and dance into schools, whilst making it possible by his own exertions.'¹

In public Lucy Broadwood expressed regret at Sharp's death, however, privately she had written to her sister Bertha and given a description of him that closely matches the role of 'legislator' as defined by Bauman, (see p. 18.). She wrote that:

Mr. Cecil Sharp unfortunately took up old song and old dance collecting as a profession, and, not being a gentleman, he puffed and boomed and shoved and ousted, and used the Press to advertise himself; so that, although we pioneers were the people from whom he originally learnt all he knew of the subjects, he came to believe himself to be King of the whole movement, and was by the general ignorant public taken at his own valuation.²

Indeed, Broadwood had harboured the opinion for some time that Sharp was at least as interested in his own reputation as he was in furthering the folk-song and dance cause, this is evidenced by her diary entry following the meeting in 1919 at Wigmore Hall referred to in the previous chapter.

¹ L. E. Broadwood, 'In Memoriam: Cecil J. Sharp (1859 – 1924)', *Folklore*, 35, 3 (1924), 284–287.

² Letter from Lucy Broadwood to Bertha Broadwood dated 22 July 1924, Lucy Broadwood Collection, Ref. 2297/9, SHC.

Broadwood was not the only one to express criticism of Sharp. Sir Richard Runciman Terry³ in a letter he wrote to Fox Strangeways in response to his request for information about Sharp also gave a vivid description of the 'legislator'. He wrote:

He started off all right in the folk-song business, but when he found himself in the position of High Priest of a cult he succumbed to the necessity of becoming an oracle. He invested (or rather enveloped) the simplest things with that halo of mystery that so fascinates female devotees. He was neither a folk-lorist nor an anthropologist, but he had to keep up the pose of being both. Once having formulated a theory it became a dogma with his following, and he was more or less forced into the position of having to make his folk-song "facts" fit his folk-lore theories.⁴

The *JFSS* carried an obituary for Sharp written by his friend Ralph Vaughan Williams. He contended that Sharp's work was too well known to make a critical appreciation 'any longer necessary' and he stated that, 'It is difficult at such a moment to write about Cecil Sharp in the dispassionate manner fitting to an obituary notice in a scientific journal. [...] It will be sufficient in this place to give the bare facts of his career'.⁵ Although he stuck to the 'bare facts' one is struck by the warmth and genuine regret at the passing of his friend that is apparent in the opening statement. His high regard for Sharp is more apparent in a statement he made as part of the launch for the "Sharp Memorial Fund" which Fox Strangeways quoted in an article in

³ Sir Richard Runciman Terry (1865-1938) was director of Music at Westminster Cathedral 1901-1924. He then turned his attention to musical editorship and music journalism. He had a lifelong interest in sea songs and shanties and collected in all the major ports of England. He published a collection of shanties in 1921. One of his informants was a retired sailor to whom he was introduced by a friend of his who lived in Bristol. The 'old salt' is not identified but he may well have been a shantyman called John Short of Watchet in Somerset. Sharp had collected from him prior to Terry and Terry was critical of Sharp's 'inaccuracy' when he compared his notation of songs that Sharp had also noted.

⁴ Letter from Sir Richard Terry to A. H. Fox Strangeways dated 2 November 1931, Sharp Collection, VWML.

⁵ R. Vaughan Williams, 'Obituary. Cecil James Sharp. Born November 23rd. 1859. Died June 24th, 1924 *JFSS*, 7, 28 (1924), 200-201.

Music and Letters. Fox Strangeways was also a close friend of Sharp, indeed, he had founded the journal *Music and Letters* following Sharp's suggestion for such a journal.⁶ In the article Fox Strangeways was putting forward the view that a great many people shared Sharp's 'faith that he had given something worth having to his fellow-countrymen'. He wrote that:

[...] the words of Dr. Vaughan Williams express very much what they feel. He said:- "When the history of the English music revival of the twentieth century comes to be written, the most famous name of the period will be, I believe, not that of a composer, performer or theorist, but that of Cecil Sharp, who rediscovered our English folk songs and dances and gave them back to those to whom they belong It is the music of the home, the amateur which finally makes us a musical nation: the highly skilled professional musician is the crest of the wave - without the wave the crest cannot exist."⁷

To say that Sharp had 'rediscovered our English folk song' was perhaps a little rash and cannot have pleased either Broadwood or Kidson who had both collected and published folk songs several years before Sharp had collected his first song, a point clearly made in Broadwood's obituary of Sharp and in the letter to her sister Bertha. Nonetheless, Sharp had been the most successful collector in terms of the size of his collection. The notion that the folk-song collectors, and Sharp in particular, in effect rescued and returned folk-songs 'back to whom they belong' is one which, as we have seen, has been challenged on the basis that what was returned were sanitised and edited versions of the songs originally collected.

Shortly after Sharp died the EFDS, of which he had been Director, applied, for membership of the FSS. The FSS minutes record that the application

⁶ 'Cecil Sharp', *Music and Letters* 3, 1 (1921), 3.

⁷ The Editor [A. H. Fox Strangeways], 'The Sharp Memorial Fund' *Music and Letters*, 6, 4 (1925), 208-209.

was proposed by Vaughan Williams and seconded by Lucy Broadwood. No doubt Broadwood felt that a more amicable relationship between the two societies would be possible now that Sharp was no longer in control, furthermore, having the EFDS as a member of the FSS was a long way from any kind of amalgamation. In addition, the question of the issue of a 'memorial number' of the journal to Cecil Sharp was agreed but 'due to the advanced state of the Manx collection, it was decided that the memorial number to Mr. Sharp (suggested by Dr. Vaughan Williams) should be issued after the Manx collection providing that arrangements could be made with Mr Sharp's executors'.⁸ At this time Lucy Broadwood was starting to scale-down her commitments to the FSS. She had made it known that she wished to relinquish the editorship of the journal in 1923 but had agreed to continue until she finished the work already in progress. However, the minutes did not record that this would delay the 'memorial number' until 1927 because the Manx collection would fill three issues of the journal. The collection was from the manuscripts of Dr. Clague who was a founder member of the society. The collection was selected by Annie Gilchrist, and Lucy Broadwood, true to her word she relinquished the editorship of the journal after the completion of this project.

The role of editor passed to Frank Howes. Howes had joined the Society in 1924 and was co-opted to serve on the Committee in 1926.⁹ He was on the staff of *The Times* and later became its music critic and he also lectured at the Royal College of Music. The first journal under Frank Howes'

⁸ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 15 November, 1924, VWML.

⁹ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 30 June, 1926, VWML.

editorship was number 31, published in 1927. This was the edition that contained a selection of hitherto unpublished songs from the collection of Cecil Sharp. The songs were chosen by Ralph Vaughan Williams and Sharp's literary executor, Maud Karpeles,¹⁰ gave permission for their publication. In the Preface Howes wrote 'The English [sic] Folk Song Society will rejoice to see that in this number of the *Journal* the familiar initials L.E.B. still occur in the text though not at the end of this Preface.'¹¹ Broadwood's timely resignation as editor meant that she did not have to contribute any editorial comment about Sharp, her contributions were restricted to informative comments on the songs and tunes. No doubt she was pleased with this arrangement given her privately expressed view of Sharp. Somewhat surprisingly the mistake made by Frank Howes in referring to the FSS as the *English* FSS seems to have gone unnoticed, or unreported. No mention is made of it in the committee meeting minutes or in the list of 'CORRIGENDA TO *JOURNAL* No. 31.'¹² which was given in the next journal (no. 32). Such an error had not occurred before in the pages of the journal and for the new editor to commit such a solecism might well have marred the start of his editorship, particularly since the Dance Society described itself as 'English'.

In the same year as Sharp's death (1924) the FSS lost one of its Vice-Presidents, Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, who was one of the four original Vice-Presidents of the FSS. His obituary appeared in the same FSS journal

¹⁰ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 1 March, 1927, VWML.

¹¹ Frank Howes, 'Preface' *JFSS*, 8, 1 (1927), not paginated.

¹² 'CORRIGENDA TO *JOURNAL* No. 31' *JFSS*, 8, 2 (1928).

that carried Sharp's obituary (December 1924). Stanford's obituary was written by E. J. Moeran, who was now a member of the FSS Committee and one of Stanford's former pupils. He stated that, 'Although personally not an active collector, he [Stanford] was the first composer in England to incorporate folk-songs and their style into symphonic music.'¹³ It has already been recorded in chapter 3 that Sharp and Stanford clashed over the selection of songs to be used in schools. Sharp had very set ideas and was always ready to enter into dispute with anyone who did not share his views. Gammon summarised this aspect of Sharp's character very well and cited a list of friends and associates with whom he had disputes and sometimes serious disagreements. Gammon added that 'On the other hand, he inspired tremendous affection and loyalty among his friends and followers. These include, most significantly, Ralph Vaughan Williams (sometimes a moderating influence on Sharp's excesses), Maud Karpeles, Douglas Kennedy and Helen Kennedy.'¹⁴

The idea for launching a memorial fund to commemorate the work of Sharp had been raised at the Special Meeting of the EFDS Committee which took place on 1 July, 1924, one week after Sharp's death. Lady Mary Trefusis in the chair wanted immediate consideration of a memorial as 'there was a danger of a number of different schemes being formulated.' Clearly, it was important to the EFDS to take ownership of the establishment of a

¹³ E. J. Moeran, 'Obituary. Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, Mus. Doc., D.C.L. Born September 30th, 1852. Died March 29th, 1924.' *JFSS*, 7, 28 (1924), 199.

¹⁴ Vic Gammon, Introduction – Cecil Sharp and English Folk Music' in *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection* London: English Folk Dance and Song Society in association with Folk South West, 2003) pp. 16-17.

memorial. The memorial, it was decided, should 'take the form of a Central Hall as Headquarters of the Society.'¹⁵ This was a revival of the motion passed at the Wigmore Hall meeting at which Lady Trefusis had been present. The suggestion that a building was the most appropriate memorial was further reinforced by a letter from Charles Sharp (Cecil Sharp's son) to the EFDS Committee. The letter informed them that his father had left to the Society his collection of books of songs and dances, but not including the manuscripts. He further informed them that 'This bequest is subject to the condition that the books should be suitably housed in such a way as to be accessible to those members of the Society and General Public who may come to make use of them.'¹⁶ The EFDS 1924 Annual Report recorded that the collection amounted to 'about a thousand volumes' and stated that 'Such a permanent home for English folk-music and dance had long been Mr. Sharp's own ambition and has become a necessity if the legacy of his library to the Society is to materialise.'¹⁷ The bulk of Sharp's collection were song books and the establishment of such a library could be seen as moving a step closer to creating a society for both song and dance.

At the same meeting Vaughan Williams was asked to be Musical Adviser to the Society, to which he agreed. It was also decided to invite Mr Plunket Greene and Miss Evelyn Sharp (Cecil Sharp's youngest sister) to join the Advisory Council. Evelyn Sharp was a keen folk dancer, a 'hobby' she

¹⁵ EFDS, Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Committee, 1 July, 1924, VWML.

¹⁶ EFDS, Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Committee, 1 July, 1924, VWML.

¹⁷ The English Folk Dance Society Annual Report for 1924, p. 3. VWML.

shared with her lover Henry Nevinson.¹⁸ She had joined the EFDS as an Associate Member in 1917.¹⁹ In 1924 both she and Plunket Greene were invited by the EFDS committee to become members of the Advisory Council²⁰. Two weeks after the invitations were sent out at the next committee meeting the minutes record that both Plunket Greene and Evelyn Sharp had 'consented to serve on the Advisory Council'. It is interesting to note that at the same meeting Plunket Greene was admitted as a member of the Society and Evelyn Sharp's name appears as a member of the Executive Committee.²¹ No explanation is given for this. Plunket Greene was elected to serve on the General Council, a body elected by the Executive Committee.²² Plunket Greene was a member of the FSS and had been so since its foundation. Co-opting him to serve on the EFDS general Council further strengthened the links between the two societies. Evelyn Sharp was an established writer and journalist, and would be able to use her contacts to promote the EFDS as well as keeping the name Sharp on the committee.

At this point it will be useful to provide a little background information on Evelyn Sharp. Evelyn Sharp was a successful writer and journalist. She greatly admired the work of her brother Cecil. She was a keen folk dancer and joined the EFDS in 1917 but resigned her membership in 1920. She had also been an active member of the suffragette movement and had served

¹⁸ Angela V. John, *Evelyn Sharp: Rebel Woman, 1869 – 1955* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.179.

¹⁹EFDS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 17 January, 1917, VWML.

²⁰EFDS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 1 July, 1924, VWML.

²¹ EFDS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 17 July, 1924, VWML.

²²The EFDS Annual Report for 1924, VWML.

two short sentences in prison for her activities, once in 1911 for fourteen days and again in 1913 when she and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence were arrested and sent to prison. In both cases she was sent to Holloway Prison. In 1903 she had met the journalist and war correspondent Henry Nevinson. Nevinson was married but was an incorrigible womaniser and he and Evelyn Sharp embarked on an affair that was to last for the rest of their lives, (they eventually married in 1933, shortly after the death of Nevinson's wife Margaret, who had been a friend of Evelyn Sharp). Nevinson was very sympathetic to the suffrage movement and actively campaigned for it. At the end of the First World War, Evelyn Sharp joined the Labour Party and was a regular columnist for the *Daily Herald*. Regular work, her additional writing activities and her work assisting the Society of Friends with their relief work in Germany and Russia during the early 1920s took up all her time and kept her away from home for long periods.²³ This is probably the reason for her resignation from the EFDS. In 1923, Henry Nevinson was invited to become a member of the EFDS Committee.²⁴ He accepted the offer and his election to the Committee was 'ratified' at the General Meeting of the EFDS on 7 June 1923.²⁵ Perhaps it was Nevinson's co-option onto the EFDS Committee that influenced Evelyn Sharp's decision to re-join.

Henry Nevinson was a committee member while Cecil Sharp was still alive and they were sometimes both in attendance at meetings. It is not known

²³ Angela V. John, *Evelyn Sharp*, p. 128.

²⁴ EFDS, *Minutes of the meeting of the Committee*, 26 April, 1923, VWML.

²⁵ EFDS, *Minutes of the eleventh Annual General Meeting of the English Folk Dance Society*, 7 June, 1923, VWML.

whether or not Sharp knew of Nevinson's affair with his sister but the situation must have been at least a little difficult for Henry Nevinson. Evelyn Sharp became a committee member after the death of her brother and she attended meetings regularly and often chaired them. Nevinson attended less regularly but when he did Evelyn Sharp was also in attendance. Again, the potential for difficult situations, given the outward propriety of middle class society at the time, must have been considerable. Also, given that Evelyn Sharp and Nevinson had been having an affair for over twenty years and this was known to their immediate friends,²⁶ it would be remarkable if their fellow committee members did not at least have suspicions. Nonetheless, the Committee conducted the affairs of the Society without any apparent difficulty and arrangements for the Sharp Memorial Fund continued.

A public meeting to launch the Memorial Fund took place at Mansion House, London on 18 May 1925.²⁷ H. A. L. Fisher presided at the meeting and served as Chairman of the Fund Committee throughout its existence. The FSS Committee decided to send Frederick Keel to the meeting as their representative.²⁸ At this meeting letters of support were read from the Earl of Balfour and the Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. It was announced by Lady Mary Trefusis, President of the EFDS, that approximately five thousand pounds had already been raised by the EFDS and that this was 'sufficient to provide for the site of the new central building.' Fox

²⁶ Angela V. John, *Evelyn Sharp*, p. 48.

²⁷ 'The Cecil Sharp Memorial', *MT*, 66, 998 (1 June 1925), p. 517.

²⁸ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 15 November, 1924, VWML.

Strangeways was later to state that the EFDS membership had already subscribed 'among themselves a number of pounds not far short of their total membership.'²⁹ This put the membership of the EFDS at about five thousand, far in excess of the FSS whose membership throughout this period remained at about two hundred and twenty (see Appendix 3). It was to take five years to raise enough money to pay for the building which was eventually opened in 1930 at a cost of £32,000.³⁰

A year after Sharp's death, his wife Constance tendered her resignation from the FSS.³¹ She had joined the Society in 1905, a year after her husband had been elected to the FSS committee, and no doubt she did so in support of her husband. She was also a founder member of the EFDS. Fox Strangeways wrote of her that 'She was far from being unsympathetic towards his work, but regretted that it should be so all-engrossing: she accepted its value from Cecil's estimation rather than from her own conviction.'³²

The *JFSS* for 1927 carried an obituary, written by Lucy Broadwood, of Frank Kidson who had died in November the previous year. The obituary is a reprint of that which had appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* issued 20 November 1926. Broadwood said of him that 'The worlds of music and archaeology are the poorer through the sudden death of Mr. Frank Kidson,

²⁹ A. H. Fox Strangeways, 'The Sharp Memorial Fund' *Music and Letters* 6, 4 (1925), 290. This figure includes Branch Members; see Appendix 3.

³⁰ F.H. 'Cecil Sharp House', *MT*, 71, 1049 (1 July 1930), p. 647.

³¹ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 18 July, 1925, VWML.

³² Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 21.

[...] In generosity and sincerity he was unrivalled.' She concluded by saying that 'Frank Kidson leaves many sorrowing friends, he having been a friend of unflinching loyalty and truth himself.'³³ The general tone and the affection that she clearly felt for Kidson is readily apparent and is very markedly different to the obituary that she wrote for Sharp. Kidson's achievements had been recognised by the University of Leeds when, in 1923, the university bestowed upon him an Honorary Master of Arts degree. The FSS followed suit and wrote to him congratulating him on his award and made him an Honorary Member of the Folk-Song Society.³⁴

The President of the FSS, Lord Tennyson, died on 2 December 1928. He had held this position since 1904. At the Annual General Meeting which took place on 12 December 1928 Lucy Broadwood was elected President of the Society. However, her Presidency was short-lived. She died at Dropmore in Kent on 22 August the following year while staying with relatives. She had taken the opportunity to attend the Arts Festival that was being staged at nearby Canterbury at that time. The Folk-Song Society's 'Annual report of the Committee for the year 1928' was published in the 1929 *JFSS* which was issued in December and it made the following announcement 'With the deepest regret the Committee has to announce that Miss Lucy Broadwood passed away after a very brief illness on August 27th [sic] 1929'. Her obituary appeared in the same journal and Walter Ford wrote of her that:

³³ Lucy E. Broadwood, 'Obituary; Frank Kidson, M.A., born November 15th, 1855. Died November 7th, 1926.' *JFSS*, 8, 1 (1927), 48–49 (p. 49).

³⁴ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 20 October, 1923, VWML.

She was human as well as learned, bestowing upon the doggerel verses, which abound in folk-song, not tolerance but affection. 'Even the most grotesque,' she says [...], 'when analysed, will prove to contain dramatic and noble elements in awkward disguise.' [...] she will be remembered as a competent pianist and as a singer distinguished among London amateurs at musical gatherings and concerts. [...] Others will recall with gratitude her help in early days of struggling before success came.

He concluded by stating that:

Members of this Society do not need to be reminded of their debt; scarcely a number of the *Journal* has appeared without some valuable contribution from her hand, and many have been almost entirely her own from beginning to end. All will agree that the Society has suffered a great loss.³⁵

The obituary that appeared in the *Musical Times* also recognised her scholarship and the obituarist wrote of her that:

Miss Broadwood possessed an immense amount of varied antiquarian learning including a knowledge of early printed ballads and broad-sheets. She thus combined in herself the two parallel streams of English traditional music – the written and the oral. As an editor she was scrupulously accurate, systematic, and lynx-eyed with the result that the *Journals* of the Folk-Song Society are models of erudition and order.³⁶

Her illness was obviously sudden and very brief, since two days before her death Lucy Broadwood wrote this last entry in her diary:

[...] In morning I walked by myself to High St did some shopping and returned before 1. In afternoon Mary, Barbara and I drove to the Cathedral and saw a performance of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus by the Norwich Players in the Chapter House. After the end we walked back to Dropmore, had tea and remained reading and writing for rest of day. Fine weather.³⁷

Lucy Broadwood was buried in the churchyard at Rusper on the Surrey-Sussex border near to the family home at Capel, Lyne. Inside the church, where as a young woman she had been organist and choir mistress, is an

³⁵Walter Ford, 'Obituary; Lucy Etheldred Broadwood: born August 9th, 1858. Died August 22nd, 1929.' *JFSS*, 8, 3 (1929), 168 – 169.

³⁶F. H. [probably Frank Howes], 'Obituary', *MT*, 70, 1040 (1 October 1929), p. 943.

³⁷Broadwood diaries 20 August, 1929, Lucy Broadwood Collection, SHC..

alabaster plaque which was commissioned by the family to commemorate her life. Her close friend, Mary Venables, also commemorated Lucy Broadwood by writing a memoir of her which was circulated amongst Broadwood's family and friends.³⁸ One of these was Lucy's eldest sister Mary Stewart Shearme and in a letter she wrote she made the remarkable, and on the face of it uncharitable, statement that 'I have had Miss Mary Venables charming monograph typed for you & 3 or 4 of dear Lucy's special friends.' She went on to say that such a memoir should not be published because 'I do not think her life was sufficiently eventful to make a memoir interesting and who is there who will care to read it even 20 years hence? She was not a mother or grandmother to be worshipped by descendants!'³⁹ How wrong she was, Broadwood's achievements with respect to the FSS are still the stuff of discussion and debate.

Lucy Broadwood was succeeded as President of the FSS by Vaughan Williams. He was nominated at the Committee meeting that took place on 30 October 1929⁴⁰ and his 'confirmation' was unanimously agreed at the Annual General Meeting of the FSS held on 4 December 1929. At the same meeting Anne Gilchrist was made a Vice-President.⁴¹ These positions did not give the holders any authority in terms of decision making or policy formation, rather they were Honorary titles bestowed in recognition of the valuable contributions that both people had made to the work of the FSS.

³⁸ Mary Venables, 'Lucy Etheldred Broadwood 1858-1929' Lucy Broadwood Collection, Ref. 2297/6, SHC.

³⁹ Letter from Mary Stewart Shearme – addressee not identified, Lucy Broadwood Collection, Ref. 6192/2/1, SHC.

⁴⁰ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 30 October, 1929, VWML.

⁴¹ FSS, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, 4 March, 1 December 1929, VWML.

The death of Lucy Broadwood removed from the FSS the last folk-song collector who had served on the Committee since the foundation of the Society. The one remaining founding member still on the Committee was Lady Gomme, who also served on the Committee of the EFDS. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was the last surviving Vice-President who still served in that capacity. Alfred Graves and J. A. Fuller Maitland had both retired from the Committee in 1921. They lived in Harlech in Wales and Carnforth in Lancashire respectively and had only attended meetings on rare occasions. Consequently at the Committee meeting that took place on 12 March 1921 the Secretary was instructed to write to them to ask them to vacate their seats on the Committee to allow new members to take their place who would be able to attend more regularly.⁴² No further mention is made of this in subsequent minutes but it must be assumed that they both agreed since their names no longer appeared on the list of officers after 1921 though they both kept up their membership of the FSS.

In effect the 'old guard' was gone. Lady Gomme had equal allegiance to the EFDS. This change in circumstances provided opportunity for change in the policy and direction of the FSS. The momentum for such change was soon to gather pace. The membership of the FSS was aging and as members died their places were not being taken up by newer members. The average age of the committee was fifty-seven, the youngest member, Ernest Moeran was thirty-eight and the oldest was Fox Strangeways at seventy-three. The average age of the EFDS committee was forty-seven. The youngest

⁴²FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 12 March, 1921, VWML.

member was Douglas Kennedy at thirty-nine and the oldest was Evelyn Sharp who was sixty-three. Lady Gomme was seventy-nine and served on both committees, to avoid giving a skewed figure of the average age she has not been included in the calculation. However, the age profile of the EFDS membership was much younger than that of the FSS and the EFDS minutes show that there was a steady stream of new recruits.

The total membership of the FSS in 1929 was just over two hundred. With the death of Broadwood the EFDS saw an opportunity to broach the idea of amalgamation. At the FSS Committee meeting which took place on 4 April 1930 a letter from Douglas Kennedy, written in his capacity as Director of the EFDS, was read to the Committee. The letter stated that the building in memory of Cecil Sharp was 'nearing completion' and he proposed that a conference be held between representatives of the two societies to examine the possibilities for closer co-operation and 'a share in the benefits and amenities the building will offer.' The letter concluded by stating that the EFDS had already appointed their representatives who were 'Miss M. Karpeles, Mrs Shuldham Shaw, Dr. R. Vaughan Williams and myself'.⁴³ The inclusion of Vaughan Williams, who had acted as musical advisor to the EFDS since 1924⁴⁴ and who was now President of the FSS was most likely a ploy to allay any misgivings that the FSS delegation might have that this invitation was really a 'take-over bid'. After discussion, the FSS Committee voted in favour of a motion, which was proposed by Frederick Keel and seconded by Fox Strangeways, to accept the invitation to a

⁴³FSS, *Minutes of the meeting of the Committee*, 4 April, 1930, VWML.

⁴⁴EFDS, *Minutes of the meeting of the Committee*, 11 June, 1924, VWML.

conference and elect delegates to attend. The delegates elected were 'Mr. Martin Freeman, Mr Howes, Mr. Arthur Pearson, and the Hon. Secretary' [Miss Lydia John].⁴⁵

The two delegations met the following month (19 May) at Cecil Sharp House. The building had not yet been officially opened and work was still taking place on part of it; it was not formally opened until 7 June 1930. The *Musical Times* reported that 'it was handed over by the organisers of the Cecil Sharp Fund to the E.F.D.S. [...] Mr. H.A.L. Fisher declared the building open.'⁴⁶ Choosing the new headquarters of the EFDS as the meeting place was, presumably, a tactic to illustrate to the FSS delegation the amenities that would be available to them if the societies amalgamated.

The EFDS party included an extra delegate, Lady Gomme, (who was also a member of the FSS Committee). No explanation is given for this and whether or not her attendance was a surprise to the FSS delegation is not known. It may be that she was co-opted to provide a balanced view from the perspectives of both societies since she had reservation about the amalgamation. Nonetheless the minutes record that she attended as one of the delegates 'For the English Folk-Dance Soc.'⁴⁷.

The meeting got under way and Vaughan Williams was voted to the chair. Douglas Kennedy outlined the advantages to the FSS of 'co-operation', the

⁴⁵ FSS, *Minutes of the meeting of the Committee*, 4 April, 1930, VWML.

⁴⁶ F.H. 'Cecil Sharp House', *MT*, 71, 1049 (1 July 1930), p. 647.

⁴⁷ FSS, *Minutes of the meeting of the Committee*, 13 June, 1930, VWML.

issue of the journal was raised and Kennedy stated the FSS could have 'a larger or smaller portion of the EFDS Journal according to their material.' Frank Howes stated that he was in favour of amalgamation but wanted to delay this for 'some little time in case new material came in.' He was referring to material that might be suitable for inclusion in the FSS journal and as editor he wanted the freedom to be able to add to the material he had already prepared for the next issue. Presumably he was thinking that if amalgamation took place in the near future then he would not have that degree of editorial control. Douglas Kennedy made the point that the EFDS was exclusively English but the FSS was not and this would be a difficulty of amalgamation. Maud Karpeles stated that collecting in foreign countries should 'be done by people resident in foreign countries and not undertaken by British Collectors.' Clearly she excluded her collecting trips to the Appalachians in America with Cecil Sharp and her own collecting expedition to Newfoundland in September and October the previous year (she was to return to Newfoundland just two months after the meeting⁴⁸). Her justification for this, no doubt, was that the singers were English-speaking and the songs of British origin and therefore not really 'foreign'. Nonetheless her position on this does seem a little hypocritical.

Lady Gomme expressed the opinion that 'there was not much more material to be collected with the exception of variants'. Lady Gomme was not a field collector and it is not known on what evidence, if any, she based this opinion. Vaughan Williams asked Kennedy to provide some detail of what

⁴⁸ Maud Karpeles, *Folk Songs from Newfoundland*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1971) p. 13.

he meant by amalgamation and he explained that members of the FSS would become members of the EFDS and enjoy all 'the same facilities and privileges.' The editorial board of the EFDS journal could be supplemented by members of the FSS. On the matter of subscription Kennedy explained that:

'The EFDS Town Members paid a guinea annually and its country members half a guinea annually. The FSS members would be regarded as Country Members of the EFDS and pay 10/6 annually. As to the Journals it would be much cheaper to embody both in one journal.'⁴⁹

The membership fee for the FSS had remained at 10/6 annually since the Society's foundation. The proposal by the EFDS to keep it at that rate for FSS members effectively prevented the question of membership fees being a reason for objection to amalgamation from FSS members. Lady Gomme, who served on the committees of both societies, expressed the opinion that she 'was not in favour of amalgamation it would mean the extinction of the F.S.S. which had done excellent work for 32 years.', presumably she felt that the bigger society would overshadow the smaller and that dance would take priority over song, but Vaughan Williams said that he was in favour of 'practical amalgamation', though he offered no explanation as to what he meant by this. Douglas Kennedy told the FSS delegates that 'The FSS could make a stipulation that their Editorial Board should be presented on the E.F.D.S. editorial board.' In the event of amalgamation between the two societies it was suggested by the EFDS delegation that the new organisation should be known as 'The English Folk-Song and Dance Society'. The

⁴⁹ Minutes of the meeting of delegates from Folk-Song Society and the English Folk Dance Society 19 May 1930, included in minutes of FSS committee meeting 19 May 1930, VWML. See also Appendix 3.

proposed name was underlined to highlight it in the minutes. The EFDS committee agreed to draw up a form of Cooperation on Amalgamation which would be sent to the FSS for their consideration.⁵⁰

In June the EFDS sent a letter containing a formal invitation to the FSS to 'consider the possibility of amalgamating the two Societies'. The letter made it clear that the words 'English – Folk – Dance should appear in any title to be considered.' The subscription rate of 10/6 that FSS members were currently paying would be honoured for existing members and there would be 'no difficulty over the matter of the Journal or the constitution of the Editorial board.' The letter concluded by stating that there were two vacancies on the Executive for FSS members which could be reserved for a short time.⁵¹ The letter was read at the FSS committee meeting on 13 June 1930 and was discussed at length. Lady Gomme moved that the proposal should be rejected but this motion was lost. A sub-committee was appointed to 'decide the conditions on which the invitation should be accepted.' The sub-committee was made up of Frederick Keel, Martin Freeman and Frank Howes.⁵²

The sub-committee met a week later and formulated the following resolutions for amalgamation. The FSS journals currently in preparation for 1930 and 1931 must be finished and issued and paid for by the Amalgamated Society. Miss Lydia John, the present Honorary Secretary,

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Letter from Douglas Kennedy to Miss Lydia John (Hon. Sec. of the FSS) dated 6 June 1930, VWML.

⁵² FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 13 June, 1930, VWML.

should remain in charge of business connected with the FSS and continue to receive the annual £10 honorarium until the printing of the FSS journals is discontinued. The new journal should be published at least once a year and should have adequate space 'alloted [sic] to any Folk-Song material that may come to hand.' The suggested title for the new society (The English Folk-Song and Dance Society) was agreed with the proviso that the use of the word 'English does not preclude the inclusion of foreign folk song material in the Journal.' It was also decided that the two persons elected by the FSS should hold office on the Executive Committee of the new society 'for the period for which such members are elected.'⁵³

When the FSS Committee next met the resolutions formulated by the sub-committee were tabled and discussed. Vaughan Williams proposed that the report be sent to the EFDS Secretary 'as it stands' and this was seconded by Fox Strangeways. Lady Gomme proposed an additional clause should be added to the effect that any income accruing from the sale of past journals should be set aside and used 'for the purposes of Folk-Song collection, research and publication so that the identity of the Folk-Song Society may be preserved.' This was agreed and Lydia John was instructed to write to the EFDS secretary to inform her that the FSS had decided to put before the FSS membership 'the terms on which they are prepared to recommend the acceptance of the invitation of the English Folk Dance Society to amalgamate.'⁵⁴

⁵³FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Sub-Committee, 20 June, 1930, VWML.

⁵⁴FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 4 July, 1930, VWML.

At the next FSS Committee meeting Lydia John reported that Douglas

Kennedy had called on her to say that the EFDS Committee:

could not agree to the title suggested by the Folk-Song Committee – “The English Folk-Song and Dance Society”. They did not want to change the letters E.F.D.S. as they were too well known by it. Also [...] they could not agree to set aside nor earmark any particular sum of money as suggested in clause iv of the resolutions formed by the sub-committee of the FSS on July 4th.⁵⁵

The objection to the suggested title for a new society is strange since that was the title suggested by Douglas Kennedy, the Director of the EFDS and highlighted by underlining in the minutes. Nonetheless, the FSS committee elected Vaughan Williams and Fox Strangeways to meet with two members of the EFDS as soon as possible after the 24th (one week later). It was decided that the title The English Folk Dance Society and the Folk-Song Society should be suggested when the representatives met together. Also, that until completion of the present journal and the 1931 journal the affairs of both societies should continue as at present and the ‘FSS should be represented for a reasonable number of years on the Editorial Committee’.⁵⁶

The meeting between the representatives from each society took place on 31 October 1930 and, after discussion, it was proposed that the name of the new society should be ‘The English Folk Dance and Song Society’. It was also proposed that the editor of the FSS journal and three members of the present Executive Committee be included on the Editorial Board when amalgamation is complete and that money from the sale of past FSS journals should be ‘earmarked for research in and publication of Folk

⁵⁵ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 17 October, 1930, VWML

⁵⁶ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 17 October, 1930, VWML.

Music'.⁵⁷ Clearly a compromise had been reached here; the change in wording from 'folk-song' to 'folk music' would mean that any money that was accrued from sales of past journals could now be used for the research and publication of folk dance tunes as well as folk-songs.

A letter from Douglas Kennedy was tabled at the next meeting of the FSS Committee. The letter informed the committee that the EFDS Executive Committee had accepted the proposals drawn up by the representatives of both societies and that these proposals would be put before the EFDS membership at the next General Meeting. The letter was discussed at length and it was agreed to accept the proposals with the amendment that 'the FSS should appoint its Editor and three other members of its present Executive to serve on the Editorial Board of the joint Society.' Presumably this was to ensure that the interests of the FSS would be properly represented.

Furthermore, amalgamation could only be agreed if the clause relating to 'earmarked money' was accepted by the EFDS. If the EFDS accepted these revisions then the FSS would put the matter of amalgamation on those terms before their membership at a Special General Meeting giving the FSS membership a month's notice.⁵⁸

At the next FSS Committee meeting, which took place on 9 February 1931, a 'follow up' letter from Douglas Kennedy was tabled. The letter informed the committee that the EFDS committee had decided, 'owing to a number of

⁵⁷Proposals drawn up at the Joint Meeting of Representatives of the FSS and EFDS, 31 December, 1930, VWML.

⁵⁸FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 18 December, 1930, VWML.

matters affecting the constitution', to leave the matter of amalgamation until the 'normal Annual Meeting' to be held in November.⁵⁹ As a result of this it was decided by the FSS Committee to postpone the arrangements for a Special General Meeting and if it was considered necessary a Special Meeting could follow the Annual General Meeting planned for October. It was further decided that a letter drafted by Vaughan Williams, as President of the FSS, explaining the conditions upon which the FSS Committee had recommended approval of the amalgamation of the two societies should be sent to all members of the FSS. Included with this letter should be a letter from Fox Strangeways outlining the advantages of amalgamation and a letter from Lady Gomme outlining the reasons for not amalgamating. It was also proposed at this meeting by Lady Gomme that a comprehensive index of the contents of the FSS Journals 'from its first to its last number should be prepared for publication.' The proposal met with the general approval of the Committee with the added suggestion that members be asked to 'subscribe to the cost of the editing of the index' but 'owing to the late hour' no vote was taken on this resolution and the matter was not finally settled.⁶⁰

The FSS Committee did not meet again until June and at this meeting a letter from Leo [Leopold] Broadwood, Lucy Broadwood's nephew and executor, was read. Leo Broadwood explained in his letter that Lucy Broadwood had left instructions that her 'material was to be made accessible as far as possible for the study of Folk Song, and therefore I

⁵⁹ Letter from Douglas Kennedy to Miss Lydia John Hon. Sec. of the FSS dated 16 January 1931, VWML.

⁶⁰ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 9 February, 1931, VWML.

really think it would be best to hand the whole of the material over to the Folk-Song Society.'⁶¹ The collection of 'material' included a phonograph and cylinder recordings. At the same meeting the three letters regarding amalgamation with the EFDS were read and the letter drafted by Fox Strangeways outlining the advantages of amalgamation was felt to be understated and he agreed to re-draft the letter. This suggests that the committee were anxious to influence the membership as best they could in favour of amalgamation. Due to illness Lady Gomme had been unable to write her letter. However, she had conveyed to Vaughan Williams the points she wished to make and he had drafted a statement outlining these. Her statement included a clause that in the event of approval for amalgamation she wanted the production of a comprehensive index for the complete run of the FSS journals with an acknowledgement of the work of the key members of the FSS. She wrote that the index should include:

[...] a preface and historical notes on the work of the Society, paying special attention to the recognition due to such members as Mrs Kate Lee, Miss Lucy Broadwood, Mr. Frank Kidson, and others. [...] It would complete its labours and form a credible ending to the Society.'⁶²

The above statement strongly suggests that Lady Gomme thought that amalgamation was a foregone conclusion and that she had resigned herself to this. She was the only member on the FSS committee that opposed the amalgamation. However, there is no record of her dissent in the minutes of the EFDS committee meetings, though she had made her views clear at the joint meetings she had attended.

⁶¹ Letter from Leo Broadwood to Miss Lydia John dated 11 February 1931, VWML.

⁶² Letter outlining Lady Gomme's views on amalgamation contained in Folk-Song Society, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 25 November, 1931, VWML.

The letters were eventually sent out to the FSS membership in July. The Committee met again in September and arrangements for the Special General Meeting and the Annual General Meeting were made. As a matter of convenience it was decided to hold both meetings on the same day in late October. This would give the membership enough time to consider the proposed amalgamation and decide how they would vote.

The proposal made by Lady Gomme for the index and the acknowledgement of key members of the FSS is significant because at the Annual General Meeting of the EFDS for 1930 it was proposed that a Memorial be produced to commemorate 'traditional singers and dancers of the past as well as men killed in the war.' The Memorial was 'to take the form of carved and decorated panels in the Musician's Gallery [...]' Associated with this Memorial it is proposed to have a book containing the names of those to whom it is dedicated.⁶³ At the Executive Committee meeting of the EFDS held on 5 March 1931 the preparation of this 'Memorial Book' was approved and Mrs Kennedy, Miss Karpeles and Mrs Hobbs were 'appointed to collate and report on the matter.'⁶⁴ At the next meeting held on 2 June Mrs Kennedy submitted a report on the compilation of the Memorial book which recommended that a number of people should not be included on the grounds that 'though mentioned in the Society's records [they] were not members of the Society.' The list included Herbert McIlwaine, Frank Kidson, Lucy Broadwood and Rev. Sabine Baring Gould.

⁶³ EFDS Annual General Meeting Report 1930, p. 8. VWML .

⁶⁴EFDS, Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee, 5 March, 1931, VWML.

Clearly the 'Memorial Book' was to relate exclusively to members of the EFDS. This seems to have been a move to ensure that only members of the EFDS were acknowledged as furthering the folk dance and song movement. To produce a Memorial Book that only commemorated EFDS members and to deliberately exclude FSS members such as Broadwood and Kidson who had made major contributions to the folk movement was, to say the least, somewhat disingenuous if not downright dishonourable. Furthermore, to take such action on the eve of amalgamation with the FSS could be construed as provocative and provides clear evidence that the EFDS was intent on ensuring that dance remained the dominant feature of the new society's work.

The exclusion of Herbert MacIlwaine was also unfair since he had collaborated with Sharp in the production of the first three of five parts of *The Morris Book* prior to the foundation of the EFDS. Indeed it was at his suggestion that Mary Neal first contacted Sharp and got him involved with folk dancing, in this respect he was as much a pioneer as Sharp in the dance movement. Also, Sharp had worked with Baring Gould, he had edited a revised edition of *Songs of the West* in 1905 and they had jointly published *English Folk Songs for Schools*. Even today there is no visible recognition of the contribution made by the FSS pioneers. Those parts of Cecil Sharp House that have names attached are all in recognition of people who had close connections with Cecil Sharp. The main hall of the building is now named after Douglas Kennedy who succeeded Sharp as Director of the EFDS. The other two halls in the building are named after Lady Mary

Trefusis, who was President of the EFDS until her death in 1926 (she was succeeded by her sister Lady Margaret Ampthill) and after Helen Storrow⁶⁵ who provided financial support for Sharp's American song collecting visits but was not a member of the EFDS. The library was re-named the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in 1958 following his death; it had been previously known as the Cecil Sharp Library. Vaughan Williams is the only person commemorated at Cecil Sharp House who had strong connections with the FSS.

The FSS Special General Meeting took place on 29 October 1931 and its purpose was to decide whether or not to accept the offer made by the EFDS to amalgamate the two societies. Fox Strangeways moved the resolution to accept the offer and in speaking to the resolution dealt with the main objection that had been raised. This objection was that there were still folk-songs to be collected and published and this work required a dedicated independent society. To counter this, Fox Strangeways made the assertion that 'there are no more folk-songs, only variants, to collect' (a claim which has, over the subsequent years, been found to be mistaken). Harry Plunket Greene seconded the motion and countered the claim that the smaller FSS would be 'swallowed up' by the larger EFDS. He stated that 'a similar fear had been expressed at the formation of the Federation of Musical Competition Festivals, but it had been found that big town festivals and small country festivals had worked harmoniously together and that, if

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Peta Webb, Assistant Librarian at the Vaughan Williams memorial Library, for this information by e-mail dated 21 March 2010.

anything, the smaller festivals showed the greater vitality.’⁶⁶ The resolution was put to the vote and it was unanimously agreed to accept the invitation from the EFDS to amalgamate and to proceed with the necessary arrangements. This meeting was followed by the Annual General Meeting at which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet for 1930 was adopted. The proposal put forward by Lady Gomme regarding the Index of journal contents seems to have been quietly dropped; no further mention was made of it.

The FSS Committee met a month later on 25 November and a letter from the Secretary of the EFDS, addressed to Lydia John, was read. It informed her that, at the Annual Meeting of the EFDS, the membership had overwhelmingly approved the amalgamation of the two societies. The date suggested for the amalgamation was 1 January 1932. After discussion it was decided that, due to the forthcoming publication of the journal ‘and because of financial matters the Committee would prefer March 31st 1932 as the date of amalgamation.’ Lydia John as Honorary Secretary was instructed to inform the EFDS of this. She was also instructed to write to Leo Broadwood to inform him of the amalgamation and ask for his written authority to pass on Lucy Broadwood’s material to the new society.⁶⁷ Leo Broadwood replied promptly informing Lydia John that the amalgamation made no difference to the bequest and he gave his written authority for the material to be removed to Cecil Sharp House. He did request, however, that ‘the material should be named “The Lucy Broadwood Collection” so as to

⁶⁶ ‘Report of the Special General Meeting’, *JFSS*, 8, 5 (1931), pp. x – xi.

⁶⁷ *FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 25 November, 1931, VWML.*

distinguish it from the Cecil Sharp collection'.⁶⁸ His letter was tabled at the Committee meeting which took place on 16 December 1931. At the same meeting a letter from the Secretary of the EFDS was read informing the FSS Committee that the proposed date of 31 March 1932 for amalgamation was agreed and requesting that the FSS 'should appoint without delay three representatives to serve on the Editorial Board of the EFDS Journal.'⁶⁹ The FSS agreed to this and Frank Howes, Martin Freeman and Frederick Keel were elected as the FSS representatives.⁷⁰

The final edition of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* had, attached to the front cover, a slip of paper informing members that the amalgamation with the EFDS was to take place on 31 March 1932 (see Figure 4 below).

Figure 4 'Important Notice' attached to the front cover of the last issue of the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* (December 1931)

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Members of the Society are hereby informed that amalgamation with the English Folk Dance Society, having been ratified by the general meetings of both Societies, will take place on March 31st, 1932. They are therefore specially urged to pay their subscriptions for 1932 before the end of February in order that the accounts may be duly audited in readiness for the amalgamation.

Every member is requested kindly to examine the entry against his or her name in the List of Members given in this Journal.

The Hon. Secretary will be grateful for information as to errors, changes of address, etc., since otherwise it will be impossible to ensure that publications and notices of the new English Folk Dance and Song Society will reach subscribers.

⁶⁸ Letter from Leo Broadwood to Lydia John dated 2 December 1931, VWML.

⁶⁹ Letter from Mrs M. Jenkins, Secretary of the EFDS to Lydia John, Honorary Secretary of the FSS, dated 2 December 1931. VWML.

⁷⁰ FSS, Minutes of the meeting of the Committee, 16 December 1931, VWML.

Somewhat ironically this last issue of the *Journal* carried the obituary of Alfred Perceval Graves. Graves had claimed that it was his idea to found the Folk-Song Society. This was acknowledged by Frank Howes in the obituary when he wrote that 'At the recent Special General Meeting', which had taken place two months before the death of Graves, 'Mr Plunket Greene recalled the story [...] of their meeting by chance in the Strand one day sometime in 1898. [...] Mr. Graves suggested it would be a good plan to form a Folk Song Society.'⁷¹ Given the date of Graves' death (27 December 1931) and the date of publication of the journal, (December 1931) it must be assumed that the obituary was written in haste in order to be included and this would explain its brevity.

The penultimate meeting of the FSS Committee took place on 21 January 1932 at which the death of Alfred Perceval Graves was formally announced. The Honorary Secretary, Lydia John, was instructed to send a letter of condolence to his family. It was planned that the final Annual General Meeting of the FSS should take place on 10 March and be preceded by the final Committee meeting. The FSS Committee duly met for the last time at 6.00pm on 10 March. The meeting lasted for only fifteen minutes during which time arrangements were made to finalise the affairs of the Society. It was decided that a letter of thanks should be sent to the auditors Cash Stone & Co. for their services over the previous eight years and to the Incorporated Society of Musicians for the use of their room at 19 Berners

⁷¹Frank Howes, 'Obituary: Alfred Perceval Graves, Born July 22nd, 1846. Died December 27th, 1931.' *JFSS*, 8, 5 (December, 1931), 305.

Street, London, and informing them that the room will no longer be required after 31 March. The final Annual General Meeting took place immediately after the committee Meeting. The Annual Report for 1931 was 'adopted' and it was proposed that the co-option of Freeman, Howes and Keel to the Editorial Board of the EFDS be confirmed and this was unanimously agreed. Fox Strangeways proposed that 'Mr. Howes and the Hon. Secretary be delegated to arrange the details of amalgamation. This was carried and seconded by Mr. Pearson.'⁷² The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Martin Freeman.

Following the ratification of amalgamation at their respective Annual General Meetings the two societies formally amalgamated on 31 March 1932. However, only one hundred and thirty-six of the one hundred and ninety nine FSS members transferred to the new society. It is not known why sixty-six members did not transfer but it is reasonable to assume that not everyone in the FSS was in favour of the amalgamation. (See Appendix 3)

The new society, The English Folk Dance and Song Society, had its headquarters in the newly built Cecil Sharp House at 2 Regents Park Road, London. The first journal of the new society was issued in December 1932 under the editorship of Frank Howes. The front cover of the new journal (see Figure 6) is much more modern in appearance by comparison with the FSS journal (see Figure 5). Perhaps this was indicative of a new beginning.

⁷² FSS, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting 10 March 1932, VWML.

Figure 5. Front covers of the first and last FSS journals. The type face and layout had remained consistent throughout its entire existence.

First issue of FSS Journal 1899
(reprinted 1909 due to demand from
New members)

Last issue of the FSS Journal 1931.

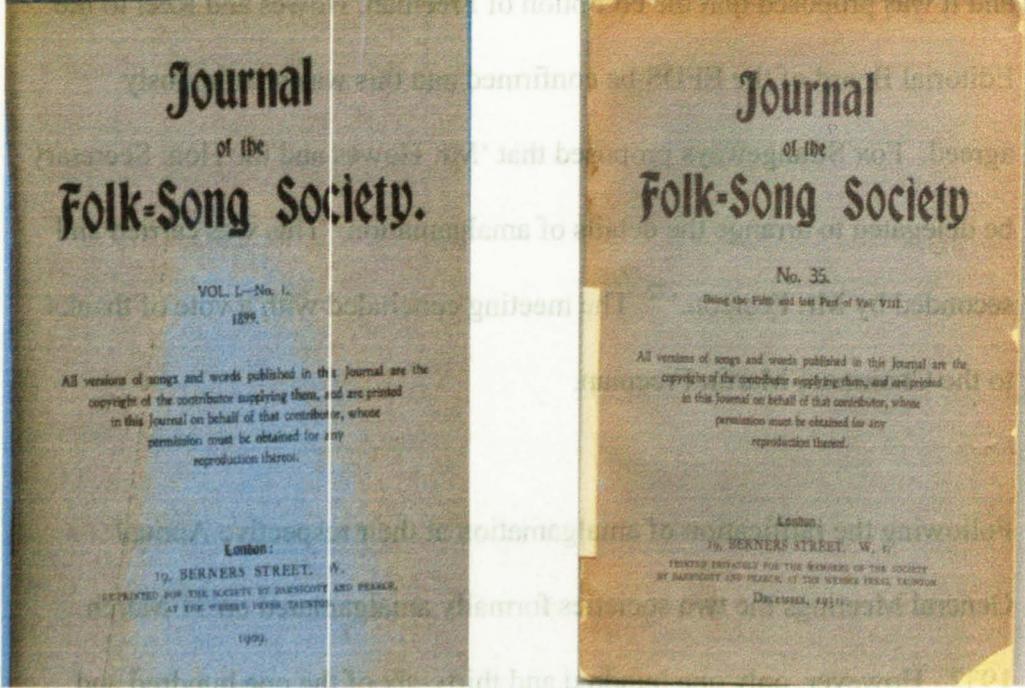
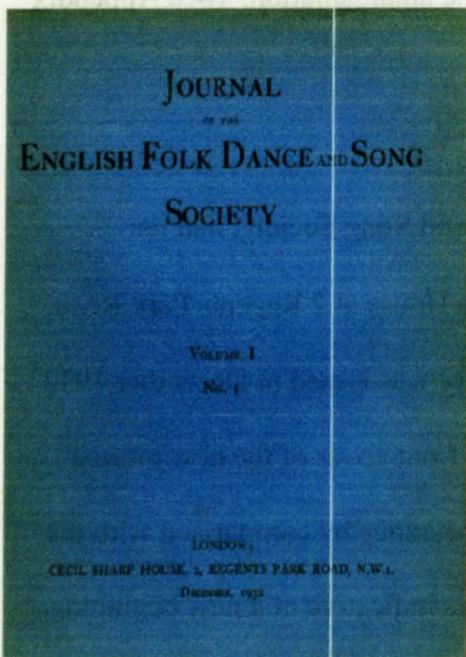


Figure 6. First issue of the journal for the new Society the EFDSS, 1932.



It is interesting to speculate what Frank Kidson and Lucy Broadwood would have thought of these developments and in particular what they would have thought of the headquarters being named 'Cecil Sharp House'. One is left with the feeling that the concerns expressed by Lady Gomme had been well founded and that this had indeed been a 'take-over' of the FSS by the EFDS thus realising Cecil Sharp's ambition for a single folk society for song and dance and with the headquarters bearing his name the message to the general public was that he had indeed been 'King of the whole movement'.

Conclusion

The enthusiasm for collecting folk-songs grew steadily in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. I have shown how the folk-song movement coincided with other developments; the rise of an Irish cultural renaissance, a growing movement to establish an English school of music and the perceived degeneration brought about by overcrowding in towns and cities as people moved from country to town to work in the factories. The publication in 1847 of John Broadwood's small collection of songs together with their tunes 'exactly as they are now sung' had marked the turning point in the collection of folk-songs. There developed from this a burgeoning interest in these songs and a number of individuals started to engage in making field collections, albeit independently of each other.

The Arcadian romanticism that underpinned the folk-song collectors ideas and beliefs about the countryside and the peasantry as 'tradition bearers' was, in their view, confirmed by the realisation that country singers were singing some of their songs to tunes set in the old modes, a discovery which both astonished and excited the musicians of the day. To the folk-song collectors the discovery of songs sung to modal tunes was the clearest evidence that here was something that had been preserved and handed down uncorrupted by modern trends. The greatest prizes were those tunes that had never before appeared in print and could therefore be taken as the authentic products of an oral tradition. In the minds of the collectors this provided further proof that the country singers were the custodians of an

uncorrupted oral tradition. As we have seen, their experience revealed that it was more often than not the older people in the country districts who were the best informants. This gave rise to the theory that genuine folk-songs were the product of a rural peasant society that was fast dying out and that such songs were now, by and large, only carried on by the older inhabitants of the countryside and these songs would die out with their passing.

The reason that subsequent generations did not continue the tradition is open to debate, but Sharp commented that 'Some would attribute it to the invention of railways, to the spread of education, to the industrial revival or even to the political unrest, which followed the passing of the Reform Bill and the repeal of the corn laws.'¹ The concomitance of progress in agriculture, improvements in road and rail networks and in education served to undermine the conditions in the countryside that had enabled folk-song, as the collectors understood it, to flourish. In late Victorian society the pace of change was increasing. The old ways were giving way to new ideas, fashions and raised expectations and this resulted in what might nowadays be termed a 'generation gap'. The way in which young people turned away from the old songs of their elders in favour of the new music hall songs of the day can, to some extent, be compared with events in the 1950s when young people rejected the music and fashions of their elders and embraced the new 'rock 'n roll' music of the day; and the new fashion in clothes that went with it. Whatever personal and theoretical differences that the

¹ Cecil Sharp, *English Folk-Song Some Conclusions*, p. 120.

collectors had amongst themselves they were in full agreement that the collection of folk-songs was an urgent matter.

By the turn of the twentieth century a move to bring the country to the towns through the introduction of folk-songs and dances into the elementary school curriculum was underway. Featherstone described the Edwardian period as 'a golden age of Englishness' but also a period for 'worrying about England's identity and future.'² He identified Cecil Sharp and Mary Neal as two examples of those who 'confronted what they saw as a crisis in the social fabric of England by instigating voluntary movements for the recovery of healthy national bodies, the establishment of healthy national minds and the revival of healthy national tradition.'³

The belief by all the collectors operating at the turn of the twentieth century that the oral folk-song tradition was moribund has since been found to have been premature. A great many songs have been collected since the 1930s, albeit in many cases variants of songs already gathered by the members of the FSS. Furthermore, the assumption that urban industrialised areas would yield no folk-songs has also been shown to be unfounded. Although songs found in industrialised areas are generally of more recent creation they nonetheless fit the definition used in this thesis. Lloyd has argued that the early collectors '[...] confined their attention to the rural past and shunned the industrial present [...] partly out of a romantic preference for rustic lanes over milltown alleys [...]'] and this provided only 'a partial view of our

² Featherstone, *Englishness*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid*, p. 28.

traditional song, [...]'. He asserted that the '[...] *creation* of folk music and poetry has, within the last hundred years or so, passed almost entirely into the hands and mouths of industrial workers.'⁴ He later wrote that:

It has to be said that the folklorists, deep in their rustic trance, have been slow to approach the problems of the proletariat and to concern themselves with matters of industry, urbanization, or mechanization and their effects on the homemade culture of people not only in the traditional trades but also in the new realms of production.⁵

The idea of recovering English music that was wholly unaffected or influenced by modern practice and foreign influences was a strong driving force for the early collectors and hence the infatuation with modes. The results of their collecting efforts were brought into public view by the publication of selections of the songs collected. Harker has written that:

The truth was that Baring-Gould, Kidson and Broadwood, above all, had been some of the earliest to get hold of this moveable property they called 'folk song' and had, as it were, to some extent cornered the market. They were intent on hanging on to their lead in the retailing business, not so much for material gain and prestige as for the ability to intervene ideologically in their own bourgeois culture and, thereby, in the culture of the working class.⁶

Harker does not make clear how he has arrived at these conclusions. In fact the collectors he names made very little money from their published collections. This is hardly surprising when one considers that the output was limited. Baring Gould published, in collaboration with Fleetwood Sheppard, a collection of songs which ran to three editions over a period of sixteen years. Kidson published two collections thirty-five years apart and two more collections were published posthumously. Broadwood only published three collections, the first of which was a reprint of her uncle's

⁴ A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967) pp. 318-319.

⁵ A. L. Lloyd, *Come all ye bold Miners* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, Revised and enlarged edition 1978) p. 17.

⁶ Harker, *Fakesong*, p. 165.

collection with ten extra songs she had collected herself. Her second collection, in collaboration with Fuller Maitland, appeared three years later. There was then a gap of fifteen years before she published a further collection of songs she had collected. Such a record simply does not support the argument that they were 'intent on hanging on to their lead in the retailing business'. Furthermore, given such sporadic and limited publications albeit of an edited selection of the songs gathered it is hard to see how they would have much impact on 'their own bourgeois culture' or indeed, on that of the 'working class'.

Sharp on the other hand, as Boyes has pointed out, did earn money from his collecting activities. According to Boyes, he earned three hundred and seventy-three pounds in 1910 in royalties from his song and dance book sales.⁷ In 1922 Sharp relinquished his Civil List Pension of one hundred pounds a year, which had been awarded in 1911 for his services in the collection and preservation of English folk-songs.⁸ He relinquished the pension 'on the grounds that his books were beginning to provide a fairly adequate income.' He had also, since 1919, been in receipt of a salary of £400 per year for his role as Director of the EFDS. Prior to this he had held the post as Honorary Director.⁹

The collectors did however give gifts to their informants in return for their songs. Harker said of Frank Kidson that 'by the judicious expenditure of

⁷ Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, p. 50.

⁸ Fox Strangeways and Karpeles, p. 85.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 185.

tobacco or beer, he bought enough material from people who probably knew well enough that their cultural property had a market value for such as Mr. Kidson.’¹⁰ This statement conveniently ignores the fact that Kidson’s first collection was a limited edition of only two hundred copies and was published privately at his own expense. Also, two of the remaining three collections were published posthumously.

A further example of payment made for songs is provided in a letter that Lucy Broadwood wrote to William Albery, a Horsham businessman and acquaintance of Broadwood, in which she asked him to contact Henry Burstow and pass on a letter to him that she had enclosed. She explained that the letter was a request for a particular song that she knew he sung. She wrote ‘I have asked Mr. Burstow to write out for me the words of a song he used to sing, called ‘Death and the Lady’. I have his tune. [...] I have enclosed a small postal order in his letter.’¹¹ The reality is that although those early collectors did receive royalties from the sales of their published collections the amounts were small and had they not had a private income they would not have been in a position to engage in collecting songs to the extent that they did. The payments made by the early collectors to their informants, both in the form of gifts and money, were inducements rather than commercial transactions. The exception was Sharp who had no private income and was therefore reliant upon payment for his published collections and his lectures. The difference was that his output of published material

¹⁰ Harker, *Fakesong*, p. 165.

¹¹ Letter from Lucy Broadwood to William Albery, dated 14 February 1908, Horsham Museum Archives Ref. Ms 4 360.3 1986.221.

was much greater and more regular than the other collectors. Moreover, he was far more pro-active in seeking opportunities to publicise his activities and seek out public events at which he might be paid to give a lecture.

In 1908 when Broadwood heard that Henry Burstow, from whom she had collected many songs, had fallen on hard times she sent an anonymous donation to Mr. William Albery. He was organising a fund to provide Burstow with a pension and the publication of a book of Burstow's reminiscences to raise money for his support. After Burstow died (30 January 1916) Broadwood wrote to Albery and said, with respect to the money that was raised, that 'I always think you have applied the little sum exactly as I should have suggested. Do not however feel tied to that plan supposing another appeals more to you later on; and let it be anonymous so far as I am concerned.'¹² The fact that she freely donated money and wanted to remain anonymous runs counter to the idea that the collectors were in it for financial gain. While it is true that for both Broadwood and Kidson their published song collections provided an income it was hardly enough to sustain them. In this respect they were enthusiastic amateurs and their interest was more antiquarian than utilitarian.

Margaret Dean-Smith has provided a useful bibliography of folk-song collections.¹³ This bibliography shows, with respect to members of the FSS, that many of the published collections issued prior to 1932 were small

¹² Letter from Lucy Broadwood to William Albery, dated 7 December 1916, Horsham Museum Archives Ref. 2001.879.36.

¹³ Margaret dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections*.

selections of their field work ranging from six to nineteen songs. Many more of their songs were published in the *JFSS* and they received no payment for this. As we have seen, more substantial collections were published by Baring Gould, Broadwood, Kidson and particularly Sharp. In spite of their limited published output both Broadwood and Kidson saw a role for folk-song in engendering nationalist and patriotic feelings amongst ordinary people and presumably this is the ideological intervention to which Harker refers. For them, the way to achieve this was to use folk melodies as the foundation for establishing an English school of music and in this respect it was not direct intervention but support for the nationalist views that prevailed at the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. Kidson made his views very clear when he wrote:

I quite agree in deploring with those who proclaim that foreign influence in music has wrecked our English school of composition and made it but an echo of another nation's, and I also agree that our folk-music is in general the sole survival of a national and purely British type that might have wrought great things in this world's music could it have been fostered instead of being over-ridden by the powerful German school [...].¹⁴

Kidson agreed with the strategy to use folk-music to influence, inform and re-establish an English school of music and he praised the suggestion from the education authorities that 'our National songs should replace the vapid songs, mainly with non-copyright German tunes, that formerly held sway in schools.'

Sharp was quite open about the role of folk-song in effecting 'an improvement in the musical taste of the people' and the refining and

¹⁴ Frank Kidson, 'Folk-Song' *The Choir*, 3, 26 (February, 1912), pp. 30-31(p. 31).

strengthening of the 'national character.' He went on to say that 'The study of the folk-song will also stimulate the growth of the feeling of patriotism' and commented that the English people were not noted 'for their love or pride of country.'¹⁵ He believed that this could be achieved by the introduction of both folk-song and dance into the school curriculum and he campaigned long and hard for this. Kidson, in particular, did not see a role for folk-song in the school curriculum. Indeed, he thought it would be counter-productive. He disagreed with the initiative to introduce folk-song into the school curriculum and argued that folk-songs were 'so different in spirit' to National songs that they were utterly out of place among young children.' To make them suitable for school use they must be altered and parts omitted and then they cannot 'be properly called 'folk-songs', though with a charming tune they may be very passable lyrics.' He concluded that:

The idea that the songs which a child has sung (under compulsion) at school, he will turn to with avidity in his mature years, is one with which I cannot agree. In my own experience, I have never found an instance.¹⁶

In general he was speaking for Broadwood as well as himself. Broadwood feared that too much exposure of folk-songs would expose them to ridicule by a public that had lost any connection with them. Her position was very well summarised by Vaughan Williams, (see quotation on page 215).

For Broadwood the collection of folk-songs was tantamount to an archaeological dig. The 'finds' were to be studied and cherished and only given to the general public in a very controlled way, rather like a special

¹⁵ Cecil Sharp, *English Folk-Song; Some Conclusions* p. 135.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.31.

museum display. In this respect both Broadwood and Kidson were diametrically opposed to Sharp. Sharp eschewed the antiquarian approach and wanted to popularise and re-introduce folk-songs and dances to working people through their inclusion in the school curriculum. It is probable that his experience as a music teacher led him to believe in the efficacy of this strategy. His insistence that only genuine folk-songs should be included on the list of songs for use in schools brought him into direct conflict with the rest of the FSS committee. This gave rise to what might be termed a 'power struggle' within the committee. So far as the policies and activities of the FSS were concerned Broadwood and her allies kept control. Sharp was effectively isolated. He remained a committee member but from that point on he turned his attention more and more to folk dancing. In spite of the differences between Sharp and his FSS committee colleagues on how to use folk-song they were united in their belief that folk-song and music could have an edifying effect on the general public.

The point has been made that meetings between these collectors from the gentry with the rural working class must have been strange encounters. Such a convergence would most probably have put the targeted informants at a disadvantage, particularly when asked to sing their songs. As Gammon puts it '[...] the act of a middle-class lady or gentleman taking down the remembered songs of a working person is, to say the least, a very odd form of social encounter. It is not surprising that such an encounter often gave

rise to tension.¹⁷ This suggests that the collection of songs in such circumstances was tantamount to plunder. There is an element of truth in this but the amounts that the collectors received from the spoils were small and, as we have seen, the collectors did give small gifts to their informants. In the case of the women collectors, who were constrained by the social conventions of the time and could not move about as freely as their male counterparts, it was the practice to invite singers to their own home or to that of a friend, where the singers were given refreshments to encourage performance.

The Folk-Song Society was founded to provide an organisation that would co-ordinate collecting activity and publish such of its findings that were deemed suitable. However, the society throughout its existence relied entirely on the voluntary services of the elected committee (self-appointed in the first instance) to function. It can be seen from the accounts of the FSS published together with the Annual General Meeting Reports in the FSS journals that it never employed anyone. The rules of the Society did not set standards for those that engaged in folk-song collection and membership was voluntary. In this respect the FSS was never a professional organisation. This was neatly summarised in the obituary of Cecil Sharp written by Lucy Broadwood and also in a letter she wrote to her sister Bertha when she made the distinction between Sharp who made a 'profession' of collecting songs and dances and the other collectors (see chapter 8, p. 290). Although the FSS committee did not set standards for

¹⁷ Vic Gammon, *Folk Song collecting in Surrey and Sussex*, p. 65.

collectors to follow they appointed a sub-committee to act as arbiters regarding which songs would be published in the journal and it is this practice that has received most criticism from present-day scholars.

Over the last thirty years there has emerged a school of thought that Gregory has described as 'postmodernist' and 'revisionist'.¹⁸ The resulting historiography from this school supports the view that the early collectors deliberately distorted 'worker's culture' to make it fit for bourgeois consumption. Gregory identifies Harker as the most prominent protagonist and a founder member of the school. Their analysis of the collecting and publishing practices of the early collectors has given rise to an orthodoxy that has become widely accepted as conventional wisdom. Harker has expressed the most extreme views and he has argued that what the early collectors have presented to us has been carefully selected and edited to such an extent that we are presented with, what he terms, *fakesong*. He wrote 'In so far as 'folksong' and 'ballad' retain any explanatory power, as concepts, they do so in relation to bourgeois culture. In relation to workers' culture, they are simply a *problem*, and I can offer no hope of rehabilitating them.'¹⁹ Gregory contends that Harker's analysis amounts to a denial that the early collectors 'published any folksongs.'²⁰ Other members of the school, which includes Boyes, Gammon, Sykes and Francmanis, take a more measured and moderate view but are in broad agreement that we have been presented with a heavily biased and skewed selection of songs.

¹⁸ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters* pp. 400-401.

¹⁹ Harker, *Fakesong* p. 254.

²⁰ Gregory, *Victorian Songhunters* p. 394.

In his book *Fakesong* Harker acknowledged the work of collectors before and after John Broadwood but he denounced them all as bourgeois mediators who presented the public with a spurious body of songs passed off as folk-songs. Harker and others have argued that this practice served a nationalist agenda.

There is evidence in the writings of the early collectors that they did indeed see a role for the songs and music they collected being packaged in such a way that it would promote nationalism and patriotism. However to argue that this was the main motive for collecting folk-songs is, at best, misleading. Also, the idea that we are presented with 'fakesong' in the FSS Journals and the published collections made by the collectors is also erroneous. It is true that they mediated and selected. It is true that they bowdlerised and made alterations to songs and even sometimes re-wrote the lyrics and consequently some of the songs are indeed 'faked'.

We now have available to us audio recordings of a burgeoning body of songs collected in the field over the last fifty years. Many of the songs collected and recorded during this period are, as was predicted, variants of those songs that the early collectors chose to note down. Comparison shows that, in some cases there was indeed some heavy censorship. A classic example of this is Baring Gould's re-writing of the song *Strawberry Fair*. In 1960 James Reeves included the song as Baring Gould had noted it. He wrote that:

'Our gratitude is due to B-G for preserving the original of this popular song, which I have not seen elsewhere; but so radically different is the 'buttercups and daisies' version, perpetrated by him and him alone, that to have popularised the song in this form must be considered a personal triumph of no mean order.'²¹

Baring Gould included the re-written version in his collection *Songs of the West* and in his notes to the song he stated, 'The song was certainly early, but unsuitable: and I have been constrained to re-write it.'²² It is interesting to note that the re-written version was also included in *English Folk-Songs for Schools*²³.

Nonetheless, there is also sufficient evidence to show that many songs were noted faithfully. Thus the charge of creating a 'faked culture' is only partially founded. Critics of the early collectors are right to point out that by mediation they presented us with an unrepresentative body of songs that were being sung by rural working people. Nonetheless, they do present us with songs that were being sung traditionally and as such can be described as folk-songs.

Following the death of Kate Lee, Lucy Broadwood took over as Honorary Secretary and became the society's most active member. It is significant that, after her appointment as Honorary Secretary, events such as the *conversaciones* were dropped and the society became, as Iolo Williams described it, a 'publishing society'. The society existed to publish the songs

²¹ James Reeves, *The Everlasting Circle: English Traditional Verse from the MSS of S. Baring-Gould, H.E.D. Hammond and George B. Gardiner* (London: Heinemann, 1960) fn p. 249.

²² Baring Gould and Sheppard, *Songs of the West*: (London: Methuen, nd [1895]), p. xxxiii.

²³ S. Baring Gould and Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Songs for Schools* (London: Curwen, [1906])' p. 56.

and tunes collected by its members. Under the editorship of Lucy Braodwood the journal became widely recognised and respected as an erudite and scholarly publication. The FSS remained throughout its history a specialist and scholarly organisation that only attracted an average of approximately two hundred and thirty members. (See Appendix 3). James Reeves wrote of the FSS that:

First, it was launched by a very distinguished gathering of musical knights and professors; it met, not in a public-house or a barn in the country, but in a Mayfair drawing-room; and its official attitude, whatever the private habits of mind of its individual members, was patronizing. Such a society, founded when it was, was bound to be of this character. Above all, it was a musicians' society.²⁴

It is true that the early collectors were selective about the songs they chose to collect and that they made a further selection for publication.

Consequently we are presented with their idealised view. Furthermore, they were much more interested in the tunes than they were the words and in some cases they only noted some of the lyrics. In other cases, where the words were deemed to be objectionable they omitted verses or re-wrote them, though this, I feel, was more to do with bringing the tunes to public attention rather than to brainwash the public in the way that has been suggested. The folk-song movement has to be viewed in the context of the social and political climate that prevailed at the time and the resulting mentality.

²⁴ James Reeves, *The Idiom of the People: English Traditional Verse Edited with an Introduction and Notes from the Manuscripts of Cecil J. Sharp* (London: Heinemann, 1958) p. 2.

The pioneer collectors noted a great many folk-songs from the oral tradition. However, by their own definition of such songs they were not a part of the section of society that created and perpetuated them. Consequently the songs were never theirs to recover or reclaim and therefore it can be argued that they plundered the oral folk tradition, but they did so in the belief that they were saving them from extinction. The collectors wanted to save the songs from oblivion and preserve them for the enjoyment of themselves and fellow enthusiasts. In the case of Sharp he wanted to return the songs to the people as a whole and he was convinced that the way to achieve this was to include the singing of folk-songs in the school curriculum. This, he believed, would instil good citizenship.

Most collecting was carried out in the years before 1914. Hobsbawm argues that the First World War precipitated the breakdown of nineteenth-century western civilization and he wrote that 'This civilization was capitalist in its economy; liberal in its legal and constitutional structure; bourgeois in the image of its characteristic hegemonic class; glorying in the advance of science, knowledge and education, material and moral progress [...].'²⁵ He went on to say that 'Britain was never the same again after 1918 because the country had ruined its economy by waging a war substantially beyond its resources.'²⁶ Although the collection of folk-songs continued into the 1920s it was piecemeal and small scale. Nonetheless the FSS continued and filled the journal with new material when it was made available but also had a

²⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995) p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 30.

sufficient backlog of songs to meet its requirements. This wind-down in collecting activity gave rise to the belief that most folk-songs had now been gathered in and this was used as an argument for amalgamation of the two folk societies.

Under Broadwood's stewardship the minutes of committee meetings of the FSS reveal that there was never any attempt made to actively recruit new members. The only time that recruitment of new members was discussed was in relation to the specialist song collections such as the Tolmie collection of Scottish songs and the Irish song collection of Martin Freeman to which certain numbers of the journal were allocated. It was assumed that through the advertising of these collections Scottish and Irish people would join in order to obtain copies of the journals containing these collections. It was tacitly assumed that these new members would not be permanent. Nonetheless, their temporary membership would serve to swell the Society's coffers. Broadwood and the committee were content to let the membership remain at around the two hundred and thirty mark. This generated enough income to pay for the publication of the journal.

The FSS was always a small specialist organisation and those who led it had no ambition for it to be anything else. In this regard there was a rift between Sharp and his friends and the rest of the committee. Sharp realised that he could not get his own way with the FSS, particularly in the matter of folk-songs in schools, and he turned his attention to folk dance. He founded a dance society, the EFDS, which quickly became a populist society and

rapidly outgrew the FSS. It employed a secretary, established a network of branches and actively recruited members whenever possible. Under the leadership of Cecil Sharp it kept itself in the public eye through the events organised locally by the branches. It published a newsletter but only published two journals in 1914 and 1915 and four further issues 1927 to 1931. It is interesting to note that one of the reasons put forward by the EFDS for amalgamation with the FSS was that the FSS would contribute to a new society their expertise in producing a scholarly scientific journal. However, the real reason for amalgamation was, I believe, to bring to fruition Sharp's long held ambition for a single folk society. Although he was never able to achieve this in his lifetime his disciples could do so and in so doing commemorate him. It is reasonable to speculate that such an amalgamation could never have taken place during Broadwood's lifetime.

It is perhaps ironic that the two societies eventually amalgamated with the dance society as the major partner with its own premises and a professional structure with paid staff. The headquarters of the new society was, and still is, called Cecil Sharp House and significantly there is no part of the building that commemorates either Broadwood, Kidson, Gilchrist or any other leading member of the FSS other than Vaughan Williams who also held a leading position in the EFDS. It is leading members of the dance society who are honoured in the building, namely Douglas Kennedy, Lady Mary Trefusis and Helen Storrow, Sharp's American benefactress.²⁷ It seems

²⁷ I am obliged to Peta Webb, Assistant Librarian, VWML for the confirmation of this information.

that Lady Gomme's warning that following amalgamation the FSS would face 'extinction' was more prophetic than was thought at the time.

It is my view that the early folk-song collectors who founded the FSS were not politically motivated though, no doubt, their views about society, political and otherwise, influenced their ideas and actions and this in turn influenced the way in which they used the material they collected. They applied a narrow definition of folk-song and in so doing excluded from their collections material that today would be regarded as a valid part of the oral tradition. But they did so in the firm belief that they were sifting the 'good from the bad'. As with all pioneers, they were learning by trial and error. It is true that they did get caught up in the politics and social changes of the day in much the same way as any socially aware person of today will take an interest in politics and current affairs. This inevitably influenced the way in which they viewed society. Just as nowadays we embrace the principle of equality and celebrate diversity, they, in their time, were influenced by the mores and social structure of their own time. To their credit most of them did retain in their manuscripts the songs as they had recorded them but they were selective about what they chose to collect and subsequently publish. Although this remains the major criticism of their work it must be judged against the standards that they set for themselves and not those that we now apply. In their time they provided a firm basis for subsequent collectors to build upon. We owe them a huge debt of gratitude for the songs they gathered. Because of their selection criteria their collections are incomplete and they provide a skewed view of the oral-singing tradition of

rural workers at that time. However, their work has provided the basis and inspiration for the collectors and folk-song scholars who followed in their wake. Without their pioneering work we would be culturally much poorer.

Appendix 1

Below is a scanned copy¹ of the circular that was distributed by Kate Lee to those people likely to be interested in the formation of a Folk Song Society.

Proposed Folk Song Society.

IRISH LITERARY SOCIETY,

8, ADELPHI TERRACE,

STRAHL, W.C.,

January, 1898.

DEAR *Mr. Gill*

It is proposed to form a FOLK SONG SOCIETY for the purpose of discovering, collecting, and publishing Folk and Traditional Songs of the United Kingdom and other Countries. It is certain that great numbers of these exist which have not been noted down and are therefore in danger of being lost; while many others, which have already been collected, are practically, though undeservedly, unknown.

When the Society has been constituted, it is proposed to hold periodical meetings, at which these songs would be introduced and form the subject of performance, lecture, and discussion, and from time to time to publish such collections of them as may be decided on by a committee of musical experts.

Mr. Alfred Nutt, President of the Folk Lore Society, has expressed his sympathy with the present proposals, and has suggested, that if a strong enough Society can be formed upon the lines indicated, it might be carried on in co-operation with the Society over which he presides.

¹ I am grateful to Alan Franklin, librarian at the Manx National Heritage Library for providing me with a scanned copy of this document and the information regarding its format. Gill Papers, MNHL, MS 09702

Among those who have also expressed their approbation are: Sir A. C. Mackenzie, Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, Miss Lucy Broadwood, Mr. A. P. Graves, Mr. Harold Boulton, Mr. Joyce, Mr. W. H. Gill, Mr. Plunket Greene, Dr. Charles Wood, Mr. Samuel Reay, Mr. C. L. Graves, and Mr. J. D. Rogers.

If the general scheme here explained commends itself to your kind support, you are invited to attend a meeting on *Thursday* the *27th* day of January, at 5 p.m., at the above address, for the purpose of discussing the suggestions above made, and for setting on foot the proposed Society.

If you cannot attend, perhaps you will kindly communicate your views in writing.

I am,

Faithfully yours,

Kate Lee

Hon. Sec.

41 Roary gardens
S.W

Each page of the original document measured 193 mm (7 5/8") by 120mm (4 3/4"). They were printed on one side of a single sheet which was folded to give the stated dimensions, the copies shown here are full size. Also, the title *Proposed Folk Song Society* was printed in red.

Appendix 2

List of Journals of the Folk-Song Society showing journal number, year of publication and contents.

Journal No.	Year of Issue	Contents
1	1899	Miscellaneous contributions.
2	1900	Fuller Maitland, <i>Remarks on songs collected</i> . F. L. Cohen, <i>Folk-song survivals in Jewish worship</i> .
3	1901	Songs from Sussex collected by W. Percy Merrick.
4	1902	Songs from Sussex and Surrey, collected by L. E. Broadwood.
5	1904	Songs chiefly from Yorkshire collected by Frank Kidson.
6	1905	Songs from Somerset collected by C. J. Sharp. List of books for study.
7	1905	<i>Ballad sheets and Garlands</i> by Frank Kidson.
	1906	Songs from Essex, Norfolk, Sussex, Wiltshire, Yorkshire and Kent, collected by R. Vaughan Williams.
9	1906	Scottish songs, Pace-egging songs, Chanties, collected by A. G. Gilchrist.
10	1907	Songs from Co. Waterford, collected by L. E. Broadwood.
11	1907	Songs from Dorset, collected by H. E. Hammond. See also Nos. 27 and 34
12	1908	Songs from Lincolnshire, collected by Percy Grainger.
13	1909	Songs from Hampshire, collected by G. B. Gardiner.
14	1910	Carols from Hereford, collected by E. M. Leather.
15	1910	Street Cries. See also No. 22.
16	1911	Gaelic Songs, collected by Francis Tolmie.
17	1913	Songs chiefly from Sussex, collected by George Butterworth and L. E. Broadwood.
18	1914	Ballads and Songs from various counties, collected by C. L. Sharp.
19	1915	Songs from various counties, Ireland and Scotland; Country life and custom.
20	1916	Songs of Country Life and Custom : <i>The Padstow May-Day</i> , by L. E. Broadwood.
21	1918	Songs from Surrey, Kent and Sussex, collected by Frederick Keel and others.
22	1919	Street Cries.
23	1920	} Songs from Ballyourney, collected by Martin Freeman.
24	1921	
25	1922	
26	1922	Songs from Norfolk, collected by E. J. Moeran
27	1923	Songs from Dorset and Somerset, collected by H. E. D. Hammond.
28	1924	} Songs from the Isle of Man, collected by Dr. Clague. ed. A. G. Gilchrist.
29	1925	
30	1926	
31	1927	Songs from the Collections of C. J. Sharp.
32	1928	Article on Chantey-singing, by L. E. Broadwood, and the Folk-element in early Revival Hymns, by A. G. Gilchrist. Songs collected in Cornwall, by J. E. Thomas.
33	1929	Carols collected in Cornwall, by J. E. Thomas and T. Miners. Songs from the Essex-Suffolk border, collected by Dr. Thomas Wood.
34	1930	Songs from the Hammond Collection.
35	1931	Songs from Norfolk and Suffolk, collected by E. J. Moeran. Gaelic Songs, collected by L. E. Broadwood.

Price 10/6 each.

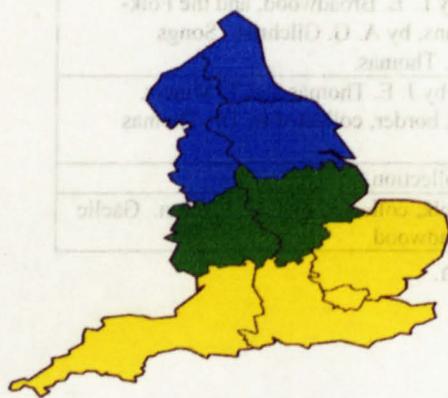
The above list first appeared on the inside of the back cover in the *Journal of the Folk Dance and Song Society*, 6.1 (1949). It is here presented in table

format for clarity.

Examination of the contents shows that there were very few articles and the vast majority of space was given to songs. However, notes to the songs were included some of which were comprehensive. This exemplifies the appropriateness of the statement made by Iolo A. Williams that:

[...] with songs it is rather a matter of seeing that good versions are printed, so that they may get into circulation among singers both professional and amateur, [...]. The old Folk-Song Society, for all but a fraction of its career, was little more than a publishing society, and publication and discussion, rather than organised singing, is the major part of what any society can do for the traditional songs. (Previously cited, see pp. 261-262).

The list also shows that during the Folk-Song Society's thirty five year life span (1898-1932) it published thirty five journals even though no journals were issued in 1903, 1912 and 1917. A total of 1,193 songs were published, the majority of which were collected in Southern England (Southern England is here taken as the South-East, Greater London, the South-West and East Anglia - see map below).



Northern England: Blue
 Midlands: Green
 Southern England: Yellow

Journal No.	Year of Issue	Contents
1	1899	Miscellaneous contributions
2	1900	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
3	1901	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
4	1902	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
5	1903	No journal issued
6	1904	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
7	1905	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
8	1906	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
9	1907	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
10	1908	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
11	1909	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
12	1910	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
13	1911	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
14	1912	No journal issued
15	1913	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
16	1914	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
17	1915	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
18	1916	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
19	1917	No journal issued
20	1918	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
21	1919	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
22	1920	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
23	1921	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
24	1922	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
25	1923	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
26	1924	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
27	1925	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
28	1926	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
29	1927	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
30	1928	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
31	1929	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
32	1930	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
33	1931	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen
34	1932	Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen, Folk-songs from the East Angles, collected by F. L. Cohen

Statistical Data for songs published in the *JFSS* 1898-1931.

Number of Songs collected in:

Southern England: 664 (56%)

Midlands and Northern England: 114 (10%)

Isle of Man (The Clague collection, journals 28-30): 127 (10.5%)

Scotland (Various plus the Tolmie collection of Gaelic songs

in journal 16): 137 (11.5%)

Ireland:- 100 (8%)

Early Revival Hymns from various printed sources (journal 32): 47 (4%)

Appendix 3

Membership Statistics for the Folk-Song Society 1899 – 1932

Taken from the Journal of the Folk-Song Society

No.	Year and month (where given)	Vol. & No.	FSS Membership			
			Male	Female	Libraries/ colleges etc.	Total
1	1899	1 / 1	73	37		110
2	1900	1 / 2	71	49	1	121
3	1901	1 / 3				*
4	1902	1 / 4				*
5	1904	1 / 5				*
6	1905	2 / 1	112	45	6	163
7	1905	2 / 2				*
8	1906	2 / 3				*
9	1906	2 / 4				*
10	1907	3 / 1	133	63	18	214
11	1907	3 / 2				*
12	1908 May	3 / 3				*
13	1909 June	3 / 4	149	67	19	235
14	1910 June	4 / 1	151	74	24	249
15	1910 Dec.	4 / 2	151	69	29	249
16	1911 Dec.	4 / 3	147	69	29	245
17	1913 Jan.	4 / 4	203	112	31	346
18	1914 Jan.	5 / 1	165	99	36	300
19	1915 June	5 / 2	149	75	36	260
20	1916 Nov.	5 / 3	140	78	40	258
21	1918	6 / 1	135	72	46	253
22	1919	6 / 2	128	61	55	244
23	1920 Jan.	6 / 3	139	68	42	249
24	1921	6 / 4	144	67	45	256
25	1921	6 / 5	144	78	45	260
26	1922 Dec.	7 / 1	125	66	37	228
27	1923 Dec.	7 / 2	125	62	51	238
28	1924 Dec.	7 / 3	125	51	52	228
29	1925 Dec.	7 / 4	104	48	55	207
30	1926 Aug.	7 / 5	105	52	55	212
31	1927 Sept.	8 / 1	111	55	54	220
32	1928 Dec.	8 / 2	103	58	53	214
33	1929 Dec.	8 / 3	101	49	56	206
34	1930 Dec.	8 / 4	102	48	57	207
35	1931 Dec.	8 / 5	93	46	60	199

* See notes below.

Notes:

1. No journal was issued in 1903, 1912 and 1917.
2. No membership statistics are available for 1901, 1902, 1904, 1907 and 1908.
3. The membership fee for the FSS was 10/6 (half a guinea) for the whole of its existence.
4. The average membership over the life of the Folk-Song society was 228. During the last ten years of the society's existence 25% of the membership was made up of public and university libraries. This can be taken as recognition of the FSS as a learned society and of the academic and scholarly value of the journal under the editorship of Lucy Broadwood.

Membership Statistics for the English Folk Dance Society 1914 – 1931

Taken from the Annual Reports of the English Folk Dance Society

(Note: the earliest Report available in the EFDSS archives is 1914)

Annual Report Year	EFDS Membership				
	Full	Associate	Country Members	Branch members	Total
1914	280	41			
1915	324	140			
1916	235	187			
1917	200	152			
1918	226	141			
1919					
1920	431	389			
1921	587	461			
1922	624	497			
1923	666	457		4,473	5,596
1924	740	422		5,349	6,511
1925	872	416		6,792	8,080
1926	1,113	417		10,125	11,655
1927	1,196	407		12,048	13,651 (see note 5)
1928	1,434	389		15,541	17,364
1929	1,472	430		16,170	18,072
1930	1,452	406	98	16,590	18,546
1931	1,269	129	420	Not given	1,698 (total for full, assoc. and county members only)

Note:

1. The membership fee for the EFDS was set at 21/- (one guinea) and remained at this figure throughout its existence.
2. The footnote to the 1914 Report records that under the new rule passed at a Special Meeting held on 25 July 1913 that 'The Committee is empowered to elect Associates at an annual subscription of 5/-. Such Associates shall be entitled to the benefits of Rule 20 and any other advantages that the Committee may at any time see fit to extend to

them.’¹ Rule 20 stated that ‘Every member shall be entitled to a copy of any pamphlets, leaflets etc, issued by the Society.’²

- 3 No statistics available for 1919.
- 4 Country Member status replaced that of Associate Member in April 1929. Country Members had the same rights and privileges as Full Members. Country Membership was available to those who lived outside a radius of thirty miles from Charing Cross, London. Those that wished to remain as Associate Members were allowed to do so with no changes to their rights, but this tier of membership was no longer available following the decision made in April 1929.
- 5 The total membership figure is incorrectly given as 12,651 in the report.
- 6 Branch Members are those people who attended and joined one of the local branches of the EFDS. Membership of the branch did not give them membership of the EFDS. Their subscription was used to support the work of the local branch. It is therefore surprising that branch membership has been included in the total membership figures given in the EFDS Annual Reports. Doing so, however, does present a very healthy membership figure.

¹ EFDS Annual Report presented on 21 May 1914. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Archives.

²EFDS, minutes of the Committee Meeting held on 3 January 1912. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Archives.

The Annual Report for the year 1 September 1931 to 31 August 1932 stated that 'This is the first Annual Report of the E.F.D.S. since its amalgamation with the Folk Song Society and is therefore the first Annual Report of the English Folk Dance and Song Society.' The report gave the following membership figures.

EFDSS Membership for 1931 – 1932					
Full	Country Members	Associate	Donor Members	Members transferring from FSS	Total
1,013	489	68	185	136	1,891

These figures show that the membership of the EFDS dropped by 256, Country Membership grew by 69, Associate membership dropped by 61 (it is possible some of these transferred to Country Membership). A new category, that of Donor Membership shows that 185 people subscribed as members but chose not to avail themselves of the privileges of membership.

Finally the figures show that of the 199 members of the FSS only 136 transferred to the new society.

Appendix 4

Biographical Sketches of Selected Persons Named in the Text.

Brief details are given of only those people who were actively involved with the FSS and the EFDS or were either folk-song collectors, or contributed to collections or in some other way influenced the activities of those who were.

Albery, William, 1865-1950

Resident of Horsham, Sussex where he traded as a Saddler. He was a local historian and also played cornet in the Horsham Recreational Band. He organised the publication of Burstow's *Reminiscences of Horsham* (see below) and acted as a 'go-between' for Lucy Broadwood to contact Henry Burstow. National Archives, ref GB/NNAF/P129622; Horsham: Horsham Museum Archive, Lucy E. Broadwood, Various Letters, Ref. No. 2001.882

Allen, Sir Hugh Percy, 1869-1946

Musicologist and conductor. He was Professor of Music at the University of Oxford and he succeeded Parry as Principal of the RCM. He also became a vice-president of the FSS in 1918 filling the vacancy caused by Parry's death.

W. K. Stanton, *ODNB*; *JFSS*, 6, 2 (1919)

Amphill, The Dowager Lady Margaret, 1874-1957

Became President of the EFDS in 1928 succeeding her sister, Lady Mary Trefusis. After the amalgamation of the FSS and the EFDS to become the EFDSS in 1932 she continued in her role as President until 1946 when she resigned and Ralph Vaughan Williams succeeded her.

Douglas Kennedy, 'Obituary' *JFDSS* 8, 3 (1958)

Baring Gould, Sabine, (Revd.), 1834-1924

Church of England clergyman, moved to family estate in Lew Trenchard, Devon in 1882. Author of 40 novels, 60 theological volumes of sermons, hymns and devotional books and 24 guide and travel books. Took up folk-song collecting in collaboration with Revd. Fleetwood Sheppard and F. W. Bussell; published *Songs of the West* (1889-91) and *A Garland of Country Song* (1895).

Brenda Colloms, *ODNB*

Barker, (Harley) Granville, 1877-1946

Playwright and theatre director, Fabian, socialist and protégé of Bernard Shaw. He married the actress Lillah McCarthy in 1906 and together they

took over the management of the Savoy theatre and staged a series of Shakespeare plays. They took the repertory to America in 1915 and gave Cecil Sharp the role of music and dance director for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Richard Eyre, *ODNB*

Barrett, William Alexander, 1834-1891

English church musician, writer, musical educator, music critic of the *Morning Post* and editor of the *Monthly Music Record* (1877); the *Orchestra* (1881) and the *Musical Times* (1887). He was appointed as an elementary school music inspector in 1871 and worked with Hullah and Stainer. In 1891 he published a collection of songs entitled *English Folk Songs*.

Oxford Music Online and *Grove Music Online*

Beer, Rachel, 1858-1927

She wrote for the *Observer* which her husband Frederick owned and took over as editor. In 1893 she bought the *Sunday Times* and became editor of that newspaper as well. She was the first female editor of a national newspaper and the only editor of two national newspapers simultaneously. After the death of her husband she suffered a breakdown, both mental and physical. In 1904 she was committed to the care of the Commissioners of Lunacy. Both newspapers were sold by her trustees. She gradually recovered her mental health and was allowed to buy a large house in Tunbridge Wells where she lived with her servants and nurses. She was a founder member of the FSS.

Vanessa Curney, *ODNB*

Benson, Sir Francis (Frank) Robert, 1858-1939

Actor and manager of Benson Repertory Company. Director of dramatic productions at the Stratford-upon-Avon Shakespeare Festival from 1886-1916. He was a member of the FSS and was knighted in 1916.

J. P. Wearing, *ODNB*

Blunt, Heatley Janet, 1859-1950

Born in India and spent the first thirty years of her life there. She settled with her father at Halle Place in West Adderbury, Oxfordshire. Collecting folk-songs from the local inhabitants became one of her hobbies. In addition she came across William Walton who had been a morris dancer and invited May Hobbs of the EFDS to come down and interview him. Under his instruction he was able to teach the dances to a group of dancers and this enabled Sharp to note the dance steps. The dances were included in the *Morris Book Part II* (second edition 1919).

Margaret Dean-Smith 'Obituary' *JEFDS*, 6.3 (1951); Michael Pickering, *Village Song and Culture*, (London: Croom Helm, 1982)

Boulton, Sir Harold Edwin, 1859-1935

Songwriter and philanthropist. Author of the Skye Boat Song (1884), probably his most famous song. Edited, among others, *Songs of the North* in 3 volumes (1885) and *Songs of Four Nations* (1892). Collaborated with Charles Villiers Stanford who set his lyrics to music. Involved in the University Settlement Movement. Friend of A. P. Graves, member of the FSS and Director of RCM (1931).

Anne Pimlott Baker, *ODNB*

Broadwood, John, (Revd.), 1798-1864

Clergyman and folk-song collector. Famous for publishing the first book of folk-songs collected for their own sake. He was an uncle of Lucy Broadwood who re-issued his collection with some additional songs that she had collected.

Oxford Music Online; Margaret Dean-Smith, , Foreword by Gerald Abraham, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections 1822 – 1952: With an Index to their Contents and an Introduction* (Liverpool: The University of Liverpool in association with The English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1954)

Broadwood, Lucy Etheldred, 1858-1929

Musician and folk-song collector, gifted musician, singer and pianist (pupil of the singer William Shakespeare (1843-1931)). Collaborated with her cousin Birch Reynardson to re-publish her Uncle John's collection of songs plus some she had collected as *Sussex Songs* (1889). Jointly edited with J. A. Fuller-Maitland *English County Songs* (1893) and published *English Traditional Songs and Carols*. (1908). Founder member of the FSS, served as Honorary Secretary following Kate Lee's death and for much of the FSS existence she edited the journal..

Dorothy De Val, *ODNB*

Burstow, Henry, 1826-1916

Burstow lived all his life in Horsham, Sussex and earned his living as a shoemaker. However, he was noted as a bell-ringer and folk-singer (he knew 420 songs). At the end of his working life 'was found to be in indigent circumstances'. To provide a pension for him the local historian William Albery (see above) organised the publication of Burstow's *Reminiscences of Horsham*. The proceeds from the sale of the book would be used to provide an income for Burstow. He was a major informant of

Broadwood's who selected and noted from him about 60 songs 'of the traditional ballad type'.

William Albery, 'Introduction' to *Reminiscences of Horsham: being Recollections of Henry Burstow* available at <http://www.folk-network.com/miscellany/burstow./burstow.html> [accessed 07/05/2005]

Butterworth, George Sinton Kaye, 1885-1916

Composer, music critic and folk-song and dance collector. Close friend of both Ralph Vaughan Williams and Cecil Sharp. Member of the FSS and founder member of the EFDS. Member of Sharp's demonstration team for morris dancing. Killed in action at the Battle of the Somme in 1916.

Alain Frogley, *ODNB*

Campbell, Olive Dame, 1882-1954

Folk-song collector in the Southern Appalachians. She collected songs when she accompanied her husband on his tours of inspection of schools in the Southern Appalachians. When Sharp was first in America she sent her collection to him for his opinion. It was this that motivated him to start collecting in southern America. She collaborated with Sharp in the publication of *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* in 1917. Evelyn K. Wells, 'Obituary' *JEFDS*, 7, 3 (1954).

Carey, Clive Savill, 1883-1968

Singer and opera producer, supporter of Mary Neal. Folk song and dance collector, contributed to Part 2 of the *Espérance Morris Book* (1915) and published *10 English Folk Songs* (1915). Professor of singing at RCM 1946-1953.

C. J. Bearman, *ODNB*

Chappell, William, 1809-1888

Musical antiquary, member of council of the Percy Society in 1840. Published *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1855-1859), this was a revised edition of an earlier work *A Collection of National Airs* (1838-1840). His importance lies in the fact that his work became a reference point for later collectors.

Henry Davey (revised by Peter Wood Jones) *ODNB*

Clague, John, 1842-1908

Doctor, Manx linguist and took a leading role in the movements for the conservation and the revival of the Manx language and Manx music. He collaborated with William Gill and his brother John Frederick Gill (The Deemster Gill) in the compilation and the publication of the *Manx National Song Book*. *Manx Quarterly*, 5, (1908)

Clarke, Sir Ernest, 1856-1923

Secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society and played a prominent role in agricultural administration. He was vice-president of the Bibliographical Society and a founder member of the FSS and its permanent committee chairman.

Frederick Keel, 'Obituary' *JFSS*, 7.2 (1923); *Times* 'Obituary', 6 March 1923, p. 16.

Cobham Viscount (8th), Charles George Lyttleton, 1842-1922

Liberal M.P. for East Worcestershire (1868–1872). Commissioner under the Railway and Canal Traffic Act (1891–1905). He succeeded Lord Herschell as president of the FSS in 1900 and resigned in 1904 due to other commitments but remained a member of the FSS.

'Charles George Lyttleton, 8th Viscount Cobham' available at <http://thePeerage.com/p1008htm> [accessed 21/01/08]; 'Annual Report, June, 1904' *JFSS*, 2, 1 (1905)

Copper, (Bob) Robert James, 1915-2004.

Publican, writer, folk-song collector and celebrated folk-singer. He continued the family tradition of singing in harmony the songs of their forebears with his cousin Ron. In 1971 he published *A Song for Every Season*, an account of his family history plus the family repertoire of songs. In 1973 he published *Songs and Southern Breezes*, which gave a selection of songs he had collected and 'pen portraits' of his informants. In 1976 he published an autobiography of his boyhood called *Early to Rise: A Sussex Boyhood* and this included a further selection of songs sung in his locality. Alun Howkins, *FMJ*, 8, 5 (2005).

Copper, James, 1845-1924

Farm bailiff and folk singer, he sang with his younger brother Thomas. The two of them sang for Kate Lee (1989) who noted their songs and published a selection of them in the first *JFSS* (1899). James was the grandfather of the celebrated folk-singer Bob Copper.

Bob Copper, foreword by Ralph Wightman, *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family* (London: Heinemann, 1971)

Copper, Thomas, 1847-1936

Publican and folk singer. Younger brother of James and great uncle of Bob (see above).

Bob Copper, foreword by Ralph Wightman, *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family* (London: Heinemann, 1971)

Corder, Frederick, 1852-1932

Conductor, translator, composer and teacher. Professor of Composition at the RAM. Founder member of the FSS.

Grove Music Online

Davies, (Sir) (Henry) Walford, 1869-1941

Composer and organist, Professor of Music at University College, Aberystwyth (1919). Chairman of National Council of Music for the University of Wales. Involved in Music in Wartime movement during World War 1. Became Vice-President of FSS in 1918 filling the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Hubert Parry.

Jeremy Dibble, *ODNB*

Duffy (Sir), Charles Gavin, 1816-1903

He had worked as a journalist in Ireland in the 1840s and was a co-founder of the journal *The Nation* of which he was editor. In 1845 he issued a collection called *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*. He was a member of the Repeal Association but he and others split from this organisation and sided with the Young Irelanders, a revolutionary group which had the sole aim of bringing about Irish independence from British rule.

In 1850 Duffy, impatient with the slow progress on repeal, formed the Tenant Right League and campaigned for reform to the Irish land system and the protection of tenants' rights. In 1852 he was elected to parliament as MP for New Ross but in 1856 he seems to have lost hope of any prospect of Irish independence and, with his family, emigrated to Australia. Once in Australia he again entered politics and had a distinguished career and became Prime Minister of Victoria. He was knighted in 1873, presumably in recognition of his contribution to public service, and in 1877 he was appointed to the Order of St Michael and St George as Knight Commander (KCMG). In the same year he was appointed as Speaker to the Legislative Assembly. He retired from politics in 1880 and moved to France. He became the first President of the Irish literary Society in London (1892).

G. B. Smith, James Godkin and Rev. C. A. Griffield, *ODNB*

Elgar, Sir Edward William (Sir), 1857-1934

Composer, regarded as 'the greatest composer to arise in England since the death of Purcell in 1695.' Founder member of the FSS but did not re-new his membership after 1908.

Michael Kennedy, *ONDB*

Elwes, Gervase Henry, 1866-1921

Professional singer (baritone). With his wife Winifride and her brother Everard Fielding he initiated the North Lincolnshire Musical Competition

Festival which encouraged choral singing and the preservation of local folk-song. He was a friend of Grainger, Broadwood and Kidson.

Sophie Fuller, *ODNB*

Ferrars, D'arcy, 1855-1940

Musician and pageant master. He revived the Bidford Morris Dances and founded his own troupe called the Shakespearian Bidford Morris Dancers.

Roy Judge, *ODNB*

Fisher, Herbert Albert Laurens, 1865-1940

Historian and politician. President of the Board of Education in 1916, became Liberal M.P. for Sheffield Hallam in 1918. Credited as the architect of the Education Act of 1918 which became known as the 'Fisher Act'.

Supported Sharp in his efforts to include folk dancing in the school curriculum.

A. Ryan, *ODNB*

Flower Sir, Archibald Dennis, 1865-1950

Mayor of Stratford-Upon-Avon and Chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial Council responsible for the Shakespeare festival. Supporter of Sharp and founder member and committee member of the EFDS.

'Stratford Upon-Avon Town Council' available at

<http://www.stratforduponavontowncouncil.com/welcome.php> [accessed 30/01/2008]; A. H. Fox Strangeways, *Cecil Sharp*

Flower, Robin Ernest, (Dr.), 188-1946

Appointed as assistant in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum in 1906. Became Keeper of Manuscripts in 1929. Assisted Martin Freeman in translation of Irish songs for publication in the *JFSS*.

Bernard O'Donoghue, *ODNB*

Ford, Walter, 1861-1938

Singing teacher and a strong advocate of the use of folk-songs in schools.

He was a contemporary of Sharp's at the University of Cambridge and served on the committee of the FSS.

Frank Howes, 'Obituary' *JEFDS*, 3, 3 (1938).

Fox Strangeways, Arthur Henry, 1859-1948

Close friend and biographer of Cecil Sharp. Committee member of the FSS and member of the EFDS. Founder of the journal *Music and Letters* at the suggestion of Sharp

'Obituary' *JEFDSS* 5, 3 (1948).

Freeman, (Alexander) Martin, 1878-1959

Writer and folk-song collector. His wife was Irish and through her he came into contact with various Irish cultural and linguistic circles. He attended meetings of the Irish Literary Society in London and acquired a sound knowledge of Irish Gaelic. With the assistance of his wife Harriet he collected songs in Ballyvourney, County Cork. This collection was later published in three consecutive issues of the *JFSS* (1920-21).

Donal O'Sullivan, 'Obituary' *JEFDSS*, 9, 1 (1960)

Fuller-Maitland, James Alexander, 1856-1934

One of Britain's prominent music journalists, critic and editor of the second edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1904-10). Folk-song collector, close friend of Lucy Broadwood and founder member of FSS.

Jeremy Dibble, *ODNB*

Gardiner, (Henry) Balfour, 1877-1950

Composer, close friend of Percy Grainger, Cyril Scott, Roger Quilter and Norman O'Neill who were his fellow students at the Hoch Conservatorium, Frankfurt am Main. Member of FSS, folk-song collector and friend of Lucy Broadwood.

Stephen Lloyd, *ODNB*

Gardiner, George Barnet, 1852-1910

Teacher and folk-song collector. At the suggestion of Lucy Broadwood most of his collecting took place in Hampshire. In total he collected approximately 1,500 songs.

Frank Purslow, 'Dr George Gardiner' in *Marrowbones: English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner Manuscripts* (London: EFDSS, 2007).

Gilchrist, Anne Geddes, 1863-1954

Folk-song scholar and collector. Friend of Lucy Broadwood and a committee member of the FSS from 1906. She made numerous contributions to the *JFSS* and its successor the *JEFDSS*.

Frank Howes, 'Obituary' *JEFDSS*, 7, 3 (1954).

Gill, John Frederick, 1842-1899

Born in Sicily where his father Joseph Gill was based. Second Deemster of the Isle of Man (1884-1899). Collaborated with his brother and Dr. John Clague (see above) in the publishing of the *Manx National Song Book*.

'John Gill (Judge)'

Manx Quarterly 16 (1916)

Gill, William Henry, 1839-1922

Brother of J. F. Gill (sees above).

Gomme, Alice Bertha, (Lady) 1853-1938

Folklorist and founder member of the FLS, the FSS and the EFDS. An active suffragette and author of the seminal work *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 2 volumes (1894, 1898). Friend of Cecil Sharp with whom she collaborated on a 5 volume set titled *Children's Singing Games* (1909-1912).

Married to Laurence Gomme (see below).

Robert Gomme, *ODNB*

Gomme, Sir (George) Laurence, 1853-1916

Folklorist, President of the Folklore Society and public servant with the Metropolitan Board of Works and then the London County Council. He played a leading role in establishing the Blue Plaque scheme and was the author of many books on folklore. He retired in 1914 due to ill health.

Robert Gomme, *ODNB*

Grainger, Percy Aldridge, 1882-1961

Composer and folk-song collector. Friend and protégé of Lucy Broadwood. Percy Grainger was an Australian and he and his mother had arrived and settled in England in 1901 when he was just nineteen years old. He was a very talented concert pianist, indeed, in Australia he had begun as a concert musician when he was only twelve. In England he was able to earn a living by his performances, mostly of other composers work. He was the first collector to make extensive use of the phonograph to record folk-songs, though not the first to use it.

Frank Howes, 'Obituary' *JEFDS*, 9. 2 (1961). John Bird, *Percy Grainger*, (London: Faber & Faber 1976 republished in paperback, 1982) p.73.

Graves, Alfred Perceval, 1846-1931

Songwriter and Inspector of Schools. Friend of Sir Charles Villiers Stanford from childhood who set many of his songs to music. Founder member of the ILSL of which he was twice President. Founder member of FSS (which was his idea) and helped establish the Welsh Folk-Song Society.

Richard Perceval Graves, *ODNB*

Greene, Harry Plunket, 1865-1936

Singer (baritone), founder member of the ILSL and the FSS and member of the EFDS. Friend of Lucy Broadwood, Stanford and son-in-law of Parry.

A. H. Fox Strangeways, 'Obituary' *Observer*, 23 August 1936.

Hadow, Sir (William) Henry, 1859-1937

Educationalist and music historian. In 1918 he was made Director of Education for the YMCA with the British Army on lines of communication in France and shortly after he became Assistant Director of Staff Duties (Education) at the War Office. From 1920-1934 he was a leading figure in national education and six educational reports were produced under his chairmanship, the most famous was in 1926, *The Education of the Adolescent* which became known as the Hadow Report. He was a supporter of Cecil Sharp and his efforts to get folk-song and dance into schools.

F. H. Shera (revised by David J. Golby) *ODNB*

Hammond, Henry Edmund Dennison, 1866-1910

Teacher and folk-song collector. Appointed Director-General of Education in Rhodesia in 1899 but returned to England after only a year due to a severe breakdown in his health. Henry was a close friend of George Gardiner (see above) and it was probably through him that he became interested in folk-song. Together with his brother Robert they collected folk-songs, at the suggestion of Lucy Broadwood, in Dorset. Henry noted the tunes and Robert the texts.

Frank Purslow, 'Henry and Robert Hammond' in *Marrowbones: English Folk Songs from the Hammond and Gardiner Manuscripts* (London: EFDSS, 2007).

Herschell, Lord Farrer, 1837-1899

Barrister, Liberal M.P. and later Lord Chancellor. He was the first President of the FSS but only lived to hold this position for a short time.

Patrick Polden, *ODNB*

Hipkins, Alfred James, 1826-1903

Apprenticed as piano tuner to the Broadwood firm and worked for them all his working life. He became an expert on musical instruments and his book titled *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan* (1891) is regarded as a landmark in ethnomusicology.

Anner Pimlott Baker, *ODNB*

Hobbs, May Elliot, ?-1956

Founder member and committee member of the EFDS. She worked closely with Sharp in the early years of the society to promote and consolidate the

work of the society. She organised the first outdoor dance demonstration which took place at Kelmscott in 1912. She remained active in the folk movement until the outbreak of the Second World War.

Douglas Kennedy, 'Obituary', *JEFDSS*, 8, 1 (1956).

Holst, Gustav (Gustavas) Theodore, 1874-1934

Composer and music teacher. He won a scholarship to the RCM where he met Ralph Vaughan Williams and they became lifelong friends. Member of the FSS.

John Worrack, *ODNB*

Howes, Frank Stewart, 1894-1974

Music critic and author. He also taught music history and criticism at the RCM from 1938 until 1970. He was a committee member of the FSS and then the EFDSS and editor of the *JFSS* (1927-1931) and the *JEFDSS* (1932-1945).

Diane McVeagh, *ODNB*

Hullah, John Pyke, 1812-1884

Music teacher and composer. He was a Christian Socialist and believed that music had a moral force and could refine and cultivate individuals and encourage a sense of value and worth within the community. (Cox, p. 8) He was the first Inspector of Music in teacher training colleges and secured a place for music in the school curriculum in Britain.

J. A. Fuller-Maitland (revised by D. J. Golby) *ODNB*, Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England 1872 – 1928* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993)

Jaques, Edgar F., 1850-1907

Music critic, music teacher and programme annotator for Henry Wood's Promenade Concerts 1885-1902. He was owner and editor of the *Musical World* (1888-1891) and then editor of the *Musical Times* (1892-1897).

Founder member of the FSS.

Lawrence Poston, 'Henry Wood, the "Proms" and National Identity in Music 1895-1904', *Victorian Studies*, 47, 3 (2005); *MT*, 40, 768 (1 February 1907) p.94.

Jekyll, Francis, 1882-1965

He worked in the printed music section of the British Museum. Friend of Lucy Broadwood, he is credited with having collected 57 folk-songs. He also collaborated with George Butterworth in collecting songs.

'Hampshire Voices' available at <http://www.foresttracks.co.uk> [accessed 12/12/2009]

Joachim, Joseph, 1831-1907

Violinist and highly influential musician in the English classical music circle. He was a member of the FSS from its foundation until his death. Olive Brown, *ODNB*, 'Obituary' *JFSS*, 12, 2 (1907)

John, Lydia, ?-1948

Singer of Welsh folk-songs. Joined the FSS in 1918 and became Honorary secretary in 1924 until its amalgamation with the EFDS. Frank Howes. 'Obituary', *JEFDSS*, 5, 3 (1948)

Kalisch, Alfred, 1863-1933

Music critic, friend and champion of Richard Strauss. Founder member of the FSS and Honorary Treasurer from 1900-1905. Arthur Jacobs, *Grove Music Online*.

Keel, (James) Frederick, 1871-1954

Singer (baritone), folk-song collector and later a Professor and lecturer on singing at the RAM. Member of the FSS committee. A. Williams, 'Obituary', *JEFDSS*, 7, 3 (1954)

Karpeles, Maud Pauline, 1885-1976

Folk-song and dance collector and scholar. In 1906 she did charitable work for the Mansfield House Settlement and joined the Fabian Society. She became interested in folk dance and was a founder member of the EFDS. She acted as Sharp's amanuensis on his collecting trips to the Appalachians in America. After Sharp's death she acted as his literary executor. She went on to collect songs alone, principally in Newfoundland. She collaborated with Fox Strageways to write Sharp's biography. Michael Heaney, *ODNB*

Kennedy, (née Karpeles), Helen May, 1888-1976

Sister of Maud (see above) and wife of Douglas Kennedy (see below). Together with her sister she founded a Folk Dance Club in 1910, 'the year in which they came to know Cecil Sharp personally.' Sharp was later to ask the members of the Folk Dance Club to become the 'nucleus of a bigger Society'. This was the beginning of the EFDS and she became its first Honorary Secretary. Kenneth Loveless, 'Obituary', *FMJ*, 3, 2, (1976).

Kennedy, Douglas Neil, 1893-1988

Science teacher, folk musician and dancer. He joined the EFDS in 1911 and married fellow EFDS member Helen Karpeles, sister of Maud. He was a member of Sharp's demonstration morris team. When Sharp died in 1924

Kennedy gave up teaching to succeed Sharp as Director of the EFDS in compliance with Sharp's wishes.

Michael Heaney, *ODNB*

Kidson, Frank, 1855-1926

Writer, antiquary and folk-song collector. He supplied more than 365 entries for *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edition edited by J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 1904–10). In 1891 he privately published a subscribers only edition of his collection of songs called *Traditional Tunes*. He was a founder member and member of the committee of the FSS.

Roy Palmer, *ODNB*

Kimber, William, 1872-1961

Morris dancer and musician. He was the musician for the Headington Quarry morris dancers, the first morris side that Sharp saw (1899) and the two became firm friends. He was later to play a key role in teaching morris dances to the girls at Mary Neal's Espérance Club. He was a supporter of Sharp in the Sharp / Neal split.

Michael Heaney, *ODNB*

Korbay, Francis (Ferenc) Alexander, 1846-1913

Hungarian born composer, singer and pianist. Trained as an opera singer (tenor) but was advised to give up and take up the piano by his godfather Franz List. This was due to the demands of opera singing which was too much for his voice. He was a professor of singing at the Royal Academy of Music from 1894 to 1903.

J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5 vols, (London: Macmillan, 2nd edition, 1904–10) II, F-L, p. 595.

Leather, Ella Mary, 1874-1928

Folklorist and folk-song collector. Author of the *Folklore of Herefordshire* (1912) which included songs and carols. She was encouraged by Sharp and Vaughan Williams and Vaughan Williams visited her on a number of occasions with his wife and they assisted her on her collecting trips. She was a member of both the FSS and the EFDS.

David Whitehead, *ODNB*

Lee, Kate (Catherine) Anne, 1859-1904

Singer and folk-song collector. She studied singing at the Royal Academy of Music from 1887-1889, she had only moderate success as a professional singer. She was married to Arthur Morrier Lee, a barrister and friend of Sir Edward Carson. They were guests at his house in Rottingdean, Sussex when she collected songs from the two Copper brothers. She was a member

of the FLS and the ILSL from 1895 and started to collect folk-songs at about this time. The initiative for the FSS came from the ILSL, in particular from its secretary A. P. Graves, but it was Kate Lee that organised the preliminary meetings. Founder member and first Honorary Secretary of the FSS.

C. J. Bearman, *ODNB*

Lucas, Percival Drewett, 1879-1916

Brother of the travel writer Edward Verrall Lucas and a writer himself. He was a member of Cecil Sharp's demonstration morris team. He was killed in action at the Battle of the Somme.

'Mill Hill School Roll of Honour' available at <http://millhill.org.uk/> [accessed 14/11/2008]

McCarthy, Lillah Emma, 1875-1960

Actress, married to Granville Barker – see above.

MacIlwaine, Herbert C., 1859-1918

Son of the Revd. William MacIlwaine, Incumbent of St George's Church, Belfast. He spent several years in Australia where he wrote several books reflecting life in the bush. When he returned to England he became a Reader for the publisher Constable. He assisted Mary Neal with the Espérance club acting as musical advisor. He collaborated with Cecil Sharp on the first three volumes of the *Morris Book*.

'Herbert C. MacIlwaine' available at <http://www.austlit.edu.au> [accessed 30/01/2010]

Mackenzie, Sir Alexander Campbell, 1847-1935

Composer, musician and conductor. Appointed as Principal of the RAM in 1887. Conductor of the Philharmonic society concerts from 1882-1899. He was knighted in 1895. He was one of the four vice-presidents of the FSS when it was founded.

Moire Carnegie (revised by Rosemary Fourn), *ODNB*; *JFSS* (1899)

Marson, (Revd.) Charles Latimer, 1859-1914

Church of England clergyman, founder of the Christian Socialist League and folk-song collector in collaboration with Cecil Sharp. He became a friend of Sharp's when they met in Australia and, in the absence of a relation Sharp 'gave away' Marson's fiancée Clotilda (Chloe) at their wedding. Both the Marsons and Sharp returned to England in 1892. In 1893 he officiated at Sharp's wedding. He was appointed perpetual vicar of St James in Hambridge, Somerset and in 1903 Sharp was a guest at the vicarage and it was here that he heard his first folk-song, the *Seeds of Love*,

'in the field' sung by Marson's gardener, John England. Marson and Sharp from this point collected songs together in Somerset until they 'drifted away' from each other.

Hugh Anderson, *ODNB*, and David Sutcliffe, 'The Reverend Charles Latimer Marson (1859-1914)' in *Still Growing: English Traditional Songs and Singers from the Cecil Sharp Collection*, Steve Roud, Eddie Upton and Malcolm Taylor eds. (London: EFDSS in collaboration with Folk South West, 2003).

Massé, Henri Jean Louis Joseph, 1860- ?

Massé was a church historian and had contributed several volumes to the series of books known as Bell's Cathedrals, so called because the series was issued by the publisher George Bell. He was a member of the FSS and the EFDS and supporter of Sharp.

McInnes, James Campbell, 1874-1945

Singer (baritone) and teacher, protégé of Lucy Broadwood.
York Symphony Orchestr Prospectus 1913-14.

Merrick, William Percy, 1868-1955

A founder member of the FSS. In spite of being blind he collected folk-songs. He seems to have had only one informant, a farmer of Lodsworth in Sussex called Henry Hills. A selection of the songs he collected from Mr Hills made up the whole of the third *JFSS* in 1901.

Ralph Vaughan Williams, 'Obituary', *JFSDSS*, 7, 4 (1955).

Moeran, Ernest John, 1894-1950

Composer and folk-song collector. Famous in folk-song collecting circles for discovering and collecting from the celebrated Norfolk singer Harry Cox.

Geoffrey Self, *ODNB*; Roy Palmer, 'Neglected Pioneer: E. J. Moeran (1894-1950)' *FMJ* 8, 3 (2003)

Morris, Mary (May), 1862-1938

Younger daughter of William Morris. In 1907 May Morris founded the Women's guild of Arts. During the First World War she helped establish the Women's Institute at Kelmscot. She was a member of the EFDS.

Jan Marsh, *ODNB*

Neal, Mary Clara Sophia, 1860-1944

She was born in Birmingham in 1860 and was christened Clara Sophia, but later chose to be known as Mary. She was a social worker and folk dance collector. With Emeline Pethick she established the Espérance Club for

working class girls. When Emeline Pethwick left to get married she was succeeded by Herbert MacIlwaine as music director. They introduced the girls to folk-songs and folk dancing. This brought her into contact with Cecil Sharp who at first co-operated and helped. Eventually Sharp disagreed with Neal's methods of teaching folk dances and this precipitated major differences and disagreement. Neal continued to run the Espérance Club until the outbreak of war in 1914.

Roy Judge, *ODNB*

Nevinson, Henry Woodd, 1856-1941

Social activist and journalist. He became famous as a war correspondent giving eye-witness accounts of most of the wars and civil disturbances over a thirty year period (1897-1926). He supported the suffragette movement and was a folk dancer. He was a committee member of the EFDS. In 1933 he married Evelyn Sharp (Cecil Sharp's youngest sister).

H. N. Brailsford (revised Sinéad Agnew), *ODNB*

Newman, Ernest (formally William Roberts), 1868-1959

Music critic for the *Observer* and the *Sunday Times*. Acclaimed for his biography of Richard Wagner (4vols). He was highly critical of the folk-song movement as a basis for the revival of English classical music.

Nigel Scaife, *ODNB*

Nutt, Alfred Trübner, 1856-1910

Publisher, celtic scholar and folklorist. Early member of the FLS and President of the FLS in 1898 (for one year only). He was involved in the negotiations regarding co-operation between the FLS and the proposed FSS. Died in a tragic accident while trying to save his invalid son who had fallen into the River Seine while on holiday.

H. R. Tedder (revised Sayon Basce) *ODNB*

Oppé, Adolph Paul, 1878-1957

Art historian and art collector. Worked for the Board of Education from 1905-1938. Had two periods of secondment to the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1906-1907 and 1910-1913 and during the First World War he did war service in the Ministry of Munitions. Member of the EFDS and close friend of Cecil Sharp.

Brinsley Ford, *ODNB*

Parry, Sir Charles Hubert Hastings, 1848-1918

Composer and historian of music. Director of RCM from 1895. One of the four vice presidents of FSS from its foundation until his death in 1918.

Jeremy Dibble, *ODNB*

Paterson, James, no data found

Member of Sharp's demonstration morris team and dance teacher. After the First World War he was engaged in welfare work and assisted in the work of the Birmingham Branch of the EFDS.

Helen Kennedy (née Karpeles), 'Early Days' EFDS News, 1924 reprinted in the *American Morris Newsletter*, 28, 3 (2008)

Peel, Graham, 1878-1937

Composer and friend of Lucy Broadwood and James Campbell McInnes.

John France, 'The Land of Lost content', British Music Blog

Percy, Bishop Thomas, 1729-1811

Writer, poet and Church of Ireland Bishop of Dromore. Editor and publisher, Percy had possession of a MS of old ballads which he edited and published as the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. His editorial practice has been severely criticised but his work did much to encourage interest in ballad literature and the Percy Society was founded in his honour. His fiercest critic was Joseph Ritson who accused him of presenting 'scarcely a single poem ... fairly or honestly.'

Roy Palmer, *ODNB*

Phillips Barker, Edward, 1878-1951

Professor of Classics at University College, Nottingham (now University of Nottingham), founder member of the EFDS and a dance teacher. Close friend of Cecil Sharp who acknowledged him as the joint author of the Preface to *the Sword Dances of Northern England, Part 1*. He wrote the article on folk Dance for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Maud Karpeles, 'Obituary', *JEFDSS*, 6, 3 (1951)

Ritson, Joseph, 1752-1846

Conveyancer and antiquarian. He published several anthologies of songs and ballads including his most famous work *Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient poems, songs and ballads now extant related to that celebrated English outlaw* (2 vols 1795). Vehement critic of the editorial practices of Bishop Percy.

Stephanie L. Barczewski, *ODNB*

Sharp, Cecil James, 1859-1924

Music teacher and folk-song and dance collector. He was not a founder member of the FSS but was elected to the FSS committee in 1904. In 1911 he founded the EFDS. He was the foremost folk-song collector of his time noting a total of 4,977 tunes. He was a champion of folk-song and dance in schools and worked tirelessly to achieve this. Michael Heaney, *ODNB*

Sharp, Evelyn Jane, 1869-1955

Writer of children's stories, journalist and suffragette. Youngest sister of Cecil Sharp, she was a great admirer of her brother and was a keen folk dancer. Committee member of the EFDS.

Angela V John *ODNB*; Evelyn Sharp, *Unfinished Adventure: Selected Reminiscences from an Englishwoman's life* (London: Imprint of the 1933 edition by 'Faber Finds', Faber and Faber, 2009)

Shearme, Mary Stewart, 1850-c.1937

An older sister of Lucy Broadwood. Her middle name Stewart was the maiden name of their grandmother, Margaret Stewart. She married the Rev. John Shearme in 1881.

Information supplied by e-mail from Robert Simonson at the *Surrey History Centre*.

Sheppard Revd. Henry Fleetwood, 1824-1901

Vicar of Thrunscoc (1866-1899), friend of Baring Gould who requested his help in collecting songs in Devon. Sheppard was a musician and Baring Gould needed him to note the tunes.

John Venn, 'Sheppard, Henry Fleetwood', *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*

Somervell, Sir Arthur, 1863-1937

Composer, teacher and examiner. He joined the staff of the RCM in 1894 and succeeded Sir John Stainer as Inspector of Music to the Board of Education. He was a staunch supporter of music in the school curriculum through the medium of traditional and national songs. This led to a major disagreement with Sharp who wanted exclusively traditional songs.

Jeremy Dibble *ODNB*

Squire, William Barclay, 1855-1927

Music Librarian at British Museum in Department of Printed Books.

Brother-in-law of Fuller Maitland with whom he collaborated on the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (published in parts 1894-1899). Friend of Lucy Broadwood and founder member of the FSS.

Hugh Cobbe, *ODNB*

Stainer, Sir John, 1840-1901

Musicologist, composer and organist at St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1883 he succeeded John Hullah as HM Inspector of Music in elementary schools and training colleges. He was one of the four vice-presidents of the FSS from its foundation until his death in 1901.

Jeremy Dibble, *ODNB*

Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers, 1852-1924

Composer and teacher. Professor of Music at University of Cambridge and Professor of Composition and Orchestral Playing at the RCM. Collaborated with A. P. Graves (they had been friends from childhood) and set many of his poems to traditional Irish tunes. He was one of the four vice-presidents of the FSS from its foundation until his death in 1924.

Rosemary Firman, *ODNB*

Sumner, George Heywood Maunoir, 1852-1940

Important illustrator in the late pre-Raphaelite style and leading member of the Arts and Crafts movement. Collected some folk-songs and published them with his own illustrations in 1888.

'George Heywood Maunoir Sumner', available at

<http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/speel/illus/sumner.htm> [accessed 30/01/2009];

Margaret Dean-Smith, *A Guide to English Folk Song Collections*

Tennyson, Lord Hallam, 1852-1928

Son of the poet laureate Alfred Lord Tennyson. He was Governor of New South Wales (1899-1902). He then became the Governor General of Australia until 1904 when he returned to England. He was made a privy councillor in 1905. He succeeded Viscount Cobham in 1904 as President of the FSS. He held this post until his death in 1928.

Suzanne L. G. Rickard, *ODNB*

Tiddy, Reginald John Elliott, 1880-1916

Lecturer in Classics and a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. In 1910 he was appointed university lecturer in English Literature. He was the 'moving spirit and the chairman' of the first provincial branch of the EFDS (Oxford) and a member of Sharp's Demonstration Morris Team. Killed in action at the Battle of the Somme in 1916.

Michael Heaney, *ODNB*

Trefusis Lady Mary, (née Lady Mary Lygon), 1869-1927

Close friend of Cecil Sharp whom she first met in Australia. Lady of the Bedchamber to HM Queen Mary and first President of the EFDS. available at <http://thepeerage.com/p2035.htm#i20348> [accessed 21/01/2008]

Vaughan Williams, Ralph, 1870-1958

Composer and folk-song collector (over 800 songs). Committee member of the FSS and the EFDS. Succeeded Lucy Broadwood as President of the FSS. He was a close friend of both Sharp and Broadwood.

Alain Frogley, *ODNB*

Venables, Mary, no data found

Mary Venables was a close friend of Lucy Broadwood but no detailed biographical information is available of her. However, the Surrey History Centre have provided the following information from the Broadwood Collection. There are letters from Mary Venables dated from as early as 1901 and as late as 1929 in the collection. The collection also contains some holiday photographs of Mary Venables with Lucy Broadwood taken in 1920 in Belgium and Switzerland.

Information supplied by e-mail from Robert Simonson at the *Surrey History Centre*.

Wilkinson, George Jerrard, ?-1916

Musician and member of Sharp's demonstration morris team. He was killed in action at the Battle of the Somme.

Helen Kennedy (née Karpeles), 'Early Days' EFDS News, 1924 reprinted in the *American Morris Newsletter*, 28, 3 (2008)

Williams, Iolo Aneurin, 1890-1962

Journalist and poet with a wide range of other interests including folk-song. He collected songs around Hindhead in Surrey where he lived and in 1912 he invited his friends Frederick Keel and Clive Carey to come down to note the tunes for him. Honorary Secretary of the FSS from 1921 to 1923.

Clive Carey, 'Obituary' *JEFDSS*, 9, 3 (1962).

Wright, Arthur Claud, 1888-1977

Teacher of physical education. He was a member of Sharp's demonstration morris team and as a result of dancing at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in 1913 he was invited by Professor George Baker to go to the USA to teach morris dancing. He accepted the invitation and went in a freelance capacity and this resulted in a rift between himself and Sharp and the rest of the demonstration team. Sharp thought that he should have accepted the invitation through the EFDS. On his return to England he was dropped from the morris side. He joined the Royal Flying Corp when war was declared and eventually rose to be Air Vice Marshall.

James C. Brickwedde, 'A. Claud Wright: Cecil Sharp's Forgotten Dancer', *FMJ*, 6, 1 (1990).

Appendix 5

Chronology of significant events relating to the Folk-Song Society (FSS)

1840

The Percy Society founded.

1852

Percy Society disbanded.

1868

The Ballad Society founded.

1878

Folk-Lore Society founded.

1878

People's Concert Society founded.

1883

Primrose League founded.

1891

Irish literary Society of London founded.

1895

Espérance Girls Club founded.

1898

Folk-Song Society (FSS) founded.

1899

Cecil Sharp's first encounter of morris dancing at Headington, Oxfordshire.

1900

The Ballad Society disbanded.

1902

One year after the death of Queen Victoria 'Empire Day' was established to celebrate the British Empire. The day chosen was 24 May, Queen Victoria's birthday.

1903

In August Cecil Sharp heard and noted his first folk-song in the field, *The Seeds of Love*, while staying with his friend Rev. Charles Marson in Hambridge, Somerset.

Women's Suffrage and Political Union founded.

In December, Ralph Vaughan Williams heard and noted his first song in the field, *Bushes and Briars*, at Ingrave, Essex.

1904

Lucy Broadwood succeeded Kate Lee as Honorary Secretary of the FSS. Cecil Sharp and, later that year, Ralph Vaughan Williams were elected to serve on the FSS committee

1905

The folk-song collectors George Gardiner, Henry and Robert Hammond and the composer Percy Grainger joined the FSS.

1906

The composer and folk-song collector George Butterworth joined the FSS. The collector Anne Geddes Gilchrist joined the FSS and was immediately co-opted to serve on the committee.

Percy Grainger was elected to serve on the FSS committee.

1907

Association for the Revival and Practice of Folk Music founded.
The collector Ella Leather joined the FSS.

1908

Lucy Broadwood resigns as Honorary Secretary of the FSS but continues as Honorary Editor of the *JFSS*.

Mrs Walter Ford was appointed as Honorary Secretary of the FSS.

1909

In March Cecil Sharp instructed morris dance classes for teachers at the Chelsea College of Physical Education (later the South Western Polytechnic).

In August the Board of Education included the teaching of morris dances in the Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Elementary Schools.

In September Cecil Sharp sets up a School of Morris dancing at Chelsea College of Physical Education with himself as Director.

In October the Board of Education gave official approval to the School of Morris Dancing to train teachers of morris and country dancing.

1910

Lucy Broadwood resigns as Honorary Editor of the *JFSS* and Frederick Keel became the new Honorary Editor.

Mary Neal established the Espérance Guild of Morris Dancers.

1911

Frederick Keel became Honorary Secretary of the FSS in addition to his role as Honorary Editor for the journal.

Francis Tolmie collection of Gaelic songs published in the *JFSS*.

Cecil Sharp is chosen instead of Mary Neal to be in charge of technical direction for the School of Folk Dancing at the Stratford-upon-Avon Shakespeare Festival.

Clive Carey, the baritone and folk-song and dance collector, joined the FSS and was immediately co-opted to serve on the committee.

In December the English Folk Dance Society (EFDS) was founded.

1914

Start of World War 1.

Frederick Keel was interned in Germany as a 'Prisoner of War'.

Lucy Broadwood once more took over as Honorary Editor of the *JFSS*.

The chairman of the FSS committee, Sir Ernest Clarke, assisted by Mrs Keel took over the secretarial duties.

1916

The collector Janet Blunt joined the FSS.

The music critic Arthur Henry Fox Strangeways was co-opted to serve on the FSS committee.

1918

End of World War 1.

Frederick Keel was released from prison and he returned to England. He resumed his role as Honorary Secretary of the FSS, but Lucy Broadwood retained the editorship of the journal.

1919

Cecil Sharp's amanuensis and committee member of the EFDS, Maud Karpeles, joined the FSS.

1920

First part of the collection of Irish songs collected by Martin Freeman published in the *JFSS*.

1921

Frederick Keel resigned as Honorary Secretary of the FSS and the poet and folk-song collector Iolo Williams was appointed in his place.

Second part of the collection of Irish songs collected by Martin Freeman published in the *JFSS*.

Ralph Vaughan Williams appointed as a Vice-President of the FSS.

1922

The composer and folk-song collector Ernest John Moeran joined the FSS.

Third and final part of the collection of Irish songs collected by Martin Freeman.

published in the *JFSS*.

1923

Ernest John Moeran was elected to serve on the FSS committee.

First part of the collection of Irish songs collected by Martin Freeman published in the *JFSS*.

Frank Kidson was awarded an honorary MA from the University of Leeds.

1924

Memorial fund set up to commemorate the death of Cecil Sharp and raise funds towards the building of a headquarters for the EFDS to be known as 'Cecil Sharp House'.

First part of the collection of Manx songs collected by Dr. Clague published in the *JFSS*.

Frank Howes, music critic for the *Times* and lecturer at the Royal College of Music joined the FSS.

1925

Second part of the collection of Manx songs collected by Dr. Clague published in the *JFSS*.

1926

Frank Howes was co-opted to serve on the FSS committee.

Third and final part of the collection of Manx songs collected by Dr. Clague published in the *JFSS*.

1927

Lucy Broadwood resigned as editor for the *JFSS* and Frank Howes became the new editor.

1928

Lucy Broadwood appointed President of the FSS.

1929

Lucy Broadwood died on 22 August and Ralph Vaughan Williams succeeded her as President of the FSS.

Anne Gilchrist appointed as a Vice-President.

1930

Official opening of Cecil Sharp House.

1932

Amalgamation of the English Folk Dance Society and the Folk-Song Society to become the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

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