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**'Fiddlers' Tunebooks' - Vernacular Instrumental Manuscript Sources
1860-c1880: Paradigmatic of Folk Music Tradition?**

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Abstract

Fiddlers' Tunebooks are handwritten manuscript books preserving remnants of a largely amateur, monophonic, instrumental practice. These sources are vastly under-explored academically, reflecting a wider omission in scholarship of instrumental music participated in by 'ordinary' people in nineteenth-century England. The tunebooks generate interest amongst current folk music enthusiasts, and as such can be subject to a "burden of expectation",¹ in the belief that they represent folk music tradition. Yet both the concepts of tradition and folk music are problematic. By considering folk music from both an inherited perspective and a modern scholarly interpretation, this thesis examines the place of the tunebooks in notions of English folk music tradition.

A historical musicological methodology is applied to three post-1850 case-study manuscripts drawing specifically on source studies, archival research and quantitative analysis. The study explores compilers' demographic traits and examines content, establishing the existence of a heterogeneous repertoire copied from contemporary textual sources directly into the tunebooks. This raises important questions regarding the role played by publishers and the concept of continuous survival in notions of tradition. A significant finding reveals the interaction between aural and literate practices, having important implications in the inward and outward transmission and in wider historical application. The function of both the manuscripts and the musical practice is explored and the compilers' acquisition of skill and sources is examined. This results in the 're-discovery' of Musical Circulating Libraries, and identifies a binary route to skill acquisition, largely defined by environment.

Acknowledging the contention surrounding terms such as folk, popular and tradition, and the subtle interaction of aurality and literacy, this study concludes that the manuscripts contribute to wider historical discourse and do have a place in notions of folk music tradition, moreover that their textual nature provides a unique perspective from which to observe the process.

¹ Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2017), p. 9.

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A Note on Referencing, Figures and Copyright

References for the three case-study manuscripts are given in Chapter 1 and subsequent references omitted due to frequency of use. Where a reference is made to a page number of a trade directory taken from the University of Leicester's Special Collections website, I have used their page reference which does not always tally with the directory's original page numbers,² to aid searches for current researchers. Roud's term 'burden of expectation' is frequently referred to throughout the thesis. Following a full reference in the abstract and the initial quotation of the term in the main body of the thesis, subsequent references are referred to in single quotation marks but full acknowledgment of the term is hereby given to Steve Roud. With thanks to Peter Barr from the University of Sheffield Library for his help and advice regarding referencing.³

² Library, 'Special Collections Online Historical Directories', *University of Leicester* (No date) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16445coll4>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

³ Other sources consulted regarding referencing include: Library Services, 'Modern Humanities Research Association (Mhra)', *University of Birmingham Intranet* (2017) <<https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/as/libraryservices/library/referencing/icite/referencing/mhra/index.aspx>> [accessed 4 April 2017]; The University Library, 'Information and Digital Literacy: Information Skills Resource', *The University of Sheffield* (2016) <https://librarydevelopment.group.shef.ac.uk/shef-only/referencing/music_mhra.html> [accessed 5 April 2017]; Information Services Cardiff University,

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the thesis:

BL	The British Library
BNA	British Newspaper Archive
DIAMM	The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music
EFDSS	English Folk Dance and Song Society
FMJ	Folk Music Journal
IFMC	International Folk Music Council
IMSLP	The International Music Score Library Project
LOC	Library of Congress
MB	The Musical Bouquet
MCL	Musical Circulating Library
MO&MTR	The Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review
MPA	The Musical Publishers' Association
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MUSTRAD	Musical Traditions Internet Magazine
NLA	The National Library of Australia
N/T	No title
OCLC	Online Computer Library Centre
SHC	Somerset Heritage Centre
TTA	The Traditional Tune Archive
VMP	The Village Music Project
VRC	The Volunteer Rifle Corps
VWML	Vaughan Williams Memorial Library

Chapter 1- Introductions

Their music in those days was all in their own manuscript, copied in the evenings after work, and their music-books were home-bound. It was customary to inscribe a few jigs, reels, horn-pipes, and ballads in the same book, by beginning it at the other end, the insertions being continued from front and back till sacred and secular met together in the middle, often with bizarre effect.⁴

Part 1 - Introduction to the Field of Study and Thesis

Thomas Hardy, writing in his 1896 preface to *Under the Greenwood Tree* describes vernacular musicians and their manuscripts from approximately fifty years before, and it is these manuscripts which comprise the focus of my study. One hundred years after Hardy's writing, not long after completing my first degree in music,⁵ my fiddle playing grandfather presented me with a manuscript not unlike those described by Hardy. It had belonged to my great-great grandfather, Thomas Hampton, who had been a fiddle player in Hereford during the mid-late-nineteenth-century. Despite appreciating the tangible connection to my ancestor, after a cursory glance at his tunebook, I dismissed its contents due to the lack of what I naïvely considered to be 'proper 'folk' tunes' which at the time fuelled my passion for fiddle playing.

No study or analysis was performed on the manuscript until nearly twenty years later when I was studying for a Master's degree in Musicology.⁶ During this time I worked on Medieval manuscripts, evaluating them as contextual and musicological artefacts. I also became aware of the thwarted historiography and problematic definitions of English folk music. Reviewing my 'Fiddlers' Tunebook',⁷ I began to analyse my initial reaction to it. It became clear that I was not unique in my misperceptions. I could see how my preconceived notions played into the dialectic between popular music and

⁴ Thomas Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2004), p. xxiv.

⁵ The University of Nottingham, 1994.

⁶ The University of Bristol, 2013.

⁷ I refer to the tunebooks by this term as they are known in vernacular usage and also in more formal situations, for example, in Stephen Banfield and Ian Russell, 'England (I)', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed April 4 2017].

folk music which has persisted in the scholarly discourse of vernacular song and instrumental music since the terms first appeared and is still current today.⁸

When I cast aside my ancestor's manuscript, it is conceivable that I was guilty of the same prejudice said by some to be applied by the early folk song collectors,⁹ deriding the more ephemeral melodic content, and making assumptions regarding definitions based on its literate manuscript form. Intrigued by the unspoken judgements and lack of attention, I set out to unravel what these manuscripts tell us about mid-late-nineteenth-century vernacular musical practice. I have since discovered, not only is the musical practice represented by these manuscripts a much-neglected area of English music history; their presence represents a rare and important synchronic capture of the process of tradition at work. This thesis is the result of my research into these Fiddlers' Tunebooks, and my examination to determine how the manuscripts fit in notions of folk music tradition.¹⁰

In Part 1 of this chapter I give a broad introduction to the field, acknowledging problematic terms and review literature relating directly to manuscripts and instrumental tunes. I then consider how and why the manuscripts are found in the current field of folk music and identify characteristics which question their placement here. Following a brief background on the development of definitions, current scholarly discourse will be examined in depth and related to the outcome of my research. Six research questions are set out along with the structure of the thesis, stating how each chapter relates to current dialogue in the field. Part 1 concludes by detailing the overall methodology used to approach the research. Part 2 introduces the artefacts central to the research with a codicological examination of the three case-study manuscripts.

The manuscripts under investigation are a rich yet neglected primary source giving important evidence of nineteenth-century vernacular instrumental tunebook practice.

⁸ Discussed in depth below but see for example, Roud, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 15-35.

⁹ For example Harker blamed the early-twentieth-century folk song collectors of mediation: "their own assumptions, attitudes, likes and dislikes may well have significantly determined what they looked for, accepted and rejected". David Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985), p. xiii.

¹⁰ There is conjecture in using the term 'folk'. However, later in the chapter I define my terms and accept the existence of folk music as a genre. Therefore, I do not use quotation marks around the word throughout the thesis.

They are important not only regarding the musicological aspects of the tunes but for providing a starting point into the contextual investigation into the life of the compilers, their audiences and their motives for playing and preserving. The ambiguity of definition suffered by the manuscripts has hindered their acceptance and value as primary sources. This study aims to reduce this ambiguity of definition by exploring their place in English folk music tradition.

In order to provide a clear starting point, the current position of the manuscripts in musicological fields needs to be established. Visibility regarding setting parameters and justifying source selection was an important part of approaching the manuscripts objectively. Exposing the manuscripts, their creators and soundscape into wider consciousness will raise awareness of the value they have in informing broad areas of nineteenth-century musicology and understanding their position in both their contemporary and today's musical culture. Furthermore, it will reveal the important role this archive and its contents play not just in musical disciplines, but as primary sources in wider nineteenth-century historical studies.

Vernacular Instrumental Music and Tune Manuscripts

These historic tunebooks comprise chiefly pre-existing melodies, and are scattered across the country, held in libraries, museums, record offices and private ownership. Many of them form part of a virtual archive and catalogue,¹¹ maintained by The Village Music Project (VMP),¹² and Folkopedia,¹³ which lists approximately three hundred surviving manuscripts. VMP is an online site, and although declaring their interest in social dance music, they acknowledge the broad repertoire and genres found in such manuscripts, and recognise the problems faced by researchers today regarding

¹¹ The archive is 'virtual' in the sense that the manuscripts are not collected together in one place and are held in an online catalogue.

¹² The Village Music Project, 'Mss List', *The Village Music Project* (No date) <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=84> [accessed 4 April 2017].

¹³ Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List', *Folkopedia* (No date) <http://folkopedia.efdss.org/index.php?title=Tune_Manuscripts_List&action=edit> [accessed 20 March 2017]. The original Folkopedia page I accessed when doing the research in 2014-2016 was updated in December 2016 and no longer displays correctly. The site administrator informed me via email that they were aware of the issue but that following the upgrade the software is not supported by the EFDSS' (English Folk Dance and Song Society) web host's server and the limited usage of the site and funding did not warrant a wiki software upgrade from EFDSS. For this reason I am referencing the source page which contains the relevant information. (Chris Partington, *Email Correspondence* (3 March 2017).)

geographical disparity and access to the manuscripts in private collections.¹⁴ The project started in 1998, supported by Salford University but is now independently and privately funded, and aims to “fill in a gap in the ethno-musicological research spectrum”.¹⁵ The ‘Tune Manuscripts’ page at *Folkopedia*, a site based on VMP’s database, contains a more maintained and complete list of the extant manuscripts unearthed so far.¹⁶ Prior to the existence of these two sites, the chaotic nature of the archive made research fraught with difficulty for both scholars and enthusiasts alike.

The manuscript archive as a whole represents the repertoire of amateur musicians who played for personal pleasure, dances and informal gatherings from the late-seventeenth to late-nineteenth centuries.¹⁷ It is important to recognise from the outset that the manuscripts do not necessarily represent the compilers’ entire known repertoire. Thus, analysis based on the content and discussed in this thesis is based on the evidence found in the manuscripts and does not refer to the compilers’ potential wider repertoire, of which little evidence exists. Moreover, it is not known whether the transcribed tunes are those which were commonly played, those that were more unusual or tunes that the compilers wished to learn. Gammon cautions that “both the material itself and the ways in which it has been interpreted can mislead us into accepting what is only a partial and incomplete view as something more substantial”.¹⁸ Whilst we can collect together the evidence and proffer notions to help our understanding, we are viewing the past through a blurred lens and must acknowledge that we cannot understand the compilers’ culture or musical practice to its full extent.

As individual repositories of tunes, the content of Fiddlers’ Tunebooks is not uniform. Some tunebooks comprise exclusively historic dance tunes, while others include songs, contemporary dance tunes, religious music, military marches and so on. Likewise, they were not exclusively compiled by fiddle players but also include the repertoires of

¹⁴ The Village Music Project, ‘About’, *The Village Music Project* (No date) <<http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/>> [accessed 5 April 2017].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Folkopedia, ‘View Source for Tune Manuscripts List’. An email conversation with J Adams confirmed that the Folkopedia list, maintained by C Partington is more comprehensive than that found on the VMP: John Adams, *Email Correspondence* (14 July 2014).

¹⁷ It is important to clarify that this thesis concentrates on manuscripts dating from approximately 1860-c1880.

¹⁸ Vic Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 1.

other monophonic instrumentalists such as flautists and cornet players. Of key importance is the eclectic mix found. Despite containing some older tunes numerous manuscripts contain tunes which were contemporary and popular at that time, many of an ephemeral nature which have fallen out of common use and are now unknown.

The focus of study can be defined by the terms used by Folkopedia in describing their Tune Manuscripts List:

This is a list of what are often referred to as Fiddler's [sic] Tunebooks, though they were sometimes evidently written by flute players or other instrumentalists. As well as dance tunes, they often contain psalms, hymns, songs and militia tunes...It is based on the database of historical dance tune manuscripts compiled for the Village Music Project....¹⁹

The definition given by VMP is also helpful in defining the manuscript archive:

Often, musically literate musicians wrote down their tunes, songs, hymns, psalms and band parts in a single book which was easily carried along with their portable instrument. Some of these surviving hand written books date back to the eighteenth century. Some are devoted entirely to church music, some to secular music like the dance tunes of the day, and some are a rich mixture of all musics of their time.²⁰

In addition to this, to be considered within this specific study, the contents are hand-written and monophonic, generally comprising a single melody line, instrumental dance tune or song.

During this period, musicians involved in other musical practices were also compiling manuscripts of their repertoire; for example, manuscripts which contained exclusively sacred, brass, military or double stave, polyphonic music intended for piano: the "Drawing-room Genre".²¹ The difference between this musical practice and that represented by the manuscripts comprising the focus of the VMP archive and this thesis needs to be set out. Contrary to the demography of the mid-century Fiddlers' Tunebook compilers revealed in Chapter 2, the Drawing-room genre was widely

¹⁹ Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List'.

²⁰ The Village Music Project, 'About'.

²¹ Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 2nd edn, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), p. 1. Although using the phrase 'Drawing-room Practice' might be more appropriate to indicate the amalgamation of different genres within the same musical practice, I adopt Derek Scott's use as a term throughout this thesis. Quotation marks will not be used for subsequent uses of the term and the word genre is uncapitalised.

enjoyed by the middle classes. It was an aspirational practice, generally a female pursuit, perceived to be respectable and polite. Throughout the century this musical practice gained popularity and by the end of the century had filtered down through to the lower occupational classes as mass production resulted in a reduction in the cost of pianos, availability of hire purchase and hence increased accessibility. However, at the time under consideration they were distinct musical practices. The focus of this research is not centred on such manuscripts. The historiographies of these musical practices and musicians exist in their own right.²² Despite the thesis revealing much shared repertoire between the practice represented by the manuscripts and these other musical practices, there are important and distinct differences, particularly in relation to the demographic and the sources. Therefore, it is necessary to carve out a distinct place for the vernacular instrumental manuscripts, their contents and creators, whilst being careful not to create restrictive boundaries.

Ensuring compatibility of all extant manuscripts to fit within the scope of the terms is problematic. Despite VMP and Folkopedia collating the list of known manuscripts, the lengthy task of finding, accessing, assessing and cataloguing the contents of all the manuscripts is yet to be done. Until a large-scale survey of all the extant manuscripts is carried out, it is not known to what extent the archive, as held by the Folkopedia and VMP databases, is representative of other nineteenth-century musical practices. Consequently, the number of manuscripts belonging specifically to the secular, monophonic instrumental musical practice epitomised by the Fiddlers' Tunebooks, is unknown and leaves the archive somewhat undefined. So too, musicians could be multi-functional, and manuscripts exist which reflect a crossover of practices.

²² Amateur song and the Drawing-room genre make up the topic of several books. See below for some examples: Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, 2nd edn, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*; Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, 2nd edn, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2011); Edward Lee, *Music of the People: A Study of Popular Music in Great Britain*, 1st edn, (London: Barrie & Jenkins (Barrie Books Ltd), 1970). Although I feel uncomfortable analysing musical practice in class terms, it is a necessary part of the research. Gammon qualifies the approach, stating that: "The class basis of forms of musical activity should be of prime consideration to the researcher as it is only when this is analysed that relations between social classes and particular forms of musical perception and practice can be investigated". Vic Gammon, 'Problems of Method in the Historical Study of Popular Music', *Popular Music Perspectives*, (1982), 16-31 (p. 22). For histories of brass band and military music see Trevor Herbert, 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band.', *Popular Music*, 9. 1 (1990), 117-32. <<http://www.jstor.org.eresources.shef.ac.uk/stable/pdf/852887.pdf>> [accessed 8 July 2016]; Lewis Winstock, *Songs & Music of the Redcoats*, (London: Leo Cooper, 1970); Dennis Taylor, *English Brass Bands and Their Music, 1860-1930*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011).

Moreover, it will never be known how many of the musicians who compiled one genre of manuscript also participated in other musical practices without the need for manuscripts, or without extant documentary manuscript evidence. Ultimately, the manuscript archive under discussion in this research is represented by manuscripts which contain a predominance of hand-written, monophonic, instrumental, domestic and social secular dance and song music.

Existing Studies and the Wider Literature

Academic study on instrumental music of the 'ordinary' people in the nineteenth-century is scant. The lack of scholarly acknowledgement of these manuscripts reflects this. Katy Spicer, chief executive of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (EFDSS) noted in her welcome in the programme for the 2017 Traditional Tunes and Popular Song conference that: "This is our first conference to focus on tunes rather than songs and it is fitting that we should finally examine, in its own right, the very element that links across song, dance and instrumental playing".²³

Work has and is being done on traditional song collections but the "music has been researched and studied much less than song",²⁴ resulting in the manuscripts being overlooked by scholars and rarely the focus of major academic studies. However, it is important to recognise Gilchrist's contribution to the tune field in the 1940s at a time when most focus had been on song studies,²⁵ and also to acknowledge that scholarship was occurring on manuscripts and fiddle repertoire in North America.²⁶ It is interesting that some of this work, in line with my findings, identifies that the tune field lags behind that of folk song in terms of scholarly recognition,²⁷ and similarly notes the

²³ Katy Spicer, 'Welcome', in *Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs. History and Transmission*, (Cecil Sharp House, London: University of Aberdeen and EFDSS, 2017), (p. 2).

²⁴ Banfield and Russell, 'England (I)'. For examples of the work focussing on folk song, see much of the content in *The Folk Music Journal (FMJ)* and Roud, *Folk Song in England*.

²⁵ Anne G. Gilchrist, 'Old Fiddlers' Tune Books of the Georgian Period', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 4. 1 (1940), 15-22.

²⁶ Samuel P. Bayard, 'Some Folk Fiddlers' Habits and Styles in Western Pennsylvania', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 8 (1956), 15-18; Chris Goertzen, 'Philander Seward's "Musical Deposit" and the History of American Instrumental Folk Music', *Ethnomusicology*, 26. 1 (1982), 1-10; Chris Goertzen and Alan Jabbour, 'George P. Knauff's Virginia Reels and Fiddling in the Antebellum South', *American Music*, 5. 2 (1987), 121-44; William Alan MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance' (PhD, Harvard University, 1984).

²⁷ Bayard, 'Some Folk Fiddlers' Habits and Styles in Western Pennsylvania', p. 15. Goertzen, 'Philander Seward's "Musical Deposit" and the History of American Instrumental Folk Music', p. 1.

importance of textual interaction.²⁸ Within the field of popular music, commenting directly on Scott's research into the nineteenth-century Drawing-room genre, Russell notes the gap in instrumental music scholarship hoping "others might attempt to construct a similar picture of the instrumental repertoire and shed much-needed light on this aspect of the domestic tradition".²⁹

A survey of recent academic studies relating specifically to manuscripts,³⁰ revealed only five academic theses, only two of which use the manuscripts as their key area of focus: Gammon's unpublished PhD thesis,³¹ of which the third chapter constitutes the paper, 'Manuscript Sources Of Traditional Dance Music In Southern England',³² published in 1986, and Campbell's 2012 work, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)',³³ both discussed in depth below.

Some research has been undertaken in specific regions, mainly the north of England,³⁴ and evidence from online forums and publications demonstrates that amateurs and folk-music enthusiasts have carried out work, looking in much detail at some of the musicians who played this music and on individual manuscripts.³⁵ This work is valuable, but the lack of input from academic institutions makes English folk music, instrumental vernacular popular music and the manuscript archive as a whole, appear like a poorer relative to the canon of Western art music which still remains the chief focus in many British university musicology departments.

²⁸ Goertzen, 'Philander Seward's "Musical Deposit" and the History of American Instrumental Folk Music', p. 1. Goertzen and Jabbour, 'George P. Knauff's Virginia Reels and Fiddling in the Antebellum South', p. 121.

²⁹ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 181.

³⁰ By 'recent' I am referring to approximately the last thirty years.

³¹ Vic Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914' (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 1985).

³² Vic Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', *Traditional Dance*, 4 (1986), 53-72.

³³ Stephen W. J. Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)' (PhD diss., University of York, 2012).

³⁴ See for example: Matt Seattle, *The Great Northern Tune Book : William Vickers' Collection of Dance Tunes Ad 1770*, (London: English Folk Dance & Song Society, 2008); Folk Archive Resource North East, 'Welcome to Farne', *Gateshead Central Library* (No date) <<http://www.folknortheast.com/>> [accessed 3 November 2015]; Julian Taylor, 'Music of North West England', *Julian Taylor* <<http://www.fiddlemusic.co.uk/north-west-music.htm>> [accessed 11 November 2014]; Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)'.

³⁵ Their work is considered in more depth below.

Academic Approaches to the Manuscripts

The two notable academic works highlighted above examine the manuscripts in depth. Both use manuscript sources at the core of their discussion and two key arguments emerge which make up part of the chief critical enquiry within this thesis. Both theses dispel the previously accepted notion of transmission via purely oral/aural means, and acknowledge the heterogeneous content, raising questions over genre boundaries.³⁶

Three further scholarly works are relevant, which despite not focussing solely on manuscripts refer to them throughout their research. MacPherson's 'The Music of the English Country Dance' only came to light as I was completing my thesis. Written in 1984 it centres on printed sources but was useful with reference to my discussion regarding the interaction between literacy and aurality/orality.³⁷ More recent theses, Pendlebury's 2015 MPhil thesis, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland',³⁸ and Yates' 2013 PhD thesis, 'Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music',³⁹ share key themes with Gammon and Campbell, acknowledging the eclectic mix of content and the importance of print on transmission.⁴⁰

Gammon's paper, in which he analyses the content of the surviving Sussex manuscripts, dating between 1796 and circa 1850, was ground-breaking in the fields of both vernacular music and social history and questioned many pre-conceived notions, particularly concerning transmission and content.⁴¹ He was struck by the musicological exception of the Turner manuscript, which was the latest of his sources (1840-1850), containing 'more up to the moment dance tunes and quadrille sets from the mid-nineteenth century',⁴² as opposed to a more historic repertoire. Gammon, undoubtedly the expert in this field, writes with extensive knowledge as both the key

³⁶ Detailed evidence to support this is given in the main discussion regarding these points in Chapters 3 and 4.

³⁷ MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance'. Alice Little kindly brought this thesis to my attention.

³⁸ Celia Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland' (University of Sheffield, 2015).

³⁹ Cinzia Yates, 'Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music' (Cardiff University, 2013).

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 60 & 100. Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland', p. 32 & 54.

⁴¹ See discussion in Chapters 3 & 4.

⁴² Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 60.

academic and a long-time participant in folk music. As a trained historian, he brings a dual perspective to the sources, and views his thesis as “stepping beyond previous work in attempting to relate text to context, musical practice to social practice”.⁴³ Added to this, his musical knowledge facilitates a musical analysis of the tunes found in the manuscripts, enabling him to draw conclusions regarding musically stylistic features such as modality, modulation, key, range, rhythm and musical structure.

As a social and cultural historian, Gammon does not provide much detail regarding the physical attributes and subsequent significance of the manuscripts themselves, focussing more on content and contextual aspects. However, Campbell approaches the manuscripts as artefacts, using this to draw conclusions in areas such as function, value, and demography. He considers the physical manuscripts themselves as important sources, providing a detailed codicological description for each of his case-study manuscripts,⁴⁴ considering aspects such as size, orientation, marginalia and condition, parallel with an archaeological discipline.

Campbell’s work assesses the sources from a musicological standpoint dealing with “the content, context and musicological significance”,⁴⁵ as opposed to a more social historical stance. However, his individual sources differ so vastly from each other that I find his comparative analysis is of little merit. That said, many of his key arguments are in line with Gammon’s. He too acknowledges the heterogeneous repertoire and as such questions the labelling of the manuscripts as folk music.⁴⁶ He suggests that: “We are currently locked into an obsessively genre-centric paradigm, which constructs boundaries rather than respecting a continuum, so many regard manuscripts like Atkinson’s simply as folk music”,⁴⁷ maintaining that “to classify these collections as early examples of folk dance or traditional music is to oversimplify their actuality and to brush over the complex nature of their makeup and diversity”.⁴⁸ It is commendable that Campbell addresses the often-unspoken fact that despite generating interest

⁴³ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 5.

⁴⁴ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)'. See chapters 4 and 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 14.

⁴⁶ This is discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 145.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 16.

amongst current folk musicians, the manuscripts do not appear to represent folk music in its inherited sense. Yet he does not provide a sufficient definition of his terms. So too, his dislike of genre labelling and boundaries is problematic.

Steve Roud's seminal book, *Folk Song in England*,⁴⁹ does not address the vernacular manuscript archive explicitly, but I find many of his ideas are transferrable. In response to Campbell's stance above, I would argue that boundaries are necessary and take Roud's view that, "if we want to find out what it is and how it fits into the grand scheme of things, we have to start drawing conclusions, and we usually start by drawing boundaries".⁵⁰

Before considering Roud's contribution in more depth, it is important to establish his book as a work of academic merit. It could be argued that despite Roud's well-respected position in the folk song field, his absence of academic background could place this book more amongst works for and by interested enthusiasts rather than as a reference for academic research. Despite Roud having written articles for peer-reviewed academic journals,⁵¹ and published internationally by academic publishers,⁵² *Folk Song in England*, is published by independent publishing house (Faber & Faber), rather than an academic publisher. Similarly, despite the tone and material being scholarly and theoretical, the nature of his discussion could be argued to be aimed towards knowledgeable enthusiasts. However, Roud is an established and highly respected researcher and the approach in the book is erudite and academic. The two chapters specifically concerning folk song music are authored by expert and academic, Dr Julia Bishop and the book is supported by EFDSS,⁵³ and was launched in August 2017 at the British Library. Despite its recent publication, reviews already exist in respected publications,⁵⁴ and an academic journal.⁵⁵ In his review, Gammon

⁴⁹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 15.

⁵¹ For example: Steve Roud and Paul Smith, 'James Madison Carpenter and the Mummers' Play', *Folk Music Journal*, 7. 4 (1998), 496-513.

⁵² Jacqueline Simpson and Steve Roud, *A Dictionary of English Folklore*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁵³ EFDSS held a workshop in their Autumn 2017 programme entitled An Introduction to Folk Song in England, presented by Roud: EFDSS, 'What's On', *EFDSS* (2017) <<https://www.efdss.org>> [accessed 5 October 2017].

⁵⁴ Kathryn Hughes, 'Folk Song in England by Steve Roud Review - the Music of the Common People?', *The Guardian* (2017) <<https://www.theguardian.com>> [accessed 21 November 2017]; *The Economist*,

commends the book as “the most significant, important and interesting book on English folk song published in my lifetime”,⁵⁶ and affirms its academic credentials by stating that “if I were still teaching university courses on folk music I have no doubt I would make it a set text”.⁵⁷ The names listed in Roud’s ‘Acknowledgements’,⁵⁸ read as a list of academic luminaries in the field, most notably, Vic Gammon, Ian Russell and Julia Bishop.⁵⁹ This further sets this pivotal tome as an equal amongst academic literature and moreover a vital contribution to the field.

Roud’s ideas are considered in more depth in the subsequent section, in which the discussion moves away from a manuscript specific literature review towards a contextually relevant historiography of folk music. A wider range of academic literature is drawn upon, from folk song, folk music and popular music domains. However, in view of the paucity of material relating directly to the manuscript archive there is a necessity to widen the scope of reference literature beyond solely academic works in the specific field. As such, the remainder of this section considers non-academic approaches to the manuscripts and vernacular instrumental music, in addition to literary fiction and assesses the awareness of the manuscript archive in wider academic literature.

Non-Academic Approaches to the Manuscripts

Awareness of the manuscripts exists outside the academic world and the contents attract the attention of current folk music enthusiasts and musicians to a much greater extent than academic musicologists, ethnomusicologists or historians. This may perpetuate the perception that the archive belongs in the folk music domain, and it is possible that dilettantism has lowered the manuscripts’ credibility within academic circles, resulting in less critical study. However, the interest from the amateur field has helped ensure the manuscripts’ survival and accessibility. Digital copies are being

'English Folk Song, a Great Tradition', *The Economist* (2017) <<https://www.economist.com>> [accessed 21 November 2017].

⁵⁵ Vic Gammon, 'Reviews - Folk Song in England (Roud)', *Folk Music Journal*, 11. 3 (2018), 127-30.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 127.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 130.

⁵⁸ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. xi.

⁵⁹ In addition to Roud’s acknowledgement, Dr Bishop also contributed two entire chapters to the book, see above.

stored, their contents are being transcribed in both 'abc' format,⁶⁰ and traditional notation online,⁶¹ and a number of manuscripts are increasingly being reproduced and published as tune books,⁶² making them accessible and playable by today's musicians.

A recent example would be the 2012 publication of Benjamin Rose's 1820 manuscript.⁶³ This is a self-published, high quality semi-facsimile edition of the original with detailed background notes. It pivots between a scholarly edition and a performance edition, although its scholarly content is intended for an interested reader rather than an academic. There are dangers in using these non-academic works to understand and assess the place of the manuscripts which is discussed in depth later.

Non-Academic Interest in Wider Instrumental Music

Valuable information regarding secular, vernacular instrumentalists can be found from oral narratives in recent research such as that carried out by Chandler and his studies into nineteenth-century musicians,⁶⁴ Taylor's excavated nineteenth-century newspaper articles referencing amateur musicians,⁶⁵ Heath-Coleman's examination of

⁶⁰ 'Abc' format is a text-based notation system often used by folk music enthusiasts. See Chris Walshaw, 'Abc Notation Home Page', *abc notation* (2017) <<http://abcnotation.com/>> [accessed 14 April 2017].

⁶¹ For example: Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, 'Welcome to the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library', *English Folk Dance and Song Society, Cecil Sharp House* (No date) <<http://www.vwml.org/vwml-home>> [accessed 13 October 2015]; GlosTrad, 'Home', *GlosTrad* (2017) <<http://glostrad.com/>> [accessed 14 April 2017]; Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Welcome to the Traditional Tune Archive', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2017) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 4 October 2015]; Joe Wass, 'Folk Tune Finder', *folk tune finder* (No date) <<http://www.folktunefinder.com/>> [accessed 14 April 2017]; Walshaw, 'Abc Notation Home Page'.

⁶² Seattle, *The Great Northern Tune Book : William Vickers' Collection of Dance Tunes Ad 1770*; Andy Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, (Andy Hornby, 2013); Geoff Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*, (Somerset: Halsway Manor Society, 2007); Colin Thompson and Tim Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, (Colin Thompson and Tim Laycock, No date); Robin Shepherd and Rosalind Shepherd, *Mr Joshua Jackson Book 1798 : Tunes, Songs & Dances from the Manuscript of a Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician Volume Two*, (West Yorkshire: R & R Shepherd, 2011); Geoff Bowen and others, *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson North Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician, Volume One*, 2nd edn, (Bowen & Shepherd, 2015); Mike O'Connor, *Dons an Garrow*, (Cornwall: Lyngham House, 2005); Mike O'Connor, *Echoes of Old Kea*, (Cornwall: Lyngham House, 2001).

⁶³ Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*.

⁶⁴ Keith Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England', *Musical Traditions* (2000) <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk>> [accessed 14 October 2015]. Chandler's essay is divided into eight different articles on the Mustrad website, featuring a total of sixteen musicians and can be found in this order: MT061 General Introduction part 1, MT064 General Introduction part 2, MT066 General Introduction part 3, MT078 General Introduction part 4, MT180 8-10, MT187 11, MT188 12-15, MT189 16.

⁶⁵ Taylor, 'Music of North West England'.

Gloucestershire fiddler Stephen Baldwin,⁶⁶ and Hall's detailed study of nineteenth-century fiddle-player, Scan Tester.⁶⁷ A small number of memoirs and autobiographies of amateur nineteenth-century musicians exist too, such as the memories of Henry Burstow, "the celebrated bellringer and songsinger", from Horsham (1826-1916),⁶⁸ Bob Copper's memories, auto-biography and history of three generations of folk-singer and their lives, dating from 1845,⁶⁹ and the spiritual autobiography of working-class musician, James Nye (1822-1892).⁷⁰ Such resources are valuable primary sources, having been written by or collected from people who remembered traditional activities in their communities, but it is worth acknowledging that the oral narratives could have been subjected, consciously or subconsciously, to a personal bias either by the informant, the collector or both.

Arguably, the authors of some oral narratives could be perceived as 'enthusiasts' rather than academics, and the articles not viewed as credible as they do not come from a peer-reviewed academic journal. However, many are written by people whose lives have been dominated by performing and researching folk or traditional music. Despite not writing under the auspices of an academic institution or considered professional in that they are paid for their work, their expertise and depth of knowledge must class them as more than enthusiasts. Although their work may not be academically peer-reviewed, articles such as those found on the Musical Traditions Internet Magazine (Mustrad) website,⁷¹ are subject to the scrutiny of editors, and other knowledgeable yet non-professional peers. Some articles in the enthusiasts' domain are from respected academic writers who have published books or had articles published in academic journals.⁷² There are parallels here with the revivalist

⁶⁶ Philip Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*, (Musical Traditions, 2005).

⁶⁷ Reg Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', *Musical Traditions Internet Magazine*, (1990), <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

⁶⁸ Henry Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham Being Recollections of Henry Burstow. The Celebrated Bellringer & Songsinger*, (Horsham: Free Christian Church Book Society, 1911).

⁶⁹ Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, (Newton Abbot: Country Book Club, 1972).

⁷⁰ James Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness', in *A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness*, ed. by Vic Gammon (Brighton: QueenSpark, 1860-1888), pp. 11-47.

⁷¹ Musical Traditions, 'Musical Traditions', *Musical Traditions* (2017) <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/>> [accessed 22 September 2015].

⁷² See for example, Keith Chandler, 'Popular Culture in Microcosm: The Manuscript Diaries of Richard Heritage of Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire', *Folk Music Journal*, 9. 1 (2006), 5-55 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4522775>> [accessed 14 October 2015]. Additionally, Michael Pickering, academic, editor and published author (Michael Pickering, 'Towards a Cartography of the Vernacular Milieu', in *Everyday Culture : Popular Song and the Vernacular Milieu*, ed. by Michael Pickering and Tony

movement in the early-twentieth-century many of whom, including Sharp, started folk-song collecting as a part-time interest whilst employed in other fields.

These and other articles are useful sources with which to assess the landscape, soundscape and lives of the musicians and provide a contextual framework in which to view the compilers. However, their specific value in this study is limited as very little information emerges regarding actual manuscripts and musical literacy. Many of the musicians could potentially be musically illiterate 'ear-players',⁷³ and not representative of the musicians responsible for creating and using the manuscripts.

Literary Fiction as a Resource

Another notable form of literature, which exposes much of relevance to the field in both musicological and social historical contexts, comes from the fiction literature and poetry of writers such as Thomas Hardy and Flora Thompson. Thompson's trilogy *Lark Rise to Candleford*,⁷⁴ and sequel, *Heatherley*,⁷⁵ are semi-autobiographical accounts of rural, everyday life during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, juxtaposed with the new urban influences of the time. Importantly, the accounts are told from a working-class perspective, whose history often escapes the historical record and although bucolic they refrain from falling into the 'Romantic', pastoral idyll of nostalgia.

It is well known that Hardy was a fiddle player, and not only did he own and play from some of his family's own manuscripts, he wrote about musical activity in *Under the Greenwood Tree*.⁷⁶ Asserting that, "this story... is intended to be a fairly true picture, at first hand, of the personages, ways, and customs which were common among such orchestral bodies in the villages of fifty or sixty years ago",⁷⁷ he provides further contextual evidence in many other of his works.⁷⁸ His preface to the book, quoted at

Green (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987).), has also contributed to Mustrad: Michael Pickering, 'Bartholomew Callow Village Musician', *Musical Traditions* (1986) <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/callow.htm>> [accessed 3 December 2014].

⁷³ 'Ear-players' is a term used by Reg Hall to describe musicians who 'play by ear', or from memory, rather than using the visual aid of textual music: Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 31.

⁷⁴ Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, 3rd edn, (London: Penguin Books, 1973).

⁷⁵ Flora Thompson, *Heatherley*, 4th edn, (Hampshire: John Owen Smith, 2005).

⁷⁶ Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. xxiii.

⁷⁸ Elna Sherman, 'Thomas Hardy: Lyricist, Symphonist', *Music & Letters*, 21. 2 (1940), 143-71 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/727177>>.

the opening of this thesis, makes reference to the manuscript books first hand. His mention of the sacred and secular meeting, inverted in the middle can be seen in manuscripts within the archive alongside shared repertoire with Hardy's own manuscript, further validating Hardy's perspective.⁷⁹

Admittedly, these are intended as works of fiction and there can be elements of potential bias, dislike of, and reticence to accept, modern and changing ways. However, despite writing with a specific agenda, such writers can nonetheless usefully inform contextually, historically and musically too. Their information is vital when conducting a critical study on areas of society for which little historical record was made. Gammon argues that descriptive or literary evidence can be taken authoritatively if consistency can be observed,⁸⁰ and following his research in Sussex, concludes that Hardy's description of nineteenth-century vernacular musical life in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, "is a substantially correct account..."⁸¹

Awareness of the Manuscripts in Wider Academic Literature

Awareness of the tunebooks appears minimal within academic institutions and in the wider literature. As such, distinct acknowledgement can be given to those who explicitly indicate their existence. Marsh, writing in 2010 demonstrates consciousness of the archive, discussing the Henry Atkinson manuscript (circa 1694/5), stating that it is "an interesting and neglected source",⁸² and both Lloyd,⁸³ and Russell,⁸⁴ are aware of the manuscripts, discussed below. To date, most scholarly work in the wider field of vernacular nineteenth-century music has focussed on song, whether that is folk song, or popular song favoured by the Drawing-room genre, perhaps exacerbating the manuscripts' inconspicuousness.

⁷⁹ See in Till/Clutterbuck MS for example *Til.58.1-Til.59.1* where the inverted sacred music meets the secular and shared repertoire such as 'The Great Eastern Polka' (*Til.21.1*) and 'Ask Mamma Polka' (*Til.30.1*); Roger Trim and others, *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy*, (Dragonfly Music, 1990); Andrew Kuntz, 'As-Att - Ask Mamma Polka', *The Fiddler's Companion* (2009) <<http://www.ibiblio.org>> [accessed 5 March 2015].

⁸⁰ Vic Gammon, 'The Performance Style of West Gallery Music', *Gallery Music* <<http://www.gallerymusic.co.uk/articles/GP1/GP1-6-Gammon.pdf>> [accessed 15th September 2015].

⁸¹ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 70.

⁸² Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 211.

⁸³ A. L. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, (St Albans: Paladin, 1975 (1967)).

⁸⁴ Banfield and Russell, 'England (I)'.

It is notable that the instrumental music field is behind the vernacular song and history fields in broaching the critical question of definitions and the associated arguments surrounding orality and tradition formation. Due to the paucity of academic material specifically focussed on manuscript sources and instrumental tunes, my research has needed to widen the scope and consider song scholarship as part of a broader field. I believe this crossover into the song field is appropriate, in part because song melodies can be found in the manuscripts, sometimes in their role as the tune to a song, other times as a melody adapted for dancing or purely for aesthetic value, as an 'entertainment' tune.⁸⁵ Hall writes that melodies, "have had varied careers",⁸⁶ doubling as song melodies, and forming part of the dance music repertoire. A further reference is made to songs being used as dance tunes within the Lancers set dance.⁸⁷ For the purposes of this study, I consider the tunes as melodies regardless of whether they have existed as songs or dances.

However, three prominent figures have focussed specifically on historical instrumental melodies and deserve acknowledgement here. Anne Giddes Gilchrist, who researched printed seventeenth-century instrumental tunes in great detail,⁸⁸ Frank Kidson (1855-1926) who was pioneering in his recognition of the dichotomy between popular tunes and the emerging folk genre,⁸⁹ and Margaret Dean-Smith who, in 1956, published a facsimile reprint of Playford's 1651 *English Dancing Master*,⁹⁰ accompanied by a detailed introduction and notes to the tunes. In the book's introduction, Dean-Smith explained that she was keen to turn her attention to the context of the compilation and to the tunes themselves "not to pursue an argument whether the tunes and dances be 'folk' or not...".⁹¹

⁸⁵ I refer to tunes whose title might imply a dance, for example a Waltz, yet the tune's function may not have been to accompany dances, rather to be listened to as music for its own sake, discussed in Chapter 5.

⁸⁶ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 79.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 82.

⁸⁸ Anne G. Gilchrist, 'Some Additional Notes on the Traditional History of Certain Ballad-Tunes in the Dancing Master (1650)', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 3. 4 (1939), 274-80.

⁸⁹ Frank Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 34 (1907), 81-99. See also John Francmanis, 'The Roving Artist: Frank Kidson, Pioneer Song Collector', *Folk Music Journal*, 8. 1 (2001), 41-66 (p. 60).

⁹⁰ Margaret Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651. A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, 1st edn, (London: Schott & Co., 1957).

⁹¹ Ibid. p. xx.

So too, my intention was that my research would not be drawn into the contentious debate regarding a definition of folk music. I hoped that due to the manuscripts' creation during the period when the term folk music was an embryonic notion, I could avoid the simplistic association of manuscripts as examples of folk music. However, the current fluid position of the archive within the folk music domain, outlined below, together with the evidence from the manuscripts telling a different story, requires me to confront the issue. I realised that broaching the metaphorical 'elephant in the room', was an imperative and long overdue task. The question of whether these manuscripts fit more comfortably in nineteenth-century popular music culture or whether they also have a place in English folk music tradition needed to be explored.

Thorny Traditions and Slippery Definitions

Regardless of the position taken on whether folk music existed as a historic genre or whether it is "a culturally and socially constructed category",⁹² and before unpacking the notoriously contentious term of folk tradition, it is necessary to acknowledge that in contemporary culture a genre of folk or traditional music exists. There are folk festivals, folk awards, academic journals and enthusiasts' magazines, an interest in folk music from amateur to degree level and beyond, amateurs and professional artists who identify as folk musicians and a large audience who relate to these commodities and participate in sustaining this genre.

Furthermore, it is important to accept that the manuscripts play a part in this contemporary genre, or at least to recognise that it is amongst current folk music enthusiasts that the tunebooks generate most interest. The manuscripts are listed on folk related websites such as the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (VWML),⁹³ Folkopedia,⁹⁴ and VMP;⁹⁵ they are discussed in folk based forums, magazines and journals such as 'Mustrad',⁹⁶ 'The Session',⁹⁷ 'The Traditional Tune Archive' (TTA),⁹⁸

⁹² Trish Winter and Simon Keegan-Phipps, *Performing Englishness: Identity and Politics in a Contemporary Folk Resurgence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 8. This aligns with Pickering's 1990 view that 'the categories of folk song and folk culture are now increasingly understood as academic constructs externally imposed on vernacular cultural process and artefacts, Michael Pickering, 'Recent Folk Music Scholarship in England: A Critique ', *Folk Music Journal*, 6. 1 (1990), 37-64 (p. 38).

⁹³ Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, 'Welcome to the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library'.

⁹⁴ Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List'.

⁹⁵ The Village Music Project, 'About'.

⁹⁶ Musical Traditions, 'Musical Traditions'.

⁹⁷ The Session, 'Failte', *The Session* <<https://thesession.org/>> [accessed 14 October 2015].

and 'folktunefinder';⁹⁹ they are reproduced for a folk based sheet music market;¹⁰⁰ and used as tune sources for amateur and professional musicians alike.¹⁰¹ Campbell acknowledges this association, declaring "they have been claimed by folk music enthusiasts and performers as traditional music...such collections have attracted the attentions of and been sought out by enthusiastic revivalists of 'traditional' music".¹⁰² He also states that:

the rediscovery of handwritten music manuscripts of performing musicians from the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries has been swept up as part of the revival of folk music. Consequently, the music included in these compilations has, by default, been compartmentalised as part of a 'folk' genre.¹⁰³

The current position of these manuscripts in the folk music field bears undercurrents of irony. By the end of the nineteenth-century Gelbart notes that the then esteemed, "pure, authentic and organic" folk music was set quite apart from the "commercial, corrupt and low",¹⁰⁴ popular music and it is interesting that these tunebooks containing popular, commercial music are now viewed in higher regard than they would have been by their own creators, - the "corrupt rabble!"¹⁰⁵

Establishing *when* this occurred is important in trying to discover *why* it happened. For example, in my family the manuscript's existence was always known, yet it was merely a collection of music, no label was ascribed to it. Manuscripts held by other families or deposited in institutions as part of a deceased's estate were historical yet passive collections of a past musical practice. It appears that after the post-war re-interest in folk music, around the 1970s and 1980s the manuscripts began to stir an interest amongst practicing folk musicians. Campbell cites Jackson's manuscript as being

⁹⁸ Kuntz and Pelliccioni, 'Welcome to the Traditional Tune Archive'.

⁹⁹ Wass, 'Folk Tune Finder'.

¹⁰⁰ Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*; Bowen and others *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson North Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician, Volume One*; Shepherd and Shepherd, *Mr Joshua Jackson Book 1798 : Tunes, Songs & Dances from the Manuscript of a Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician Volume Two*; Seattle, *The Great Northern Tune Book : William Vickers' Collection of Dance Tunes Ad 1770*; Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*; Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*.

¹⁰¹ For example: Leveret, 'Leveret @ the Convent', in *The Convent*, (Woodchester, 2016).

¹⁰² Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 23.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 377.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music" : Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 257.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 258.

“unearthed in Harrogate in the early 1970s”,¹⁰⁶ and in 1977 the first republication appears to have been printed,¹⁰⁷ notably of Hardy’s tunebook, this association perhaps raising the manuscripts’ profile further. In her Appendices, Pendlebury catalogued many of the re-publications,¹⁰⁸ and when combined with other re-publications I have found, a large growth in interest can be seen over the decades.¹⁰⁹ The height of re-publications occurs in the 1990s, mirroring the time when the ‘virtual’ archive was drawn up (VMP).

The VMP resource and its custodians are involved in, and make up a valuable part of English folk music practice today. They are pragmatic in defining their work, avoiding the term folk music, and carefully clarify their terms. However, it could be argued that by using the term ‘village’ they imply rurality, placing the manuscripts within a romanticised bucolic image, thus fitting into the ideals of the first revival.

In naming the project it was difficult to describe the territory that we had in mind without being too narrow or begging preconceived notions. ‘Village Music’ merely refers to the feel of the project, because the terms ‘community music’, ‘urban music’, ‘folk dance music’, etc. don’t describe our raw material with any accuracy. Our music was and is played in towns and villages, for weddings and wakes, by and for most classes in English society.¹¹⁰

I believe that the resurgence of interest in the manuscripts was intensified by the new found wider interest (or post-war revival) in folk music. It appears that without explicit examination or critical enquiry into the eclectic nature of the contents and means of transmission, the manuscripts were indeed “swept up as part of the revival”.¹¹¹

Possibly lured by the authenticity and “connection with the past”,¹¹² that tradition provides, the status of the manuscripts as folk music repositories was raised above that of their existence as personal collections of Victorian popular music. The

¹⁰⁶ Campbell, ‘Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)’, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Pendlebury, ‘Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of “Traditional” Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland’. Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ The following list compiled using Pendlebury’s figures combined with additional ones added by myself denotes the number of publications each decade: 1970s = 1; 1980s = 8; 1990s = 20; 2000s = 16; 2010s = 3.

¹¹⁰ The Village Music Project, ‘Aims’, *The Village Music Project* (No date) <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=11> [accessed 5 February 2017].

¹¹¹ Campbell, ‘Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)’, p. 377.

¹¹² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 3. See also Philip V. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 130.

manuscript archive was perceived to be part of folk music tradition. It could be observed as ironic that those who embraced and absorbed the manuscript archive into the folk music field were of the same generation as those who berated the early folk song collectors as having invented a tradition.¹¹³

Thus, the manuscripts are currently found within a contemporary folk music domain. Yet my research has revealed that many of their defining characteristics are contrary to the received perception of what folk music is considered to be.¹¹⁴ As discussed above, other scholars in the field have begun to articulate this, most recently Campbell and Pendlebury.¹¹⁵ Whilst a more in-depth examination of definitions follows, it is worth noting here that common perceptions (arguably mis-perceptions) centre on the necessity of a folk music to have little textual influence, transmitted chiefly via oral/aural means and to have rural, historic, sometimes communal or un-authored origins.

This thesis does not need to be concerned with how the contemporary folk music of today is defined and it is important to state that any attempt to assign a definition to suit the music it describes now and the music it describes over one hundred years ago will fail: “the dynamic nature of folk music belies the stasis of definition”.¹¹⁶ However, it is crucial to examine both the past and today’s understanding of what folk music was then, when the manuscripts were being produced. The following section moves the discussion on from reviewing literature which relates directly to the manuscripts to focus briefly on the historiography of English folk music and use of fundamental terms.

1860s-1880s

At the time the compilers were selecting and playing their tunes, the concept of folk music as a specific genre did not exist in general usage, and a key feature of vernacular music in the nineteenth-century was “that music was not departmentalised”.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ See for example: Harker, *Fakesong : The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*; Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village : Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, 2nd edn, (Leeds: No Masters Co-operative Limited, 2010).

¹¹⁴ This important point is discussed in depth below.

¹¹⁵ Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of “Traditional” Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland', p. 32 & 54. Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 23 & 377.

¹¹⁶ Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. xviii. See also Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ Ronald Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), p. 12.

Despite implying ancient origins, the term 'Folksong', is said only to have emerged as a descriptive genre in the late-eighteenth-century,¹¹⁸ and Roud states the term was first used as a book title in 1870 and the second in 1891.¹¹⁹ The compilers would not have perceived themselves as folk musicians. Likewise, the printed sources which are subsequently revealed to feed the compilers' repertoire did not refer to the material as folk.¹²⁰

Throughout this period and earlier, antiquarians, anthologists and interested amateurs were keen collectors of old songs,¹²¹ yet they do not refer to them as folk song. Chappell's nineteenth-century studies similarly omit the term folk music, yet the original edition dating from 1838-40 uses the word 'national' in the title to describe the tunes: "*A Collection of National English Airs...*", as quoted by Wooldridge in his 1893, retitled, edition of the book (*Old English Popular Music*).¹²² However, Chappell's later study (first published in 1859), drops the 'National' reference in preference of the title *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.¹²³ Roud defines Chappell's use of the term popular as "the ones most liked, or most characteristic of the time, or simply to differentiate them from the classical songs of the day".¹²⁴ This dialectical differentiation and the development of new genre labels in the nineteenth-century is explored by Gelbart who observes a ternary opposition emerging of classical, folk and popular.¹²⁵ However, based on the evidence seen in printed publications no reference specifically to folk music appears. To the compilers the manuscripts were likely viewed simply as personal selections of popular music of the time. Correspondingly, Gammon

¹¹⁸ The term *Volkslied* was used by Herder (1744-1803). Carole Pegg, 'Folk Music', *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, (2017), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/09933>> [accessed 7th January 2017].

¹¹⁹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 75.

¹²⁰ See Chapter 4.

¹²¹ For example: John Broadwood, David Herd, Joseph Ritson and William Sandys.

¹²² William Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*, (New York: Jack Brussel, 1961), p. v.

¹²³ William Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965).

¹²⁴ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 41.

¹²⁵ Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, p. 7.

describes Turner's repertoire as marking him out as "very much a 'pop' musician of his day".¹²⁶

1890s-1950s

The very end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth-century was a flourishing period in terms of song collecting, carried out by the likes of Sharp, Kidson, Baring Gould and Grainger. Societies emerged incorporating the term folk into their titles,¹²⁷ and the song collectors became folk song collectors. Despite only just coming into general usage, this is generally perceived as the period of the first folk revival. By the turn of the century (1907), Sharp was defining the music as 'folk-song',¹²⁸ in terms of origin from his sources, the rural, lower-class, "unlettered",¹²⁹ folk. Essential features were oral/aural transmission, communal and unknown authorship and communal expression,¹³⁰ alongside "the three principles of *continuity, variation, and selection*".¹³¹ Sharp was opening up the discussion of English folk music and believed he was approaching the topic "in the right spirit, scientifically, accurately and above all with a scrupulous honesty and conscientiousness".¹³² Unlike the grand narratives being written at the time in other musicological genres, he believed it would be "premature...to essay a complete history of 'English folk-song'. An exhaustive treatise on the subject will some day have to be written".¹³³

It is important to single out one folk song collector here, who challenged some of Sharp's ideas, notably regarding orality/aurality and origin, Frank Kidson. Somewhat ahead of his time,¹³⁴ he incorporated ideas of selection and, more importantly here,

¹²⁶ Vic Gammon, 'Michael Turner. A 19th Century Sussex Fiddler (Mt068)', *Musical Traditions* (2000 (1976)) <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/turner.htm>> [accessed 4 October 2017].

¹²⁷ For example, the Folk-Song Society (1898), and the English Folk Dance Society (1911) which amalgamated to form the English Folk Dance and Song Society (1932). Similarly, in 1947 with the International Folk Music Council which changed its name in 1981 to the International Council for Traditional Music, due to definition issues. Sources of information: Pegg, 'Folk Music'; EFDSS, 'History', EFDSS (No date) <<https://www.efdss.org/efdss-about-us/history>> [accessed 5 April 2017]; Mark Slobin, *Folk Music : A Very Short Introduction*, (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2011).

¹²⁸ Cecil Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions (1907)*, (www.forgottenbooks.org: Forgotten Books, 2012), p. 1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 3-4.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 14-15.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 16.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. vii.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. viii.

¹³⁴ My term echoes his niece, Ethel Kidson's views that he was "always a little ahead of current thought and never behind it", quoted in: Francmanis, 'The Roving Artist: Frank Kidson, Pioneer Song Collector', p. 57.

process into his definition.¹³⁵ Francmanis summarizes Kidson's position stating that "to the end of his days, Kidson remained resolute in the conviction that 'folk song', when all was said and done, was often little more than archaic popular song".¹³⁶

It is crucial to recognise that the manuscripts, their compilers and the musical practice they represented were of little interest to the early-twentieth-century folk song collectors. The collectors were not ignorant of the manuscripts,¹³⁷ but I argue that they were aware that these manuscripts represented primarily the popular music of the day. They were not ignoring them; simply they were not interested in much of their contents.¹³⁸ The manuscripts' inherent textual medium was contrary to their aims and they would have been conscious (and which this thesis reveals) that the masses of printed, published source material wholly influenced the inward transmission. The content, whilst containing some tunes of historic origin was made up chiefly of contemporary melody, such as popular classical music, minstrel songs, music-hall, waltzes, quadrilles and polkas. Equally, the folk song collectors would have been aware that even the more historic or nation-specific material was widely available in contemporary or recently out-dated print, as revealed in this thesis. They knew exactly the sort of repertoire they wanted to collect and 'save' and would understandably not select these items and dismiss anything they knew to be modern, in popular demand or recently outdated – that was not their agenda.

¹³⁵ Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', p. 82.

¹³⁶ Francmanis, 'The Roving Artist: Frank Kidson, Pioneer Song Collector', p. 60.

¹³⁷ For example, Kidson acknowledges the tunebooks' existence by taking a tune from a Fiddler's Tunebook dated 1825, but appears to deem the source unimportant and omits supplying details of the owner, compiler and provenance of the manuscript. Frank Kidson, 'Traditional Tunes a Collection of Ballad Airs', (Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers Limited, 1970). Sharp was aware of the manuscripts' existence as in 1912 he copied 'The Greensleeves Dance' tune from James Winder's manuscript book (b. 1820). Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, p. 13. Baring-Gould also shows awareness of the manuscripts, commenting in 1890 that, "In some parish chests may be found volumes of rudely written music, which belonged to these performers, mostly sacred, but not always so". Sabine Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, 2nd edn, ((London) Wakefield: (Methuen) EP Publishing Limited, (1890) 1975), p. 244.

¹³⁸ See also Atkinson's discussion regarding song repertoire in which he acknowledges that "...certain people did choose to sing what are now described as 'folk songs', even if they also sang a good deal of other things that were not taken down at the time", and his quotation showing Baring-Gould's awareness of Mr Fone's eclectic repertoire. David Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', in *Folk Song Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*, ed. by Ian Russell (Aberdeen: The Elphinstone Institute University of Aberdeen, 2004), pp. 144-62 (p. 145). See also Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 7.

By 1954 the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) had fashioned a definition for folk music, chiefly based on Sharp's earlier description, which became widely accepted, yet in a modern context appears somewhat inadequate:

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

To this definition the following, more explicit statements were added:

- (i) The term folk music can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular or art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community;
- (ii) The term does not cover popular composed music that has been taken over ready-made by a community and remains unchanged, for it is the re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community which gives it its folk character.¹³⁹

As stated earlier, it is futile to attempt to globally define (or confine) a concept which is in constant flux. Consequently there are clear issues with this statement in the context of current folk music, folk music of the revivals, let alone the contents of the manuscripts. Alongside the problematic statement of oral transmission, there are further difficulties. For example, just as folk music is absorbed into a community and evolves so too can popular music. I find the reference to, "the unwritten living tradition of a community",¹⁴⁰ (and to a certain extent the entire definition), to be insufficient and outdated, perhaps even before it was written in 1954.

Orality/Aurality

Before continuing the chronological assessment of the manuscripts, it is important to sidestep and acknowledge the importance of the acceptance by many in the field that orality/aurality was a defining characteristic of folk music. It was a strong belief, observed throughout the decades and, as shown below, still in existence in some

¹³⁹ Maud Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973, 1987), p. 3; Maud Karpeles, 'Definition of Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 7 (1955), 6-7 <<http://www.jstor.org/sheffield.idm.oclc.org/stable/834518>> [accessed 1 February 2017].

¹⁴⁰ Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, p. 3.

quarters today. Definitions of folk music open to a current enthusiast (important, as it is here, discussed earlier, that a strong interest is generated in the manuscripts), still cite orality as a key factor as a cursory glance at Wikipedia will show.¹⁴¹ It is apparent in more reliable sources too. Karpeles observes two contemporary theories, the Production (or perhaps Origin) theory and the Reception theory. While Reception theory opens its boundaries to accept any “songs that have achieved a wide currency among the people” as folk song, she is categorical in her belief that neither theories “give first importance to the one overriding factor on which the making, and the nature, of folk music depends. Folk music is essentially that which has been passed on by...oral transmission”.¹⁴² Additionally, Vaughan Williams stated that “folk music is entirely oral and is independent of writing or print...the folk tune persists by oral tradition only...”¹⁴³

The field of folk song and the wider discipline of history have now accepted that textual influence was inescapable,¹⁴⁴ but the lack of oral/aural reliance is only now beginning to be examined within the field of instrumental tunes. Pendlebury, in 2015, notes the “received wisdom [is] that folk music is transferred from person to person without the use of written music”.¹⁴⁵ Most recently, the programme for the ‘Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs’ conference, held in October 2017, contains a welcome from the EFDSS Chief Executive and Artistic Director, Katy Spicer, in which she comments on the tunes’ “strong aural tradition”.¹⁴⁶ Of important note, and contrary to Spicer’s view, it became clear listening to the conference papers that across the instrumental tune field there is an increasing awareness of the dependence on print and textual sources. This not only corroborates my findings, but demonstrates

¹⁴¹ Wikipedia, 'Folk Music', *Wikipedia* (2017) <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Folk_music> [accessed 14 October 2017].

¹⁴² Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, p. 2.

¹⁴³ Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music and Other Essays*, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 28-33.

¹⁴⁴ See for example: David Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition', *Folk Music Journal*, 8. 4 (2004), 456-83; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁴⁵ Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of “Traditional” Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland', p. 32.

¹⁴⁶ Spicer.

the current gap in research, and the need for the discourse in the tune field to draw level with that of song scholarship.¹⁴⁷

The issue of orality/aurality and the interaction between literate and oral/aural practice is a wider part of the critical enquiry under examination and will be looked at in relation to the manuscripts within the thesis. Although the manuscripts are inherently textual by their medium, the research also reveals a strong reliance on direct textual sources. However, this does not mean the manuscripts were not subjected to oral/aural influences.

1960s onwards

In the 1960s folk music historiography suffered by being drawn into contemporary arguments which lost sight of telling the history of the music and its participants, focussing instead on politics and accusation and further tangling the strands of definition.¹⁴⁸ Sharp and his contemporaries' approaches and definitions were strongly criticised by much of the mid-late-twentieth-century literature which blamed the first revival as elitist, guilty of hegemony, cultural appropriation and mediation.¹⁴⁹ They accused the folk song collectors of inventing a tradition, an idea which Pickering sees accepted into academic discourse by 1990, observing that "the categories of folk song and folk culture are now increasingly understood as academic constructs externally imposed on vernacular cultural processes and artefacts".¹⁵⁰ Many of the accusations were indicative of wider movements, some based on Marxist principles, and reflected

¹⁴⁷ This was evident in the papers given at the above mentioned conference such as: Niles Krieger, 'The Gaylord Manuscripts: Untapped Resources from Early Nineteenth-Century New England', in *Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs: History and Transmission*, (Cecil Sharp House, 2017); Alice Little, 'For the Sake of Difference: John Malchair's Tune Comparisons, 1760-95', in *Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs: History and Transmission*, (Cecil Sharp House, 2017); Elaine Bradtke, 'It's Got a Beat, You Can Dance to It': The Reuse of Popular Tunes for Morris Dancing', in *Traditional Tunes and Popular Airs: History and Transmission*, (Cecil Sharp House, 2017).

¹⁴⁸ A pivotal point in folk music scholarship (despite being a self-professed book "for beginners not specialists") was the publication of A. L. Lloyd's *Folk Song in England*. Lloyd was instrumental in the 'second' revival and his book is written from a strong political stance, with heavy socialist leanings. Whilst openly critical of some of Sharp's ideas he also shared some views and admired his actions. Although I have engaged with, and reference Lloyd's book throughout, I do not rely heavily on his ideas and instead refer back to Sharp's theories for the binary analysis of inherited versus modern notions of folk music tradition, (see below). This is in part because Lloyd is not especially forthcoming with constructive, evidence-based, authoritative conclusions and because I was wary of the overtly subjective political bias in the book, which arguably lessens the validity and strength of his argument. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*.

¹⁴⁹ For example in the work of Harker, *Fakesong : The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*; Boyes, *The Imagined Village : Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*.

¹⁵⁰ Pickering, 'Recent Folk Music Scholarship in England: A Critique ', p. 38.

in other cultural disciplines at the same time.¹⁵¹ A definition between what was perceived as oral/aural, rural folk music and newly composed urban, industrial folk music was also being recognised. Folk music began to be defined in class terms, as “the cultural property of the ‘lower class’...the expression of otherwise-suppressed class experience in the new kind of social history – ‘history from below’”.¹⁵²

The “Burden of Expectation”¹⁵³

This brings the discussion full circle, back to the time when the manuscripts began to be adopted into the field of contemporary folk music. As part of the central argument in this thesis, it will be shown that many of the preconceived characteristics which are applied to folk music now and throughout the twentieth-century are not present in the manuscripts. Arguably, they become imposters in their field, fraudulent by association. Whilst this might not seem to be a major problem, it categorically is, as the manuscripts begin to bear the weight of the ‘burden of expectation’. This is Roud’s theory for the unrealistic expectation of folk song to tell a story which it does not and cannot tell, and he uses the term to account for to the Marxist backlash against the early folk collectors.¹⁵⁴ This theory is equally relevant in explaining the attitude to the unsubstantiated acceptance of the manuscript archive as representative of folk music tradition. What results is an awkwardness, and a potential disregard, reflected in my sentiments on first receiving my great-great grandfather’s tunebook. The revelation that the archive might actually represent Victorian ephemeral popular music is met with connotations of inferiority, as if a connection to an ancient tradition is inherently superior.

Roud sees a binary reaction to the burden, namely faking it, or turning away in disappointment,¹⁵⁵ and both reactions are evident with reference to the manuscripts. The manuscripts do not tell the expected story, so the contents are mediated, or ignored so their truth is not exposed. Earlier I discussed the body of re-published manuscripts and several show examples of problematic mediation. For example,

¹⁵¹ Wider applications of the concept whereby “‘Traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented”, are central in Hobsbawm and Ranger’s book: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1.

¹⁵² C. J. Bearman, 'English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914' (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2001), p. 7.

¹⁵³ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

Woolfe's edition of William Winter's nineteenth-century tune book omits several tunes due to their popularity, familiarity or religious theme.¹⁵⁶ Despite acknowledging the omissions, an authentic and complete representation of the compiler's repertoire is not given. Campbell identifies a similar practice by Bowen and Shepherd in their reproduction of the tunes from Joshua Jackson's manuscripts,¹⁵⁷ suggesting this is "akin to Baring-Gould's bowdlerisation of the folk song verse a century earlier".¹⁵⁸ Further examples are noted in the reproduction of the Leadley manuscript. Rightly, Campbell argues that this and other reproductions, "do not purport to be rigorous academic works, but they nonetheless contribute to a blinkered understanding of the varied music".¹⁵⁹

The rejection of the manuscripts by subsequent musicologists could be seen as "turning away in disappointment".¹⁶⁰ I believe this stems from an ambiguity of definition and a lack of awareness as opposed to a deliberate dismissal. This highlights the impact of VMP in 1998, Folkopedia,¹⁶¹ other digital resources,¹⁶² and works such as this thesis as being instrumental in creating awareness beyond the scope of keen, amateur folk enthusiasts and bringing the manuscripts into wider critical debate. An objective understanding of these primary sources cannot be carried out effectively until the weight of the burden of expectation is lifted. The burden of expectation can only be lifted once clear definitions are made.

Popular Music Culture

A primary observation put forward within this thesis and noted by Campbell and Gammon, is the heterogeneous repertoire, relating to both stylistic features and origin, which questions the inclusion of the archive within English folk music tradition.¹⁶³ The manuscripts are found to contain a dominance of contemporary tunes and songs, often newly composed by a known composer and widely available from commercial print. This music is neither an example of pure Western art music

¹⁵⁶ Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*.

¹⁵⁷ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 161.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 375.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 9.

¹⁶¹ The Village Music Project, 'About'; Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List'.

¹⁶² For example : Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, 'Welcome to the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library'; Folk Archive Resource North East, 'Welcome to Farne'.

¹⁶³ This is discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

(although 'popular' arrangements of art music are included), nor representative of the soon to emerge folk genre, embodying orality/aurality, tradition and anonymity of composition. The homogenous printed source materials and the content within the manuscripts would suggest that these musicians were not consciously playing a mixture of folk (or 'National') tunes and more modern tunes. Instead they were simply personally selecting tunes and songs of many genres and ages which were in popular currency at that time. Hence, the manuscripts prove themselves to be more broadly and simply an aspect of nineteenth-century popular music making, in a vernacular milieu.

They are perhaps more suited to the far-sighted title given by Chappell in 1859 as repositories of 'Popular Music of the [present and] Olden time'.¹⁶⁴ Campbell too appreciates the difficulty surrounding definitions, also embracing Chappell's term.¹⁶⁵ However, as with the term folk music, definitions are equally perilous regarding popular music. Gelbart acknowledges the emergence of the term 'popular' in the mid-nineteenth-century.¹⁶⁶ He describes the perception of popular music as an antonym to folk or national music, "through which both folk and art could henceforth define themselves by processes of exclusion".¹⁶⁷ While this 'exclusion' can be seen to be applied by the early-twentieth-century folk music collectors, such an apparent conscious distinction between folk (national), art and popular does not appear to be asserted by the publishers and consumers during the mid-late-nineteenth-century. As this thesis demonstrates, the manuscripts' homogenous sources of commercial printed music consisted of National Songs, Country Dances, Popular Songs, Hornpipe collections, Minstrel Songs, Operatic extracts co-existing together.

The sources and manuscripts would suggest that rather than viewing all three categories of folk (national), art and popular as individual genres, they were part of a wider popular genre which was wholly accessible, enjoyed and participated in across the social or class boundaries. This places the evidence coming from the manuscripts and their sources at a fascinating time – as the categories were emerging. However, it

¹⁶⁴ Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*.

¹⁶⁵ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 9-10.

is not helpful when attempting to ascertain which label to ascribe to the archive. Campbell refers to the music as popular, and recognises its absorption into folk and traditional musical fields. Although he acknowledges the difficulties in the terms, and the contrast between the perception of the repertoire differing from its actuality, I do not find that he problematises this satisfactorily. Gammon too classes his body of source material as 'popular':

The popular songs of the past are an interesting and exciting subject... I have long been interested in songs that are variously labelled folk songs, traditional songs, ballads, broadside ballads, street ballads, ballets, slip songs, psalms and hymns.¹⁶⁸

Evidence from wider literature documents the "uncertain and variable",¹⁶⁹ relationship between folk and popular music. Thus popular music, sometimes described as the antonym to folk music, sometimes as a descriptor for commercial, urban music,¹⁷⁰ is referred to in this thesis, to mean "widely favoured' or well-liked".¹⁷¹ This aligns with Russell's approach which relates contextually to the same period, and does not discriminate according to origin, and is defined as "the music that was offered to, listened to and performed by the majority of the population".¹⁷² Similar issues of uncertainty surround the use of the word 'culture', with Williams describing it as "one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language".¹⁷³ My definition of 'culture' follows Williams' reference to "a particular way of life",¹⁷⁴ which is developed by the Oxford English Dictionary definition as, "a particular way of life or social environment characterized by or associated with the specified quality or thing; a group of people subscribing or belonging to this".¹⁷⁵ This is more neatly defined by

¹⁶⁸ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p. 137. For much of the discussion regarding the definition of 'popular', see: Richard Middleton, *Voicing the Popular: On the Subjects of Popular Music*, (New York: New York: Routledge, 2006, 2006). Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990); Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*; Theresa Buckland, 'Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations', *Folk Music Journal*, 4. 4 (1983), 315-32; Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*.

¹⁷⁰ See for example Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*. Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, p. 10. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. 11. Roud, *Folk Song in England*.

¹⁷¹ Williams, *Keywords*, p. 236.

¹⁷² Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 2.

¹⁷³ Williams, *Keywords*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 90.

¹⁷⁵ Oxford English Dictionary, "Culture, N.", (Oxford University Press).

Gammon as, “a shared way of being in the world, a combination of attitudes, values, assumptions and practices”.¹⁷⁶

Despite being examples of nineteenth-century popular culture, and regardless of their labelling as either popular music or folk music, these primary sources ‘fall between the cracks’ of both popular and folk music disciplines in the scholarly world today.

Historical musicologists of both nineteenth-century popular music and in the broader field of nineteenth-century English music, are seemingly unaware of them, or perhaps observe them with caution, as fallacious fragments hanging on to an indefinable field of folk music. Yet much of their content, transmission methods and function would situate them well in the wider field of nineteenth-century English music, and its popular music subset, regardless of whether we may or may not consider them as folk music or part of folk music tradition.

Process Not Origin

‘Popular Music of the Olden Time’, was, for a substantial time, the working title of this thesis. I was unable to satisfactorily tie in the emerging evidence from the manuscripts with the disarrayed definitions of folk music tradition, especially when viewed from the perspective of received history. However, Roud’s *Folk Song in England*, was instrumental in providing a theoretical framework on which to base the evidence. Roud does not shy away from challenging the issue of definition and brings the subject to the forefront of current debate. He sets folk song in the wider concept of tradition and builds on existing scholarship to arrive at a workable definition, or model for a folk song tradition. Although his model is not wholly transferrable to the field of instrumental folk music,¹⁷⁷ it goes considerably further than previous definitions in helping decide if there is a place for this historic manuscript archive within folk music tradition.

Atkinson writes that: “Tradition is actually continually altering to suit changed circumstances and new ideological requirements”,¹⁷⁸ and as such, is another term which is also a notoriously complex one to determine, if indeed a definition is possible

¹⁷⁶ Vic Gammon, 'The Past Is Not My Home', in *British Forum for Ethnomusicology*, (Aberdeen, 2004), (p. 3).

¹⁷⁷ For reasons relating to the apparent textual inward and outward transmission which are discussed in great depth in Chapters 4 and 5.

¹⁷⁸ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 147.

at all.¹⁷⁹ Handler and Linnekin consider tradition to “resemble[s] less an artificial assemblage than a process of thought – an ongoing interpretation of the past”.¹⁸⁰ Roud considers tradition, more specifically a folk tradition, also taking the form of a process.¹⁸¹ This idea can be seen to emerge in the 1970s in the work of Williams,¹⁸² continuing through the work of others such as Gammon,¹⁸³ Green,¹⁸⁴ Blacking,¹⁸⁵ acknowledged by Karpeles,¹⁸⁶ and explored in depth in 1984 by both the afore-quoted Handler and Linnekin.¹⁸⁷ More recently the concept was examined by Atkinson, who summarised the change in the approach to the term, “as a shift away from tradition as lore to tradition as process”.¹⁸⁸ However, as noted above, Kidson had introduced the concept in relation to folk music in 1907,¹⁸⁹ so arguably the shift has gone full circle across a period of over one hundred years.

Developing the idea of tradition as a ‘process’, rather than defining by ‘origins’, Roud describes a folk song as, “the process through which the songs pass, in the brains and voices of ordinary people, which stamps them as folk”.¹⁹⁰ This raises a further awkward term - that of ‘ordinary people’ which Roud qualifies as working class: “more or less the majority, the working classes, with the proviso that it often includes the respectable upper end of the worker spectrum such as shopkeepers and skilled workers”, recognising and carefully qualifying his necessity to use a class based

¹⁷⁹ Atkinson believes that, “tradition does not actually exist as such, it is an imposed category and no one seems to agree on how to impose it”. David Atkinson, *Email Correspondence* (8 February 2018).

¹⁸⁰ Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 97. 385 (1984), 273-90 (pp. 273-4).

¹⁸¹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 22.

¹⁸² Williams, *Keywords*, p. 319.

¹⁸³ Gammon, 'Michael Turner. A 19th Century Sussex Fiddler (Mt068)'.

¹⁸⁴ Buckland, 'Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations', p. 325.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 329.

¹⁸⁶ Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁸⁷ Handler and Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', pp. 273-4. Interestingly it was at this time that the aforementioned idea of ‘invented traditions’ was emerging, (see Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. 1983), whereby tradition “comes into existence because of the fabrication of continuity with the past...Folk songs become evocative symbols of the past, and they legitimize the traditionality of a contemporary context by virtue of their symbolic value”. Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. 130.

¹⁸⁸ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 147. Although the notion of tradition being in flux can be seen in Lloyd’s work: “A folk song tradition is not a fixed and immutable affair”, (p66) I do not believe he is arguing from the perspective of defining folk song within a process of tradition, but instead adheres to the concept of defining folk song by origin. Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 15-17, 161.

¹⁸⁹ Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', p. 82.

¹⁹⁰ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 22.

framework.¹⁹¹ The demographic of the participants is the focus of Chapter 2, but it is important to clarify here that whilst this thesis observes that folk music tradition may be more prevalent amongst the lower occupational classes of Victorian England, it finds that it is not necessarily a product created by, belonging to nor the repertoire exclusive to the lower classes resulting from a political class struggle. Roud argues that it is through the involvement of ordinary people in the process that the melodies are ultimately shaped into folk music. This idea was also seen in Kidson's work over a century earlier in which he talks of "the man in the street", and melodies which "appealed to the masses of previous ages" and specifies a requirement to pass "popular verdict..."¹⁹²

Using the idea of tradition as a process, Roud arrives at a definition of folk song:

*Folk song is everyday vocal music within a community; it is learned and performed in informal, untrained, face-to-face, voluntary, non-commercial situations, sanctioned by community approval and custom; songs are passed on from person to person informally, the singers adhere to local norms and are uninhibited by status or theory; singers are not constrained by adherence to a perceived original and correct rendition; songs themselves and performance styles vary, but within the expected parameters of local usage.*¹⁹³

Furthermore, he asserts that orality/aurality is no longer inherent in the definition:

Two things are abundantly clear. Firstly, once printing had been invented, there was never again a pure 'oral' tradition, but oral and print were intimately interwoven'. Secondly, the songs that the ordinary people turned into 'traditional' or 'folk' songs were normally written by outsiders and reached them first in printed form.¹⁹⁴

The origin of the song (be it 'art', minstrel, musichall or an older historic song), does not define the song. Essentially, any song can become a folk song, "it is not the origin of a song which makes it 'folk', but what the 'folk' do with it".¹⁹⁵ He further qualifies this by suggesting time as a crucial component. Whilst folk songs do not need to be old, "they must have been around long enough to become part of this traditional transmission (two generations might be an acceptable rule of thumb)".¹⁹⁶ Although

¹⁹¹ Ibid. p. 27.

¹⁹² Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', pp. 82-83.

¹⁹³ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 443.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 23.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 25.

Roud's 'rule of thumb' seems somewhat arbitrary, it can be traced to earlier scholars.¹⁹⁷ Despite being attributed to Erixon in 1951,¹⁹⁸ the notion appears in Kidson's 1907 paper, *The Vitality of Melody*.¹⁹⁹

Roud compares the traditional process which 'turns' a song into a folk song to a "sausage machine: put a pleasure-garden song into the tradition, and if it is not spat out as unsuitable, it emerges at the other end as a clearly different kind of song".²⁰⁰ This is important when viewing the manuscripts as part of folk music tradition and the thesis will show the manuscripts to have a vital role in this 'process'.²⁰¹

Part of Folk Music Tradition?

The overriding critical approach in the thesis concerns the assessment of the manuscripts and the musical practice they represent, within notions of English folk music tradition. However, as shown above, there is no one set of behaviours which gives a clear and uncontentious description of folk music tradition. As such, my use of the concept of English folk music tradition needs to be defined. I take a binary approach to this. It is imperative to consider these manuscripts in the framework of modern scholarly discourse, and references made to English folk music tradition from a current perspective subscribe to the most recent writings on the topic, relying heavily on Roud's interpretations in his 2017 work on folk song.²⁰² However, I also refer to the inherited or received notions of folk music tradition. Here I discuss characteristics commonly recognised in an older, perhaps broadly referred to as 'Sharpian' interpretation of the term. This received history, which is becoming outdated and may be considered ill-informed in academic circles, is still prevalent in the domain in which the manuscripts generate most interest.²⁰³ Therefore, although these ideas are not at the forefront of current research, it is an important secondary approach from the

¹⁹⁷ Buckland discusses the idea with reference to Green and Erixon: Buckland, 'Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations'; Williams, *Keywords*. Handler and Linnekin discuss Shils' 1981, "verifiable temporal criteria: "it has to last over at least three generations...to be a tradition"". Handler and Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', p. 274. This topic is discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

¹⁹⁸ Buckland, 'Definitions of Folk Dance: Some Explorations', p. 327.

¹⁹⁹ Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', p. 83.

²⁰⁰ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 671.

²⁰¹ Subsequent references to tradition as a process will omit inverted commas.

²⁰² Roud, *Folk Song in England*.

²⁰³ It is important to acknowledge that just because folk music enthusiasts may not be academics, not all are ignorant of modern scholarly concepts and definitions of tradition and folk music. However, it is my belief that a 'Sharpian' understanding of folk music and tradition still prevails amongst some enthusiasts and non-specialists, see for example the above discussion regarding aurality/orality.

perspective of the manuscript archive. It is important to observe how and why the manuscripts are in their current place and why this causes the manuscripts to be put under the 'burden of expectation' hindering the telling of their true story. An outline for both interpretations has been given in the historiography above and specific detail is explored in relation to the explicit topics tackled in each chapter.

Why This Research Matters

It is important to address why I appear to take such a genre-centric approach and justify why I discuss the relationship between the manuscript archive and English folk music tradition. This is especially so, given that in accordance with modern academic interdisciplinary approaches, the aim should be to break down barriers, not create boundaries.²⁰⁴ It remains true that the label ascribed to the musical practice represented by the manuscripts does not change the history of nineteenth-century English music. However, in order to attempt to understand the musical practice, and to enable an impartial examination of the manuscript tune books, the meaning behind the category definitions needs to be unravelled and the place of the manuscript archive assessed in relation to these categories.

Although Campbell is right to highlight the diversity and complexity of the manuscripts, his adversity to a 'genre-centric' approach is problematic. Such reactions are recognised by Roud:

But in the folk world, there is not only an absence of agreement, but often a feeling in some quarters that there *should be no agreement*, as any attempt at codification or drawing of boundaries is seen by many as antithetical to the subject as against the spirit of the thing, and not quite nice.²⁰⁵

Yet, as noted earlier, Roud states that in order to draw conclusions, "we usually start by drawing boundaries".²⁰⁶ Similarly, in the field of popular music studies, Middleton states the importance of drawing distinctions: "otherwise important tensions and conflicts will pass unremarked".²⁰⁷ In the same way, in order for the manuscript

²⁰⁴ Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, 'Introduction: Centres and Peripheries', in *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), (p. 1). Bennett Zon, 'General Editor's Series Preface', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Rodmell (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), (p. xvii).

²⁰⁵ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 16.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 15.

²⁰⁷ Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, p. 6.

archive and the practice it represents to be understood and taken seriously in both academic and non-academic circles, the 'burden of expectation' needs to be lifted. The material fact should not be skewed or mediated in an attempt to make the manuscripts tell a story which they do not and cannot tell.

Removing the burden will remove uncertainty and restrictions caused by ambiguity of definition which will allow for an objective assessment of the contents and musical practice, opening the interdisciplinary interest wider. My research has an important part to play in providing an assessment of the manuscripts in folk music, popular music and the social and cultural historical field. In attempting to align the scholarship of vernacular instrumental music with that of song study, and applying similar critical questions, wider awareness can be brought to the archive and the manuscripts can be used to contribute to other areas of critical discourse. As discussed above, Russell noted the lack of academic study of domestic instrumental tune practice,²⁰⁸ and it is hoped this thesis will go some way to address this gap.

By broaching the question of whether the archive is compatible with notions of folk music tradition, the thesis relates to wider issues of the interaction of literacy and orality/aurality, particularly with regards to cautioning over the assumption of outward transmission methods (Chapter 5). The research is crucial in revealing that evidence utilised to inform current thinking on nineteenth-century literacy levels is, in fact incredibly unstable (Chapter 4). Engaging with discourse in broader fields both inside and outside musicology ties in with the current move towards in "a broad, yet incisive, cultural" approach.²⁰⁹ That my work has revealed the sheer dependence of the compilers on commercial print, not only raising questions of musical literacy, dissemination, access to resources and so on, adds much new knowledge to the field. Additionally, I have identified a set of unrecognised or unstudied sources specific to these 'ordinary' musicians,²¹⁰ and also 're-discovered' a now forgotten practice for acquiring sources.

The manuscripts can indicate the repertoire chosen, performed (or intended to be learnt) and therefore it is fair to assume, enjoyed by ordinary, nineteenth-century

²⁰⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 181.

²⁰⁹ Zon, 'General Editor's Series Preface'.

²¹⁰ Chris Partington, *Email Correspondence* (27 January 2016).

musicians. In the folk song field, Gammon admitted to being “much more interested in what ordinary people actually sang than in what Cecil Sharp thought they ought to have sung”.²¹¹ Ultimately, the manuscripts and my analysis enable a synchronic snapshot to be seen, of what was in common currency at the time: that which was actually selected by the musicians, to play or learn, and provides a precious insight into the vernacular instrumental music practice of nineteenth-century England.

Research Questions

Centring on the ambiguity of definition which obfuscates the archive of instrumental manuscript tunebooks, I set out to examine mid-late-nineteenth-century examples and their place in folk music tradition. Six main research questions examine this notion.

1. ‘Fiddlers’ Tunebooks’, considered as repositories of folk music, conjure up images of rural, humble, village musicians. To what extent is this image reflected by the manuscript compilers?
2. From where were the compilers acquiring the skills and resources to facilitate creating a personal tune repository?
3. The eclectic mix of genres is noted by relevant scholars. Does the evidence from my research validate a similar musicological content?
4. From where were the compilers sourcing the contents and what does this tell us of the inward transmission into the manuscripts?
5. What can be revealed about the outward transmission, function (of the compilers) and the wider soundscape of which these manuscripts were a part?
6. Can any conclusions be drawn regarding the function of the manuscripts as music repositories and the motivation of the compilers to create them?

Approaching the Archive

Before starting the research, I believed my approach would be ethnomusicological. This was suggested by the perceived genre of source material, combined with the contextual and sociological aspects I planned to examine. When researching appropriate ethnomusicological methodologies, I found that the historical, non-human sources were not synonymous with that usually encountered by ethnomusicologists, besides which, my informants were dead. I cast the methodological net wider, considering emerging disciplines such as ‘Music Archaeology’ which Arnd Both describes as “the study of the phenomenon of past musical behaviours and sound”.²¹²

²¹¹ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 8.

²¹² Arnd Adje Both, ‘Music Archaeology: Some Methodological and Theoretical Considerations’, *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 41 (2009), 1-11. Such a definition proposes that my research will fall into

Yate's approach had strong references to archaeological methods,²¹³ and a review of Ann Buckley's *Hearing the Past: Essays in Historical Ethnomusicology and the Archaeology of Sound*,²¹⁴ enabled me to recognise that my approach could be as an archaeologist trying to make sense of, and build a soundscape from the artefacts available to me. Artefacts in addition to the manuscripts, such as newspaper reports, public records, iconography and other archived material, which would help reconstruct this nineteenth-century musical practice.

An archaeological approach is in accordance with an explanation of a new perspective of ethnomusicology called 'historical ethnomusicology', whereby ethnomusicologists "excavate the past to illuminate the present life of a musical tradition".²¹⁵ Historical ethnomusicology might seem the perfect definition of my approach, yet my research is not directly aiming to illuminate current English folk or popular music practice.

The more I investigated an appropriate methodology to match the dichotomy between the genre of source material and the historical yet contextual approach, the more entwined the methods became. When discussing popular song, Pickering and Green acknowledge that, "there is no one model and no method which can be followed in the exercise of this discipline",²¹⁶ and I saw this to authenticate a multifaceted approach. Likewise, Gammon lists a "heady brew",²¹⁷ of methodologies when defining his approach to the study of rural, nineteenth-century Sussex musicians. He justifies his approach by forestalling critics with the comment that "whatever the dangers of the journey, if it provides insights, and an object for criticism and refinement, then it is worthwhile".²¹⁸

this category, however his methodological model would class my manuscript sources as 'sound artefacts', suggesting they are researched using the analytical processes derived from the disciplines of acoustics, organology and archaeology, which is not how I have approached them.

²¹³ Yates, 'Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music', pp. 67-73 Chapter 3.

²¹⁴ Fred Spier, 'Hearing the Past: Essays in Historical Ethnomusicology and the Archaeology of Sound (Review)', (2003), pp. 407-08.

²¹⁵ Timothy Rice, *Ethnomusicology : A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 91.

²¹⁶ Tony Green and Michael Pickering, 'Preface', in *Everyday Culture. Popular Song and the Vernacular Milieu*, ed. by Michael Pickering and Tony Green (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987), (p. vii).

²¹⁷ Gammon, 'Problems of Method in the Historical Study of Popular Music', p. 16.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

In the last decade, we have seen a critical shift which approaches historical musicology from contextual perspectives. Musicologists Holman and Cowgill,²¹⁹ note “the 'cultural turn' in musicology” which has shown “the rewards to be gained by adopting much broader frames of reference”.²²⁰ So too, Duckers and Pasler state that musicology “should be centred not just on music but also on musicians acting within a social and cultural environment”.²²¹ In turn, it is vital that this approach is embraced when studying nineteenth-century vernacular instrumental tune manuscripts, and shows Gammon’s aim “to relate text to context, musical practice to social practice”, over thirty years ago to have been ahead of its time.²²² It is this contextual and interdisciplinary approach which has proved the best fit for my research. Thus, I would define my approach as that of a modern historical musicologist,²²³ looking beyond the boundaries of Western art music, and drawing on wider contextual approaches.

I have given an overview of the individual methodologies taken for each area below, although more detailed information is specified in the individual chapters rather than dealt with in an autonomous Methodology chapter.²²⁴ Fundamentally, empirical historical source studies provide the core methodology, and I take three case-study manuscripts as primary sources and observe “the stories they might tell”.²²⁵ These stories are revealed by incorporating approaches used in a range of modern musicological methods such as textual scholarship, archival research, musical analysis, iconography, social and cultural analysis and quantitative methods.

²¹⁹ Holman and Cowgill were writing in 2007 in the capacity as the Director and Deputy Director respectively, of LUCEM, the Centre for English Music, at the University of Leeds.

²²⁰ Cowgill and Holman, 'Introduction: Centres and Peripheries', p. 1.

²²¹ Vincent Duckles and Jann Pasler, 'Musicology, I. The Nature of Musicology 1. Definitions.', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, (2017), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 20 April 2017]. A multi-faceted contextual and cultural methodological approach within modern historical musicology is also justified in: Roberta Monteverre Marvin, 'Introduction: Scholarly Inquiry in Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations', in *Historical Musicology. Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, ed. by Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Monteverre Marvin (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), (p. 6). Yates, 'Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music', p. 53; Zon, 'General Editor's Series Preface'; Cowgill and Holman, 'Introduction: Centres and Peripheries'. Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, p. v.

²²² Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 5.

²²³ Glenn Stanley, 'Musicology, li. Disciplines of Musicology 1. Historical Method.', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, (2017), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 20 April 2017].

²²⁴ The section below, entitled 'Scope and Sources' is an exception to this as I provide a detailed explanation into my methodology behind the initial selection of the case-studies.

²²⁵ Marvin, 'Introduction: Scholarly Inquiry in Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations', p. 7.

In Part 2 of Chapter 1, a codicological approach is taken, introducing the manuscripts as artefacts. The methodological foundation for Chapter 2 centres on sources studies and archival research and includes a graphological approach. Graphologists analyse expressive values of different patterns of movement which are isolable such as slant, size, pressure, spacing and shapes. Psychological analysis is then applied to the findings to ascribe or understand characteristic or personality traits.²²⁶ Observing musical transcriptions in addition to the handwriting of tune titles, I employ the initial element of graphological methods, and carry out a visual comparative analysis, looking for specific blends of notational style to ascertain scribal involvement and identity, rather than to detect personality. In addition to the three case-studies, a survey of wider samples is performed, and a statistical analysis carried out. Additional sources are frequently consulted, including census returns, newspaper articles, birth, death and marriage certificates, baptism and burial records, Post Office directories, family papers, photograph albums, tithe maps, personal narratives, parish accounts and vestry minutes.

The advantages of having access to online census records and searching facilities are clear, but census records themselves can result in a lack or inconsistency of information. Problems encountered are numerous, such as mis-spelling, confusion over familiar and official names, modesty and estimations regarding age and marital status. Furthermore, a dislike and mistrust of data collection existed amongst some which resulted in the deliberate skewing of results, illustrated in the following newspaper excerpt:

THE CENSUS, - The general census was taken on Monday last, and the enumerators, to whom this duty was entrusted, must have had no easy task, for, in addition to the trouble consequent upon it, they had to contend with the fears and prejudices of many who conjured up all kinds of evils as likely to arise from this enquiry. Some who imagined that so rigid an investigation as to age and number of individuals, under each roof, must contemplate an addition to the Assessed Taxes, took the precaution of sending a few of their inmates out to sleep, while others, entertaining a more charitable view of the matter, not

²²⁶ W Eliasberg, 'Methods in Graphology', *Journal of Psychology*, 17 (1944), 125-31; Ruth Rostron, 'Graphology - Short Course', *The British Institute of Graphologists* (2014) <<http://www.britishgraphology.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Short-Course-sample-pages-.pdf>> [accessed 4 February 2018]; Elaine Quigley, 'Graphology - Handwriting Analysis', *Nina Markham* (2013) <<https://gdblogs.shu.ac.uk/b2030398/2013/11/04/more-on-handwriting-analysis/>> [accessed 21 February 2018].

only very kindly supplied all the information desired but a *great deal more* than the Registrar either required or expected! As it was compulsory to furnish the names of all who *slept* or abode in a house the previous night, it had an amusing effect, especially with the far and frail ones, some of whom, we understand, were under the necessity of noting down names that were not meant for “open day or vulgar gaze!” The increase of the population in this place will be very considerable, for the number of inhabitants, huddled together in the largest and humblest parishes, is incredible. As a proof of this we have only to mention that in one of the lodging houses alone, in St. Thomas’s, there were no less than 37 strangers adjourning there.²²⁷

Likewise, oral narratives can give a biased or incorrect account, being subject to the vagaries of memory and conscious or sub-conscious mediation. As such historical investigation is fraught with difficulty.

The analysis in Chapters 3 and 4, draws on quantifiable data taken directly from the manuscripts (such as key and time signatures), and research into each tunes’ history. Origins of the tunes and their sources are examined using a variety of methods including literature searches, accessing online tune resources and archival research into historic printed and manuscript tunebooks, including an archival visit to the British Library. Contextual information was sought from wider literature and contemporary newspaper articles. Of significant methodological interest in Chapter 4 is the survey of current musicians to inform the comparison of transcription stylistics when copying or when writing from memory. This survey was done in accordance with the University of Sheffield’s ethics procedure.²²⁸

Chapter 5 uses the content genres found in the case-studies to inform potential performance spaces which are developed using a combination of marginalia from the manuscript sources themselves, iconographic sources, newspaper articles and advertisements, wider literature, oral narratives and family papers. A similar range of sources is examined to inform Chapter 6, in addition to referring to works of fiction for contextual and factual reasoning, Post Office directories, churchwardens’ accounts, contemporary magazine publications and wider literature from the field of economic, social and cultural history.

²²⁷ 'The Census', *Oxford Journal* 12 June 1841, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 June 2016] p. 3.

²²⁸ University of Sheffield Ethics Approval Number: 013359.

Gammon notes that “the past is inescapable; its debris is all around us”,²²⁹ and examining the remnants of music history by taking a historical musicological approach to the Fiddlers’ Tunebooks was important. Roud finds a historical approach is “important in order to investigate how our current attitudes developed”,²³⁰ and this is particularly pertinent with regards to examining the place of the manuscripts in today’s folk music tradition. It is only when the dust has settled, and we get to stand still and look back, that we can see with any clarity, how we got to the present.

Scope and Sources

Chronologically following on from Gammon’s work,²³¹ this study concentrates on mid-late-nineteenth-century manuscripts, drawing the evidence from three case-study manuscripts from the South West of England dated 1860-c1880. It aims to build on and widen the scope of work carried out by both amateurs and academics, bringing scholarly focus and awareness to the manuscripts, and increasing the understanding of mid-late-nineteenth-century English vernacular instrumental music and the writing of its history.

To contain the scope, geographical parameters were required. Of the little research done on the manuscript archive, even less had been directed towards those manuscripts originating from the South West Midlands and South West of England.²³² In order to build on previous scholarship, and partly for logistical reasons this region became the focus of the study.

With regards to date, the mid-late-nineteenth-century manuscripts appear to have attracted even less attention than earlier manuscripts. Little research exists on their content, sources, motivation and context and this thesis attempts to re-address this balance. Gammon’s findings in the Turner manuscript make up one of the chief research areas,²³³ hence selecting post-1850 manuscripts became a key factor.

The final selection of case-studies was made by compiling a master list of all known UK nineteenth-century manuscripts based chiefly on the Folkopedia ‘Tune Manuscript

²²⁹ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 4.

²³⁰ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 39.

²³¹ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England'.

²³² See the above section entitled ‘Existing Studies and the Wider Literature’ for details of the location of other studies.

²³³ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England'.

List',²³⁴ sorted into dates and location.²³⁵ This list was sorted into nineteenth-century English manuscripts,²³⁶ and then sorted to include only post-1849 English manuscripts, which totalled only twenty-eight tunebooks. On face value this suggests a dramatic decrease in the number of manuscripts compiled from 1850 onwards, but this is not necessarily so, since only those known to have been compiled post-1849 have been included. Those whose compilation date cannot be narrowed down beyond the generic nineteenth-century were not included.²³⁷

This list was further reduced to include only southern English manuscripts,²³⁸ leaving only eleven manuscripts remaining.²³⁹ From this list, two have already been extensively examined,²⁴⁰ a further two had either their current or original location unknown,²⁴¹ resulting in seven potential case-studies. From this list I selected the final three case-studies shown in Figure 1. The Hampton manuscript,²⁴² was selected for personal reasons as it belonged to my great-great grandfather and was previously unknown outside the family; the Till/Clutterbuck manuscript,²⁴³ for access and logistical reasons; and the Bennett manuscript,²⁴⁴ as it has not been studied nor indeed seen in England since 1874. Furthermore, the three manuscripts' probable dates span a narrow period of approximately twenty years, giving a good comparative base.

²³⁴ Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List'. Those manuscripts which originated in the United Kingdom but are currently known to be abroad were included whereas those thought to originate and remain abroad have been omitted. Hampton MS has been added to the list.

²³⁵ This amounted to a total of 228 manuscripts.

²³⁶ This amounted to a total of 131 manuscripts.

²³⁷ The 'Andrews' manuscript was removed at this level as the original no longer exists and what remains is a transcription of selected tunes by Baring Gould, highlighting the earlier issues raised regarding the need for a wider survey and categorisation of all extant manuscripts.

²³⁸ The area denoted as 'Southern' is crudely defined by drawing a line across central England from approximately Norfolk to Shrewsbury.

²³⁹ See Appendix C, 'Master List'.

²⁴⁰ Namely the Turner MS and the Winter MS: Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England'; Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*.

²⁴¹ Namely 'Anon west mids?', and 'Julian'.

²⁴² Thomas Hampton, *Music Manuscript Book (Dances for Violin)*, (Dellow Personal Collection, c1870).

²⁴³ George Clutterbuck/Till, *Music Manuscript Book*, D4190/30 (D4190\3\4) (Gloucestershire Archives, 1866).

²⁴⁴ George Wilkins Bennett, *Music Manuscript Book*, (Ontario: Huronia Museum, 1860).

MS Name	Location	Compiler	Date
Hampton	Hereford, Herefordshire	Thomas Hampton (and Walter Soobroy)	c1870
Till/Clutterbuck	Stone, Gloucestershire	George Till/Clutterbuck	1866
Bennett	Chedzoy, Somerset	George Wilkins Bennett	1860

Figure 1: The final selection of case-study manuscripts.

The three case-study manuscripts are referenced in the footnotes here and in the bibliography but subsequent footnote references throughout the thesis will not be made and they will be referred to as Hampton MS, Till/Clutterbuck MS and Bennett MS respectively.

Figure 2 shows the geographical distribution of the manuscripts:²⁴⁵



Figure 2: Map showing the locations of the selected case-study manuscripts. (Source: Google maps).

It is important to remember that the surviving sources may be atypical and unrepresentative of the original range of sources for the very reason that they survived. In Medieval music studies, Hohler attributes the existence of three medieval dance tunes in Harley 978 MS, to the very fact that they are unusual.²⁴⁶ He proposes that the miscellaneous collection within the manuscript might advocate its purpose as a didactic text; therefore, these pieces could be included to demonstrate something unique, or new, in the genre of instrumental music. In the same way, the most common or popular tunes known to nineteenth-century amateur instrumentalists might not be included in the manuscripts as they were committed to memory and so

²⁴⁵ My research is not centring on comparative regionality; hence the exact location is not imperative, but is useful to put manageable constraints on the project. The map was created using Google Maps, 'Manuscript Locations', *Google Maps* (2017) <<https://www.google.co.uk/maps>> [accessed 17 March 2017].

²⁴⁶ Christopher Hohler, 'Reflections on Some Manuscripts Containing 13th-Century Polyphony', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, 1 (1978), 2-38.

well known, being in constant use and the compilers were only transcribing the rarer or newer tunes that they intended to learn. Similarly, the surviving tunebooks might have belonged to meticulous or particularly forgetful fiddlers who ensured preservation of their books or those for whom professional record keeping was a priority. Having sampled a number of other manuscripts and considered the repertoire selected for inclusion in modern amateur musicians' collections, I do not believe the manuscripts in this study to be atypical compared to other manuscripts, or that the manuscripts as a whole represent exclusively unusual tunes.

Once selected, the original manuscripts were accessed where possible. Personally viewing these primary source documents is important as it enables easier examination (looking for watermarks, determining condition and quality of paper etc.). Herbert and McCollum discuss the important "distinction between the historical artifact and the digitized representation that 'appears' to be the artifact".²⁴⁷ Furthermore, accessing the original manuscript helps form a tangible connection, providing empathy with the original compiler and the music within.²⁴⁸ That said, Bennett MS from Somerset, now resides in the Huronia Museum, Ontario, Canada, and in this case, digital images were taken and emailed by Genevieve Carter, Curator at the museum. The difference in the detail of codicological examination which can be achieved when viewing the original artefact can be seen here in comparison to the other case studies.

Where original manuscripts were viewed, digital images were taken. These were stored electronically, and hard copies printed. Data extracted from the content was entered into a database. Each tune was given a reference number which is the method used to refer to the tunes throughout the thesis (in an italicised form) and the appendices. The reference comprises a three-part nomenclature, for example *Ham.3.2*. The first part is made up using the initial three letters of the manuscript (Ham, Til, and Ben), the second refers to the page number and the third denotes the

²⁴⁷ Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert, *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), p. 48.

²⁴⁸ The Library of Congress (LOC) identifies that working with primary sources provides "a window into the past—unfiltered access to the record of artistic, social, scientific and political thought and achievement during the specific period under study, produced by people who lived during that period", and that when used with students it helps them to engage with the past in a personal way, promoting "a deeper understanding of history as a series of human events". Library of Congress, 'Why Use Primary Sources?', *Library of Congress* (No date)
<<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/whyuse.html> > [accessed 5 February 2015].

item number on that page. For example, the tune identified by *Ham.3.2* can be found in Hampton MS, page 3, item 2 (namely 'The Wedding Galop').²⁴⁹ A summary of the database entry for each tune was recorded on a spreadsheet, Appendix B.

Structure of Thesis

In order to approach the question of the manuscripts' place in notions of folk music tradition, I compartmentalised elements of the manuscript sources. Taking the lead from Dean-Smith in her approach to Playford, I examined their "place, and that of its creator[s]...to show how long-lasting are these English melodies and how wide and deep their roots".²⁵⁰ More simply, in order to ascertain their place, I needed to ask who compiled them, what they contained, from where they sourced the material and why they were compiling. This led to further important enquiry into how they obtained the resources and skill in order to compile. Despite preparing our work at the same time, my approach can be seen to reflect that taken by Roud in the folk song field.²⁵¹

This chapter comprises two sections. In Part 1, the foundations were surveyed and after observing previous approaches to the manuscripts and vernacular instrumental tunes in general, I examined the current unstable position of the manuscripts and the dangers this provokes. By assessing past and current attitudes to definitions of folk music and tradition I provided a solid framework in which to place the discussion. Methodology and selection of sources were then discussed. Part 2 introduces the three case-study manuscripts, providing a codicological analysis of the case-study manuscripts as artefacts.

Chapter 2 considers the creators of the manuscripts, providing a detailed biographical examination of the three manuscript compilers. This is followed by an analysis of a wider sample of manuscript compilers to create a better representative profile. Key demographic trends emerge which are addressed in turn, considering how these specific traits promote manuscript production. The findings raise vital questions concerning the practice of acquiring and accessing sources, both logistically and with regards to capability, dealt with in Chapter 6. The larger question surrounding folk

²⁴⁹ See Appendix A.

²⁵⁰ Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651. A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, p. xx.

²⁵¹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 4, 40, 669.

music tradition is explored with strong similarities found surrounding both received and modern ideas of the 'folk'. Some variance does exist however, which I propose could result from a conscious or sub-conscious reaction to the 'burden of expectation'.

Chapter 3 adopts Dean-Smith's approach to ascertain "how wide and deep their roots".²⁵² Using the data from the detailed analysis which informed Appendix A, the provenance and breadth of content is observed, and an objective assessment of the types of tunes selected by the compilers becomes apparent. This reveals that, in reality, the manuscripts contain a wide range of dance and song types. Despite a clear dominance of contemporary material, historic tunes were also found. Whilst current thought has been shown to be inclusive with regards to eclectic and contemporary content, the results show the content does not fit with perceived notions which have been transferred via received history. Thus, it is possible to see how a dichotomy arose between the anticipated repertoire and the actual content, giving rise to the 'burden of expectation' discussed above. Furthermore, the concept of process and its role in the formation of tradition is explored, and consequently asks whether the manuscripts can be considered as part of English folk music tradition. Despite the contemporary tunes in the manuscripts providing a fascinating insight into the process at work, the historic tunes are found to be more problematic, developed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 reveals that those tunes written in the manuscripts were, in the main, copied from printed sources. In turn, this brings an investigation into the practice of acquiring the tunes, discovering the sources from which they copied. This uncovers that most tunes, including those which appear to have more historic roots, were sourced from a narrow range of contemporary printed material, aimed specifically at the amateur monophonic instrumental market. On the surface this could be argued to refute claims that orality/aurality was a significant factor with regards to direct inward transmission. Such a view goes against the perceived notions regarding the importance of orality/aurality in folk music still held by some.

Such a revelation could move the archive more towards general popular music practice than being part of a more specific folk music tradition. However, current song

²⁵² Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651. A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, p. xx.

scholarship and similar recent findings in the tune field clearly discount the actuality and importance of orality/aurality in folk music tradition. Furthermore, the reliance on textual sources raises questions of the stability of the notion of tradition, when viewed in manuscript form. The fact that the tunes are selected by publishers rather than the 'folk' and may not have survived but could have 'skipped' generations, constituting a potential revival as opposed to a continuation of a process of tradition is also explored. A revelation regarding literacy and the compilers' marriage certificate signatures demonstrates the need to guard against assumptions and acknowledge that unwritten social and cultural practices may not have passed down in historical record.

Chapter 5 contextualises the range of genres to assess outward transmission and function of the manuscripts. Although no direct evidence of specific musical functions within the case-studies is observed, wider observations of the soundscape suggest that the music was being used for informal participation. This chapter further highlights the caution needed regarding expectations of literacy and the subtle interactions of textual and oral/aural practices.

Turning the focus to the rich source material revealed in Chapter 4 juxtaposed with Chapter 2's disclosure of the compilers' demographic, Chapter 6, Part 1, considers both economic and environmental factors which limit or enable the compilers' access to sources and resources. Following an investigation into the sale of sheet music, with specific focus on the case-study compilers, evidence is presented to suggest the men acquired their sources via borrowing as opposed to purchasing. The interdisciplinary value of this chapter emerges through the revelation that historically popular, but now little-known establishments, Musical Circulating Libraries (MCLs), enabled the compilers to acquire their source material. Part 2 of Chapter 6 combines the revelation of the compiler demographic and reliance on textual sources to explore how the lower strata of society were capable of seemingly high levels of literacy. Potential routes to literacy are examined and the general and musical literacy and skill levels of the case-study compilers are assessed. An interesting binary division of routes between rural and traditional compared to urban and modern manuscripts develops.

The final chapter draws together the evidence and analysis and examines further key points which have emerged, particularly regarding the importance of the manuscripts

as a primary resource and the role they can play in future research. Original contribution to the musicological field is noted, as are the limitations and flaws encountered throughout the research. The chapter and thesis conclude with a discussion around areas of study which could build on the work carried out in the thesis.

Conclusion to Part 1

Part 1 of this chapter has laid the foundations for the subsequent investigative study in which I hope to reduce the ambiguity of definition by exploring the manuscripts' place in English folk music tradition. I have given an introduction to the field, laid out the aims of this thesis, acknowledged problematic terms and reviewed existing literature. I have considered the question of how and why the manuscripts are found in the current field of folk music and identified characteristics which question their placement here. I have set out the research questions and thesis structure and have concluded Part 1 by detailing the overall methodology used to approach the research.

Part 2 – Introduction to the Case-Study Manuscripts

Having introduced the thesis and field of study above, in Part 2 of this chapter I start the exploration into the key sources for the research, introducing each case-study manuscript in turn, from a codicological perspective.

Hampton MS c1870-1880s

Unnamed and undated, this is the most recent case-study tunebook and was given to me by my grandfather, Charles Hampton (1913 – 1999), in 1990 along with a collection of printed music.²⁵³ Charles informed me that the manuscript had belonged to and been compiled by my great-great-grandfather, Thomas Hampton (1844-1896).²⁵⁴ After my grandfather's death in 1999 I also inherited Thomas' violin, two nineteenth-century wooden fifes and tin whistles, and additional items of printed music belonging to Thomas' son, my great-grandfather, Andrew Hampton.

²⁵³ See full list and references below. I have dated the manuscript using the contents as a guide and the possibility remains that the manuscript was commenced before or after my proposed date of c1870s.

²⁵⁴ 'Thomas Hampton', *Baptism Record for Thomas Hampton, 30 March 1844* (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; Gdr/V1/410) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 20 April 2017].

The book, the largest of my selected sources, measures 315mm by 245mm.²⁵⁵ The cover is made of folded heavy-weight paper and exhibits an uneven fibrous texture bearing similarities to handmade paper. It is brown in colour and slightly speckled with black fibres. The book has clearly been conceived as a complete entity as the manuscript pages have been stitched together and into the cover before it was folded, suggesting the book existed as a whole, rather than being added to throughout time. The stitching visible on the inside front cover (Figure 3), suggests the book was home-bound.



Figure 3: Stitching on the inside cover turn-ins of Hampton MS.

Internally, the book is constructed from four bifolium sheets, creating a single gathering consisting of eight leaves resulting in sixteen individual folios. The bifolium appear to be large pre-lined purchased music manuscript sheets comprising twelve staves and a blank border around each folio edge and have been stitched together in a rudimentary way. Although now largely detached, evidence exists to show the pages were bifolium and originally conjoint as the central bifolium is still partially attached. The majority of the bifolium pages have become detached and there is extensive scuffing and tearing to the outside edges of each leaf. The book is now in a relatively fragile state but remains legible and usable to an extent.

²⁵⁵ Research into manuscript paper sizes shows that the size of Hampton's manuscript sheets (doubled width as the paper was bifolium), do not tally with the paper sizes given in Tomlinson's *Cyclopaedia of Useful Arts*: Charles Tomlinson, *Cyclopaedia of Useful Arts* (London: Virtue, 1854) <<https://ia600208.us.archive.org/35/items/cyclopdiaofuse02tomlrich/cyclopdiaofuse02tomlrich.pdf> > [Accessed 20 April 2017]. Page 369 lists a 'short demy for music', measuring 20 ½" x 14" which does not match the 19 ¼" (bifolium size) x 12 ½" of Hampton's manuscript paper. I have found advertisements for 'Universal Music Paper', 'Acme Music Books (music size)' and 'Music Paper', but with no actual sizing given. However, the 'Guernsey Packet of Manuscript Music Paper', is listed as having eighteen sheets of twelve staves (priced at one shilling), which is the same number of staves as Hampton. 'Advertisement for Hartwell's Music Warehouse', *The Star : Guernsey*, 17 November 1883, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> p. 5.

A neatly inscribed ink title on the front cover reads: *Dances For violin* (Figure 4), and an illegible inscription exists on the top right hand corner of the cover and a further illegible stamped mark on the bottom right-hand front cover.



Figure 4 : Front cover of Hampton MS.

The book contains fifty-seven items, comprising a thorough mix of repertoire, spanning contemporary popular songs and dance tunes, older tunes and some Nonconformist hymns, and is the work of two chief scribes, with one further tune written by a 'guest' scribe.²⁵⁶

The main ink colour is black, the density of which varies throughout, although initially red ink is used for titles, clefs and composers' names. Evidence from the first scribe's writing suggests that he was using a dip pen rather than a fountain pen. Figure 5 shows that under magnification the red ink used for clef, time and key signatures merges with the black ink as if the nib was not quite clean:

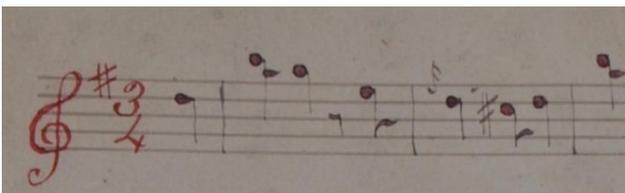


Figure 5 : *Ham.1.1.*

²⁵⁶ See *Ham.11.3*

Where he starts line three without coloured ink, this colour contamination is not visible. It is also possible to observe by looking at ink density that he wrote note-heads, stems and beaming in one movement. Figure 6 shows ink fading towards the end of the bar suggesting he has written the first four notes (note-heads, stems and beaming), followed by the subsequent set of four quavers, only to be refreshed and dark again in the next bar.

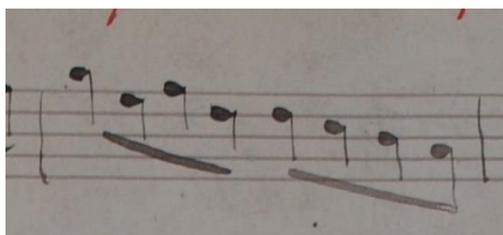


Figure 6 : *Ham.3.1*, bar 2.

The second scribe frequently appears to write in the same fashion although sometimes demonstrates a different writing style in which he appears to draw the note heads of the bar or group first and then goes back to complete beaming and stems as these are more faded (see Figure 7).

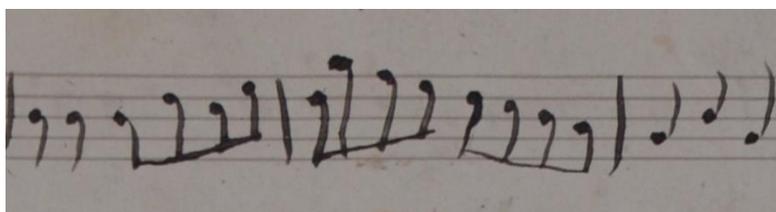


Figure 7 : *Ham.5.1*, bars 6-7.

Throughout the book the ink density becomes more consistent possibly indicating that the second scribe had access to a fountain pen towards the end of the book, rather than a dipping pen. Fountain pens were being mass produced by the 1880s,²⁵⁷ which might indicate a gap in the period of time from the earlier items in the book, suggesting the book was compiled over a period of ten years.

The manuscript is solely a repository for music with no marginalia. This could demonstrate a respect for the book or a lack of confidence in general 'freehand'

²⁵⁷ Griselda Pollock, 'Sarah Kofman's Father's Pen and Bracha Ettinger's Mother's Spoon', in *Objects and Materials: A Routledge Companion*, ed. by Penny Harvey, et al. (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), (p. 167).

literacy skills.²⁵⁸ The cover has staining to the front and back, suggesting it was well used and not considered as overly precious, and the leaves show staining at the bottom and sides where they have been turned by frequent use, possibly with soiled hands.

The printed collection which accompanied the manuscript is important as it constitutes part of the discussion in subsequent chapters. This printed collection is made up of a red stiff board cover with adhesive inserts which hold each of the pages of four different books, namely:

1. *Boosey's Hundred Reels, Country & Other Dances for the violin.*²⁵⁹
2. *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &c. Edited and expressly Arranged for the violin by Robert Coote, Book 2.*²⁶⁰
3. *One Hundred Dances for the Violin (Boosey's 100 Dances).*²⁶¹
4. *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &c. Edited and expressly Arranged for the violin by Robert Coote, Book 4,*²⁶² (with Walter Soobroy's inscription on the front, see below).

All are undated and The British Library (BL), do not hold copies, although they have a flute version of the third item, which they date to 1859,²⁶³ and books 5, 6 and 8 of *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &c.*, which BL date between 1870 and 1887.²⁶⁴ Thus we could presume dates for Hampton's copies around the 1860s and 1870s.

Till/Clutterbuck MS 1866

The Till/Clutterbuck manuscript (Figure 8) is held at the Gloucestershire Archives deposited with papers belonging to Miss V Smith.²⁶⁵ The book contains both sacred and secular music, starting at opposite ends, inverted and meeting in the middle.

²⁵⁸ For example, in writing words which were not copied.

²⁵⁹ Boosey, *Boosey's Hundred Reels, Country & Other Dances. For the Violin*, (Boosey, c1859).

²⁶⁰ Robert Coote, *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &c. Edited and Expressly Arranged for the Violin Book 2*, (Hopwood & Crew, c1860s).

²⁶¹ Boosey, *One Hundred Dances for the Violin*, (Boosey, c1859).

²⁶² Robert Coote, *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &c. Edited and Expressly Arranged for the Violin Book 4*, (Hopwood & Crew, c1860s).

²⁶³ British Library Catalogue, 'Boosey's One Hundred Dances for the Flute, Arranged by H. S. Pratten. Boosey & Co. [London], [1859.]', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk/>> [accessed 30 April 2015].

²⁶⁴ British Library Catalogue, 'Hopwood & Crew's ... Quadrilles, Waltzes, Galops, Polkas, Etc., for the Violin. Arranged ... By R. Coote. [Bk. 5, 6 and 8 by C. Minasi.]', *British Library* (No date) <http://explore.bl.uk> [accessed 17 April 2015].

²⁶⁵ Gloucestershire Archives, *Smith and Clutterbuck Families of Old Court Farm, Stone*, D4190 (c.1800-1975). With thanks to Paul Burgess for assisting in locating the manuscript in the archive catalogue.

'George Till, Stone, 1866' is transcribed on the front inside cover, and on the back inside cover, 'George Clutterbuck HG?, Stone, Nr Falfield, RSG', perhaps standing for Royal South Gloucestershire.²⁶⁶ An additional manuscript book was donated with the papers, made up exclusively of religious music and signed John Collings.

The tunes from the manuscript have been transcribed as part of the *GlosTrad* project,²⁶⁷ and have been published by Charles Menteith and Paul Burgess as part of *The Coleford Jig*.²⁶⁸



Figure 8 : Front and back cover of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

The book is smaller than Hampton MS, more alike other music manuscript books from this period and measures 23cm by 9cm with a depth of 3.9cm including covers. The cover is made from hard dark brown boards, held together with two thick string stitches, with evidence of a marbled paper cover on top. Figure 9 shows the remains of the marbled cover on the inside end cover:



Figure 9 : The remains of the marbled paper covering on Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Internally, the book is constructed from seven gatherings sewn together with four thinner thread stitches (Figure 10). Each gathering comprises three bifolium sheets,

²⁶⁶ The title 'Royal' was added to the local militia name (South Gloucestershire) in 1795 by King George III and was perhaps reflected in general references to the county: David Viner, 'A Moth-Eaten Rag': Regimental Colours in Cirencester Parish Church', *Gloucestershire History*, 25 (2011), 8-28 (p. 19) <<http://www.gloshistory.org.uk/reprints/gh201118.pdf>> [accessed 21 April 2017].

²⁶⁷ GlosTrad, 'Home'.

²⁶⁸ Charles Menteith and Paul Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, 4th edn, (Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, 2014).

creating six leaves of twelve sides. The fifth group has two leaves removed resulting in a total of forty pages in the manuscript. The book has been conceived as a whole, rather than the gatherings being added as no distinction exists between genre and ink for example between each gathering.



Figure 10 : The gatherings of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

The internal pages consist of pre-lined purchased music manuscript sheets although with some irregularity in both density and shaping. The bottom stave lines in Figure 11 show two ends matching and one differing, suggestive of being cut from larger pre-printed manuscript sheets.



Figure 11 : Non-uniform stave endings in Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Each manuscript page consists of four stave lines with a blank border around each edge. The paper is of good quality, absent of watermarks unlike the thicker, watermarked manuscript paper found in the accompanying sacred manuscript inscribed by John Collings.

The book includes fifty-six secular items,²⁶⁹ comprising a mixed repertoire of song and dance tunes. The specific provenance, ownership and number of scribes of the manuscript is not straight-forward and is explored in Chapter 2. The notation is

²⁶⁹ I have omitted an initial page of chordal jottings.

predominantly written in black ink with occasional uses of blue ink and pencil. *Til.20.1* has evidence of issues with ink flow and I would surmise that a dipping pen was used rather than fountain due to the age of the manuscript and the fading and density of the ink through a stroke.

Despite the severely damaged outer marbled paper and ripped endpapers the internal condition of the manuscript is fair, and although appearing well used with water staining and soiling at the edge of pages, it remains usable and legible with pages remaining intact. There is no marginalia, although the signature on the front endpaper has been copied in pencil.

Bennett MS 1860

The earliest of the three case studies was written by George Wilkins Bennett, a blacksmith from Chedzoy in Somerset (Figure 12). It is dated 1860 and now resides in the Huronia Museum, Ontario, Canada. It was donated in 1991 by Hilda Bennett, aged ninety-one, George Wilkins Bennett's granddaughter.²⁷⁰ No information regarding the donation was recorded at the time.²⁷¹ In line with Till/Clutterbuck MS, this manuscript contains both sacred and secular, although running successively rather than being inverted and meeting in the middle.



Figure 12 : Front and back Cover of Bennett MS.

Due to the manuscript's location the physical description is as described by museum curator, Genevieve Carter:

The book measures 23.5 x 14.5 x 2 cm, which includes the heavy cardboard covers. The covers have been covered in a paper which is shiny [sic] on the

²⁷⁰ Genevieve Carter, *Email Correspondence* (2 March 2015).

²⁷¹ Genevieve Carter, *Email Correspondence* (19 May 2015).

outward-facing side. It almost looks oiled, but the reverse side is matte, and not oily-looking at all. I am not sure if there is a technical name for that sort of finish. It is of a different composition than the papers on which the music has been written. Those are heavier than modern printer paper, but not quite as heavy as card-stock. It seems to be of a better quality than papers used in other printed material from that period (I have compared it to school textbooks and Bibles in the museum's collection). I have attached 2 photos of the book in profile - you can see that the covering paper is beginning to separate from the front cover. You can also see that the edges of the paper have been marbled.²⁷²

Further observation of the digital copies reveals that although the paper was heavy, it did not prevent bleed through of ink as there are numerous examples of this, particularly when the darkest black ink was used.

The photographs also reveal that the book is constructed of bifolium gatherings of ten individual quires, although it is difficult to ascertain the number of bifolium per gathering as many have pages removed (Figure 13). Whether the removal was deliberate is impossible to tell, certainly there is evidence of accidental detachment in some cases such as the final hymn tunes (*Ben.20.1* and *Ben.20.2*) which would be expected to run across onto the following page yet clearly have their second page missing with subsequent pages either blank or missing, the manuscript continuing on page 25.



Figure 13 : Gatherings of Bennett MS.

The attachment of the binding is difficult to see via photographic evidence although Figure 14 provides evidence of the internal stitching holding the quires together.

²⁷² Ibid.



Figure 14 : *Ben.47.1*, showing the internal stitching.

Each page consists of eight staves surrounded by a border. Due to the cropped photographs it is difficult to ascertain if the bottom border is a constant height or if the manuscript paper has been cut. The staves show some inconsistencies perhaps suggesting self-drawing using a rastrum (the ink looks darker at the end of a stave and there are slight variations at stave endings), however this could be the result of a pre-printed manuscript sheet as many of the inconsistencies are repeated over the pages. I would proffer that the book was purchased as an entire music manuscript book rather than being constructed at home.

Two chief scribes can be identified throughout the book with the addition of perhaps two occasional ones. The notation is inked directly in black or blue/black ink throughout the entire manuscript with no discernible pattern or link to a specific scribe.²⁷³ The blue/black ink is interesting as it clearly demonstrates the manner in which the scribe wrote the notes. For example, the final two quavers shown in Figure 15 appear to have been written in the order of note-heads first, followed by a downward stroke of the right-hand stem, beam and then an upward stroke back to the first note-head:

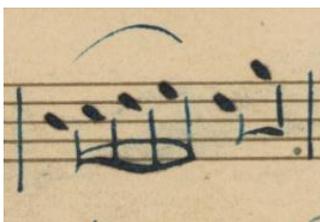


Figure 15 : *Ben.44.2*, demonstrating the transcription style.

²⁷³ There are two unfinished tunes in pencil: *Ben.81.1* and *Ben.55.1*.

The overall condition appears good, although some pages have become detached. The pages are yellowing with some quite heavy staining and scuffing at the page edges and evidence of spillages,²⁷⁴ suggesting the book was well used. That said, for a book dating back nearly one hundred and sixty years, the condition is remarkable, especially the fragile looking, intricate exterior boards, and minimal marginalia, suggesting much respect, care and importance was bestowed upon the book.

The manuscript contains seventy-seven secular items, and along with the sacred items the contents suggest use in a West Gallery church band and for accompanying dancing (both social and exhibition) or for town festivity performances. With regards to dates, the secular tunes are generally consistent with the dating ranging between 1860-64 and hence compilation in England and not post-1874 following emigration. However, two tunes, *Ben.40.1* (published 1880), and *Ben.74.2* (published 1897), have additional attributes which suggest they have been added at a later date.

Conclusion

The three manuscripts examined in Part 2 of this chapter form the central body of evidence for the thesis. Whereas much of the subsequent investigation is of a biographical, musicological, cultural or social nature, this section has introduced and considered the three case-study manuscripts as historical artefacts. As a whole, this chapter has provided an introduction to the archive, current and past discourse and shown how this research aims to fit into and contribute knowledge to the field. Our understanding of nineteenth-century English music, its historiography, its audience and participants will remain incomplete until more studies, such as this, are undertaken. Furthermore, I believe that until the 'burden of expectation' is lifted from this archive, the manuscripts will continue to suffer from an ambiguity of definition, and the associated consequences. In order to move forward, definitions need to be tackled. By asking where the manuscripts fit in notions of folk music tradition, this research aims to investigate and broach such issues, leading the discussion forward to establish a place in which the Fiddlers' Tunebooks can fit, to enable a wider and more objective treatment.

²⁷⁴ For example, *Ben.114.1*.

Chapter 2- 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of the Manuscript Compilers'²⁷⁵

Chapter 1 established that the term 'folk' was not in common parlance in the mid-late-nineteenth century and the musicians pertaining to this amateur, monophonic instrumental practice did not consider themselves, nor were considered contemporaneously as folk musicians. Antithetically, the enthusiasm generated by the manuscripts in current contemporary English traditional or folk music was highlighted and rightly or not, the manuscripts are often considered as repositories of folk music. While modern discourse embraces an inclusive attitude to the 'folk',²⁷⁶ received history has conjured up an image of rural, humble village musicians.²⁷⁷ In this chapter I set out to ask, 'Who were the folk?' echoing the question posed by C J Bearman in his seminal analysis of Cecil Sharp's Somerset singers,²⁷⁸ by examining the compilers of nineteenth-century manuscript tunebooks, drawing out key demographic traits and considering how those qualities contribute to a manuscript culture. Given the manuscripts' position in the current traditional music field, I consider the portrayal of the 'folk' from both a received historical view and a more contemporary academic perspective.²⁷⁹

The first section of the chapter comprises biographical case-studies of the three post-1850 tunebook compilers. The second section surveys a broader range of manuscripts in order to provide a wider framework within which to set the three case-studies. The third section analyses the key traits that emerge and puts forward some suggestions to account for them and their influence upon the culture of compiling music manuscripts. The final section draws together the evidence to address the critical argument regarding the compliance of the compilers' traits with their depiction and thus their significance in folk music tradition.

²⁷⁵ The title is a deliberate adaptation of Bearman's title: The title echoes my attempt to uncover who the compilers were in the same way that Bearman analysed Sharp's Somerset singers. C. J. Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', *The Historical Journal*, 43. 3 (2000), 751-75.

²⁷⁶ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27.

²⁷⁷ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907), p. 3.

²⁷⁸ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers'.

²⁷⁹ Justification for this binary approach is given in Chapter 1.

Received history of archetypal folk musicians depicts an image of rural, elderly, poor men who lack education. This view is likely prompted by the early collectors' descriptions, summed up in Sharp's conclusion that folk song is part of the culture of "the non-educated, or "the common people" ...the unlettered...the remnants of the peasantry...who resided in the country and subsisted on the land",²⁸⁰ causing much contention throughout twentieth century folk song discourse.²⁸¹ In the most recent writings on the subject, current scholarly thought regarding the characteristics of the folk can be seen to encompass a much broader scope. The image of nineteenth-century vernacular musicians includes people of any age, gender, habitat (urban or rural) and, to some degree, level of education, the key over-riding factor being that they are "ordinary".²⁸²

Equating to a somewhat antagonistic definition of class, this describes the music as coming from the nineteenth-century working classes, showing parallels with the received historical characteristics noted above. "In the 1970s folk music scholarship took a wrong turn",²⁸³ repercussions of which are still evident today nearly fifty years on,²⁸⁴ and the historiography of folk music has suffered. The history of the music and its participants was overshadowed by political arguments and accusation. My aim is not a political one. In order for useful discourse going forward, objective exposure to the musical practice is required with as few preconceptions and judgments as is possible. It is my intention to keep this integrity at the forefront of my examination into the manuscripts.

Biographical Examination of Case Studies.

An account for the life of each of the musicians responsible for compiling the three case-study manuscripts is explored in the following section, beginning with the most recent of the three manuscripts.

²⁸⁰ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions (1907)*, p. 3.

²⁸¹ See for example: Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*; Harker, *Fakesong : The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day*. Bearman, 'English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914'.

²⁸² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27. This is not without problems as discussed later.

²⁸³ Bearman, 'English Folk Music Movement 1898-1914', p. 37.

²⁸⁴ Dave Harker, 'Dr Bearman's "Meticulous Scholarship"', *Folk Music Journal*, 11. 2 (2017), 49-53; Michael Yates, 'Correspondance "Dr Bearman's "Meticulous Scholarship"', *Folk Music Journal*, 11. 3 (2018), 124; Vic Gammon, 'Guest Editorial', *Folk Music Journal*, 11. 3 (2018), 4-5.

Hampton MS c1870-1880s - Thomas Hampton 1844-1896.²⁸⁵

Although unnamed, this manuscript was owned and, in the most part written by my great-great grandfather, Thomas Hampton who was baptised in the rural Gloucestershire village of Blaisdon, in March 1844.²⁸⁶ He was the fifth child of Elizabeth and John Hampton,²⁸⁷ a charcoal runner,²⁸⁸ who had one more child, William in 1847.²⁸⁹ Thomas' mother died in 1849, when he was aged five, and the 1851 census lists him as a scholar, lodging with William Blewett in Blaisdon along with his older sister Ann and younger brother, William.²⁹⁰ In 1861, there is no record of Thomas' whereabouts, but his father and brothers are at the canal wharf, Hereford, living on a charcoal barge, the 'Mary', which plied the Hereford and Gloucester Canal.²⁹¹ Thomas married Ann Wyatt, from Droitwich, at the Hereford Register Office in March 1870.²⁹² Ann's father, Alfred, also a boatman, had died after being crushed between two boats in 1860.²⁹³ A newspaper article describes the incident, concluding that "the sufferer is at present going on as favourably as expected",²⁹⁴ yet, his death certificate reveals that he died of the injuries two days later on October 8th 1860.²⁹⁵ As his brothers,

²⁸⁵ Baptism Record for Thomas Hampton; 'Thomas Hampton', *Certified Copy of Death Certificate for Thomas Hampton, 19 December 1896* (Application Number FC 509473: Hereford, 2004).

²⁸⁶ The village was small with a population of 280 in 1851: 'Blaisdon', *Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire, Bath & Bristol*, (1856), (p. 242) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 December 2016]. In 1861 it had risen to 282: 'Blaisdon', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops & Wales*, (1868), (p. 252) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/>> [accessed 2 April 2017]. Baptism Record for Thomas Hampton.

²⁸⁷ 'John Hampton', *1841 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 369; Book: 1; Civil Parish: Blaisdon; County: Gloucestershire; Enumeration District: 1; Folio: 7; Page: 8; Line: 2; GSU roll: 288780)*, <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 3 October 2015]; 'Elizabeth Hampton', *Baptism Record for Elizabeth Hampton, 22 January 1843* (Fhl Film Number: 91516) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 21 April 2017].

²⁸⁸ 'John Hampton', *Certified Copy of Death Certificate for John Hampton, 29 February 1884* (Application Number 3114128-2: Hereford Register Office, 2011). A copy of the death certificate has kindly been provided by Audrey Bottomley.

²⁸⁹ 'William Hampton', *Baptism Record for William Hampton, Oct-Nov-Dec 1847* (Gloucestershire, Vol. 11, Page 433) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 4 October 2015].

²⁹⁰ 'Thomas Hampton', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1959; Folio: 420; Page: 2; GSU roll: 87359)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 4 October 2015].

²⁹¹ 'John Hampton', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1821; Folio: 107; GSU roll: 542873)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 17 October 2015].

²⁹² 'Thomas Hampton', *Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for Thomas Hampton and Ann Wyatt, 7 March 1870* (Application Number 8111747/1: Hereford Register Office, 2017). See Chapter 4 for image of marriage certificate.

²⁹³ 'Alfred Whyatt', *Death Certificate for Alfred Wyatt, 8 October 1860* (Application Number FD 079713: Birmingham, 2006). A copy of the death certificate has kindly been provided by Audrey Bottomley.

²⁹⁴ 'Local News : Accident', *Birmingham Journal*, 6 October 1860, <www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [accessed 20 June 2016] p. 5.

²⁹⁵ Death Certificate for Alfred Wyatt.

father and father-in-law worked on the canal, it is plausible that Thomas was also employed as a boatman.

The Hereford and Gloucester canal was prosperous in the early to mid-nineteenth century, 1860 being the most successful year financially.²⁹⁶ Ironically this was due in part to extra traffic resulting from the building of the railways. There followed a long decline, starting in 1862, when the canal company agreed to the Great Western and West Midland Railways taking over the canal for conversion to a railway, leading eventually to its closure in 1881.²⁹⁷ It is likely that this played a part in the Hampton family's relocation to Hereford to seek alternative employment. Thomas' wedding certificate describes both himself and his father as general labourers, and has Thomas and Ann residing at 3, Victoria Street, Hereford.²⁹⁸

Their first child, Charles is registered as having been born in Holmer, a rural village two miles north of Hereford city centre, and he was baptised in the parish church there in March 1871.²⁹⁹ Later that same year the family had returned to an urban environment, residing in 7, Harrison's Gardens, Bath Street, Hereford.³⁰⁰ Close to the canal wharf, Bath Street was also directly next to the prison and workhouse. This location, coupled with Thomas' occupation as a skinner, suggests a modest existence. Thomas and Ann remained in Bath Street raising four children, until Thomas' death from chronic pneumonia, asthma and phthisis, at the age of fifty-two in 1896.³⁰¹

The publication date of some of the items included in Hampton MS suggest it was compiled when Thomas lived in Hereford, although some of the melodies may have been known to him as a boy in rural Blaisdon.

The final items in the manuscript, especially *Ham.15.1* onwards, demonstrate an untidy writing style. This could merely indicate a different pen nib or a more hurried transcription or could be evidence of this section of the manuscript being compiled

²⁹⁶ David E. Bick, *The Hereford & Gloucester Canal*, (Newent, Glos: The Pound House, 1979), p. 34.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 37-41.

²⁹⁸ Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for Thomas Hampton and Ann Wyatt.

²⁹⁹ 'Charles Hampton', *Baptism Record for Charles Hampton, 24 March 1871* (Fhl Film Number: 1041604) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2015].

³⁰⁰ 'Thomas Hampton', *1871 England Census Return (Class: RG10; Piece: 2698; Folio: 27; Page: 47; GSN roll: 835344)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2015].

³⁰¹ Certified Copy of Death Certificate for Thomas Hampton. A copy of the death certificate has kindly been provided by Audrey Bottomley.

towards the end of Hampton's life. A contributing factor to Hampton's death was phthisis, a wasting disease,³⁰² and could be attributed to the decline in his writing style.³⁰³ The two examples in Figure 16 demonstrate this, one taken from early on in the manuscript and the other from the final page:

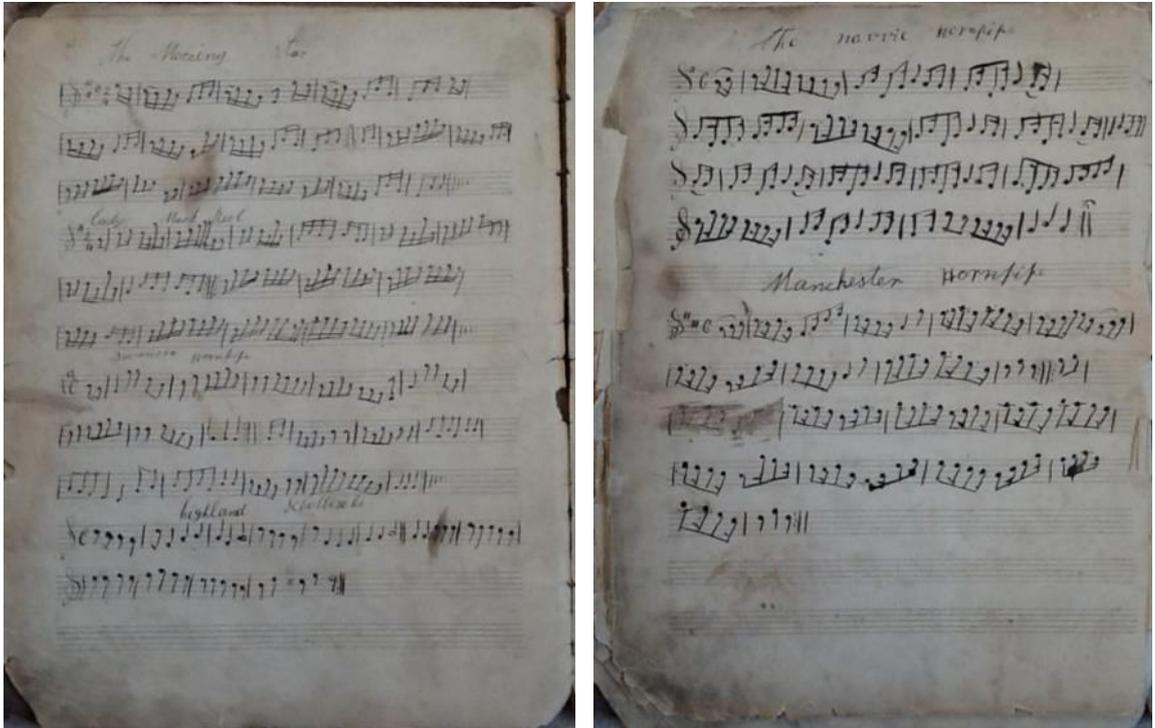


Figure 16 : Pages 4 and 16 of Hampton MS.

Arguably this indicates tunes added later, when increasing years, deteriorating eyesight or arthritis and the effects of phthisis are affecting his transcription. If so, this provides insightful evidence of the manuscript going beyond the scope of a mere repository of tunes, hinting at every-day and yet intimate life events.

Further personal events may also be inferred through the inclusion of specific items. Again, this widens the value of the manuscript from a simple tune book to a personal historical narrative. The following theory is speculative due to a lack of unattainable supporting evidence but is worthy of inclusion for the insight and tangible connection it suggests. From *Ham.10.3* a religious theme emerges, influenced by Moody and Sankey's writing interspersed with contemporary songs. Four hymns, with titles and lyrics suited to a funeral, surround five popular songs, some of which would either

³⁰² Oxford English Dictionary, "Phthisis, N.", (Oxford University Press).

³⁰³ Certified Copy of Death Certificate for Thomas Hampton.

appeal to a child's taste or whose lyrics strongly express melancholic sentiment and the choice of material in this section could be indicative of the death of a child.

This section could represent a later stage of compilation than previously thought (c1890), coinciding with the death of Thomas' son, also named Thomas, who died in 1890 aged eighteen years old.³⁰⁴ However, a more plausible hypothesis with regards to dates and tune titles is that it coincides with the birth and subsequent death of Thomas' nephew, baby George Thomas Hampton, baptised on 22nd August 1878 in St Peter's, Hereford and who died within two months of his birth.³⁰⁵ The baby's father was Thomas' younger brother, William Hampton and the mother, merely listed as Agnes, suggests they were unmarried.³⁰⁶ In 1871 William, listed as unmarried, was living with their older sister, Mary and her husband in 4 Monkmoor Street, Hereford,³⁰⁷ a short walk away from Thomas and his family,³⁰⁸ suggesting close family ties. William cannot be found in the 1881 census but in 1891 is still lodging with his sister and her husband and remains unmarried.³⁰⁹

Appendix A shows the transcription of these tunes commencing at *Ham.10.3*, 'Safe In The Arms of Jesus', followed by 'Sun Of My Soul', 'Tis But A Little Faded Flower', 'The Little Brown Jug', 'My Grandfather's Clock', 'Valse', 'The Empty Cradle', 'Come To the Saviour' and concluding with 'Tell Me The Old Old Story', *Ham.12.2*. The inclusion of these tunes could be indicative of Thomas playing the fiddle at his nephew's funeral.³¹⁰ Whilst this is a hypothesis, it highlights a personal connection which abruptly changes the perception of the manuscript from a detached, dispassionate archival artefact to a highly personal object, enabling identification with a sense of the sadness and grief.

³⁰⁴ 'Thomas Hampton', *Death Record for Thomas Hampton, 1890* (Herefordshire Volume: 6a Page: 266) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 24 October 2015].

³⁰⁵ 'George Thomas Hampton', *Baptism Record for George Thomas Hampton, 22 August 1878* (Fhl Film Number: 1041602) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2016]; 'George Thomas Hampton', *Death Record for George Thomas Hampton, Jul-Aug-Sep 1878* (Herefordshire Volume: 6a Page: 288) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2016]. St Peter's is the same parish in which Thomas lived.

³⁰⁶ This is corroborated by no record of a marriage being found.

³⁰⁷ 'William Hampton', *1871 England Census Return (Class: RG10; Piece: 2698; Folio: 21; Page: 36; GSU roll: 835344)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2016].

³⁰⁸ Google Maps, '4 Monkmoor Street - 17 Bath Street, Hereford', *Google* (2017) <<https://www.google.co.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017].

³⁰⁹ 'William Hampton', *1891 England Census Return (Class: RG12; Piece: 2061; Folio: 14; Page: 21; GSU roll: 6097171)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 October 2016].

³¹⁰ I propose that *Ham.11.1* and *Ham.11.2* could be included as appropriate for inclusion at a child's funeral from personal experience of knowing and singing these songs as a child although I accept that this is an arguable point.

Throughout the manuscript all tunes are written in the treble clef and favour the keys of D and G major. Melodic range, manuscript title and family knowledge confirm that the violin was the intended instrument. A small number of the tunes are written in A major and C major possibly hinting at the compiler playing with other instrumentalists, or capable of playing other instruments perhaps a fife or whistle.³¹¹

Before addressing the two chief scribes noted in Chapter 1, there is an additional 'guest' scribe whose identity remains unknown. The transcription style of *Ham.11.3* (Figure 17), is more erratic and untidy, perhaps demonstrating a hurried approach suggested by the 'squeezed-in' positioning of the tune and title, which is incorrectly added before the end of the previous tune. Stylistic variance of clef and stem transcription, conspicuous by its convention in comparison to the remainder of the stems in the manuscript, further upholds the idea that this tune was transcribed by a different person.

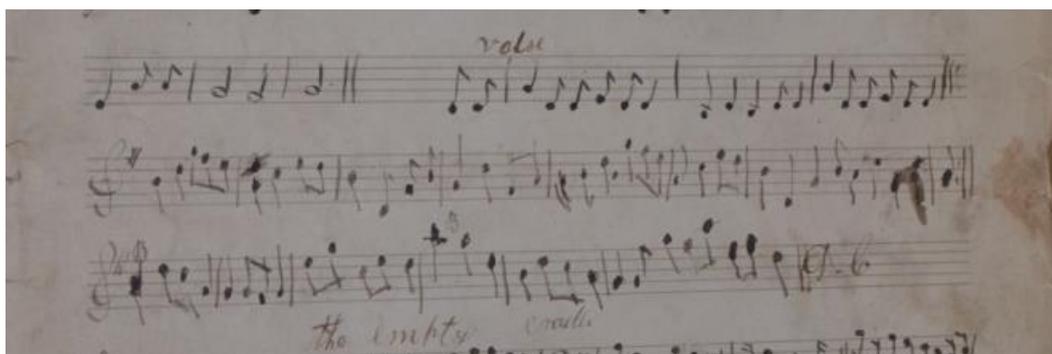


Figure 17 : The transcription style of *Ham.11.3*.

Walter Soobroy 1851-1931.³¹²

Returning attention to the two main scribes, the first writes the opening nine items (*Ham.1.1 – Ham3.2*), which are written in a neater, well-educated hand. Chapter 1 introduced the collection of contemporaneous printed music passed down alongside the manuscript, and it is this music that provides the key to identifying the first of these manuscript scribes. Figure 18 shows the name 'Walter Soobroy' written in a

³¹¹ Corroborated by the instruments handed down along with the manuscript, see Chapter 1.

³¹² 'Walter Soobroy', *Marriage Record for Walter Soobroy, 2 July 1874* (Fhl Film Number: 992807) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 6 October 2015]; 'Walter Soobroy', *Death Record for Walter Soobroy, 1931* (Herefordshire Volume: 6a Page: 571) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 7 October 2015].

neat, smart hand,³¹³ in a copy of *Hopwood & Crew's Selection [...] Book 4*. The first four letters ('Walt'), are directly comparable with those found in the word 'Waltz' (*Ham.1.1*), in Hampton MS.

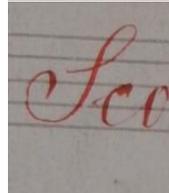
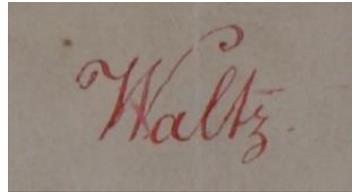
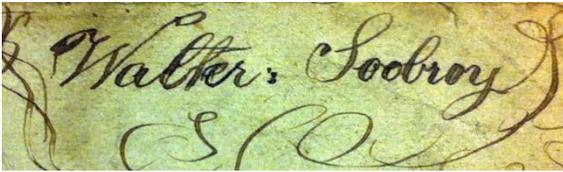


Figure 18 : Walter Soobroy's name written on printed music and matching handwriting in *Ham.1.1* and *Ham.2.2*.

The 'S' of Soobroy matches the initial letter of 'Scotch Melody',³¹⁴ and two more identical occurrences of the letter 'W' further confirm that the first manuscript scribe was Walter Soobroy. The style of the letter 'F' from the composer's name in *Ham.1.1* (Figure 19), suggests that Soobroy also wrote the title of the book.

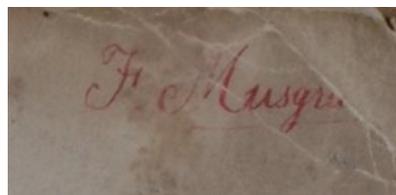
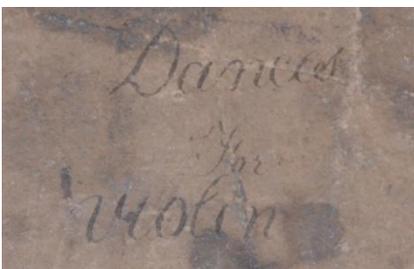


Figure 19 : Extracts from the front cover of Hampton MS and *Ham.1.1*.

A distinct change in writing style occurs from *Ham.4.1* onwards. The writing of both music and words is rougher than Soobroy's, possibly more hurried and suggestive of a lower level of education. I believe this is the hand of Thomas Hampton. A sharp contrast in genre accompanies the contrasting hand, as the repertoire moves from Soobroy's predominantly contemporary mid-late-nineteenth-century dance tunes to more historic tunes.

³¹³ Coote, *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &C. Edited and Expressly Arranged for the Violin Book 4*.

³¹⁴ See *Ham.2.2*.

Records indicate Walter Soobroy was the son of Mary Soobroy, a laundress, and the daughter of Mary Gough and step-daughter of Richard Gough.³¹⁵ Walter's step-grandfather Richard, with whom he lived from birth, was a journeyman and cabinetmaker from Ireland. Mary, Walter's grandmother is listed as 'Cabinet Maker's wife', signifying a pride in not working, possibly with more time to spend with a young boy helping in his education.³¹⁶ It is also indicative of the family not being in desperate poverty, perhaps with disposable income affording to send Walter to a local school, accounting for his neater handwriting.³¹⁷ In 1871, at approximately the date when the manuscript was compiled, Walter was living in Gaol Street, Hereford, a minute's walk away from Thomas Hampton's 1871 address, and was working as a brush-maker's assistant.³¹⁸ Despite the census of 1881 indicating that Walter, now married, had moved, he remained only a short walk from Thomas.³¹⁹

The circumstances surrounding the relationship between the two men, and how and why the manuscript book transferred from Soobroy to Hampton, are unknown. However, it is relatively safe to assume that twenty-six-year-old Thomas and twenty-year-old Walter knew each other. Soobroy's superior hand and the inclusion of some pedagogic items conceivably place him in the role of an instructor, although, a simpler explanation such as Soobroy offering the remaining empty pages of his manuscript to Hampton remains feasible.

Till/Clutterbuck MS 1866

Although signed and dated, ascertaining the identity and number of scribes involved in creating the second manuscript is problematic. The book starts with one clear hand, identified by a thin treble clef and rounded note heads. However, the notation style changes, as the notes and beaming become thinner and somewhat slanted and the style of treble clef alters. Both *Til.12.1* and *Til.13.1* show additional stylistic changes by

³¹⁵ There is some ambiguity as the 1861 census shows Walter as Walter Gough, Richard and Mary Gough's son, and the 1871 census as Richard's grandson. 'Walter Soobroy', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1821; Folio: 84; Page: 8; GSU roll: 542873)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 16 September 2015]; 'Walter Soobroy', *1871 England Census Return (Class: RG10; Piece: 2700; Folio: 36; Page: 22; GSU roll: 835344)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 16 September 2015].

³¹⁶ 'Richard Gough', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1978; Folio: 301; Page: 29; GSU roll: 87379)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 7 October 2015].

³¹⁷ This is considered in more depth in Chapter 6.

³¹⁸ 'Walter Soobroy', *1871 England Census Return*.

³¹⁹ 'Walter Soobroy', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 2594; Folio: 80; Page: 35; GSU roll: 1341625)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 4 November 2015].

marking a dot in every stave space at the section ends, a feature not seen in the preceding tunes.³²⁰ Furthermore, the addition of decreasing vertical lines to mark the end of the piece has been added after the first 'Schottische', but not the subsequent 'Schottische', and from this point continue inconsistently throughout the manuscript, yet prior to this every tune has the distinctive decreasing lines.

The two tunes following both *Til.12.1* and *Til.13.1*, both appear to have been added later, filling up space and indicating a different ink and notation style from the pair of 'Schottisches'. They appear to be in the same hand as the earlier material in the book, which in itself is interesting as it suggests that if two transcribers were working they were doing so concurrently, the distinctive vertical lines added after the first 'Schottische' perhaps being added by this scribe to a pre-existing tune before commencing work on his new transcription.

The remainder of the book shows a combination of both the slanted style versus the more rounded note heads and straight beaming and whilst seemingly a different hand, could be attributed to a different nib. Distinctive flourishes on the treble clef tails continue with varying degrees of curlicue throughout the book, as does the marking of dots in every stave space. There is an inconsistency regarding the inclusion of time signatures, and despite the combination of both styles, a characteristic line drawn in the time signatures, first appearing in *Til.16.1* continues more-or-less throughout the book. Stronger evidence of an additional scribe can be found in *Til.44.2* which not only has stylistic differences in key and clef, but the song dates from 1893 suggesting a much later addition.³²¹

The notation alternates between these two styles with idiosyncratic stylistic features combined not just throughout the book, but throughout the tunes, causing problems in definitively identifying individual scribes. The evidence suggests that the secular music represents the hands of up to three men who have not yet necessarily established a consistent style or who copy some stylistic features from their sources, with access to more than one nib style.

³²⁰ Please refer to Appendix A for visual evidence.

³²¹ The title and melody match with a popular music hall song, thought to have been written in 1893, by Wal Pink and George Le Brunn,³²¹ (and thus indicates a later addition to the manuscript). New York Library Digital Collections, 'Half Past Nine', *The New York Public Library* (2018) <<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/>> [accessed 29 January 2018].

Stylistic comparison with the sacred items does not aid scribal differentiation, although the same idiosyncratic line drawn between time signatures can be seen in the later religious music. I would speculate that the sacred items show evidence of two scribes, the earlier psalms being written by another, possibly older hand, demonstrating differing stylistics to the extent that this hand had no part in transcribing the secular items.³²²

Identity of Scribes



Figure 20 : Inside front cover of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

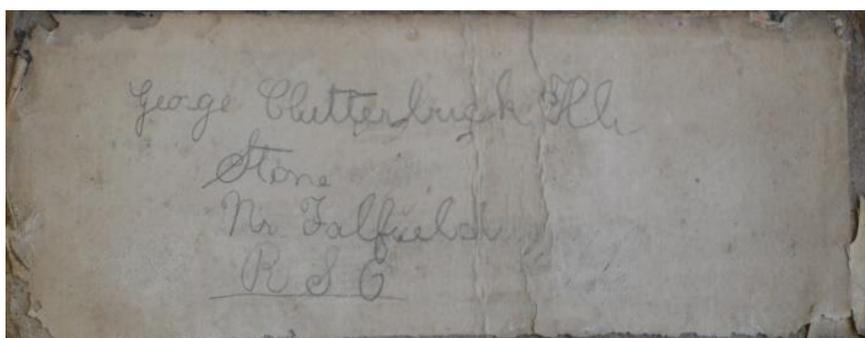


Figure 21 : Inside back cover of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Despite these names, dates and location details, this manuscript is the most problematic of the three in terms of ownership, with at least seven possible candidates having been traced. In part this is a consequence of the popularity of the forename George but in addition, at least two of the potential candidates appear to be known by the two surnames, Clutterbuck and Till. Whilst census and marriage records serve to identify George Clutterbuck, all of his children's baptismal records show that he and his wife, Emma, were also known by the surname Till, and similar discrepancies occur

³²² John Colling's sacred manuscript book which was deposited at Gloucestershire Archives at the same time was also consulted in order to observe any notational similarity but showed no consistency with the religious material in Till/Clutterbuck MS.

in respect of their son, George Francis (frequently referred to as Francis in official records prior to his father's death).

George Till/Clutterbuck 1845-1906.³²³

In 1845, Mary Clutterbuck, spinster, gave birth to a child, George who was baptised at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, on September 7th, 1845 (Figure 22). The officiating minister was the Rev. Charles Cripps, curate of Stone Chapel, a chapelry of Berkeley parish, suggesting that Mary had her son baptised in the nearby hamlet of Stone, rather than the larger town of Berkeley. No father is listed on the baptismal record and Mary's address is given as Clapton.³²⁴

BAPTISMS solemnized in the Parish of <i>Berkeley</i>						
in the County of <i>Gloucester</i> in the Year <i>1845</i>						
When Baptized.	Child's Christian Name.	Parent's Name.		Abode.	Quality, Trade, or Profession.	By whom the Ceremony was performed.
		Christian.	Surname.			
<i>Sept 31st 1845</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Robins</i>	<i>Yard</i>	<i>Spinning</i>	<i>Charles Cripps</i>
<i>Sept 7th 1845</i>	<i>George</i>	<i>Mary</i>	<i>Clutterbuck</i>	<i>Clapton</i>	<i>Spinster</i>	<i>Charles Cripps</i>

Figure 22 : Baptism Record of George Clutterbuck. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (Gdr/V1/410).

Mary Clutterbuck can be found working as a servant in Clapton in 1851.³²⁵ Clapton, no longer extant, was a small hamlet, not far from Stone.³²⁶ An alternative candidate in 1851 can be found in Camberwell where a Mary Ann Clutterbuck, born in Stone, Gloucestershire, is working as a servant.³²⁷ However, the linked reference to Clapton

³²³ 'George Clutterbuck', *Baptism Record for George Clutterbuck, 7 September 1845* (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; Gdr/V1/410) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 7 March 2017]; 'George Clutterbuck', *Death Record for George Clutterbuck, Jul-Aug-Sept 1906* (Gloucestershire Volume: 6a Page: 145) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

³²⁴ Baptism Record for George Clutterbuck.

³²⁵ 'Mary Clutterbuck', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1957; Folio: 568; Page: 26; GSU roll: 87357)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

³²⁶ Ham is 3 miles away from Stone.

³²⁷ 'Mary Ann Clutterbuck', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1582; GSU roll: 174818)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 7 February 2017].

suggests the first identity is the most probable.³²⁸ Mary was possibly related to childless couple George and Sarah Clutterbuck from Stone who were farmers,³²⁹ as on George Clutterbuck's marriage certificate twenty-two years later, his 'father' is listed as 'George Clutterbuck, farmer', possibly referring to these relatives.

In the 1851 census, five-year-old George was living as a lodger with Thomas and Charlotte Till in Stone, and his birthplace listed as Clapton.³³⁰ He was still under the Tills' care in the 1861 census, this time with his birth place listed more generically as Berkeley.³³¹ At the age of twenty-two, in September 1867, the year following the date given with the *George Till* inscription in the manuscript, he married Emma Crump in Bristol, under the name of Clutterbuck.³³² It seems possible he was known locally by the name of his guardians, 'Till', and only became 'Clutterbuck' in more official documents.

To add to the confusion, Emma Crump was the daughter of Ann Crump,³³³ who became Ann Till when she married John Till (born in Berkeley, but living in Oldbury-On-Severn, six miles away from Stone, at the time of the manuscript).³³⁴ John and Ann had two further children together, Henry and George Till.³³⁵ It is therefore conceivable that Emma was known as 'Till' locally, fitting in with the rest of the household.

³²⁸ This could demonstrate the vagaries of nineteenth-century census completion and could actually be the same woman, her name being completed on both censuses.

³²⁹ 'George and Sarah Clutterbuck', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1749; Folio: 79; Page: 11; GSU roll: 542862)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 7 April 2017].

³³⁰ 'George Clutterbuck', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1957; Folio: 579; Page: 8; GSU roll: 87357)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³³¹ 'George Clutterbuck', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1749; Folio: 80; Page: 13; GSU roll: 542862)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³³² 'George Clutterbuck and Emma Crump', *Marriage Certificate for George Clutterbuck and Emma Crump, 2 September 1867* (Application Number Page 75: St James, Bristol, 1867).

³³³ 'Emma Crump', *Baptism Record for Emma Crump, 13 May 1838* (Fhl Film Number: 415132, 415133, 415135, 561598) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³³⁴ 'Ann Crump', *Marriage Record for Ann Crump, 4 May 1845* (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; Gdr/V1/413) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³³⁵ 'Emma Crump', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1748; Folio: 118; Page: 12; GSU roll: 542862)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 20 April 2015]. George Till is of course another possible candidate for the name in the manuscript, although this has been discounted as it appears he lived in Oldbury all his life.

Six months after their marriage on 8th March 1868, Emma and George Clutterbuck's first child, Kate was born.³³⁶ She was baptised by the Rev. Cripps, at Stone on 2nd May 1868 and is listed as the daughter of Emma and George Till (see Figure 23).³³⁷



Figure 23 : Baptism record of Kate Till. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (P315).

Three years later, however, the family were listed as Clutterbucks in the 1871 census.³³⁸ Thomas Till,³³⁹ George's former guardian, now widowed, resided with them along with their children Kate and nine-month-old Henry. By 1877 they had three further children, Eli, Felix Thomas and George Francis Till.³⁴⁰ All their children were baptised by the Rev. Cripps at Stone. And once again, all were named as sons of Emma and George Till (not Clutterbuck), in the parish records (Figure 24).³⁴¹

Jan ^{ry} 24 th No. 690.	Henry son of	George u. Emma	Till	Stone	Labourer	C Cripps Vicar
Jan ^{ry} 24 th No. 691.	Eli son of	George u. Emma	Till	Stone	Labourer	C Cripps Vicar
Jan ^{ry} 24 th No. 692.	Felix Thomas son of	George u. Emma	Till	Stone	Labourer	C Cripps Vicar
Jan ^{ry} 24 th No. 693.	George Francis son of	George u. Emma	Till	Stone	Labourer	C Cripps Vicar

Figure 24 : Till family baptisms 1877. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (P315).

³³⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, *Birth List of Clutterbuck Family*, D4190/15 (c1876).

³³⁷ 'Kate Till', *Baptism Record for Kate Till*, 2 May 1868 (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; P315 in 1/4) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

³³⁸ 'George Clutterbuck', *1871 England Census Return (Class: RG10; Piece: 2589; Folio: 72; Page: 8; GSU roll: 835275)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³³⁹ Thomas Till was George's 'adopted' father, see above.

³⁴⁰ Gloucestershire Archives, *Birth List of Clutterbuck Family*.

³⁴¹ 'Eli Till', *Baptism Record for Eli Till*, 24 January 1877 (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; P315 in 1/4) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

The family continued to reside in Stone.³⁴² By 1891, George Till/Clutterbuck was a widower, living with daughter Kate and son Frank (George Francis) in or next door to the Crown Inn, Stone.³⁴³ George (senior) worked initially as an agricultural labourer and in later censuses is listed simply as a labourer. The 1901 census lists him as a 'gardener, not domestic',³⁴⁴ living with Francis, who is listed as a domestic gardener. This might explain the apparent initials which appear to read HG following George Clutterbuck's name on the manuscript's endpiece (Figure 25), perhaps referring to Head Gardener, although this could be a rudimentary attempt at writing the name 'Till', as the initial character could be a 'T' followed by two 'l's which match the 'l' from Clutterbuck:

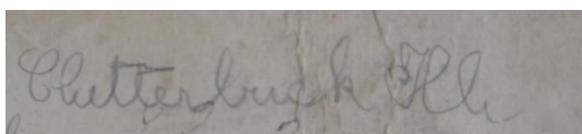


Figure 25 : The inscription on the endpiece of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

George died in 1906,³⁴⁵ and was buried under the name George Clutterbuck in Stone, along with his wife Emma.³⁴⁶

For the first time, information in the 1911 census is written into the household schedules in the hand of the head of the household. Francis, now known by his first name of George, is listed as innkeeper of the Crown Inn, Stone (see Figure 29).³⁴⁷ He appears as George Clutterbuck and some similarity of letter formations can be seen between the census entry (Figure 26) and the signature on the inside back cover of the manuscript (Figure 27).

³⁴² 'George Clutterbuck', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 2517; Folio: 154; Page: 7; GSU roll: 1341607)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³⁴³ 'George Clutterbuck', *1891 England Census Return (Class: RG12; Piece: 2000; Folio: 133; Page: 4; GSU roll: 6097110)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³⁴⁴ 'George Clutterbuck', *1901 England Census Return (Class: RG13; Piece: 2413; Folio: 138; Page: 6)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 21 April 2017].

³⁴⁵ Death Record for George Clutterbuck.

³⁴⁶ Rosemary Lockie, 'Some Memorial Inscriptions - Stone, Gloucestershire All Saints Churchyard', *Wishful Thinking* (2013) <<http://places.wishful-thinking.org.uk/GLS/Stone/MIs.html>> [accessed 4 February 2017].A40

³⁴⁷ David James & Partners, 'Crown Inn, Stone', *David James & Partners* (No date) <<http://www.davidjames.org.uk/propertyimages/26755z.pdf>> [accessed 1 November 2015]. Page 3

1	George S. Clutterbuck	Head	34	Married	9	-	-	-	Em/keeper	943	-
2	Eliza S. Clutterbuck	Wife	40	Married							
3	Battery Sergt. Major Clutterbuck	Head	38	Married					Soldier	413	S. F. A.
4	Eliza S. Clutterbuck	Wife	27	Married							

Figure 26 : 1911 England census returns. Source: The National Archives.

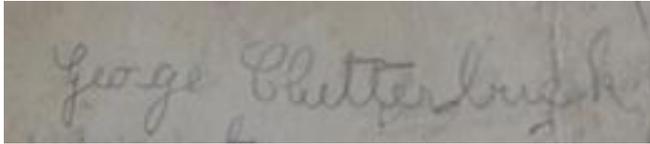


Figure 27 : The inscription on the endpiece of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Additionally, the discovery of a handwritten list of family birth-dates matches the handwriting of George Till on the manuscript (see Figure 28, and compare the style of the words 'Stone', 'George' and the writing of the birth dates of his children).³⁴⁸

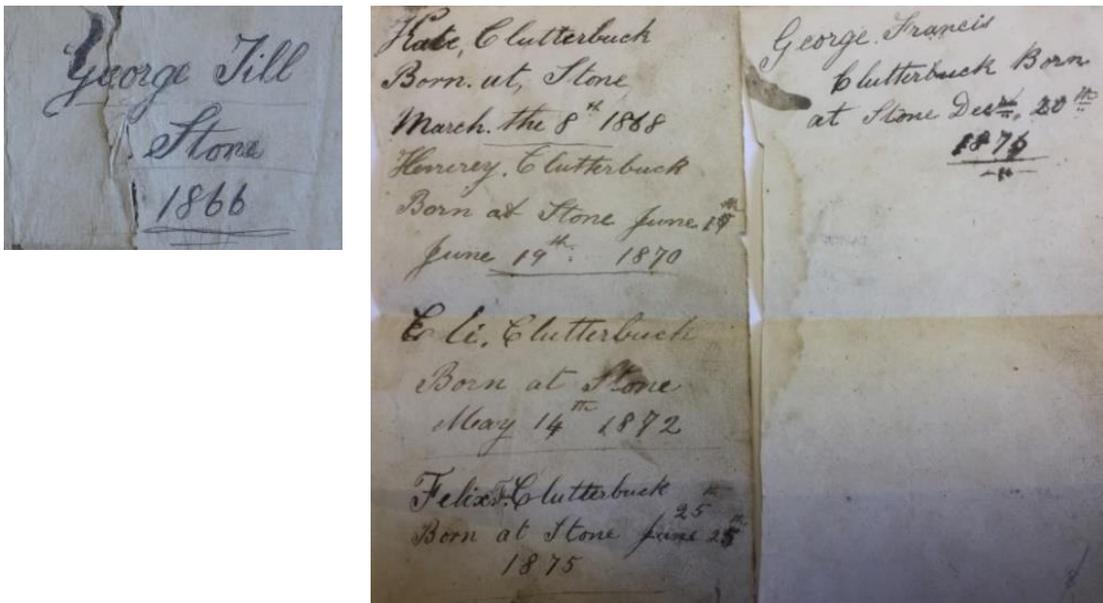


Figure 28 : The inscription on the frontispiece of Till/Clutterbuck MS and list of George and Emma Clutterbuck/Till's children. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (D4190\2\3).

The accession records at Gloucestershire Archives state the manuscript was deposited by Miss V. Smith.³⁴⁹ George Till/Clutterbuck's daughter Kate married Henry John Smith and their unmarried daughter was Miss Victoria Kate Smith, who died at the age of eighty-eight in 1995. She is buried with her mother and father in Stone graveyard not

³⁴⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, *Birth List of Clutterbuck Family*.

³⁴⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, 'D4190 - Smith and Clutterbuck Families of Old Court Farm, Stone', *Gloucestershire County Council* (2017) <<http://ww3.gloucestershire.gov.uk/CalmView/>> [accessed January 15 2017].

far from her grandparents, George and Emma Till/Clutterbuck.³⁵⁰ Despite some inconsistencies of dating,³⁵¹ the connection between the manuscript and this line of the Till/Clutterbuck family and especially George Till/Clutterbuck can be confirmed.

The most credible scenario is that the name of George Till on the inside front cover was written by George Till/Clutterbuck, known on official documents as George Clutterbuck but locally, as George Till, while the pencil signature on the inside back cover was written by his son George Francis Clutterbuck. I propose that the religious end of the book was commenced first, transcribed by either Thomas Till or one of the older George Clutterbucks (grandfather or one of the Stone relatives), and that it was then passed to George, who added to the religious matter and subsequently turned the book around to start his collection of dances and song melodies.



Figure 29 : The Crown Inn, Stone, now a private house. Source: www.davidjames.org.uk.

Within the papers deposited alongside the manuscript, was a photograph album belonging to George and Emma's daughter, Kate, dated 1886.³⁵² None of the photographs is labelled, however only two photographs show an older generation (Figure 30). Whilst arguably supposition, it is possible that one of these couples could represent Kate's parents: Emma and manuscript compiler, George; who would be aged forty-five and forty respectively at the date of the start album.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ Lockie, 'Some Memorial Inscriptions - Stone, Gloucestershire All Saints Churchyard'.A50

³⁵¹ Gloucestershire Archives list the papers as being deposited by Miss V. Smith in 1981, 1982 and 1999. This final date transpires to be four years after her death. I presumed this to be an administrative error either typographical or the final papers being deposited by another relative and not noted. I queried this with the Gloucestershire Archives who were able to confirm that the final items were in fact deposited by an executor Mr Crossman.

³⁵² Gloucestershire Archives, *Photograph Albums Belonging to Kate Clutterbuck*, D4190/16 (1886).

³⁵³ Possibly the photo depicts the same couple taken at different times. Ages from census: 'George Clutterbuck', 1881 *England Census Return*.



Figure 30 : Two photographs from Kate Clutterbuck's 1886 photograph album. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (D4190\2\4).

Figure 31 shows a family tree depicting the relationships of the key family members associated with the manuscripts.

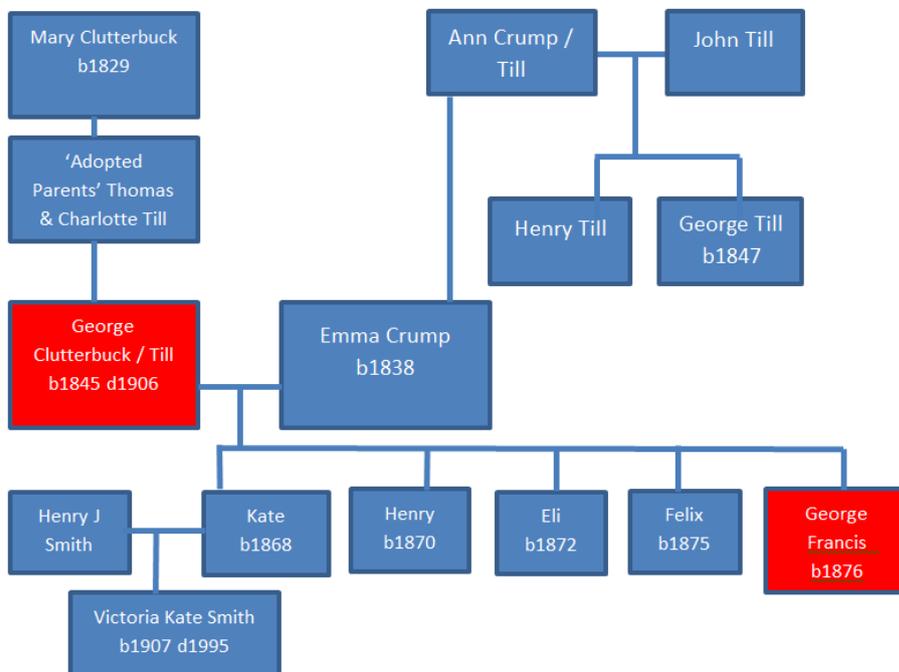


Figure 31 : A family tree depicting key Till/Clutterbuck family members.

Stone, in which Till/Clutterbuck appears to have spent his entire life, is a rural village in southern Gloucestershire with a tiny but stable population during the period of the

manuscript.³⁵⁴ Stone had its own church, 'All Saints', a chapelry of Berkeley which was the nearest market town,³⁵⁵ four miles away. The 1894-95 *Gazetteer of England and Wales* lists Stone as part of the ecclesiastical parish of Berkeley, naming Lord Fitzhardinge of Berkeley Castle as owner of the manor.³⁵⁶ In the 1890s, the chief trades for Berkeley and the surrounding areas were coal, timber and cheese.³⁵⁷

The secular tunes are transcribed for one part and are written in the treble clef, predominantly in the keys of G and D. Observations of melodic range suggest the compiler may have played flute, piccolo, C clarinet, cornet or oboe.

Bennett MS 1860

The earliest of the three case-study manuscripts appears to have been compiled by two chief scribes, with the addition of two occasional ones. The main scribes have similar handwriting and work concurrently but use distinct treble clefs (Figure 32):

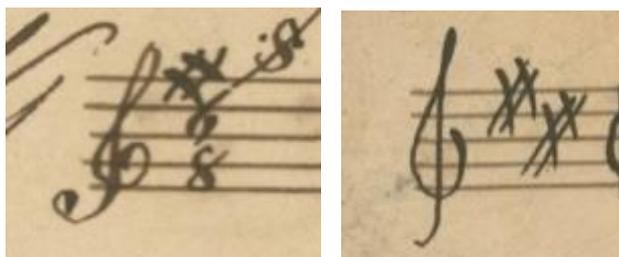


Figure 32 : Difference in treble clefs drawn by 1st and 2nd scribes in Bennett MS.

The scribe of the initial sacred material continues with the secular material, joined by the second scribe at *Ben.34.1*. Scribe 1 appears to add *Ben.34.2* and *Ben.36.2* afterwards although it is hard to be conclusive. Throughout the remainder of the book, transcriptions appear to be written by both scribes, with the addition of a guest scribe (see below). Due to the age of Bennett's children in the year given on the manuscript, I do not believe the second scribe to be one of his children. However, it is possible that as the manuscript progresses (and by *Ben.67.1*) he is teaching a member of the family,

³⁵⁴ In 1856 the population was 276, 'Stone', *Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire, Bath & Bristol*, (1856), (p. 370) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 22 April 2017]. In 1870-72 it was 277, A Vision of Britain Through Time, 'History of Stone, in Stroud and Gloucestershire', *University of Portsmouth* (2017) <<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/25047>> [accessed 22 April 2017].

³⁵⁵ A Vision of Britain Through Time, 'History of Stone, in Stroud and Gloucestershire'; 'Stone'.

³⁵⁶ 1894-5 The Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales, 'Stone, Gloucestershire', *UK Genealogy Archives* (No date) <<http://ukga.org/england/Gloucestershire/towns/Stone.html>> [accessed 3 February 2017].

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

or a friend. Notational shorthand,³⁵⁸ Cornopean fingering,³⁵⁹ and a diatonic scale with note names all hint at this. The spelling of 'diatonic' (Figure 33), offers a remarkable insight into a strong Somerset accent, highlighting the tangible qualities of manuscripts as artefacts.

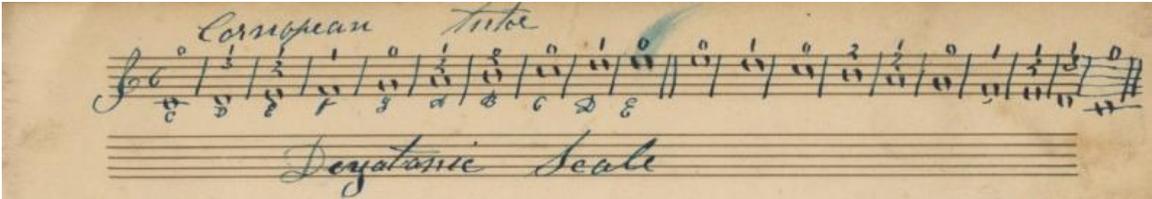


Figure 33 : *Ben.67.1* depicting the 'Doyatonic' scale.

George Wilkins Bennett 1831-1892.³⁶⁰



Figure 34 : George Wilkins Bennett. Source: Huronia Museum, Ontario, Canada.

George Wilkins Bennett (Figure 34),³⁶¹ the oldest son of the blacksmith William Bennett and his wife Sarah,³⁶² was born in 1831. The house in which he was born is

³⁵⁸ *Ben.66.1*

³⁵⁹ *Ben.67.1*

³⁶⁰ 'George Wilkins Bennett', *Baptism Record for George Wilkins Bennett, 2 December 1831* (Somerset Heritage Service; Taunton, Somerset, England; Somerset Parish Records, 1538-1914; D\P\Chedz/2/1/3) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 22 April 2017]; Dorothy Bennett, 'Family History of George Wilkins Bennett and Daughter Helena Mary Bennett Posted by Grc08 2014 Written 1982', *Ancestry* (2014) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 22 April 2017].

³⁶¹ Carter, *Email*.

said to be still standing beside the Chedzoy church.³⁶³ The Chedzoy tithe map of 1836 (Figure 35), shows, not far from the church (73) the cottage occupied by William Bennett (79a), and is listed as owned by Henry Porter, Esquire.³⁶⁴



Figure 35 : Chedzoy tithe map (1836). Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/3/2/1).

It sits within a larger plot, no. 79, listed as a cottage and garden being owned and occupied by Fanny Bennett, likely George Wilkins Bennett's grandmother, Frances.³⁶⁵ The sizable plot indicates some wealth or social standing of which further indications can be seen in a lease document, set to commence 2nd February 1813 drawn up between Sir Philip Hales Bt., and George's grandfather, 'William Bennett of Chedzoy in the said County Blacksmith', see Figure 36.³⁶⁶

³⁶² 'George Wilkins Bennett', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1925; Folio: 369; Page: 6; GSU roll: 221082)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017]; Baptism Record for George Wilkins Bennett.

³⁶³ Dorothy Bennett, 'George Wilkins Bennett Posted by Grc08 2014 Written 1982', *Ancestry* (2014) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 22 April 2017].

³⁶⁴ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Tithe Map with Apportionment Attached* SHC D/P/chedz/3/2/1 (1836). Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

³⁶⁵ William Bennett, George's father is the son of Frances and William Bennett of Chedzoy: 'William Bennett', *Baptism Record for William Bennett, 6 July 1800* (Somerset Heritage Service; Taunton, Somerset, England; Somerset Parish Records, 1538-1914; D\P\Chedz/2/1/2) <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

³⁶⁶ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Lease of Twelve Acres of Pasture on King's Sedgemoor*, SHC DD/BR/ely/13/1/116 (8 October 1812). Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust. The lease, for 12 acres of land at a Rack rent for 7 years', cost £35 although in pencil it is noted that the lease was not paid. This might suggest that between signing the lease in October 1812 and the start date given, circumstances changed, and the land was not leased to Bennett.

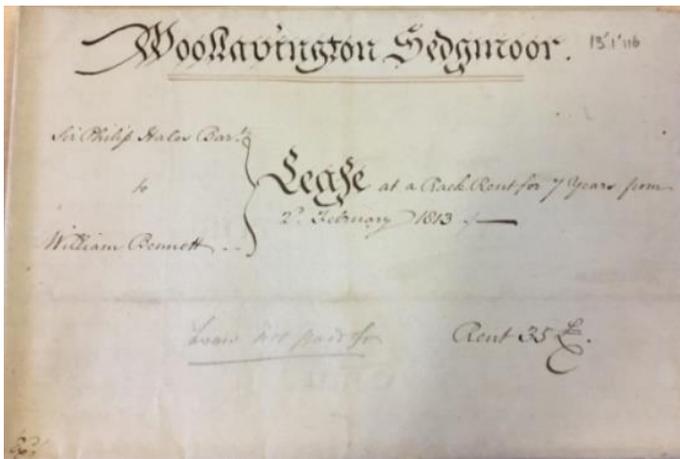


Figure 36 : Lease between Hales and Bennett. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (DD/BR/ely/13/1/116).

William Bennett appears as a blacksmith in the churchwarden's accounts from 1789. The trade was passed down the family although both George Wilkins Bennett's grandfather and father were called William, making identification difficult. A William Bennett was paid for smithing duties in most years from 1789 to 1821.³⁶⁷ There was a nine-year hiatus, with payments resuming from 1831, and the duties transferred to George Wilkins Bennett in either 1857 or 1863.³⁶⁸ The 1851 census lists George Wilkins Bennett, aged nineteen still living with his parents and six siblings,³⁶⁹ but eight years later in 1859, the year before the date of the manuscript, he married Mary Jemima Hook.³⁷⁰

Mary was the daughter of a tailor who according to oral narrative, was apprenticed to her father at the age of seventeen in a shop in Bridgewater.³⁷¹ Mary is listed in the 1851 census, aged twelve, living with her family in Chedzoy, her father, James Hook being listed as 'Taylor'.³⁷² No references to James Hook in the Bridgewater trade

³⁶⁷ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (Rates) 1760-1819*, SHC D/P/chedz/4/1/1 (1760-1823).

³⁶⁸ Two entries (dated 1857 and 1862) for smithing bills are unclear as they are listed merely to Mr Bennett, but by 1863 George Bennett is specified as the receiver. Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (I.E Full Rates) to 1829; Church Restoration Account 1886; Vestry Minutes, 1843-1849.*, SHC D/P/chedz/4/1/2 (1824-1969).

³⁶⁹ 'George Wilkins Bennett', *1851 England Census Return*.

³⁷⁰ See image of marriage certificate in Chapter 6. 'George W. Bennett', *Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for George W. Bennett and Mary J. Hook, 30 May 1859* (Application Number 8177386-2: Chedzoy, Bridgewater, 24 April 2017).

³⁷¹ Bennett, 'George Wilkins Bennett Posted by Grc08 2014 Written 1982'.

³⁷² 'James Hook', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1925; Folio: 376; Page: 21; GSU roll: 221082)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

directories can be found; instead, he is listed as a tailor in Chedzoy,³⁷³ and was clearly of respectable social standing as throughout the 1860s and 1870s many vestry meeting reports record his election to the post of parish Constable, shown in Figure 37.³⁷⁴

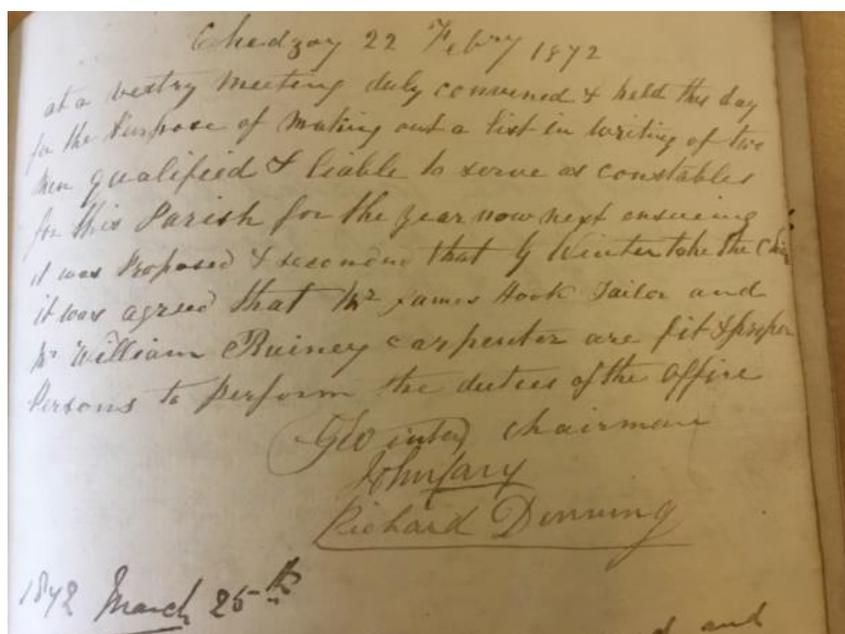


Figure 37 : Chedzoy Parish Church vestry book. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/9/1/1).

Inscriptions added to two of the sacred items, such as ‘Hooks Favourite’, and ‘Maryes’ (Figure 38), might hint at a connection between the two in the church quire.

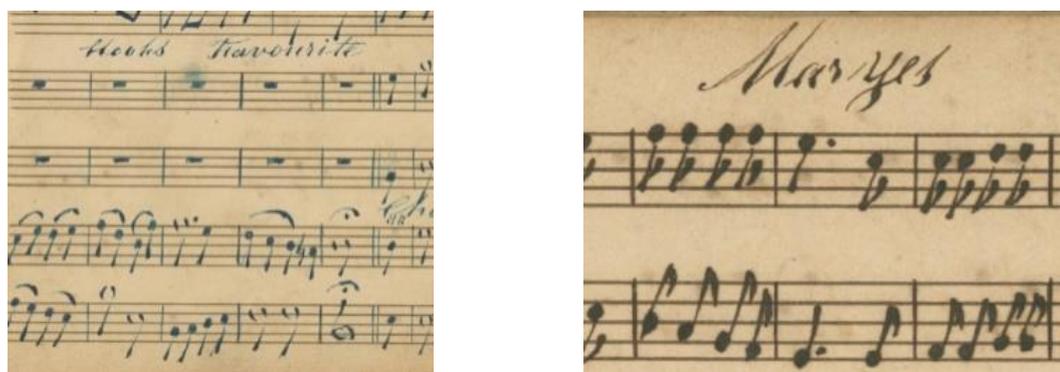


Figure 38 : ‘Hooks Favourite’ and ‘Maryes’, Bennett MS.

Two further census records list George, working as a blacksmith, and Mary, working as a dressmaker, living with their children in Chedzoy.³⁷⁵ George continues to appear in

³⁷³ E.R. Kelly, *The Post Office Directory Somerset and Devon with Bristol*, (London: Kelly & Co., 1866), p. 325.

³⁷⁴ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Vestry Meeting Book*, SHC D/P/chedz/9/1/1 (1863-1883). Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

the churchwarden's accounts either as blacksmith or as a villager paying a subscription until 1873.³⁷⁶ He was also listed in the 1860s trade directories as a blacksmith in Chedzoy.³⁷⁷ No further UK census records exist for the family.

Chedzoy's postal town was Bridgewater, three miles away,³⁷⁸ with access to the Bristol to Exeter railway within 3 miles.³⁷⁹ It was a small village but suffered a population decline of forty-two per cent from the year of Bennett's birth to the last decade of the century, reflecting wider social and economic changes.³⁸⁰

A historical narrative, written by Bennett's grand-daughter, passed down to relatives and posted on a Canadian genealogy website accounts for the Bennett's absence from subsequent UK census records:

Grandfather Bennett was one of the youngest? [sic] of a large family. He was a blacksmith in the small village of Chedzoy and the house where he lived still stands beside the church. The blacksmith shop was attached to the back of the shop. He made ironware of various kinds and some of the hinges on our old barn were his handiwork. He also shod the farm animals around the village but most of his earnings was from shoeing the little moor ponies which the farmers used to catch, train and sell for riding horses and drawing carts. When hard times came to Somerset the sale of these animals dropped off so much that he could scarcely make a living. He developed asthma from his blacksmithing and thought that it might improve in the drier air of Canada.

In 1872 he and his older son Sealey, then a boy of twelve, came out to this country to find a place for the family...They returned to England for two more years, then the family, Grandma and Grandpa, Sealey, Bert, Ella and two-year old Ida, moved out....Grandfather, so mother told us, was noted for a very quick

³⁷⁵ 'George Wilkins Bennett', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1625; Folio: 128; Page: 7; GSU roll: 542842)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017]; 'George Wilkins Bennett', *1871 England Census Return (Class: RG10; Piece: 2388; Folio: 55; Page: 2; GSU roll: 835108)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 22 April 2017].

³⁷⁶ Bennett is listed as contributing two shillings six pence a year. Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (I.E Full Rates) to 1829; Church Restoration Account 1886; Vestry Minutes, 1843-1849*.

³⁷⁷ E. R. Kelly, *Post Office Directory Somerset and Devon with Bristol*, (London: Kelly & Co, 1861), p. 316.

³⁷⁸ A Vision of Britain Through Time, 'History of Chedzoy, in Sedgemoor and Somerset', *University of Portsmouth* (2017) <<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/12555>> [accessed 23 April 2017].

³⁷⁹ Samuel Lewis, 'Chedzoy (St. Mary)', *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, (1848), <http://ukga.org/lewis_eng/C/3141.html> [accessed 24 April 2017].

³⁸⁰ In 1831 Chedzoy's population numbered 549. British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Chedzoy', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol6/pp244-246>> [accessed 23 April 2017]. This reduced 442 in 1870-72: A Vision of Britain Through Time, 'History of Chedzoy, in Sedgemoor and Somerset'. By 1891, the population was only 317: British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Chedzoy'.

temper but was also respected by his neighbours and frequently asked for advice because of his superior general knowledge...

All the Bennetts and Hooks had artistic talent in one form or another. Our father, Sealey, did wood work and pencil drawings'.³⁸¹

This valuable source dates the Bennett's departure to 1874 when George Wilkins was aged forty-three, fourteen years after the date of the manuscript. It is noteworthy that the manuscript was sufficiently cherished to be taken with them when they set up home overseas. The date of the manuscript, dates of publication of the majority of the secular items included in it, and the presence of a uniquely British bell-ringing sequence (*Ben.50.1*), all suggest compilation in England prior to the family's emigration in 1874.

Personal correspondence with a living descendant of Bennett suggests that despite a reference in the memoirs to mandolins in the family home, he was not known as a local musician in Canada.³⁸² This supports the idea that the manuscript's contents reflect English musical culture and repertoire during the fourteen years before they emigrated to Canada. Repertoire, marginalia and melodic range suggest Bennett was a multi-instrumentalist indicating corneopane, Eb piccolo and flute and/or C Clarinet. With the inclusion of the bell-ringing notation (*Ben.50.1*) shown in Figure 39, the contents suggest a man with a wide interest in community musical activity.

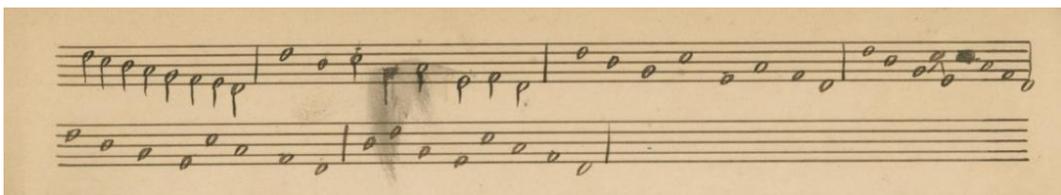


Figure 39 : *Ben.50.1* showing the bell ringing sequence.

The notes of this bell-ringing sequence do not comply with a particular ringing 'method' which initially led me to believe it was evidence of Bennett attempting to notate the pitches he could hear from Chedzoy church, next door. Perhaps he was interested in the melodies created by the bells he mended, or this was a later addition when in Canada to explain the curious and uniquely British custom of church bell-

³⁸¹ Bennett, 'Family History of George Wilkins Bennett and Daughter Helena Mary Bennett Posted by Grc08 2014 Written 1982'.

³⁸² Grc08, *Email Correspondence* (10 June 2015).

ringing to the locals. However, long-standing bell-ringer, Pete Hendy believes that rather than a ringing 'method', Bennett has transcribed a 'call change' notation for an eight-bell tower in which pairs of bells swap place in each bar, until bars 4 and 5, which are part of a set change called 'Queens'. In bar 6, Hendy suggests that Bennett is starting to continue the changes so that eventually, "after more than 5 minutes and another 235 bars!",³⁸³ he will get back to "'Rounds' which is where he started in Bar 1".³⁸⁴ If so, this shows Bennett was well acquainted with bell-ringing, maybe even being the band-leader, planning a call change sequence for a visit or contest at a nearby eight-bell tower.³⁸⁵

Broader Indications

Biographical details indicate that at the time of compilation, all the case-study compilers were male, relatively young, and from labour-intensive occupations. Two lived in small, rural villages but Hampton had moved from a rural setting to an urban centre at the time he was compiling his manuscript, possibly reflecting the effects of industrialization, which may also have prompted Bennett's emigration to Canada.

The well-documented argument regarding romanticised rural ideologies and the 'common' people rumbled on throughout the twentieth-century historiography of folk music following Sharp's references to the "unlettered",³⁸⁶ and "remnants of peasantry".³⁸⁷ In his article of 2000, Bearman attempted to set out to establish the facts following years of politically charged accusations against Sharp which he argues had gradually "passe[d] into the accepted body of knowledge".³⁸⁸ By conducting an in-depth demographic survey on Sharp's sources Bearman directly challenged those arguments, specifically those made by Harker and maintained that his analysis was "the first attempt at a systematic biographical survey of a large group of folk

³⁸³ Pete Hendy, *Email Correspondence* (23 February 2017).

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Nearby Bridgwater parish church had an eight bell tower at the time Bennett was living there whereas Chedzoy was a six bell tower and hence not appropriate for this particular change sequence: The Bells and Bell Ringers of St Mary's Church Bridgwater, 'Bell Augmentation Project', *St Mary's Church Bridgwater* (2016) <<http://www.stmarysbells.org.uk/p/project-for-2016.html>> [accessed 23 April 2017].

³⁸⁶ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907), p. 3.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 4.

³⁸⁸ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 773.

singers".³⁸⁹ Gammon, too, has carried out surveys of Sussex church musicians, bell-ringers and singers, although his observational field considers occupation alone.³⁹⁰

To scrutinise the emerging traits and to observe key trends on a more comprehensive scale, I pursued a similar method to Bearman and Gammon.³⁹¹ Looking beyond the three case-studies I have carried out a survey of a wider sample of manuscript sources, using instrumental manuscripts with named and identifiable compilers, location and dated within the range 1850-1900.³⁹² Demographic data was collated from the census records most closely matching the dates of the manuscripts, thus taking some account of the pitfalls posed by social mobility as outlined by Bearman.³⁹³ Initially twenty-eight manuscripts met the criteria, but this reduced to nineteen when manuscripts were discounted because names and locations could not be identified. Further ambiguities of either identification or location in the census records resulted in only twelve manuscripts (including those of Hampton, Till/Clutterbuck, and Bennett) being suitable for use in the wider survey.

It was important to rule out the possibility that those manuscripts with names transcribed did not differ greatly from unnamed manuscripts. The ability or awareness to inscribe a name on the manuscript could potentially skew the demographic results, and to this end the unnamed Hampton MS was representative. Attempts to find additional anonymous, post-1850 manuscripts are of course redundant for this exercise as without identification, the demography cannot be assessed. However, a comparative study to observe the content or levels of musical literacy between named and unnamed manuscripts would be useful.

The fact that the number of inscribed or named manuscripts is larger than anonymous ones could suggest those with a name created a strong, tangible connection to a loved one when the compiler died and were thus more likely to be kept by descendants

³⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 757.

³⁹⁰ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 32.

³⁹¹ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers'; Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914'.

³⁹² Whilst acknowledging that the inscribed date does not necessarily reflect the date of manuscript transcription this was the most appropriate data to use. I took the data from Folkopedia and VMP in addition to the Hampton MS. Folkopedia, 'View Source for Tune Manuscripts List'; The Village Music Project, 'Manuscripts', *The Village Music Project* (No date) <http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=25> [accessed 24 April 2017].

³⁹³ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers'.

increasing the chance of manuscript survival. Alternatively, perhaps the larger number of inscribed manuscripts is purely due to the majority of compilers inscribing their manuscripts for reasons of pride, posterity and practicality. In the case of Hampton, it is fortunate that an interest in fiddle playing and music transferred through each generation, maintaining the value of the manuscript.

Chandler records evidence of a manuscript belonging to James Longshaw (born 1858) who had no children of his own.³⁹⁴ Chandler does not indicate whether the manuscript was inscribed, however its value and that of the owner were clearly not appreciated by his two step-grandchildren, who did not know what happened to him,³⁹⁵ or the manuscript once their biological grandmother had died. One step-granddaughter describes the manuscript as:

covered with sheepskin, was very smelly and dirty, and was “going sticky”, which made her loath to touch it. It was quite a thick book, with the pages a bit like vellum. It was definitely a hand-written manuscript... [she] did not know what had happened to the violin or the manuscript book, although she was sure that the latter would not have been kept.³⁹⁶

Had the manuscript belonged to her grandmother or a blood-relative, it is possible that the outcome may have been different.

Similarly, a stronger chance of a manuscript's survival could be related to environment, forged by the manuscripts' use through generations of a rural close-knit village community and discussed in the 'Environment' section below. A perceived higher value of the manuscripts by the compilers and subsequent ancestors could result in a higher survival rate compared to their urban counterparts. A parallel can be drawn with the survival of manuscripts over their perceived 'cheap' printed sources, very few of which survive.³⁹⁷ A handwritten music manuscript provides a tangible link for the deceased compilers' relatives giving the manuscript a higher chance of being retained (and perhaps treasured), than a pile of out-dated printed music. In a similar way, I have kept my late mother's handwritten recipe compilations yet passed the majority of her copious collection of printed cookbooks to charity shops. The survival of the

³⁹⁴ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'.

³⁹⁵ She thinks he may have been sent to the workhouse.

³⁹⁶ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'.

³⁹⁷ See Chapter 4.

manuscripts over their sources raises the importance of the manuscripts as primary evidence, not only in their ability to tell more of the story of these amateur musicians, but also why they survived. That the repertoire has survived in the manuscript archive as opposed to what could be considered as a more stable medium of print, is insightful and shows the importance of the manuscripts as historical documents.

Results from the Wider Sample

The results show that all compilers were male and that two thirds of them were either married or widowed at the time they compiled their manuscripts (the remainder include two who were to be married the following year). Two thirds lived in rural settings, compared with one third urban dwellers. The mean age at compilation,³⁹⁸ was 36.5 years although the mode fell within the 20-29 age range, shown in Figure 40.

20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79
5	2	1	1	0	1

Figure 40 : The mode age range of the wider sample.

Categorising the compilers' occupations is contentious. It is especially problematic in this field due to the effect class politics has had on the historiography of folk music. There is a risk that any discussion of occupation or class will bring with it a conscious or sub-conscious association with this history.

In order to avoid imposing non-contextual criteria on historical data, I looked for contemporary classifications of class or occupation that would best represent the occupational groupings as they existed at the time. Whilst contemporary evidence existed to show the presence of and adherence to societal layers, finding a contemporaneous system of classification proved challenging. Since 1851 the British population has been subject to categorization by occupation and industry, but it was not until 1921 that the classifications in terms of social grades based directly on occupation, rather than the broader and less useful category of industry was introduced.³⁹⁹ A five-class system emerged (which remained largely unchanged between 1921 and 1971, although changes were made to the classification of specific

³⁹⁸ Two compilers were excluded: Andrews was omitted as the date of manuscript is not precise enough to ascertain age and Collinge due to ambiguity regarding ownership being father or son.

³⁹⁹ Occupation is a more useful categorisation tool for class or economic assessment than industry.

occupations),⁴⁰⁰ which provides a means of loosely categorizing the compilers of mid-to-late-nineteenth-century music manuscripts by occupation and economic capacity. I used the following categories,⁴⁰¹ and classed the compilers' occupations accordingly, (I) professional occupations, manufacturers, etc; (II) lower professional, farmers, small shopkeepers, managerial occupations etc; (III) skilled manual occupations; (IV) semi-skilled manual occupations; and (V) unskilled manual occupations, (see Figure 41).

Occupation (1 of each of the following)	Armstrong's Classification
Farmer	II
Musician	II
Blacksmith	III
Bootmaker, parish clerk and musician	III
Master rope manufacturer	III
Cordwainer/shoemaker	III
Retired farmer and shoemaker	III
Overlooker in cotton mill	III
Cotton cloth looker/winder	IV
Skinner/general labourer	V
Agricultural labourer	V
Agricultural labourer	V

Figure 41 : Occupational classifications of the wider sample.

The chart below (Figure 42) shows the distribution of these results:

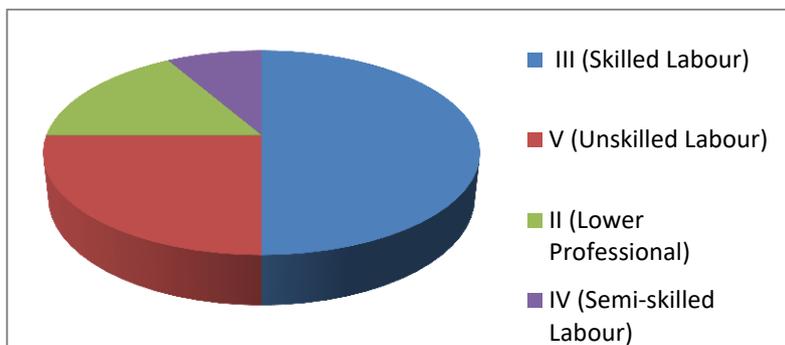


Figure 42 : Distribution of the occupational classification of the wider sample.

Before moving on, it is important to acknowledge the inaccuracies and complications in using this system to grade occupations. Aside from the problem of subjectivity, specific occupations could belong to more than one category. For example, 'farmer'

⁴⁰⁰ David Rose, 'Official Social Classifications in the UK', *Social Research Update*, July. 9 (1995), 1-5.

⁴⁰¹ W. A. Armstrong, 'Appendix D the Classification of Occupations', in *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, ed. by E. A. Wrigley (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), (p. 272); Rose, 'Official Social Classifications in the UK'.

could indicate a member of the gentry employing staff, owning much land and someone to whom, “members of the cottage community, had to pay suitable salutation to...in the form of a doffed cap or a small, bobbing curtsey from the girls”.⁴⁰² At the other end of the spectrum, a farmer could denote a smallholder barely making a living, with no employees and only a few acres. The farmer in the sample is William Andrews, and my research indicates that he farmed thirty-six acres and employed a domestic servant, and his adult children, listed as ‘farmer’s son’ and ‘farmer’s daughter’,⁴⁰³ possibly indicates that they worked and were supported by the farm. Accordingly, occupational classifications should be taken as an indicative guide only. Nevertheless, the results show that musical skill and interest was spread over a range of occupational classes, from the farmer and musician in class II to unskilled labourers in class V. Furthermore, ‘skilled labourers’ comprise more than half of the occupations. At the same time, the majority of the compilers of music manuscripts come from occupational classes III, IV and V or the ‘working classes’ (Figure 43).

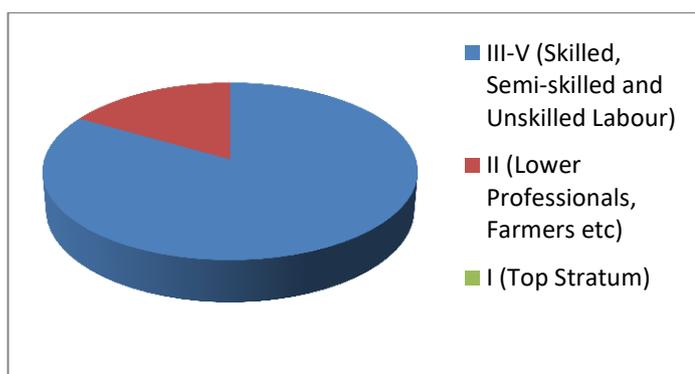


Figure 43 : The dominance of the lower occupational classes shown as a pie-chart.

Analysis of Key Characteristics

The following section addresses the key characteristics in turn, putting forward suggestions as to their role in supporting the compilation of manuscripts.

Age and Marital Status

The wider sample of manuscript sources shows the majority of compilers to be married (or soon to be wed), men in their twenties, and this is largely paralleled in the three case-studies. New musical trends often appeal to younger members of society,

⁴⁰² Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, p. 22.

⁴⁰³ 'William Andrews', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 2219; Folio: 48; Page: 1; GSU roll: 1341535)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 20 March 2018].

and the desire to keep up with modern, popular music and to build up a personal repertoire from new publications may have been a motivating factor. A contemporary narrative from the mid-nineteenth-century corroborates the relationship between age and new tunes and skills: “At that time the young people were not satisfied with learning a few tunes, they wished to read the music themselves”.⁴⁰⁴ Musical literacy, which would also facilitate transcribing, was likely the key to a wide repertoire.

Thompson’s depiction of pub singing in *Lark Rise to Candleford* corroborates my findings relating to age (and also gender), with the younger men’s repertoire dominated by more modern, popular material: “‘boy-chaps’, as they were called until they were married...usually had the first innings with such songs of the day as had percolated so far”.⁴⁰⁵ So too, Roud indicates that between “fourteen and twenty-four...was the key age for youngsters to seek out the ‘latest’ songs”.⁴⁰⁶ It would be interesting to know whether manuscripts written by older members of the community from the same period contained a repertoire of older popular music.⁴⁰⁷

Copying or transcribing music would likely have taken place by candlelight, after a long day of manual work, and young men could have enjoyed the advantages of better eyesight and physical health, fewer family commitments, perhaps combined with the desire to impress a girl. Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck, and possibly Hampton, began their manuscripts the year before they were married. For those newly married, financial reasons could have rendered manuscript copying, rather than purchasing print, a cost-effective way to support their musical activity, and continue to expand their interests.

Furthermore, the period in question coincides with the autodidactic movement which appealed to young married men attempting to better themselves by acquiring new skills, as may have been the case with the relationship between Thomas Hampton and

⁴⁰⁴ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 180.

⁴⁰⁵ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 69.

⁴⁰⁶ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 359.

⁴⁰⁷ The problem with attempting to conduct such a study is that there are too few to examine. I did look at the only manuscript from the 70-79 age range in the wider sample. It was written by Henry Stables and although the manuscript is dated 1881 the tunes in it closely resemble the repertoire found in the Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck case-studies. This would suggest he was writing down tunes which were popular when he was middle aged rather than tunes which were popular to him as a youth, or tunes which were contemporary to him in 1881. Alternatively it could suggest that the repertoire found in Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck remained popular across several decades.

Walter Soobroy. Setting up home as a young, newly married man might also explain the predominance of manuscripts deriving from this demographic. Leaving their existing musical resources behind, perhaps in oral/aural or printed form or another family member's manuscript or printed tunebook, the manuscripts enable the compilers to take their own set of tunes with them, possibly their favourites or those they intended to learn.

Equally, the observable demographic trend might be merely the result of an overall growth in music-making in England from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. According to some historians this was the result of the introduction of the sol-fa singing method. Russell argues that this is an exaggeration,⁴⁰⁸ and yet a journalist writing for the *Musical Times* in 1887 recalled how "the desire to study music spread like a wave over the country, affecting secluded hamlets, as well as conspicuous cities".⁴⁰⁹ Although this refers to sol-fa singing, budding instrumentalists were perhaps inspired to acquire or improve their musical skills, stimulated by the extent of musical activity in their community.

Gender

All the compilers of manuscripts studied here were men. This trend is reflected in the wider folk music literature,⁴¹⁰ and in popular musical practice too.⁴¹¹ Photographs and narratives of amateur bands and musicians constantly refer solely to men, and one can presume that this might be attributed to working-class women's "domestic obligations and cultural prescriptions".⁴¹² To learn and practise a musical skill, acquire musical literacy and copy tunes is a time-consuming business.

Moreover, location may have restricted the opportunity for women's involvement. Oral narratives describe how the pub was not a place for women even well into the

⁴⁰⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Boyes, *The Imagined Village : Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival*, p. 28. Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 26 & 74. That said, it must be acknowledged that Roud lists women singers as being informants for the early collectors: Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 639. So too he discusses women's involvement in concert rooms: *ibid.* p. 355.

⁴¹¹ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 11. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 41.

⁴¹² Russell used this phrase to explain women's absence from Music Hall audiences: Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 92.

twentieth-century.⁴¹³ While this was not necessarily an act of exclusion forced upon women, it would limit their contact with musical activities existing within a pub culture. Additionally, autodidactic institutions such as Mechanics' Institutes and Temperance Clubs, a potential route to musical literacy, influence, participation and technical skill, were male-dominated until the late-nineteenth-century.⁴¹⁴

The historical record generally appears to exclude women as instrumentalists and manuscript compilers, yet it is important to acknowledge that women did share in some musical activity. From the lower sections of society, women participated in music-making in the form of singing and dancing at home. Due to its informal domestic nature it is poorly documented but scholars have recorded examples of nineteenth-century working-class women participating in this manner.⁴¹⁵ Women from middle-class families favoured pianos, and partook in the more aspirational Drawing-room genre.⁴¹⁶ There is evidence of some of these women having compiled handwritten manuscripts of their repertoire, but their relative scarcity suggests that most used printed collections.⁴¹⁷ While the medium of their manuscripts may be consistent with those in this study, they represent a different musical practice. It is possible that women were equal to men in number of instrumentalists and manuscript compilers, yet specific factors resulted in the lack of survival of their manuscripts. However, during my research I have encountered only eight manuscripts potentially compiled by women.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, without examining each of the manuscripts it is impossible to

⁴¹³ Chris Holderness, 'Hindringham. Traditional Music and Dancing in This North Norfolk Village. Mt285', *Musical Traditions* (2013) <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/hindring.htm>> [accessed 23 April 2017]. Paragraph 10., Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215'. pp. 73-75; *ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 2nd edn, (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 18.

⁴¹⁵ Holderness, 'Hindringham. Traditional Music and Dancing in This North Norfolk Village. Mt285'; Paul Sartin, 'The Songs of Edith Sartin of Corscombe' (Newcastle University, 2005); *ibid.* Roud, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 637-41.

⁴¹⁶ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*; Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*; Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*; Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*.

⁴¹⁷ For example the Benwell MS examined by Campbell in his PhD thesis: Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)'.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ From the extant manuscripts spanning 1800-1899 (totalling 131 manuscripts), only six can be attributed to women: Miss Best, Jane Bell, Jean Doey (possibly a French male rather than English female), Annie Herne, Eliza Tennyson, and Ann Winnington. The number could be larger if unnamed or initialled manuscripts belonged to women. Likewise, the number could be smaller if the archive, when examined showed many to be for piano.

determine whether these would fall under the definition of the archive, or rather into the piano-centric Drawing-room genre mentioned above.

Environment

Most of the compilers lived in rural areas. On the surface, it might seem obvious that the scarcity of music shops in small villages and hamlets would restrict rural dwellers' access to resources, thus promoting a self-sufficient manuscript culture. However, my research found that in general, the contents of the manuscripts were copied from commercial printed sources issued by the London publishing houses.⁴¹⁹ That these published sources were reaching the rural compilers casts doubt on Bearman's argument concerning the remoteness of rural people.⁴²⁰ The repertoire of the manuscripts indicates that both older and contemporary tunes were circulating within rural areas, despite received wisdom concerning the contrast "between the music of urban culture and that of rural culture".⁴²¹ Nor, it seems, was this a new phenomenon as exemplified by Benjamin Rose's manuscript of 1820:

it is at least intriguing that the repertoire of a country musician in early nineteenth century Dorset, who lived all his life in the same remote rural parish, should contain so many tunes with titles that recall contemporary metropolitan life and foreign campaigns and battles.⁴²²

It is clear that from mid-century a definitive divide between rural and urban did not exist. Rural dwellers could travel to the expanding towns for employment,⁴²³ thus merging the boundaries of their everyday existence. There is much evidence that people regularly walked long distances, in addition to having access to carriers, canals, railways and omnibuses, providing access not only to musical commodities and fashions but also to entertainment venues.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁹ See Chapter 4.

⁴²⁰ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 772.

⁴²¹ Richard Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', *Folk Music Journal*, 6. 4 (1993), 446-90 (p. 448).

⁴²² Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, p. 10.

⁴²³ Alan Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', *Histoire Sociale Social History*, 10. 20 (1977), (p. 360) <<http://hssh.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/hssh/article/view/38573/34988>> [accessed 24 April 2017].

⁴²⁴ See Chapters 5 and 6.

That said, access to resources would not necessarily be readily affordable for this section of the population. My research suggests that once the printed copy of a tune had reached the rural areas, a borrowing culture was in place. This could operate either informally or more formally through establishments such as MCLs, and it would account for a higher number of manuscripts emanating from rural areas.⁴²⁵

A greater concentration of manuscripts in rural areas could also result from the continuity and evolution of the instrumental tradition following the decline of the church bands,⁴²⁶ so evocatively described by Hardy in *Under the Greenwood Tree*.⁴²⁷ Through involvement in the bands, some members of the community would have been equipped with the necessary musical literacy and technical skill to compile manuscripts. Both Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett manuscripts provide evidence of older Anglican church music. A link to the past such as this could impart a particular value to the manuscripts, leading to a higher survival rate compared with manuscripts from urban environments. Similarly, one might argue that there were fewer manuscripts compiled in urban settings because there was more mass public entertainment available in the towns, and therefore less emphasis on personal music-making. Gammon argues that around the mid-century, more regulated, institutionalised music-making came to the fore, leading to “a contraction and sometimes an obliteration of the autonomous, self-regulated and informal traditions of the past”.⁴²⁸ The influence of institutionalised bands can be seen in for example, the Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett manuscripts. The evidence suggests that a rural environment does produce, or at least supports the survival of, more manuscripts than an urban environment. But it must not be assumed that the manuscripts are representative only of a rural culture, or that the repertoire they contain was of rural origins.

Occupation and class

Bearman maintains that “the attempt to define folk song and its singers in class terms must be dismissed as a failure”.⁴²⁹ The foregoing discussion has already acknowledged

⁴²⁵ MCLs form the nature of discussion in Chapter 6.

⁴²⁶ As discussed by Gammon and Hardy: Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914'; Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England'; Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

⁴²⁷ Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

⁴²⁸ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 18.

⁴²⁹ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 765.

the controversy surrounding class in relation to the historiography of folk music. To clarify, I am not defining the manuscript archive or its contents by social class, but rather using the compilers' occupations as a means to uncover key trends, and to provide a snapshot in time.

Whilst the manuscript compilers came chiefly from the lower levels of society that was not uniformly so, suggesting that the manuscripts represent the product of a musical practice, rather than of a social class. That said, the manuscripts clearly had an important place in the lives and culture of the labouring classes. VMP's archive of music manuscripts avoids any specific mention of the 'working class', preferring the term 'artisan classes' to describe the manuscript compilers.⁴³⁰ In fact, they describe the manuscript compilers as emanating from the higher social classes, contrary to my findings:

The people who wrote down these tunes were generally educated and literate people with some available leisure time. Some of them were people who can be identified in history. Eliza Tennyson was Alfred Lord T's mother. There's a book written down by reformer Robert Dale Owen and another by poet John Clare. Another belonged to Grace Darling's father. Others belonged to the artisan classes – gentlemen farmers, a paper maker, an architect, shoemaker, alehouse keeper, parish clerk, vicar, generally people who had some leisure time and the money to afford an instrument and access to printed music to expand their repertoire.⁴³¹

There is no mention here of labourers.⁴³² VMP does not specify a time period and the marked contrast with my findings is perhaps due to the consideration of manuscripts from different periods. Similarly, Pendlebury states that the majority of manuscript compilers "were born into, or entered, the middle classes",⁴³³ they "were members of the professional classes".⁴³⁴ Pendlebury does not define her chronological boundaries and lists historical manuscripts from the seventeen-century through to the twentieth-century.⁴³⁵ Her discussion of occupation and class focuses on earlier manuscripts and

⁴³⁰ The Village Music Project, 'Manuscripts'.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² John Clare was a labourer and writing poetry did not in itself elevate him in class terms. My point is that the Village Music Project's naming him as a poet (alongside Lord Tennyson) seems to imply that he was of higher status.

⁴³³ Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland', p. 63.

⁴³⁴ Ibid. pp. 205-06.

⁴³⁵ Ibid. pp. 253-62.

stops at approximately 1850. The one later manuscript referenced in her study, that of Henry Watson, dated 1883, is more directly comparable with my manuscripts, and Pendlebury observes that he “appears to have had a more artisan livelihood, having been a Norfolk labourer and brick-maker”.⁴³⁶ While perhaps side-stepping folk connotations in order that the manuscripts might be taken more seriously in the context of wider musical dialogue, these descriptions might be seen as an interesting and unsettling reaction against the twentieth-century historiography of folk music.

The wider survey of manuscript compilers’ occupations spans four of the five occupational categories, and to this extent reflects Bearman’s description of Sharp’s informants as “individuals representing a fairly wide social range, from prosperous farmers and tradesmen on the one hand, to labourers and workhouse inmates on the other”.⁴³⁷ However, as we saw, the large majority belonged to the groups of skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled labourers. This is in line with Roud’s criteria:

For our purposes and in our time frame, ‘ordinary people’ means more or less the majority, the working classes, with the proviso that it often includes the respectable upper end of the worker spectrum such as shopkeepers and skilled workers.⁴³⁸

The three case-studies are likewise drawn from the lower three occupational classifications. Till/Clutterbuck was an agricultural labourer (V), Hampton a general labourer / skinner (V), Soobroy a brush maker’s assistant (IV) and Bennett a blacksmith (III).

Bennett falls into the largest occupational group of compilers from the wider survey of compilers, which accords with Gammon’s findings about the occupations of members of church bands, “although farm labourers are significant in village choirs and bands it is from the artisan tradesmen that they significantly drew their strength”.⁴³⁹ As proposed above, the remnants and influence of these declining instrumental church

⁴³⁶ Ibid. p. 64.

⁴³⁷ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 765.

⁴³⁸ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27. Admittedly a ‘crude stereotype’, Roud’s definition opposes ‘ordinary people’ to the middle classes, who “tended towards other repertoires specifically designed for them, and played their pianos from sheet music”. While his description matches my findings, I would take issue with this opposition in relation to tunes. Much of the instrumental repertoire is shared with the Drawing-room genre Roud is describing. It is the specific sources and the monophonic nature of the material that differentiates the musical practices.

⁴³⁹ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 31.

bands may have contributed to the higher numbers of manuscripts stemming from a rural and working-class background.⁴⁴⁰

Till/Clutterbuck and Hampton's occupations as unskilled labourers set them slightly apart from the evidence in the wider sample at the lowest end of the demographic scale, but reflects Gammon's findings that the larger proportion of Sussex folk singers from whom the early twentieth-century collectors sourced their tunes, were from "the poorest levels of rural society".⁴⁴¹ The economic benefit for such lower earners in compiling a manuscript rather than purchasing printed music are clear enough. Much evidence of Hampton's meagre income and modest existence can be drawn from the manuscript itself and is discussed in Chapter 6.

Finally, the higher proportion of manuscripts stemming from occupational groups III, IV and V can be ascribed simply to working classes making up the majority of the population.⁴⁴² This section of the population saw a massive growth of amateur music-making due variously to financial improvements, mass production, increased leisure time and the growing self-improvement movement. It is perhaps unsurprising to find a larger number of manuscripts originating from this section of society.

It is important not to judge the level of musical activity or the number of musicians who participated in this musical practice by the number of extant manuscripts. Notwithstanding the obvious implications of manuscript survival thwarting the statistics, there are likely numerous other vernacular musicians who remain undocumented, leaving no legacy. One important factor is that the music and musicians were largely from the three lower classes whose history is less documented and recorded. Heath-Coleman,⁴⁴³ Hall,⁴⁴⁴ Holderness,⁴⁴⁵ Chandler et al,⁴⁴⁶ have written biographies of many musicians, frequently based on oral narratives and depicting often

⁴⁴⁰ This is considered further in Chapter 6.

⁴⁴¹ Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914', *History Workshop*, 10 (1980), 61-89 (p. 64).

⁴⁴² Altick quotes nineteenth century economist Dudley Baxter's 1867 report stating that out of 9.8 million recipients of income, 200,000 were upper and middle class, 1.85 million lower-middle class and 7.78 million working class (including 1.1 million skilled labourers): Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 3rd edn, (Chicago & London: Phoenix Books The University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 82.

⁴⁴³ Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*.

⁴⁴⁴ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215'.

⁴⁴⁵ Holderness, 'Hindringham. Traditional Music and Dancing in This North Norfolk Village. Mt285'.

⁴⁴⁶ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'.

musically illiterate musicians, who come from classes III, IV and V. Their musical activities are not recorded in newspapers or history books, or traceable through any extant manuscripts. Articles such as these describe a rich and vibrant musical soundscape and it is probable that many more musicians who participated in this musical practice and their manuscripts existed, of which we have lost all knowledge.

Participants in Folk Music Tradition?

Contrasting acutely with the received notion that folk music is found “in the minds and voices of the elderly”,⁴⁴⁷ youth has emerged as a key factor in both the wider sample and the case-studies. It is noteworthy the manuscripts and wider literature indicate that the musical taste of these younger men inclined towards modern, new repertoire rather than the more historic, traditional items which were performed by the elderly men.⁴⁴⁸ Considered from a received historical viewpoint, this would set the musicians apart from being participants in folk music tradition. However, modern discourse does not consider participants’ age to be a defining factor in folk music tradition. Moreover, the modernity of repertoire favoured by the younger participants is also not a defining factor when tradition is viewed as a process. Gammon states that fiddler, Michael Turner, “in social function was a traditional musician regardless of the exact mixture of ‘traditional’ or composed pieces he performed”.⁴⁴⁹

With regards to gender, men dominated in both the wider popular, vernacular music field and in the musical practice represented in the manuscripts. Thus, it is hard to use gender as a defining factor when assessing the place of the manuscripts in folk music tradition. So too, differentiating between the two musical practices which share the same manuscript medium (the aforementioned, female dominated, Drawing-room genre, and instrumental vernacular music), may not be especially helpful in determining ‘place’. However, the distinction is important in order to observe the social contrast between the two practices, highlighting the substantial dominance of men in instrumental musical activities of a more vernacular nature.

⁴⁴⁷ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27. This view is potentially caused or amplified by the early-twentieth-century collectors’ focus on collecting from the elderly ‘remnants of the peasantry’: Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions (1907)*, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 69. Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 323.

⁴⁴⁹ Gammon, ‘Michael Turner. A 19th Century Sussex Fiddler (Mt068)’.

Folk music has been defined as an antonym of urban, popular, commercial music,⁴⁵⁰ and the dominance of manuscripts from rural locations would fit with the received perception of folk musics' pastoral origins.⁴⁵¹ However, despite fitting in with perceived notions of the rurality of folk music, the dominance of manuscripts from rural areas cannot necessarily be used to justify their inclusion in folk music tradition, especially with the large number of popular, modern tunes which would, in the term of received history, negate such an inclusion. Modern interpretations propose that geographical location of either performance or origin of material is un-important, and accept that popular music stemming from urban domains is capable of 'becoming' part of the process of folk music tradition, resulting from subsequent selection and survival.⁴⁵² Thus the dominance of manuscripts from rural areas neither strengthens nor negates the place of the manuscripts in folk music tradition. The occupational classes of the compilers fit with both the received history of folk music representing "peasant music",⁴⁵³ belonging to "the common people",⁴⁵⁴ and current thinking, as music from "ordinary" people.⁴⁵⁵ These findings contrast with the popular music practice shown in the surviving manuscripts of the Drawing-room genre,⁴⁵⁶ which belonged chiefly to women and more importantly here, to those from higher social classes.

Conclusion

Hampton, Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett fit quite closely with the wider survey of other post-1850 manuscripts: young, married, rural men pursuing a labouring-class occupation. A definition in received historic terms would suggest that the compilers' repertoire, age and above all, literate ability differed from those associated with folk music tradition, yet other characteristics concerning rurality, gender and occupation conform to such a definition. However, in modern scholarly terms, where orality/aurality, textual transmission and origin are of little importance, these young, 'ordinary' men conform to current scholarly ideas of the 'folk'. That these young men

⁴⁵⁰ See Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. (Chapter 8).

⁴⁵¹ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907), p. 4.

⁴⁵² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 24 & 671.

⁴⁵³ Bela Bartok, 'Hungarian Peasant Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, 19. 3 (1933), 267-87.

⁴⁵⁴ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907), p. 3.

⁴⁵⁵ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27.

⁴⁵⁶ See section entitled 'Gender', above.

recorded both old and new repertoire in their tunebooks is important. Thompson's passage quoted above is used by Roud to illustrate the process of tradition in a mixed age group of musicians and repertoire:

The young, the middle-aged and the old share the same performance space. They have partly differing repertoires. But each hears the songs of the others, and the young men, in particular, however partial they are to their 'new' material, hear and learn the older songs. By the time they become middle-aged themselves they have a potentially broad repertoire drawn from several periods, and each successive generation has the opportunity to perpetuate the items they like.⁴⁵⁷

The content of the tunebooks is the focus of Chapter 3, but Roud's indication that "*it is not the origin of a song which makes it 'folk', but what the 'folk' do with it*",⁴⁵⁸ shows that the process of selection and survival carried out by these young, rural, working-class men makes them instrumental in the formation of folk music tradition.

⁴⁵⁷ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 323.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 23.

Chapter 3- Repertoire ‘...how wide and deep their roots’⁴⁵⁹

Turning attention to the content of the manuscript books and following Dean-Smith’s approach to tunes in Playford’s *English Dancing Master*, I set out to discover “...how wide and deep their roots”.⁴⁶⁰ The intention was two-fold. The first and most complex aim was to ascertain the ‘depth’, or origin of the tunes. This was not done to create the perception that some tunes were more authentic than others but carried out to observe trends in the repertoire. The second aim was to determine the scope of the compilers’ repertoire, by examining the ‘width’ or breadth of the content.

Researching and categorising the tunes was a lengthy and not un-problematic exercise and the chapter begins by giving a detailed explanation of the approach taken.⁴⁶¹ The next section provides the results of the research, revealing that the manuscripts contained a mix of older historic tunes combined with a modern repertoire and spanned a wide range of genres from quadrilles and minstrel song to jigs and hornpipes. The results from the individual case-studies are looked at in turn, and selected items are considered in more depth to provide an essence of the material found in the tunebooks. The results are then combined to look for wider trends. The next section draws upon examples from the manuscripts and explores contextual influences from the wider nineteenth-century soundscape which may explain the selection of specific repertoire.⁴⁶² The subsequent section draws out two specific genres, ‘Art’ music and ‘Historic’ for closer examination, and the manuscripts’ repertoire in relation to folk music tradition is discussed in the final section.

Methodology – a note on Boundaries and Classification

The approach taken in this chapter requires further justification, partly due to the central role it plays in the thesis, but also to minimise subjectivity. The results shown in this and the next chapter are the consequence of detailed research carried out on each tune shown in Appendix A. The research is summarised and documented in Appendix

⁴⁵⁹ Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651. A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, p. xx.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, and see below.

⁴⁶¹ Due to the specific detail in methodological approach I felt it was better placed within this chapter than in the methodology overview in Chapter 1.

⁴⁶² Aside from external auditory influence, the choice of repertoire would have been greatly influenced by the function and motivation of the musicians. These areas of repertoire are dealt with in Chapter 5, where tune types (for example hornpipes) are examined in the discussion of outward transmission from the manuscripts.

B. Dean-Smith's introduction to Playford's *English Dancing Master*, helped shape my approach:

The purpose of the present recension...is...to present for the first time a facsimile of the original, so that its musical typography can be seen: to put forward some suggestions concerning its place, and that of its creator...and, by the annotations to the tunes to show how long-lasting are these English melodies, and how wide and deep their roots.⁴⁶³

Originally, Appendix A included detailed textual annotations including tune commentaries, source studies and histories to each tune. With one hundred and ninety tunes under consideration this resulted in a substantial body of work. The results of this analysis were crucial to the overriding critical argument and are summarised in Appendix B. The detailed textual annotations were interesting and gave a fascinating insight into each tune and its associated printed sources, yet the individual detail of each tune's research was not necessarily required in the main thrust of the argument. As such, the detailed individual tune analyses and annotation which made up the original edition of Appendix A were archived.⁴⁶⁴ Significant or noteworthy aspects of tunes are drawn out in the discussion of the individual case-study results below or used as illustrative examples or supporting evidence to wider arguments throughout the thesis.

Together, Appendices A and B become a central reference point for the thesis and are integral in two key ways. The pictorial evidence in Appendix A provides a visual and tangible link to enhance the understanding and context, and the data in Appendix B shows the results of a detailed and on-going archival research journey, commenced in May 2014, occurring both online, with printed tune books, other manuscript books, and via a week-long intensive visit to the British Library in October 2016.

I used a number of key texts, manuscripts, websites and printed musical resources to identify tunes and trace their history in order to classify by genre, origins and assess the type of sources to which the compiler might have had access. References were searched both looking backwards, chronologically, to find the earliest reference to the tune and horizontally in search of a direct source used by the compiler when putting

⁴⁶³ Dean-Smith, *Playford's English Dancing Master 1651. A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, p. xx.

⁴⁶⁴ Plans to publish this work online are ongoing.

his collection together. This caused some issues as although there is an established set or canon of key printed publications from earlier in the century,⁴⁶⁵ none exists for post-1850s.⁴⁶⁶ Untitled tunes presented a further difficulty as they were not always able to be traced and identified and in some cases, remain an ongoing project. Campbell included incipits for tunes found in *Campbell 1* manuscript,⁴⁶⁷ as do Shepherd and Shepherd in the second volume of the Jackson manuscript,⁴⁶⁸ although there is no one established methodology,⁴⁶⁹ so the usefulness is limited.

'Depth'

Initially, I researched the tune histories for all tunes as far as was possible. The main genre distinction emerging was in the difference between what might be called a historic or traditional melody,⁴⁷⁰ with a newly composed, popular, more ephemeral style of melody,⁴⁷¹ yet a definitive, objective distinction was not possible. Hall recognises the issue when classing nineteenth-century printed dance music into two broad categories of essentially popular construction and traditional construction. He states that, "a polarised typology...is a useful tool for analysis, but oversimplification carries with it dangers, and it should be understood there are gradations between these two extremes".⁴⁷²

It became apparent that classification was a complicated and contentious area not least because of the problems surrounding an appropriate definition for folk music. Clear, defining parameters needed to be set for this area of the research. Firstly, I identified genres of tunes (carols, religious music, art music and pedagogic items)

⁴⁶⁵ Partington, *Email*; Chris Partington, *Email Correspondence* (24 January 2016).

⁴⁶⁶ Rather than the dozen or so eighteenth and seventeenth-century printed tunebooks providing the core material (for example Rutherford, Walsh, Preston, Thompson, etc.), the sources of the compilers' tunes are comprised numerous, smaller, mass-produced tune collection publications which are not catalogued nor in many cases even contain a 'Content' page at the beginning of each individual publication, causing extensive research problems. This is very much an unknown 'archive' or body of printed music books.

⁴⁶⁷ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 390.

⁴⁶⁸ Shepherd and Shepherd, *Mr Joshua Jackson Book 1798 : Tunes, Songs & Dances from the Manuscript of a Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician Volume Two*, p. 115.

⁴⁶⁹ For example, Campbell writes his incipits to start on the note 'c' and 'g', whereas Jackson's are all transposed into the key of C.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, a more simple structure conforming to an AABB dance structure, essentially diatonic with few embellishments, etc.

⁴⁷¹ For example, identified musically by a freer structure, including ornamentation, chromaticism and modulation, etc.

⁴⁷² Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 83.

which had a specific definable genre and categorised them accordingly. In this part of the data analysis I was not concerned with the provenance of these specific genres.⁴⁷³ I labelled these groups as follows: carols (category 4), religious music,⁴⁷⁴ (category 5), art music (category 6),⁴⁷⁵ pedagogic (category 7), and 'other',⁴⁷⁶ (category 8).⁴⁷⁷ The remaining tunes (the bulk of the content), were the focus of the 'depth' categorisation. These are the tunes which some might prefer to give contentious genre labels such as folk, traditional or popular. As these were terms I was at pains to avoid in this part of the analysis due to the subjective interpretations through history and personal perspective, I needed to discard these labels. Instead I chose to define the remaining tunes according to synchronic 'date' categories, creating three time-specific classifications: pre-1750 (category 1), titled '**Historic**', 1750-1830 (category 2), entitled '**Early**', and '**Late**', post 1830 (category 3). The justification behind the specific time periods is to enable distinction between older melodies from those which emanate from the later-eighteenth-century comic and ballad operas and pantomimes. The final date category comprises tunes that are approximately contemporaneous with the compilers including composed parlour, musichall and minstrel song tunes. It is possible that some of the later tunes may have had origins or influence from earlier tunes,⁴⁷⁸ but as I was attempting to establish the history of the tune in the form in which it appeared in the manuscript this did not affect the classification.

⁴⁷³ The chief focus of this part of the analysis was to untangle the bulk of dance and song melodies which are in danger of being assumed to be classed by the indefinable term of 'folk' music.

⁴⁷⁴ This refers to religious items found in the main body of the manuscript but excluding the complete sections of sacred content existing in the manuscripts of both Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett, which are dealt with specifically in Chapters 5 and 6.

⁴⁷⁵ It became clear that the examples of 'Art Music' (6) were not 'pure' art music in the sense that the compilers were taking the tunes directly from classical music. As explored in the 'Art Music' section below, the examples in the manuscripts were contemporary arrangements printed extensively in the collections aimed specifically at this amateur monophonic music practice. Despite the tunes coming from the same sources as much of the other content and were contemporary popular arrangements of art music I decided to keep them separate to aid clarification as their genre was already clear and defined. Arguably they could have been included in category 3, but I did not simply want them concealed within the 'Later Dance and Song Melody', group as this would not have been helpful. I did not want to be accused of statistical manipulation by those thinking I was out to discredit the 'folkiness' of the manuscripts by deliberately obscuring category 3.

⁴⁷⁶ 'Other' was not intended as a 'catch-all' category but for those pages on which non-sensical or non-musical jottings were made. Only one item was classed as category 8.

⁴⁷⁷ The provenance of these tunes in context to the compilers (i.e. whether they were coming from contemporary or historic sources), would be assessed as part of the second stage.

⁴⁷⁸ See below with reference to 'Historic Tunes in Contemporary Settings.'

The ternary system I employed incorporates the concept of tradition as a process. It has benefits in providing a greater level of detail than employing a simpler binary differentiator to comply with the 'two generation' rule.⁴⁷⁹ The end date parameter of category 2 (1830) suggests that tunes originating, or in use at that time, would be selected by musicians likely born around the turn of the century.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, the heuristic principle requiring an approximate gap of two generations is all but satisfied by the time the compilers were using the melodies in the 1860s, 1870s and onwards. As such tunes from categories 1 and 2 can be considered to be over two generations old.

Many tunes were untraceable and classification decisions were made based on stylistic analysis, and are open to differing interpretations. For example, tunes with a complex structure, large melodic range, use of chromaticism, modulation etc., appeared more modern in construct and were classed as such. However, the tune could have been historic and just not conformed to an expected pattern. It would be easy to accept that the classification definitions do not work, and the tunes cannot be neatly compartmentalised. However, the assimilation of the popular and published contemporary melodies and the difference between these and the older tunes is key to our understanding of the history of nineteenth-century vernacular music-making. Further, the comparative content analysis is integral to the thesis and necessary in order to answer the research questions and to consider how the manuscripts are situated in folk music tradition. Arguably I take an "obsessively genre-centric",⁴⁸¹ approach, but to observe any visible trends and establish the extent of repertoire played by these musicians, distinctions between the different tunes had to be made.

In an attempt to be transparent and impartial, I sub-divided each of the categories. In cases where evidence did not exist to enable a definitive classification, I made clear where an educated, yet subjective judgement was applied. Three sub-categories were created to indicate this, named 'Deemed Historic Dance or Song Melody', 'Deemed Early Dance or Song Melody' and 'Deemed Later Dance or Song Melody'. A further category (3X) was added at analysis stage to distinguish tunes which I did not feel

⁴⁷⁹ See Chapter 1.

⁴⁸⁰ This is based on the evidence from Chapter 2 which found the largest age group of compilers was 20-29 years old.

⁴⁸¹ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 145.

confident about categorising. This group chiefly comprised hornpipes whose origins as ‘newly’ composed examples from the first half of the nineteenth-century, or with much earlier origins,⁴⁸² could not be ascertained. Figure 44 shows these different categories.

1a	1b	2a	2b	3a	3b	3x
Historic Dance or Song Melody (Pre- 1750)	Deemed Historic Dance or Song Melody (Pre-1750)	Early Dance or Song Melody (1751- 1829)	Deemed Early Dance or Song Melody (1751- 1829)	Later Dance or Song Melody (1830- 1899)	Deemed Later Dance or Song Melody (1830- 1899)	To include 1b,2b,3b where a conclusive decision could not be made

Figure 44 : 'Depth' categories.

I devised a flow-chart (Figure 45), to use when categorising the ‘depth’ of a tune.

⁴⁸² This is discussed in more depth in Chapter 5.

'Width'

Similar categorisation issues occurred when sorting tunes into dance types to consider the 'width' or breadth of the tunes. For example, tunes in 2/4 could be polkas, quick steps, galops or a tune forming part of a quadrille dance set. Reels, normally written in 4/4 were also found written and printed in 2/4.⁴⁸³ 4/4 tunes could comprise different dance types including hornpipes and marches. Hornpipes, usually in 4/4, can often be identified by a dotted rhythm, but not always and despite being named as a hornpipe, the tune would look like a reel or a march. If an untitled 4/4 tune is written un-dotted I might decide the tune has the 'feel' of a hornpipe, yet another fiddle player may disagree and argue it is much more like a march.

Moreover, titles from early publications or manuscripts are not reliable as indicators of type. Dean-Smith points out that, "until the early 19th century the terms jig, hornpipe and reel were used interchangeably, as none of them was a distinct form in either style or rhythm".⁴⁸⁴ An example can be found in 'Del Caro's Hornpipe' from the Hughes manuscript which is written in 2/4 whereas a hornpipe would be expected to be written in 4/4 (or 3/2).⁴⁸⁵ Similarly, there are instances where the same tune occurs in different manuscripts, notated in different time signatures. Furthermore, more modern dance sets such as quadrilles contain tunes in both 6/8 and 2/4 (some of which are traditional and some of which are newly composed). The decision to class these as quadrilles or to class each tune individually, as jigs and polkas or quick steps will give different results.

Gammon acknowledges these categorisation problems stating,

time signatures are a good guide to the classification of dance tunes but the specific characteristics of the tune must be considered before it can be said to be set in a particular dance rhythm. For example a 4/4 time signature can imply a hornpipe, a march or a reel,⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸³ See for example *Ham.4.2* where Hampton transcribes 'Lady Mack Reel' in 2/4, which appears to have been copied from a printed version, also in 2/4. S. Jones, *Hopwood & Crew's 100 Country Dances for the Violin, Arranged by S. Jones. London, [1875] Music Collections E.269.(3.)*, (London: Hopwood & Crew, c1875).

⁴⁸⁴ Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Jig', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14307>> [accessed September 15, 2015].

⁴⁸⁵ Edward Hughes, *Edward Hughes Music Manuscript Book*, 40358 (Bristol Archives, 1811).

⁴⁸⁶ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 62.

thus introducing subjectivity to seemingly quantifiable data. In the re-publication of Rose’s manuscript, Thompson organises the contents into tune type,⁴⁸⁷ and acknowledges the issues faced and subjective decisions taken.⁴⁸⁸ Callaghan also notes the difficulty, commenting on the element of stylistic performance which can define a tune: “Grouping tunes into types is always difficult; the more so since many tunes can be coaxed into very different shapes and rhythms”.⁴⁸⁹

This area remained problematic to me for some time, and it was not until I had discovered from where the compilers were sourcing the majority of the tunes (Chapter 4), and the extent to which they relied on this source material (rather than original provenance), that I decided to assign the identifications given by the contemporary source material. Whilst not wholly adequate, it made sense to apply contextual categorisations as laid out by the contemporary publishers. This resulted in the eighteen classifications shown in Figure 46, based on the tune or book collection titles offered by the publishers.

Carol	Minstrel Song	Quick Step
Country Dance	Opera	Reel
Galop	Pedagogic	Schottische
Hornpipe	Polka	National Air, ⁴⁹⁰
Hymn	Popular Ballad	Varsoviana
March	Quadrille / Lancer	Waltz

Figure 46 : 'Width' categories.

By drawing attention to the difficulties I encountered, and by defining my terms, methods and reasoning, I believe I have achieved an acceptable and workable scheme. The results are summarised in Appendix B, and their relevance discussed in the following section.

⁴⁸⁷ The reason for this approach is presumably to make the book accessible as a performance copy for current dance musicians.

⁴⁸⁸ Thompson offers thanks to “John Offord for his assistance in tune categorisation, not least for patiently listening to me play all the tunes”, Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, p. 68.

⁴⁸⁹ Barry Callaghan, *Hardcore English*, (London: English Folk Dance & Song Society, 2007), p. 8.

⁴⁹⁰ Although the use of ‘National’ brings with it connotations (see earlier), this was the term employed by the contemporary publishers to describe songs which the publishers tended to associate with a specific country hence the term was used in the research as a category heading. Gelbart observes that the term ‘National’ was a precursor to folk. Pegg, too, suggests that during the nineteenth-century, “‘folk’ was used as a synonym for ‘nation’”. For more exploration into the contemporaneous use of the term ‘National’ see: Gelbart, *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music” : Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*; Roud, *Folk Song in England*.

Repertoire in the Manuscripts

The following section summarises both the width and depth of the content in each manuscript and draws out a selection of tunes in more detail to provide a flavour of the content of the manuscripts. Although not covering all tunes found in the Hampton, Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett tunebooks, the summaries aim to give an essence of the manuscripts' contents, particularly concerning items which do not make up part of the main discussion and used to illustrate points throughout the thesis.

Hampton MS c1870

The manuscript contains a thorough mix of repertoire, spanning contemporary popular songs and dances, with Nonconformist hymns and older tunes. In total, the book comprises fifty-seven items made up predominantly of tunes and song from category 3, 'Later Dance or Song Melody' (54% if including category 3x, 44% otherwise). More historic tunes, those suggestive of having passed through the selection and survival process of tradition, amount to 30% (excluding category 3x, otherwise 41%). The results are shown below in Figure 47.

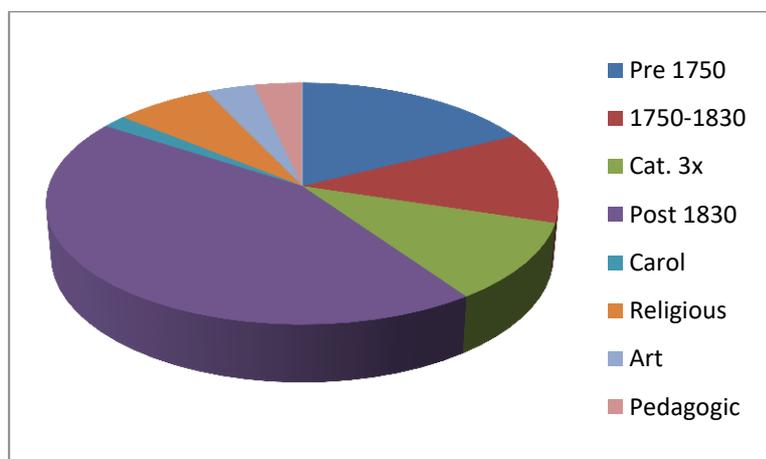


Figure 47 : The 'Depth' of tunes in Hampton MS.

With regards to 'width', the most common genre types are shown to be dance tunes made up of hornpipes and waltzes (19% each) and minstrel song (11%), with a noticeable comparative absence of quadrilles, shown in Figure 48.

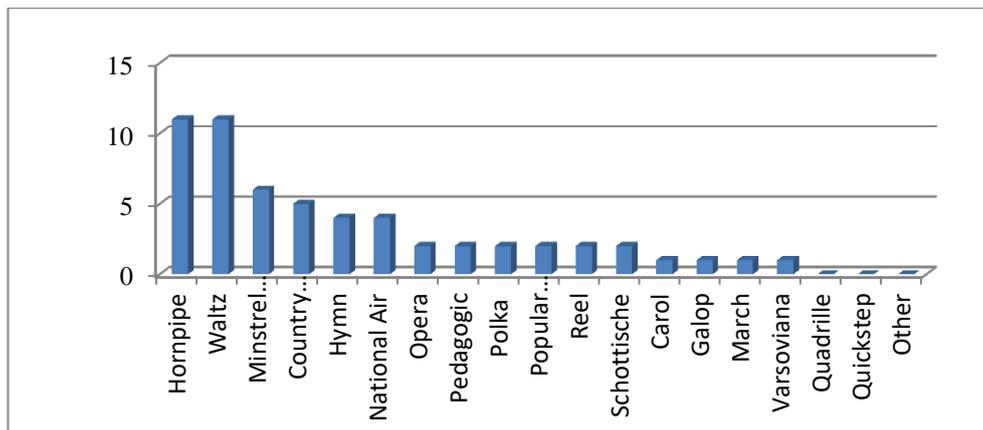


Figure 48 : The 'Width' of tunes in Hampton MS.

Pre-1750 (Category 1)

Although it becomes clear that many of the historic tunes in Hampton MS were sourced from contemporary print,⁴⁹¹ the original 'depth' of some of these tunes is striking, for example, 'Runn's Hornpipe' (*Ham.5.1*). This tune could not be identified by title but was a close variant of both Winter,⁴⁹² and Rose's,⁴⁹³ 'Harlequin Gambols', and Davoll's, 'Harlequin's Hornpipe'.⁴⁹⁴ Under this name it was published in 1816 in Wilson's *Companion to the Ball Room*,⁴⁹⁵ and also in 1810-22 in Blackman's *A Selection of the most favorite Hornpipes for the Violin*,⁴⁹⁶ indicating early-nineteenth-century popularity. Linking harlequins to pantomimes, I explored the possibility that 'Runn' was the name of a famous, now forgotten, nineteenth-century harlequin, but no supporting evidence could be found. However, Heath-Coleman identified the tune as a version of 'Master Byron's Hornpipe', dating from circa 1697 from "a publication attributed to Purcell",⁴⁹⁷ perhaps signifying an aural mis-interpretation from 'Byron's' to 'Runns'.

The song, 'Last Rose of Summer' (*Ham.10.1*), was published in Moore's early-nineteenth-century collection *Irish Melodies*, a series described as a "veritable corner-

⁴⁹¹ This is discussed in Chapter 4.

⁴⁹² Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*, p. 74.

⁴⁹³ Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, p. 39.

⁴⁹⁴ Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. 62.

⁴⁹⁵ Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pellicconi, 'Harlequin Hornpipe 4', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2017) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 13 March 2018].

⁴⁹⁶ Chris Walshaw, 'Harlequin's Hornpipe. Bhp.09', *abcnotation* (2017) <<http://abcnotation.com>> [accessed 13 March 2018].

⁴⁹⁷ David Kettlewell, 'Master Byron's Hornpipe', *English Dance & Song*, 43. 3 (1981); Philip Heath-Coleman, *Email Correspondence* (24 June 2015).

stone of bourgeois ‘popular song’”,⁴⁹⁸ which would account for its popularity in nineteenth-century repertoires. However, reputedly Moore took the melody from Alfred Milliken’s eighteenth century song, ‘The Groves of Blarney’, who is said to have borrowed the tune from a seventeenth-century harp melody.⁴⁹⁹ A version of ‘Cawder Fair’, appears in Hampton’s manuscript in shorthand, under the guise of the mid-nineteenth-century popular dance form of a Highland Schottische (*Ham.4.4*).⁵⁰⁰ Known by several names (‘Calder Fair’, ‘Cawdor Fair’, ‘Hawthorn Tree of Cawdor’ and ‘Go on Boys and Give a Tune’),⁵⁰¹ the “Very Old” tune was published in 1817 in Gow.⁵⁰² The tune is reminiscent of the melody of the nursery rhyme ‘Sing a Song of Sixpence’, which may date to the early seventeenth-century,⁵⁰³ and is thought to have first been printed in *Tommy Thumb’s Pretty Song Book*, 1744.⁵⁰⁴

1750-1830 (Category 2)

In Category 2 (1750-1830), we find several tunes which were classed as ‘Country Dances’ in Hampton’s mid-late-nineteenth-century printed sources, and have origins dating back to the mid-late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-centuries. Walker indicates that ‘The Triumph’ (*Ham.6.3*), was introduced into ballrooms in the late eighteenth-century, although it is possible that older tunes were ‘re-cycled’ and the tune existed before this time.⁵⁰⁵ The earliest reference I can find to ‘The Ratcatcher’ (*Ham.9.2*) is as a broadside ballad dated 1813 – 1833.⁵⁰⁶ As a song it became immensely popular throughout the century, perhaps fuelled by the celebrity of singer Sam Cowell (1820-64) in the 1840s,⁵⁰⁷ and remained popular in printed music during

⁴⁹⁸ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 27.

⁵⁰⁰ The tune can be found in Kerr’s (although not Hampton’s direct source) titled “Cawdor Fair’ Highland Schottische’. Kerr, *Kerr’s First Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin*, (Glasgow: James S Kerr, No date), p. 20.

⁵⁰¹ Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, ‘Cawdor Fair’, *Traditional Tune Archive* (2017) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

⁵⁰² The annotation “Very Old” is given in Gow. *Ibid.*

⁵⁰³ Iona Opie and Peter Opie, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 394-95.

⁵⁰⁴ British Library, ‘Tommy Thumb’s Pretty Song Book’, *British Library* (No Date) <<https://www.bl.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵⁰⁵ Christopher Walker, ‘The Triumph’ in England, Scotland and the United States’, *Folk Music Journal*, 8, 1 (2001), 4-40 (p. 4).

⁵⁰⁶ Broadside Ballads Online from the Bodleian Libraries, ‘Results: Roud Number:13883’, *Bodleian Libraries University of Oxford* (No date) [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵⁰⁷ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 174.

Hampton's time.⁵⁰⁸ It appears to have been a pervasive song, with a *Musical World* correspondent from 1855 complaining: "Everywhere I go in London...I cannot escape the infliction of having my ears stunned with some hideous words relating to the daughter of a ratcatcher and a seller of sand, set to the most vile tune".⁵⁰⁹ The melody of *Ham.8.3*, 'Tight Little Island' is related to the song of the same name by Thomas Dibdin (1771 – 1841), Charles Dibdin's illegitimate son,⁵¹⁰ written by Dibdin late-eighteenth, early-nineteenth-century, "at the time of the threatened Napoleonic invasion".⁵¹¹ The tune found its way into the morris dance repertoire, listed as having been "collected and published since the revival in 1905", by Mary Neal.⁵¹²

Post-1830 (Category 3)

Notable in Hampton's more contemporaneous tunes are the number of waltzes and minstrel songs, popular with both Hampton and Soobroy.⁵¹³ The first item in the tunebook is an untitled and unidentified waltz written by Frank Musgrave. Little has been written about Musgrave, and I have provided a short biography for contextual purposes in Appendix K, which would indicate that the waltz dates from before 1865.

Also in Soobroy's repertoire was 'Mama's Little Pet Waltz' (*Ham.1.3*), found in two catalogue entries in BL dating from circa 1860, a piano music-sheet,⁵¹⁴ and included in *Farmer's Orchestral Journal*,⁵¹⁵ both corroborating the composer as Henry Farmer (1819-1891), owner of a music warehouse in Nottingham.⁵¹⁶ The tune was also viewed at BL, unexpectedly, as part of the collection of tunes in *William's 105 Popular Dances*

⁵⁰⁸ A direct source was found for Hampton: Thomas Westrop, *120 Country Dances*, (London: Charles Sheard & Co., No date), p. 9. The tune also appears in Boosey, *Boosey's Hundred Reels, Country & Other Dances. For the Violin*, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁹ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 174.

⁵¹⁰ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 35.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² Frank Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p. 129.

⁵¹³ Likewise, the number of hornpipes which possibly also date from this period (3X) and discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵¹⁴ British Library Catalogue, 'Mama's Little Pet. Valse. [P. F.]', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 30 April 2017].

⁵¹⁵ British Library Catalogue, 'Mama's Little Pet. [Valse Facile.] [Orchestral Parts.]', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 30 April 2017].

⁵¹⁶ Scowcroft corroborates the identity of Henry Farmer (1819-1891), a composer and owner of a music warehouse in Nottingham. Philip L Scowcroft, 'A Thirty-Seventh Garland of British Light Music Composers', *Music Web International* (No date) <<http://www.musicweb-international.com/garlands/37.htm>> [accessed 30 April 2017].

for the *Cornet-a-Piston in A natural*,⁵¹⁷ giving an example of the problems encountered without a catalogue of contents for the printed archive.⁵¹⁸ *Ham.6.1*, 'Daffodil Schottische' also demonstrates these methodological issues. In relying solely on the BL catalogue, the corresponding title of an 1890 banjo tune 'Daffodil Schottische',⁵¹⁹ could be thought to be the same tune as Hampton's, having implications on the date of the Hampton MS. When cross-referenced during the BL visit, the tunes were found to be entirely different. However, newspaper articles made reference to a tune contemporaneous with the Hampton MS. 'Daffodil Schottische' is listed on a concert programme for the Burslem Out-door concerts in 1875,⁵²⁰ and the Hull Police Band in 1876, attributed to composer J. Frost.⁵²¹ Although the melody of these references cannot be verified, the date is more in line with other content found in the manuscript. Interestingly, Hampton's tune bears a strong resemblance to the 'A' part of 'What the Devil',⁵²² which in turn is the same as a tune called 'What the Devil Ails You',⁵²³ found in a collection of Appalachian fiddle tunes collected by Bayard in Southwestern Pennsylvania.⁵²⁴ The two are so similar that it seems likely that the 'Daffodil Schottische' is an arrangement or variation of 'What the Devil'.⁵²⁵

Alongside the popular nineteenth-century dances of waltzes, polkas, schottisches and a galop, Hampton also includes a varsoviana, a popular mid-century dance form which by 1888 was "seldom danced now, though it formerly had a sort of ephemeral popularity. We always considered it as rather a boisterous sort of performance, and more suitable for the casino than the private ballroom".⁵²⁶ The varsoviana 'The Silver Lake' (*Ham.8.2*) is found in all three case-studies (*Til.11.1* and *Ben.72.1*) and was

⁵¹⁷ Joseph Williams and Hugh Shimmells, *Williams's 105 Popular Dances, Arranged for the Cornet-à-Piston in a by H. Shimmells.*, (London: Joseph Williams, 1859).

⁵¹⁸ Mentioned above in methodology section and discussed in depth in Chapter 7.

⁵¹⁹ British Library Catalogue, 'Daffodil Schottische...Banjo Solo, with Pianoforte Accompaniment, Etc.', *British Library* (No date) [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵²⁰ 'Burslem out-Door Concerts', *Staffordshire Sentinel*, 14 July 1875, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

⁵²¹ 'Local Intelligence - Police Band at the Park', *Hull Packet* 26 May 1876, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

⁵²² Joe Wass, 'What the Devil', *Folk Tune Finder* (No date) <<http://www.folktunefinder.com>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵²³ J. Lamancusa, 'Hill Country Tunes by Sam Bayard', *Penn State University* (2017) [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁵ Incidentally this is not the same as two tunes by the same name found in Vicker's 1770 manuscript. Seattle, *The Great Northern Tune Book : William Vickers' Collection of Dance Tunes Ad 1770*, p. 89.

⁵²⁶ Frederick Warne, *The Ballroom Guide*, (London and New York: Frederick Warne and Co. (The Noverre Press), 1888 (2012)), p. 61.

prevalent in many other mid-late-nineteenth-century manuscripts and repertoires.⁵²⁷ It is included in Irwin's manuscript suggesting a date of early-nineteenth-century,⁵²⁸ although was possibly a later addition as *The Musical Bouquet* (MB), and Irwin attribute it to Montgomery first published around 1856.⁵²⁹ Two of the dance tunes ('Wedding Galop' (*Ham.3.2*) and 'Mina Waltz' (*Ham.7.2*)),⁵³⁰ were found to be written by Charles Coote (Junior) who features in Till/Clutterbuck MS too. In the nineteenth-century, both Charles Coote (Senior (1809-1880)),⁵³¹ and Charles Coote Junior (1831-1916),⁵³² were prolific composers and arrangers yet are little known now. Similarly, another prolific composer/arranger whose legacy did not survive is W. H. Montgomery. He appears to be the source of several arrangements found in Hampton's repertoire, not least, 'Silver Lake' (*Ham.8.2*), 'The Rigoletto Waltz' (*Ham.9.3*), 'The Last Rose of Summer' (*Ham.10.1*) and the minstrel song 'The Gipsy's Warning' (*Ham.10.2*). Despite BL holding nearly five hundred items under his name, Montgomery's output must have been greater as I am aware of further publications not in BL catalogue. The International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP),⁵³³ attributes only three works to him, one as composer and two as arranger,⁵³⁴ but provides no biographical details.⁵³⁵

The five minstrel songs in Hampton's tunebook reflect their wider popularity in the later nineteenth-century. *Ham.10.2*, 'The Gipsy's Warning', was written by Henry A. Goard,⁵³⁶ (or perhaps arranged, as BL show an opera by this name published in 1838 by

⁵²⁷ Baldwin, Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. 21. Till, *ibid.* p. 33. Irwin's manuscript, dating it to at least c1850, The Village Music Project, 'Irwin, Wm Ms Info', *The Village Music Project* (No date) <<http://www.village-music-project.org.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵²⁸ http://www.village-music-project.org.uk/?page_id=84

⁵²⁹ Mervyn Slatter, 'The Silver-Lake Varsoviana', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2017].

⁵³⁰ There are of course possibly more compositions by Coote but due to unidentifiable tunes and no catalogue or identification resources (such as folktunefinder, or The Village Music Project) available for Victorian popular music research is difficult. This point is discussed in Chapter 7.

⁵³¹ Frank Greene, 'People Coote Charles', *TheMusicSack* (2017) <<http://musicsack.com/PersonFMTDetail.cfm?PersonPK=100067546>> [accessed 26 September 2017].

⁵³² Musopen, 'Charles Coote', (No date) <<https://musopen.org/composer/charles-coote/>> [accessed 26 September 2017].

⁵³³ The International Music Score Library Project.

⁵³⁴ IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, 'Montgomery, William Henry', *IMSLP Petrucci Music Library* (No date) <<http://imslp.org>> [accessed 20 February 2018].

⁵³⁵ See Appendix K.

⁵³⁶ Michael R. Turner, *The Parlour Song Book*, (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1972), p. 241.

Julius Benedict).⁵³⁷ Many arrangements can be found in BL catalogue indicating that Goard's song became popular from 1864, reaching a peak during the early 1870s. 'Mollie Darling' (*Ham.9.5*), written in 1871 by William S Hays,⁵³⁸ remained popular well into the twentieth-century, demonstrated during the BL visit by frequent occurrences in printed collections. Similarly, the BL archive visit showed the popularity of 'Tis but a Faded Flower' (*Ham.10.5*), amongst instrumentalists, occurring frequently in instrumental collections, particularly amongst the minstrel collections. The song existed in American music sheet form from at least 1860 with words by Mrs Ellen Howarth and music by J. R. Thomas,⁵³⁹ and was part of The Christy Minstrels' repertoire,⁵⁴⁰ circa 1870. *Ham.11.4*, 'The Empty Cradle', again from The Christy Minstrels' repertoire was also known as 'Cradle's Empty Baby's Gone',⁵⁴¹ copyrighted and printed in 1880 by American, Harry Kennedy.⁵⁴² However an earlier song exists in BL with the exact title given by Hampton, dated to 1869,⁵⁴³ and thus sits more comfortably with the proposed date of the manuscript. Reference to a song known by 'Empty Cradle', an identical title to Hampton's, can be found in the British Newspaper Archive (BNA), dated January 1870,⁵⁴⁴ and corresponding tunes in BL confirm that the titles were interchangeable,⁵⁴⁵ the earlier song possibly influencing Kennedy's version with subsequent parodies to follow.

⁵³⁷ British Library Catalogue, 'Three Rondos, No 1, the Carnival, No 2, the Tarantella, No 3, the Pulcinella, for the Piano Forte, From ... The Gipsy's Warning ... No. 3.', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

⁵³⁸ Ray B. Browne, *The Alabama Folk Lyric: A Study in Origins and Media of Dissemination*, (Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press), p. 97.

⁵³⁹ The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, 'Tis but a Little Faded Flower. Ballad.', *John Hopkins Sheridan Libraries & University Museums* (2017) <<http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu>> [accessed 3 May 2017].

⁵⁴⁰ The Sheetmusic Warehouse, 'Tis but a Little Faded Flower - Ballad Sung by the Christys Minstrels', *The Sheetmusic Warehouse* (No date) <<https://www.sheetmusicwarehouse.co.uk>> [accessed 7 June 2017].

⁵⁴¹ The Sheetmusic Warehouse, 'The Cradles Empty Babys Gone - Song with Chorus Sung by Christys Minstrels', *The Sheetmusic Warehouse* (No date) <<http://www.sheetmusicwarehouse.co.uk>> [accessed 4 May 2017].

⁵⁴² The Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection, 'Cradle's Empty, Baby's Gone. Song & Chorus.', *The Sheetmusic Warehouse* (2017) <<http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu>> [accessed 6 May 2017].

⁵⁴³ British Library Catalogue, 'The Empty Cradle. Ballad', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 2018 26 January].

⁵⁴⁴ 'New Dance Music, All of Which...', *Graphic*, 29 January 1870, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

⁵⁴⁵ British Library Catalogue, 'Empty Cradle', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 25 March 2017].

Categories 4-7⁵⁴⁶

The religious music found in the main body of Hampton's tunebook was all Nonconformist, most of the items existing in Moody and Sankey's popular nineteenth-century hymn book, *Sacred Songs and Solos. Ham.10.3*, subtitled 'No. 25', can be found *Sacred Songs and Solos*, also numbered '25' in the 1890, 1880 and 1870 editions of the book. The hymn was written in 1868 with lyrics by Fanny Crosby and music by W. Howard Doane. Similarly, the respective numbering of *Ham.12.1* and *Ham.12.2* (as No. 16 and No. 14) indicates that they were potentially sourced from the same hymn book as *Ham.10.3*. MB published two of Moody & Sankey's Revivalist Hymn books and individual music sheets and books, some of which are arrangements carried out by Westrop for the violin, although those I viewed in BL did not provide a direct source.

The inclusion of the popular carol, 'O Come All Ye Faithful' (*Ham.13.2*), is noteworthy. As an English carol it is thought to date from 1789,⁵⁴⁷ and in accordance with the surrounding material it would be feasible to suggest that Hampton either copied this hurriedly from nineteenth-century print or perhaps wrote it out aurally, 'by ear', given the absence of barlines and key and the rhythmic notation appearing to be in shorthand. The origins of the original Latin version, 'Adeste Fideles' are explored by Bennett Zon in his 1996 article in *Early Music*,⁵⁴⁸ and a chance meeting between myself and Professor Zon resulted in him showing much interest in Hampton's transcription.⁵⁴⁹ Zon interpreted the absence of barlines and peculiar rhythmic notation as an indication that Hampton had sourced and copied the tune from a much older free-rhythmic source rather than the result of aural/oral transmission.

Till/Clutterbuck MS 1866

The main body of the tunebook totals fifty-six items,⁵⁵⁰ and Figure 49, shows the 'depth' of genre detailing an even clearer predominance than Hampton MS for

⁵⁴⁶ Tunes from categories 6 and 7 are discussed elsewhere in the thesis so are omitted here.

⁵⁴⁷ Hymns and Carols of Christmas, 'Adeste, Fideles - Notes on the Hymn', *Hymns and Carols of Christmas* (No date) <<http://www.hymnsandcarolsofchristmas.com>> [accessed 5 October 2016].

⁵⁴⁸ Bennett Zon, 'The Origin of "Adeste Fideles"', *Early Music*, 24. 2 (1996), 279-88.

⁵⁴⁹ The meeting occurred in the bar of Jury's Inn, Birmingham following the 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain' conference, held at the University of Birmingham, June 2017.

⁵⁵⁰ In the content analysis I am excluding the material which comprises separate sacred sections of both Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett MSS. This is because it fulfils a function which is self-explanatory and is outside the focus of study of the secular material. Where sacred tunes exist within the main body of the secular content, these have been included in the examination (for example *Ham.10.3*, *Ham.10.4*, *Ham.12.1*, *Ham.12.2* and *Ben.55.1*).

category 3, 'Later Dance or Song Melodies' (82% including category 3x, 68% excluding). Figure 50 shows the 'width' of the tunes with tunes belonging to quadrille sets dominate (23%), with dance forms of hornpipes, waltzes and polkas also making up favoured genres (13% each) and popular contemporary songs making up 9% of the total. Only 15% of tunes (29% including 3x), would be classed as historic, and, if having survived two generations would be considered as part of folk music tradition.

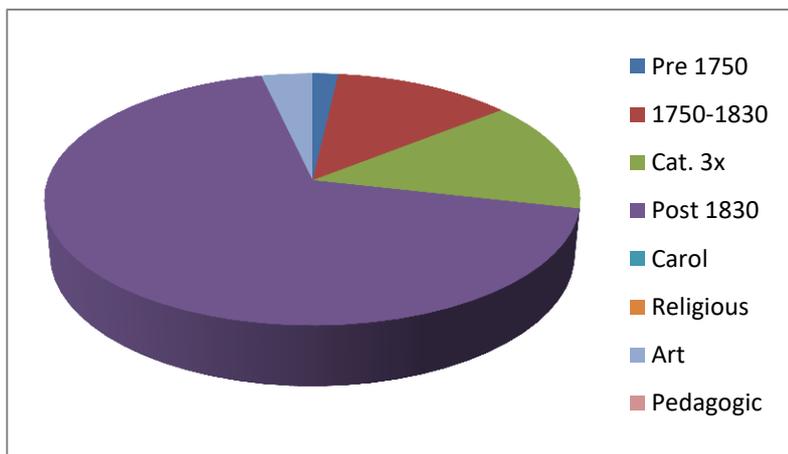


Figure 49 : The 'Depth' of tunes in Till/Clutterbuck MS.

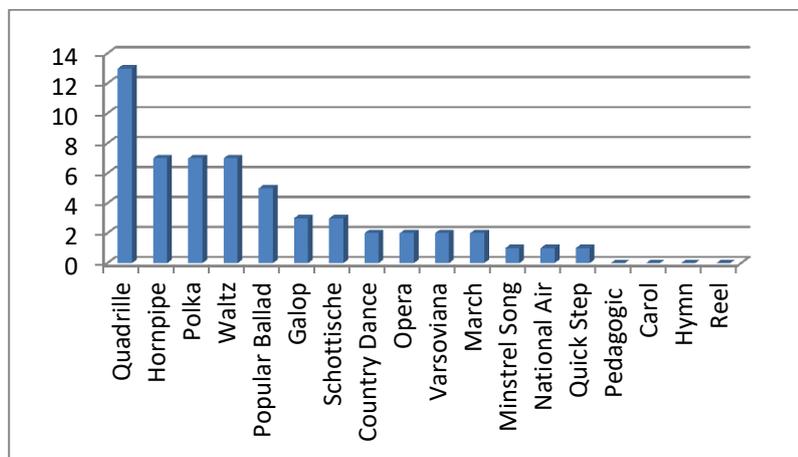


Figure 50 : The 'Width' of tunes in Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Pre-1750 (Category 1)

I classified only one of Till/Clutterbuck's tunes as pre-1750,⁵⁵¹ 'Jenny Jones or the Charming Young Widow' (*Til.18.1*) and even this arguably belongs in the post-1830 category, as the title suggests Till/Clutterbuck's encounter with the tune may have been via a mid-nineteenth-century broadside ballad. The ballad, 'The Charming Young

⁵⁵¹ Excepting the problematic 3X hornpipes.

Widow I Meet on the Train',⁵⁵² was to be sung to the melody 'Jenny Jones',⁵⁵³ and the lyrics were written by W. H. Cove, and music by John Parry (1776-1851). It appears extensively in BL catalogue and possibly made famous by celebrity singer Mr. W. Randal in the 1860s.⁵⁵⁴ The melody is a popular tune in the English and Scottish repertoire,⁵⁵⁵ thought to originate from a traditional Welsh dance.⁵⁵⁶

1750-1830 (Category 2)

Few tunes were classified in the second category. The first is a quickstep (*Til.9.1*), which has strong 'A' part similarities with several other manuscript and published tunes from the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. Two quicksteps in Edward Winder and James Winder's manuscripts and 'Miss Small of Dirnanean's Jigg' found in the Petrie's collection (1790),⁵⁵⁷ bear similarities as does 'The Doldrum', from Fentum's *A Favourite Collection of Country Dances*, 1797.⁵⁵⁸ However, a tune appearing in both Joshua Jackson's 1798 manuscript,⁵⁵⁹ and H.S.I Jackson's 1823 manuscript book,⁵⁶⁰ can be seen as particularly close variants. The tune, called *Capuchin*, could have been copied from the version printed in Aird's.⁵⁶¹ Comparison with a tune in Hughes' manuscript (c1811), from Westbury-On-Trym indicates this tune was known (or used as) the 'Glocester Quick Step' [sic], shown and discussed in Chapter 5.

Four of the tunes in this category were used in the mid-late nineteenth-century as part of quadrille sets. In this context they were transcribed as individual tunes rather than part of a quadrille and thus classed as such, although their presence in the tunebook is likely connected to their existence in quadrilles. The first two (*Til.34.1*, *Til.34.2*), are

⁵⁵² National Library of Scotland, 'The Word on the Street', *National Library of Scotland* (2004) <<http://digital.nls.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁵⁵³ Library of Congress, 'The Charming Young Widow I Met in the Train. Air: Jenny Jones. H. De Marsan, Publisher, 60 Chatham Street, New York', *Library of Congress* (No date) <<https://www.loc.gov>> [accessed 20 May 2017].

⁵⁵⁴ British Library Catalogue, 'The Charming Young Widow I Met in the Train / Sung with Immense Success by Mr. W. Randall ; [Written by W.H. Cove].', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 10 May 2016].

⁵⁵⁵ Andrew Kuntz, 'Jenn', *The Fiddler's Companion* (2010) <<http://www.ibiblio.org>> [accessed 3 December 2017].

⁵⁵⁶ ffidylguy, 'Cader Idris Waltz', *The Session* (2004) <<https://thesession.org>>.

⁵⁵⁷ Joe Wass, 'Mrs. Small of Dirnanean's Jigg', *Folk Tune Finder* (No date) <<http://folktunefinder.com>> [accessed 6 June 2017].

⁵⁵⁸ Colin Hume, 'Maggot Pie', *Colin Hume* (2018) <<http://www.colinhume.com>> [accessed 26 June 2017].

⁵⁵⁹ Shepherd and Shepherd, *Mr Joshua Jackson Book 1798 : Tunes, Songs & Dances from the Manuscript of a Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician Volume Two*, p. 106.

⁵⁶⁰ Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, p. 63.

⁵⁶¹ Aird, 'A Selection of Scotch, English Irish and Foreign Airs', *IMSLP* (No date) <<http://imslp.nl>> [accessed 2017 3 May].

part of an alternative version of the 'Bonnie Dundee Quadrille' discussed in Chapter 4. As older songs both have connections to Robbie Burns.⁵⁶² 'Whistle & I'll Come to thee my Lad', reputed to have been written in 1793, "based on an old fragment of an even more ancient song",⁵⁶³ and 'Comin' through the rye', which has appeared in several variations including one by Burns.⁵⁶⁴ Both appear extensively in nineteenth-century print in Britain and America as songs and in instrumental collections.⁵⁶⁵

Til.35.1, '3rd Figure of the Lancers' is 'La Native', based on 'If the Heart of a Man' from *The Beggar's Opera*,⁵⁶⁶ and formed part of the dance form known as the Lancers. A description in 1888 describes the dance thus:

Undoubtedly the most popular quadrille after the First Set...indeed, we are almost inclined to fancy that it is the most popular of any quadrilles. Many years ago this dance was a great favourite, but, owing to the freaks of fashion, it lapsed into obscurity, and was seldom, if ever, danced. We believe praise is due to the Empress Eugenie, to whom we are indebted for many things beside crinoline, for the re-introduction of this best of quadrilles into the modern ballroom.⁵⁶⁷

The tune set of five melodies was constructed by John Duval in 1817,⁵⁶⁸ and Till/Clutterbuck's transcription is near identical (apart from dotting the rhythm in bar 5), to an 1857 printed piano arrangement,⁵⁶⁹ which was published by *Robert Cocks & Co.'s*. It is curious that Till/Clutterbuck only copied the third figure, suggesting he either knew the other four figures, or that band members or friends were copying one each and pooling their copies at a dance.

Till/Clutterbuck's 'Swiss Air' (*Til.38.1*) proved difficult to identify as although it has melodic elements of the popular and frequently occurring dance tune and Tyrolean song 'Swiss Boy', it is not the same. Discussion on a tune forum suggests that the

⁵⁶² Rampant Scotland, 'Traditional Scottish Songs - Comin' Thro' the Rye ', (No date) <<http://www.rampantscotland.com>> [accessed 9 June 2017]; Rampant Scotland, 'Traditional Scottish Songs - Whistle, and I'll Come to You, My Lad ', *Rampant Scotland* (No date) <<http://www.rampantscotland.com>> [accessed 9 June 2017].

⁵⁶³ Rampant Scotland, 'Traditional Scottish Songs - Whistle, and I'll Come to You, My Lad '.

⁵⁶⁴ Rampant Scotland, 'Traditional Scottish Songs - Comin' Thro' the Rye '.

⁵⁶⁵ For example, see MB catalogue, BL listings and LOC listings.

⁵⁶⁶ Andrew Kuntz, 'Lan - Lap', *The Fiddler's Companion* (2009) <<http://www.ibiblio.org>> [accessed 4 October 2017]. Also known as 'Poor Robin's Maggot'.

⁵⁶⁷ Warne, *The Ballroom Guide*, p. 43.

⁵⁶⁸ Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Lancers Quadrilles First Figure (the)', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2016) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 15 April 2017].

⁵⁶⁹ Spagnoletti, 'The Lancers Quadrilles / Duval's Second Set', *Internet Archive* (No date) <<https://archive.org>> [accessed 4 December 2017].

original air of 'Swiss Boy' was a Swiss Tyrolean song, later arranged by Ignaz Moscheles and incorporated into his 'Tyrolese Melodies' (published in 1827), which can now be found in many manuscripts including Thomas Hardy's.⁵⁷⁰ I could not identify the tune in Moscheles' 'Tyrolese Melodies', although I found the 'B' part to closely resemble a German folk song, 'Du Du Liegt Mir Im Herzen',⁵⁷¹ which originates from Northern Germany. It transpires that Bavarian composer and inventor, Wilhelm Boehm published arrangements of both 'Swiss Boy' and 'Du Du Liegt' in 1838 called 'Variations sur un air Tyrolien' and 'Variations sur un air Allemand'.⁵⁷² On examination, the latter is revealed as a match to the melody in the second half of Till/Clutterbuck's tune and the former is a version of the 'Swiss Boy', echoing the 'A' part of Till/Clutterbuck's melody and pointing to his version being a later arrangement of the two tunes. This type of 'Swiss' tune was evidently popular in this musical practice as all three case-studies have an example (*Ham.12.3*, *Til.38.1* and *Ben.34.1*).

Post-1830 (Category 3)

Quadrilles and hornpipes are popular tunes in this category but are discussed elsewhere, so the discussion here begins with polkas and waltzes. A cluster of polkas begin with 'The Enchanters Polka' *Til.19.1* which can be identified in (Soobroy's), *Boosey's 100 Dances*,⁵⁷³ as 'The Enchantress Polka' attributed to A. P. Juliano. Once again, little is known about Juliano, yet during the nineteenth-century he was so well regarded that his compositions were played at Queen Victoria's state ball in May 1852.⁵⁷⁴ Census searches reveal no information and indicate that the name is likely to be a pseudonym. The printed version is much longer than Till/Clutterbuck's, who appears to have been interrupted before completing the first section. Two more melodies with the same title but different composers were found (Albert Sumner,⁵⁷⁵ J.M. Jolly),⁵⁷⁶ although their corresponding melodies cannot be verified. BL hold a copy

⁵⁷⁰ The Session, 'The Swiss Boy', *The Session* (No date) <<https://thesession.org>> [accessed 9 April 2017].

⁵⁷¹ Joe Wass, 'Du Du Liegst Mir Im Herzen', *Folk Tune Finder* (No date) <<http://folktunefinder.com>> [accessed 19 April 2017].

⁵⁷² IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, 'Boehm, Theobald', *IMSLP Petrucci Music Library* (No date) <<http://imslp.org>> [accessed 28 May 2017].

⁵⁷³ Boosey, *Boosey's Hundred Reels, Country & Other Dances. For the Violin*.

⁵⁷⁴ 'The Court. Her Majesty's State Ball', *Northern Standard*, 29 May 1852, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 7 October 2017].

⁵⁷⁵ Ebay, 'The Enchantress Polka Brilliante, Albert I. Sumner, J. H. Hidley Albany, Ny, 1864', *Ebay* (2017) <<http://www.ebay.ca>> [accessed 14 June 2017].

⁵⁷⁶ The Sheetmusic Warehouse, 'The Enchantress Polka', *The Sheetmusic Warehouse* (No date) <<http://www.sheetmusicwarehouse.co.uk>> [accessed 28 May 2017].

of Juliano's 'L'Enchanteresse Polka' in *Boosey's Orchestral Journal No. 5*, and it also appears in *Boosey's 100 Dances for Violin*, *Boosey's 100 Dances for Cornet*, and *Boosey's 100 Dances for Flute*.⁵⁷⁷

Til.20.1 is untitled but was identified as the 'Trecynon Polka',⁵⁷⁸ thought to be from a collection of old Welsh tunes,⁵⁷⁹ although the modulation and melodic shape suggest the tune is a mid-nineteenth-century newly composed polka. It is noteworthy that the tune is considered by some to be a 'traditional' Welsh tune which likely entered the repertoire via a popular route, in a converse manner to the traditional tunes of *Til.14.1-Til.17.1* entering the popular market, discussed below.

The 'Great Eastern Polka' (*Til.21.1*) is an example of a tune referring to current events. The 'SS Great Eastern', was the largest ship of her time, designed by Brunel to carry passengers and cargo from England to Australia without refuelling. She launched in 1858 and despite laying the first transatlantic cable in 1866, the year of the manuscript, she ended her life as a floating Music Hall and was scrapped in 1888-1889.⁵⁸⁰ TTA and MB (Figure 51),⁵⁸¹ attribute the tune to Charles Coote (Junior),⁵⁸² yet the orchestral and piano arrangements in BL cite Charles Coote (Senior) as composer.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁷ British Library Catalogue, 'L'enchanteresse Polka', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 4 May 2017].

⁵⁷⁸ Joe Wass, 'The Trecynon Polka', *Folk Tune Finder* (No date) <<http://folktunefinder.com>> [accessed 2017 17 March].

⁵⁷⁹ The Session, 'Polca Trecynon', *The Session* (No date) <<https://thesession.org>> [accessed 25 March 2017].

⁵⁸⁰ [IKBrunel.org.uk](http://www.ikbrunel.org.uk), 'Ss Great Eastern', *IKBrunel.org.uk* (No date) <<http://www.ikbrunel.org.uk/ss-great-eastern>> [accessed 17 April 2017]. Please note I use 'Music Hall' when describing the actual building and 'musichall' when discussing the repertoire.

⁵⁸¹ Mervyn Slatter, 'The Great Eastern Polka - Pf.Solo', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk/the-great-eastern>> [accessed 29 September 2016].

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*; Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Great Eastern Polka (the)', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2012) <<http://tuneearch.org>> [accessed 9 May 2016].

⁵⁸³ British Library Catalogue, 'Coote Great Eastern Polka', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 5 June 2017].



Figure 51 : 'The Great Eastern Polka'. Source: www.musicalbouquet.co.uk.

However, a piano duet arrangement in BL attributes the piece to Charles D'Albert in 1860 perhaps referring to the arrangement.⁵⁸⁴ The tune is thought to be part of Hardy's repertoire,⁵⁸⁵ and is also found in an Irish manuscript.⁵⁸⁶ In the same vein, 'The White Star Polka' (*Til.23.1*) also takes the name of a famous shipping line. Although reference to an orchestral piece was found with this title,⁵⁸⁷ I believe the composer, 'Mr A Moffat Berkeley', was local and known to Till/Clutterbuck. It is not known whether Moffat's compositions were published although none can be found attributed to him in newspaper archives.⁵⁸⁸

The next polka, 'Scotch Polka' (*Til.24.1*), can be found in the Watson manuscript (Norfolk, 1850-1880),⁵⁸⁹ and matched the melody of D'Albert's 'Scotch Polka'.⁵⁹⁰ The tune was first published in 1856,⁵⁹¹ and remained in the concert repertoire until at least 1868.⁵⁹² 'Ask Mamma Polka' (*Til.30.1*) was evidently another very popular dance tune in the mid-nineteenth-century. References to a dance by this name are made in

⁵⁸⁴ British Library Catalogue, 'The Big Ship, or Great Eastern Polka, as a [P.F.] Duet. Charles D' Albert, 1809-1886.', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 7 May 2017].

⁵⁸⁵ Trim and others *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy*.

⁵⁸⁶ Kuntz and Pelliccioni, 'Great Eastern Polka (the)'.

⁵⁸⁷ Philip L Scowcroft, 'Ships and Harbours in British Music', *Classical Music Web* (No date) <<http://www.musicweb-international.com>> [accessed 17 August 2017].

⁵⁸⁸ For more discussion on Moffatt, see Chapters 5 & 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Taz Tarry, 'Scoth? Scotch Polka', *trillian.mit.edu* (No date) <<http://trillian.mit.edu>> [accessed 28 December 2017].

⁵⁹⁰ Irish Sheet Music Archives, 'The Scotch Polka', *Irish Sheet Music Archives* (2017) <<http://irishsheetmusicarchives.com>> [accessed 18 May 2017].

⁵⁹¹ 'Just Published', *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 26 March 1856, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 8 May 2017].

⁵⁹² 'Royal Tyrone Fusilier's Band', *Tyrone Constitution*, 17 July 1868, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

Robert Smith Surtees' 1858 book, *Ask Mamma: Or The Richest Commoner In England*,⁵⁹³ and an engraving by the *Punch* caricaturist John Leech (1817-1864), entitled *The Hunt Ball, "Ask Mamma" Polka*,⁵⁹⁴ can also be found. Mention of the melody was found as an advertisement on a music sheet when researching *Til.24.1*,⁵⁹⁵ but the melody was not found until it unexpectedly appeared in an instrumental collection, arranged by Westrop and published by MB.⁵⁹⁶

Waltzes also feature heavily in Till/Clutterbuck's tunebook, accounting for six of the tunes. The first waltz *Til.12.2* has a distinct title, 'The Hebe Waltz (No 1)', yet can still only partially be identified. Initial searches highlight the possibility of this being a popular version of Emile Waldteufel's (1837-1915), 'Hebe Waltz', Op. 228, although the melody bears little resemblance. An alternative would be the music sheet dated 1839 held in the Library of Congress (LOC), containing three waltzes, one named as 'The Hebe', composed by Andrew Schad,⁵⁹⁷ yet on closer examination, the melody differs. A final suggestion, found online, in an advertisement on the back of a popular music sheet seems the most plausible (Figure 52).⁵⁹⁸ A matching title can be seen, listing the composer as W. H. Montgomery. Despite having no melody with which to compare, the music sheet is 'Champagne Charlie', written in 1866,⁵⁹⁹ and ties in with the date of the manuscript. Furthermore, Till/Clutterbuck's next tune (*Til.13.2*), 'The Heather Bloom Waltz (No 1) Haydn Millers', is also on this advertisement, suggesting that not only are these the tunes but the publications are a potential source.

⁵⁹³ Robert Smith Surtees, *Ask Mamma : Or the Richest Commoner in England*, (1858).

⁵⁹⁴ Look and Learn, 'The Hunt Ball, "Ask Mamma" Polka', *Look and Learn* (2017) <<http://www.lookandlearn.com>> [accessed 29 June 2017].

⁵⁹⁵ Mervyn Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet', *Musical Bouquet* (2011) <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk>> [accessed 13 September 2015].

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas Westrop, *One Hundred and Fifty Melodies for the Violin. Adapted Also for the Flute, or Any Treble Instrument.*, (London: Charles Sheard, Musical Bouquet, c1860), p. 51. This is a further example of the methodological difficulties encountered as this book has no contents page.

⁵⁹⁷ Library of Congress, 'Three Waltzes: My Home, the Hebe, and the Lily', *Library of Congress* (No date) <<https://www.loc.gov>> [accessed 20 February 2018].

⁵⁹⁸ Birmingham City Council, 'Champagne Charlie', *Birmingham City Council* (No date) <<https://www.birmingham.gov.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018]. Reproduced with the permission of the Library of Birmingham. Music Library: Song sheet collection.

⁵⁹⁹ Victoria & Albert Museum, 'George Leybourne', *Victoria and Albert Museum* (2016) <<http://www.vam.ac.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

Copyright Dance Music.			
WALTZES, SOLOS, AND DUETS.			
The Flower of the Day	W. H. Montgomery.	3	0
The Heather-bloom... ..	Haydn Millars.	3	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto.	3	0
The Croquet... ..	J. Sidney Jones.	3	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto.	3	0
The Humming-Bird Moth	W. H. Montgomery.	3	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto.	3	0
The Hebe	Ditto.	3	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto.	3	0
The Flora	Ditto.	3	0
The Pomona	Ditto.	3	0
The Cupid	J. S. Jones.	3	0
Baden-Baden (The)	Bousquet.	3	0
The Elsie	Haydn Millars.	3	0
The Belinda	R. Coote.	3	0
The Swell Waltz	Plumpton.	3	0
The Mousetrap-Man Waltz	W. H. Montgomery.	4	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto.	4	0
Happy Hours	Marriott	4	0
The Long Strike Waltz	W. H. Montgomery	4	0
Champagne Valse—Comique	Marriott ...	4	0
Ditto, as Duet	Ditto ...	4	0

* * The Mousetrap-Man Waltz is the beautiful composition from which

Figure 52 : 'The Hebe Waltz'. Source: www.birmingham.gov.uk.

Although the publisher's name cannot be read, the address of 13 Castle Street East, has led me to the publisher or printer of J & W Pearman dating the copy to 1858-66.⁶⁰⁰

Despite Till/Clutterbuck naming the composer and title for *Til.13.2*, and publication confirmed by the advertisement in Figure 52, little else is known about the melody. During BL visit I examined a waltz by the same name, composed by W Smallwood,⁶⁰¹ but found the melody did not match. A music sheet exists in the Harvard College Library yet is not accessible online,⁶⁰² and listings exist in BL which match the title, but none is attributed to Haydn Millars. BL hold over one hundred items attributed to Haydn Millars, and it appears that his chief output was between 1870 and 1903, placing this waltz at the beginning of his career.⁶⁰³

Once again, very little is now known about a composer who had a large impact on nineteenth-century musical life. It was difficult uncovering more about the composer, partly due to his use of different forenames, the frequent mis-spelling of his surname to the more common Miller or Millers and the peripatetic nature of his work as bandmaster and conductor. However, I have presented a brief biography in Appendix K. I feel there is scope for more research to illuminate the lives of key nineteenth-

⁶⁰⁰ John A. Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers : An Annotated List*, (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1990), p. 215.

⁶⁰¹ W. Smallwood, 'Hebe Waltz Music Collections H.1412.', *British Library* (No date).

⁶⁰² Harvard University Library, 'Illustrated Sheet Music, 1839-1948:Guide.', *Harvard University Library* (No date) <<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁰³ See Appendix K for biography.

century characters who were evidently highly regarded in their time and had a major influence on the Victorian vernacular amateur musical practice. As with a great deal of the repertoire, the names and reputations of these men have not survived and there would be value in having their histories written and preserved.

Several song melodies feature in Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript including 'Rosalie, Prairie Flower', composed by G F Wurzell and part of the Christy Minstrel repertoire. Denes Agay believes that Wurzell, similar to the German for 'root' is a pseudonym for George F. Root (1820-1895).⁶⁰⁴ The tune has since been absorbed into the traditional repertoire and is known as the 'Northumbrian Schottische'.⁶⁰⁵ A similar example of the selection, absorption and survival of a contemporary popular song into a traditional repertoire, or the recycling of a traditional song in contemporary repertoire, can be found in *Til.44.1*, 'Twas on a Sunday Morning'. Also known as 'Dashing Away with the Smoothing Iron', it was collected by Sharp in the early-twentieth-century.⁶⁰⁶ It was popular during the 1850s and 1860s and is attributed to Frank Mori (1820 – 1873).⁶⁰⁷

'I'll be there Love at half past nine' (*Til.44.2*), may indicate a later addition to the manuscript as the title and melody match a popular music hall song written in 1893,⁶⁰⁸ by Wal Pink and George Le Brunn. Worldcat lists four publications between 1893 and 1894,⁶⁰⁹ and no earlier reference can be found. Influence of an earlier music hall song can be found in *Til.43.1*, 'Champaign Charlie'. It was a massive success, reputed to have been written in 1866 by Albert Lee and George Leybourne.⁶¹⁰ Till/Clutterbuck's transcription is more analogous with a dance arrangement of the tune. LSMC hold many dance arrangements including a galop entitled, 'Champagne Charlie Galop' which resembles Till/Clutterbuck's transcription.

⁶⁰⁴ Lesley Nelson-Burns, 'Rosalie, the Prairie Flower', *The Contemplator* (No date) <<http://www.contemplator.com>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁰⁵ The Session, 'Rosalie, the Prairie Flower', *The Session* (No date) <<https://thesession.org>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁰⁶ Traditional & Folk Songs, 'Dashing Away with the Smoothing Iron', *Traditional & Folk Songs* (No date) <<http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018]; Joe Offer, 'Dashing Away with the Smothing Iron', (No date) <<http://www.joe-offer.com>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁰⁷ Frank Mori, 'Twas on a Sunday Morning [the Words by Charles Swain]', *Cramer, Beale & Co.* (1853) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁰⁸ New York Library Digital Collections, 'Half Past Nine'.

⁶⁰⁹ OCLC Worldcat Identities, 'Half Past Nine', *OCLC World Cat* (No date) <<http://www.worldcat.org>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶¹⁰ Victoria & Albert Museum, 'George Leybourne'.

Bennett MS 1860

Twenty sacred psalms begin Bennett’s manuscript, followed by seventy-seven items of interest. Once again, the majority of these are classed as category 3, ‘Later Dance or Song Melodies’ (80% including category 3x, 71% without), shown in Figure 53. Figure 54 shows the genre breakdown indicating an overriding dominance of tunes which form quadrille sets (36%), followed by hornpipes and popular contemporary songs at 12% each. 13% make up tunes which have ‘survived’ into the manuscripts as representative of the traditional process (22% including 3x).

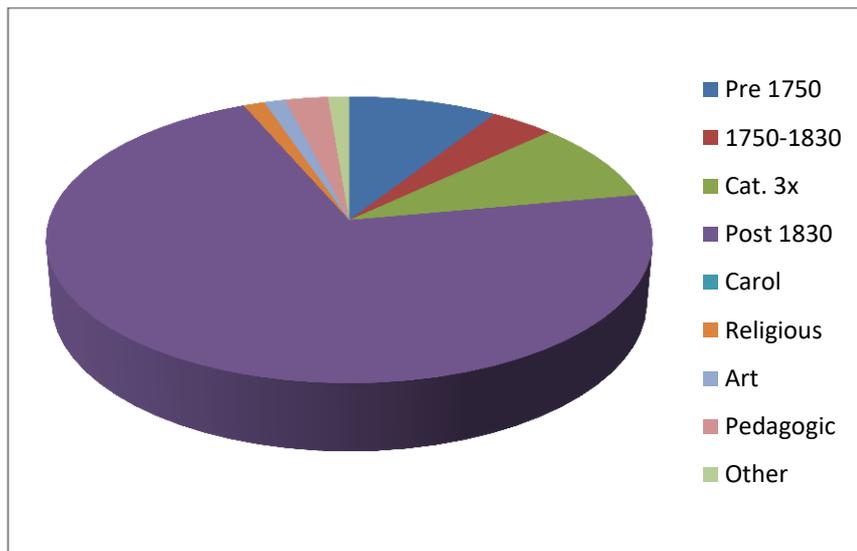


Figure 53 : The 'Depth' of tunes in Bennett MS.

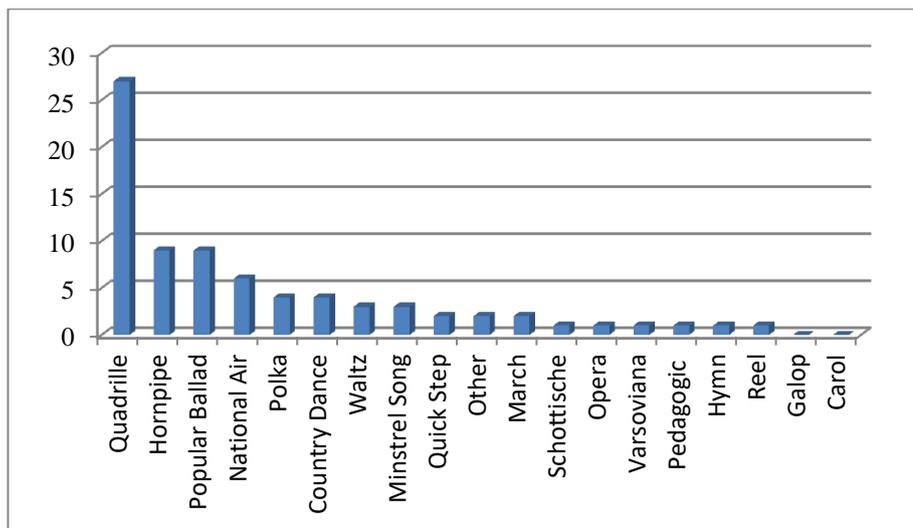


Figure 54 : The 'Width' of tunes in Bennett MS.

Pre-1750

I have classed two of Bennett's 'National Airs' in the 'Pre-1750' category. The history of *Ben.36.2*, 'Last Rose of Summer' is discussed in Hampton's tunebook summary, but Bennett's transcription is noteworthy as it appears to have been written either aurally or in shorthand as an aide-memoire or a second-part harmony. The melody of the second air, 'Young Ellen the Fair' (*Ben.127.2*) appears to have been written by a different scribe from *Ben.127.1*. It is possibly an addition when the manuscript was in Canada as no listing exists for this song in BL catalogue. The title can be traced to a Nova Scotia folk song, collected from Alexander Harrison.⁶¹¹ William MacKenzie suggests it was a common British broadside ballad, 'but is not included in the recent English collections',⁶¹² which may indicate that Bennett learnt it in Canada or that its popularity there reminded him of it as a song from his childhood. MacKenzie notes that it was also known as 'Helen the Fair'. I traced a chapbook (Figure 55) published in Glasgow but found on an American website specialising in rare books and manuscripts.⁶¹³

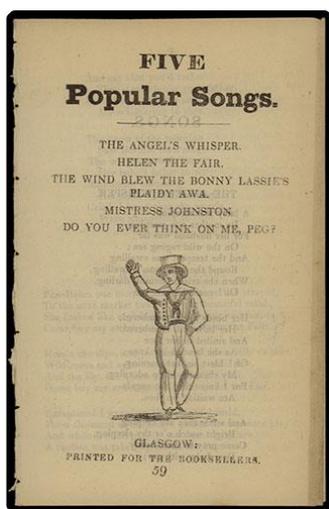


Figure 55 : Chapbook *Five Popular Songs*. Source: www.prbm.com.

The title of *Ben.72.2* is curious: 'Text. Round and Small', although the melody is 'Buttered Peas', which is an old tune, found in eighteenth century printed publications

⁶¹¹ Folk and Traditional Song Lyrics, 'Ellen the Fair', *Traditional Music* (No date) <<http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2017].

⁶¹² Nova Story Digital Collections, 'Ballads and Sea Songs from Nova Scotia W. Roy Mackenzie', *Nova Story Digital Collections* (No date) <<http://www.novastory.ca>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶¹³ 'Five Popular Songs', *Philadelphia Rare Books & Manuscripts* (No date) <<https://www.prbm.com>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

and manuscripts, dating to at least 1730.⁶¹⁴ The cryptic title is perhaps referring to peas, which might suggest song lyrics although no trace of lyrics containing the title can be found. Bennett adds a version in F major in bluer ink underneath the initial tune (written in G major), enabling a Bb and C instrument to play in unison.

1750-1830

I have classed three of Bennett's tunes in the second category. The first is 'Speed the Plough' (*Ben.35.1*), a commonly occurring dance tune which BL listings suggest was popular in the early 1800s.⁶¹⁵ The tune appears several times in the slightly earlier Winter manuscript.⁶¹⁶ A detailed history exists on *session.org* stating that the tune was written for Dibdin's musical play, *The Naval Pillar*, composed by John Moorhead.⁶¹⁷ Based on this, I categorised the tune as 2a, although it is possible that Dibdin or his musical director could have recycled an older, pre-existing tune. Bennett writes 'Those Evening Bells' (*Ben.73.1*) as an instrumental part, indicating involvement in a group or band,⁶¹⁸ and the melody is clarified by Bennett writing 'song' underneath the fourth stave. BL have many holdings, dating from 1820 through to the twenty-first-century, and the BL visit confirmed the melody to match a version attributed to J W Tidswell, although it appears to be an arrangement of a song based on a poem by Thomas Moore and a melody by J A Stevenson (1761-1833).⁶¹⁹ The final item in this category, *Ben.75.1*, 'Will Watch the Bold Smuggler' is likely related to a broadside song (Figure 56),⁶²⁰ dated to c1820,⁶²¹ although it cannot be confirmed whether the melody is original to the song.

⁶¹⁴ Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Buttered Peas (1)', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2017) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

⁶¹⁵ British Library Catalogue, 'Speed the Plough', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶¹⁶ Dated both 1848 and 1850. Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*, pp. 2-3. See Chapter 4.

⁶¹⁷ The Session, 'Speed the Plough Reel', *The Session* (No date) <<https://thesession.org>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶¹⁸ Further evidence of band (especially brass) involvement can be found in inscriptions or harmonies in *Ben.56.1* and *Ben.126.2* (punctuated harmonies), *Ben.59.1-Ben.64.1* (references to 1st Cornet part) *Ben.85.1* (Eb piccolo and flute).

⁶¹⁹ John Stevenson, *Those Evening Bells / by Thomas Moore, the Symphonies & Accompaniments by Sir J. Stevenson*, (W. Williams & Co, 1862).

⁶²⁰ National Library of Scotland, 'Will Watch, the Bold Smuggler', *National Library of Scotland* (No date) <<http://digital.nls.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018]. Reproduced with permission from materials on loan to the National Library of Scotland from the Balcarres Heritage Trust.

⁶²¹ Lesley Nelson-Burns, 'Will Watch', *The Contemplator* (No date) <<http://www.contemplator.com>> [accessed 17 March 2018].



Figure 56: 'Will Watch, The Bold Smuggler'. Source: <http://digital.nls.uk>.

Post-1830

Once again, by far the largest category in the manuscript are tunes belonging to the post-1850 period. Bennett's repertoire is dominated by tunes which make up quadrille sets. The first set, the 'England Quadrills' (*Ben.25.1-Ben.29.1*) can be traced as D'Albert's 'England: Quadrille upon English Air',⁶²² comprising adaptations of historic tunes, of the sort discussed later in the chapter. BL hold piano arrangements dating from 1853-56,⁶²³ and the dance set enjoyed lengthy popularity, with numerous newspaper reports of its use in both concert and dance programmes from the 1850s and 1860s with some reports still showing its use in the 1880s.⁶²⁴ They should not be confused with Jullien's 'English Quadrilles'.

The second quadrille set is 'Charlestown Quadrills', another 'composition' by Charles D'Albert, and found in many of Chappell's publications.⁶²⁵ TTA list the individual tunes

⁶²² Identified via an online resource and the tunes therein identified as 'Hunting The Hare', Begone Dull Care', 'A Favourite Air Of Charles II', 'Lads And Lasses All Advance', 'Oh Dear What Can The Matter Be?', 'To All You Ladies', 'Woodpecker Tapping', 'Le Galop', 'The Fall Of Paris', 'See The Conquering Hero Comes' and 'Home Sweet Home'. Library of Congress, 'Image 1 of England Quadrille (D'albert)', *Library of Congress* (No date) < <https://www.loc.gov> > [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶²³ British Library Catalogue, 'England Quadrille D'albert', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶²⁴ 'Shropshire Hunt Ball', *Eddowes's Journal, and General Advertiser for Shropshire, and the Principality of Wales*, 18 January 1882, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶²⁵ Franz Nava, *Chappell's 100 Dances, Arranged for the Cornet-à-Pistons, Etc.*, (London: Chappell & Co, c1858-78), p. 2nd series; Carlo Minasi, *50 Favourite Melodies with Variations for the Concertina with*

and show its inclusion on a military band concert programme in 1860. They also quote an 1860 newspaper article regarding 'newly arrived' sheet music, suggesting that the tune was relatively new when added to Bennett's book. MB also published a title by this name, 'written' by W H Montgomery in 1860 and said to be played by the leading orchestral and military bands and arranged on the best songs of the Christy and Campbell's Minstrels, however, clarification from BL confirms that once again, Montgomery's version differs from D'Albert's.

The third set of quadrilles is 'The Rat's Quadrills' [sic], written by Gervasius Redler. This dance tune set shows lasting popularity with holdings in BL catalogue dating from c1841 to 1878, mainly as piano arrangements.⁶²⁶ However, the set of quadrilles was often seen within the instrumental collections viewed in BL, by various publishers, Metzler,⁶²⁷ dated 1873 and *Montgomery's 120 Dances for Cornet*, dated 1860, published by MB,⁶²⁸ and *Chappell's 100 Dances for Violin*.⁶²⁹ The last complete quadrille set,⁶³⁰ is entitled 'Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills' [sic] (*Ben.97.1-Ben.101.1*), and although based on popular minstrel songs, cannot be traced as a whole. BL hold listings for the 'Ethiopian Serenaders Quadrilles' (an 1840s minstrel troupe),⁶³¹ and MB published 'Buckley Serenaders Quadrilles' in 1860, written (or arranged) by Montgomery,⁶³² however on viewing at BL these were not the same as Bennett's. Winter has a set of quadrilles called 'The Niger's Quadrilles',⁶³³ although only one tune seems comparable.

Alongside quadrilles, many other dance forms are represented in this category, including waltzes such as 'The Dew Drop Waltz' (*Ben.36.1*), found to match one written

Piano Forte Accompaniment., (London: Chappell, 1860); E. F. Rimbault, *Chappell's 100 Dances, Arranged for the Violin -3rd Series*, (London: Chappell, 1858-92).

⁶²⁶ British Library Catalogue, 'Rats Quadrilles', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶²⁷ G. Redler, *Les Rats Quadrilles*, (London: Metzler & Co., 1873).

⁶²⁸ W. H. Montgomery, *Montgomery's 120 Dances for the Cornet, Etc.*, (London: Musical Bouquet, 1860).

⁶²⁹ Rimbault, *Chappell's 100 Dances, Arranged for the Violin -3rd Series*.

⁶³⁰ The very last item in Bennett's book (*Ben.130.2*) is a single tune taken from Jullien's 'Royal Irish Quadrilles', also found in Till/Clutterbuck MS, discussed later in the chapter.

⁶³¹ British Library Catalogue, 'Ethiopian Serenaders Quadrille', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶³² Mervyn Slatter, 'Other Publications', *Musical Bouquet* (2018) <<https://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶³³ Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*, p. 95.

by D'Albert,⁶³⁴ and consequently featuring in many of Chappell's publications,⁶³⁵ and 'The Angel's Whisper Waltz' (*Ben.56.1*). The melody of this waltz did not match a song by the same name, written by Samuel Lover. However, the waltz was included on an 1862 concert programme from the bands of H.M.S Lion and the 1st Renfrewshire Rifle Volunteers who attributed it to J S Jones,⁶³⁶ and during the BL visit the melody matched with an MB version, also attributed to J S Jones.⁶³⁷ *Ben.40.1*, 'Mary's Pet Waltz' is conspicuous by its difference as although the handwriting of the title seems consistent, the notational style and intended instrument deviate from the norm. Written for piano, the waltz appears to have been written by E. Mack in 1880.⁶³⁸ As it was written in-between blank or missing pages it is possibly a later addition when the book was in Canada.

Ben.128.1, 'King Piping Polka' appears to be a mis-spelling of the 'King Pippin Polka' or 'King Pipping'. Bennett's version is very similar to one in the 1860 Tidlesley manuscript which could suggest a comparable source.⁶³⁹ Written by D'Albert, the newspaper extract in Figure 57 (noteworthy for the comparable items in Bennett's manuscript), suggest the tune was composed circa 1856.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁴ Library of Congress, 'Image 1 of Dew Drop Waltz', *Library of Congress* (No date) <<https://www.loc.gov>> [accessed 20 March 2018]; Edward Rimbault, *Chappell's 100 Dances for the Flute*, (London: Chappell & Co., No date).

⁶³⁵ See Chapter 4 for the exclusivity deal between D'Albert and Chappell.

⁶³⁶ 'Naval Athletic Sports', *Greenock Advertiser* 14 May 1868, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

⁶³⁷ James Sidney Jones, *The Angel's Whisper Valse*, (London: Musical Bouquet, 1874).

⁶³⁸ Library of Congress, 'Image 2 of Mary's Pet Waltz', *Library of Congress* (No date) <<https://www.loc.gov>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

⁶³⁹ Joe Wass, 'King Pipping Polka. Tly.035', *Folk Tune Finder* (No date) <<http://folktunefinder.com>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁴⁰ 'Good News for Musical People', *Huddersfield and Holmfirth Examiner*, 3 May 1856, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

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"The Queen's Letter".....	2	6	selling at	1 3
"Little Nell".....	2	0	selling at	1 0
"Good bye, Sweetheart".....	2	0	selling at	1 0
"I cannot mind my Wheel, Mother".....	2	0	selling at	1 0
"What are the Wild Waves saying?".....	2	6	selling at	1 3
"Stars of the Summer Night".....	2	6	selling at	1 3
"We come to thee, Sassy".....	3	0	selling at	1 0
"The Mide Call".....	3	0	selling at	1 0

WALTZES.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
"The Angel Waltz".....	1	0	selling at	0 6
"The Dew Drop Waltz".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"The Fair Star Waltz".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"The Queen of Roses".....	4	0	selling at	2 0

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	s.	d.	s.	d.
"The Circassian Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The Sultan's Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The King Pippin Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The Sardinian Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The Sautag Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The Coquette Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"The Bridal Polka".....	3	0	selling at	1 6

QUADRILLES, &c.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
"Come Quadrille".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"Bonnie Dundee Quadrille".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"Geneva Quadrille".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"Paris Quadrille".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
"Sebastopol Quadrille".....	3	6	selling at	1 6
"England Quadrille".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"Ireland Quadrille".....	4	0	selling at	2 0
"The Overland Mail Gallop".....	3	0	selling at	1 6
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Figure 57 : Advertisement for 'King Pippin Polka'. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Additionally a newspaper report (Figure 58),⁶⁴¹ details the tune being performed by a band (also called an orchestra) in Portsmouth.

⁶⁴¹ 'Wesley Central Hall', *Portsmouth Evening News*, 2 March 1908, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

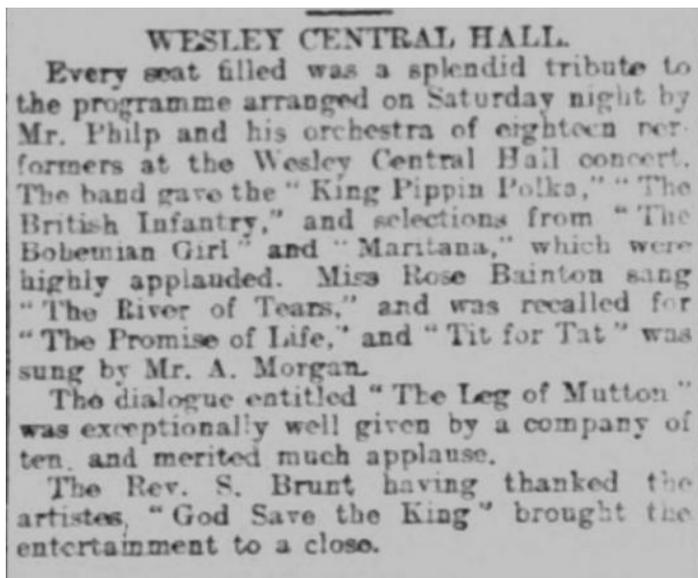


Figure 58: 'King Pippin' in a concert programme. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

'The Signal March', *Ben.38.1*, was composed by Kleber and was popular from the 1860s to the twentieth-century. An 1862 newspaper report lists the tune on the program of a joint amateur music concert between a Volunteer Band (described as a brass band), and the drum and fife band.⁶⁴² Interestingly *Ben.76.1*, 'The Young Recruit' (and *Til.10.1*) appears on the same program, written by Kuchen.

Observations made directly above and in the 1750-1830 category suggest that Bennett was involved in playing with a town band and the choice of some of the repertoire may also reflect this.⁶⁴³ However the inclusion of many song melodies suggests that his musical output was not necessarily exclusively bound to 'institutionalised' music making and that he had a role in more informal community or personal musical activities. The song 'Mother, I've come Home to Die' (*Ben.92.1*), was sung by the Christy Minstrels,⁶⁴⁴ and was popular in England 1863-74.⁶⁴⁵ Bennett writes in Bb major, splitting into three part harmonies for the chorus (Air, Alto and Tenor), and a

⁶⁴² 'Amateur Musical Performance', *Barnet Press*, 7 June 1862, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶⁴³ For example, two quicksteps, *Ben.70.1* and *Ben.71.1*, and two marches, *Ben.76.1* and *Ben.38.1*, the polkas and quadrilles. The role of bands providing music for both civic events and dances is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁴⁴ National Library of Australia, 'Dear Mother, I've Come Home to Die', *National Library of Australia* (No date) <<http://nla.gov.au>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶⁴⁵ British Library Catalogue, 'Dear Mother I've Come Home to Die', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

potential direct source (Figure 59) was found amongst MB music sheets during the BL visit which attributed the music to Henry Tucker and the words to E Bowers.⁶⁴⁶

The image shows a page of a musical score for the song 'Mother I've Come Home to Die'. The score is written for voice and piano. It features a chorus section at the top with lyrics: 'Call Sister... Brother... to my side, And take your soldier's last good bye: Oh, ...'. Below this, there are four staves of vocal parts: Soprano (SOP.), Alto (ALTO.), Tenor (TENOR.), and Bass (BASS.). Each vocal part has its own line of lyrics. The piano accompaniment is shown in two staves, with dynamics markings like 'PIANO' and 'FORTE'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments. At the bottom of the page, the number '494.' is visible.

Figure 59 : 'Mother I've Come Home to Die'. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (h.2345: 3494).

Ben.112.2, 'Poly Won't You Try Me O', can be identified as the Christy Minstrel song 'Keemo, Kimo',⁶⁴⁷ popular in England between 1855 and 1860. Bennett's version resembles a dance arrangement of the song and BL collection shows it to be a very frequent item in the instrumental Minstrel collections, popular with publishers Chappell, Boosey, and MB.⁶⁴⁸ 'Isle of beauty' (Ben.75.2 and Ben.81.1) is another mid-nineteenth-century popular song, with many entries in BL,⁶⁴⁹ and also listed in MB

⁶⁴⁶ Henry Tucker and E. Bowers, *Dear Mother I've Come Home to Die*, (London: Musical Bouquet, 1846-c.90).

⁶⁴⁷ British Library Catalogue, 'Keemo, Kimo', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018]. Compare to Ben.92.1 in Appendix A.

⁶⁴⁸ George Case, *One Hundred Ballads for the Violin*, (London: Boosey, 1859); W. H Montgomery, *Montgomery's One Hundred and Thirty Christy Minstrels' Songs, Arranged for the Violin*, (London: Musical Bouquet, 1860). Edward F Rimbault, *Chappell's 100 Popular Songs, National Airs, &C., Arranged for the Flute by E. F. Rimbault*, (London: Chappell & Co, 1858).

⁶⁴⁹ British Library Catalogue, 'Isle of Beauty', *British Library* (NO date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

catalogue, dated 1864 (C S Whitmore) and 1866 (Whitmore and Bayly).⁶⁵⁰ The melody features in Winter's manuscript adopting very similar stylistics perhaps indicating the same source (Figure 60).⁶⁵¹ Winter (thought to be a fiddle and flute player),⁶⁵² writes a tone above Bennett, which would corroborate Bennett's supposed instrument being a Bb woodwind or brass and suggesting Bennett played this alongside 'C' instruments such as the fiddle and flute.



Figure 60 : 'Isle of Beauty' in the Bennett and Winter MSS. Photo: G. Carter / R Dellow. Source: Huronia Museum / Halsway Manor Library, © Halsway Manor Society Ltd 2001.

Ben.78.1, titled 'The Cure', appears to be a loose variation of the traditional tune 'The Perfect Cure',⁶⁵³ although it is possible that the tune was adopted into the traditional repertoire following popularity as a song or dance in the mid-nineteenth-century. The tune's popularity can be seen in the arrangement of a quadrille dance set in 1860 by Coote, 'Coote's Cure Lancers',⁶⁵⁴ and as a song called 'Perfect Cure' (Figure 61).⁶⁵⁵ It appears to have been part of the musichall repertoire as a lithographed cover of the sheet music dated 1861, shows music-hall performer J H Stead.⁶⁵⁶ Only the cover is shown so the melody cannot be verified. The visit to BL confirmed the tune to be a vague variant of 'The Reg'lar Cure', written by Charles Sloman.

⁶⁵⁰ Bennett's melody was verified as matching during BL visit. T. H. Bayly, T. A. Rawlings, and Charles Shapland Whitmore, *Isle of Beauty, Fare Thee Well. Ballad.*, (London: Musical Bouquet, 1865).

⁶⁵¹ The embellishments in bar 4 differ. William Winter, *William Winter Music Manuscript Book*, (Halsway Manor Library, Halsway Manor Centre for the Folk Arts, 1848-50).

⁶⁵² Woolfe, *William Winter's Quantocks Tune Book*, p. 2.

⁶⁵³ Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'The Perfect Cure', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2015) <<http://tunearch.org/>> [accessed 1 March 2016].

⁶⁵⁴ Goucher College Digital Library, 'Coote's Cure Lancers', *Goucher College Digital Library* (No date) <<http://cdm16235.contentdm.oclc.org/>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁵⁵ The Spellman Collection of Victorian Music Covers (The University of Reading), 'Song of the Perfect Cure', *vads* (No date) <<https://vads.ac.uk/>> [accessed 29 January 2018].

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

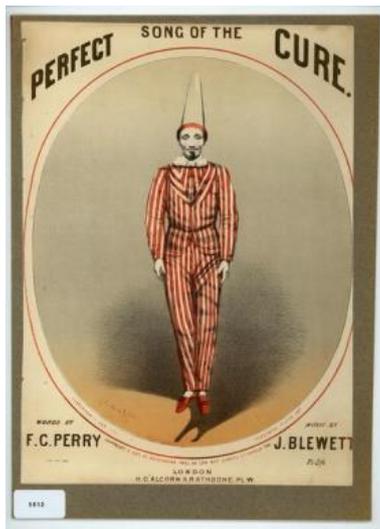


Figure 61 : 'Song of The Perfect Cure'. Source: <https://vads.ac.uk>. The University of Reading, Special Collections.

The inclusion of a tune towards the end of the manuscript which is frequently associated with America, 'Britannia the Pride of the Ocean' (*Ben.26.3, Ben.127.1*), could suggest that this section of the manuscript was transcribed after 1874, once Bennett had settled in Canada, but this is not necessarily so. There are numerous versions of the tune in BL having been published in London, not just in piano music sheets, but found amongst the uncatalogued contents of the instrumental collections,⁶⁵⁷ listing the tune as a "favourite national air".⁶⁵⁸ In 1855 Montgomery 'composed' a quadrille set on the tune, known as the 'British Navy Quadrilles',⁶⁵⁹ and its inclusion in the play *Black Eyed Susan* described as "the most performed play of the 19th- century that had been written in that century",⁶⁶⁰ and its celebrity connections (Figure 62) must have aided its popularity.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁷ For example in publications by Boosey and Chappell: Case, *One Hundred Ballads for the Violin*; Rimbault, *Chappell's 100 Popular Songs, National Airs, &c., Arranged for the Flute by E. F. Rimbault*.

⁶⁵⁸ British Library Catalogue, 'The Red, White and Blue, National Song. [P. F.] 1857', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

⁶⁵⁹ W. H Montgomery, *The Red, White and Blue, or British Navy Quadrilles. [P. F.]*, (London, 1855). The Musical Bouquet catalogue also lists a quadrille called 'British Navy Quadrilles' by Jules Normann (published by MB), and Jullien wrote a set called 'The British Army Quadrilles' (published MB). Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet'.

⁶⁶⁰ Colin Blumenau, 'Director's View - Black Eyed Susan', *Theatre Royal* (No date) <<http://theatreroyal.s3.amazonaws.com>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

⁶⁶¹ Robert Cushman Butler Collection of Theatrical Illustrations, 'Britannia the Pride of the Ocean! The Red, White, and Blue. Sung by Mr. E. L. Davenport, at All the Principal Theatres, in the Drama of Black-Eyed Susan', *Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections; Washington State University Libraries; Pullman, WA, USA* (No date) <<http://content.libraries.wsu.edu>> [accessed 20 March 2018].

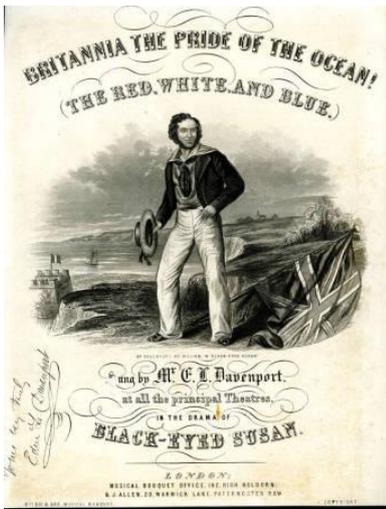


Figure 62 : 'Britannia The Pride of the Ocean'. Source: Robert Cushman Butler Collection of Theatrical Illustrations Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections; <http://content.libraries.wsu.edu>.

Overall

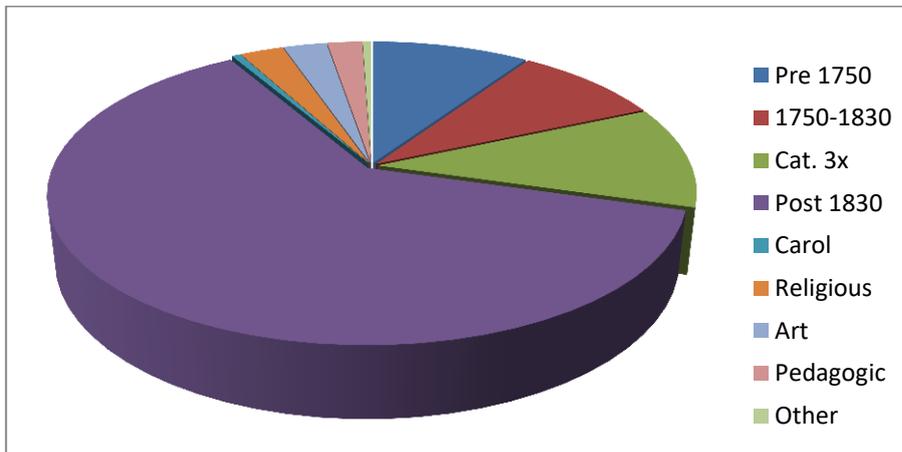


Figure 63 : The total 'Depth' of tunes from the case-study MSS.

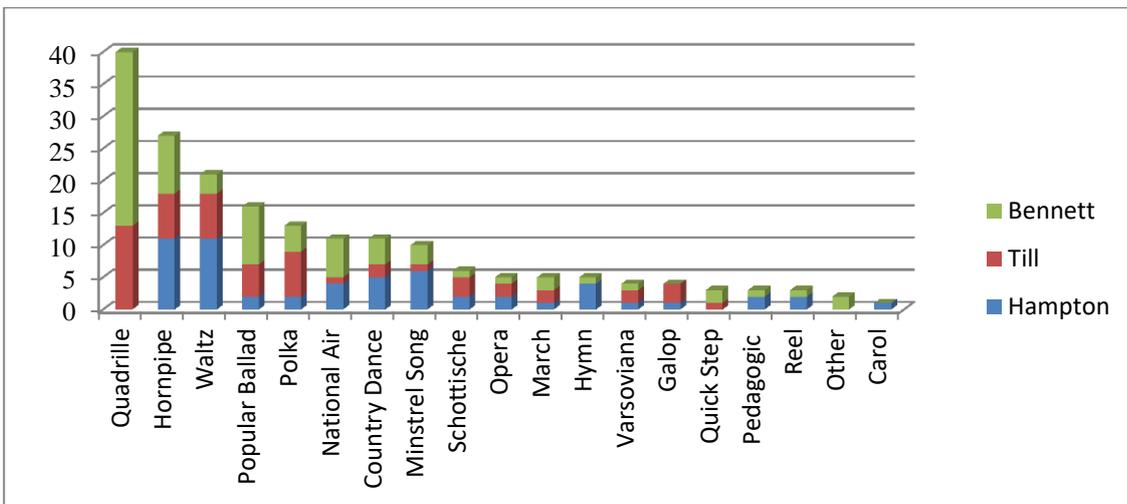


Figure 64 : The total tune 'Width' distribution across the case-study MSS.

As Figure 63 shows, a clear dominance of category 3, 'Later Dance or Song Melodies' is revealed (73% including category 3x, 62% without). Looking at the overall 'width' (Figure 64), the compilers were favouring the dance genres of quadrille, hornpipe, waltz and polka. Preferred song genres appear to be popular song, 'national' songs, and minstrel songs. That said, two main genre differences stand out between the two earlier rural manuscripts and the later, urban one of Hampton. Hampton MS has a much larger proportion of tunes from the historic category and excludes quadrilles entirely. This is likely a result of a number of factors reflecting changing fashion, personal preference, suitability to instrument, function and context in which the men performed and the availability and access to sources.

It is important to note that the higher proportion of quadrilles is due to one quadrille being made up of a set of several tunes. If the calculation is made using quadrille sets rather than the individual tunes, the total is seven.⁶⁶² Whilst not altering the overall dominance of contemporary songs and dance tunes, this would place quadrilles in eighth place, making the hornpipe the most dominant genre. This popularity of hornpipes is interesting as they are not an obvious part of the social dance repertoire, and their position in the manuscripts and wider musical milieu is explored in Chapter 5.

The results have shown that a wide and varied repertoire existed within the manuscripts. The compilers were not exclusively transcribing historic dance tunes, yet it is clear that older, historic tunes were also in circulation and favoured. However, there is a preference for modern, newly composed tunes from across a wide breadth of styles, taken from their contemporaneous field.

A Heterogeneous Repertoire

The results show that the repertoire found in these post-1850 case-studies is not exclusively historic, and it transpires that these manuscripts are not unusual in this. Looking beyond the evidence in the three case studies, it becomes clear that an eclectic mix of age and style of melody is the norm. This is not only true of other manuscripts, but also in wider Victorian musical practices. Both Gammon and Campbell accept the manuscripts comprise material other than historical dance tunes.

⁶⁶² This number excludes four items listed as quadrilles in Appendix B which do not form complete sets: One individual quadrille tune at the end of Bennett MS (*Ben.130.2*), an individual lancer in Till/Clutterbuck MS (*Til.35.1*), and *Til.34.1-Til.34.2*.

Gammon chose to highlight and separate out one particular compiler in his study, Turner, as “his manuscripts do not typify the generality of dance music that we can infer was performed in rural Sussex”, containing, “up to the moment dance tunes and quadrille sets from the mid-nineteenth century”.⁶⁶³ It must be remembered that at the time Gammon was writing, he was working with a much smaller selection of sources, not having access to VMP catalogue.

Turner’s manuscript differs from Gammon’s other sources perhaps as it was the most recent manuscript in his study. However, evidence from Campbell suggests this is actually typical, and the inclusion of popular, “up to the moment”,⁶⁶⁴ tunes and songs occur in the older manuscripts as well. Campbell identifies a “non-genre-bound reflection of the music of the era”,⁶⁶⁵ in the Atkinson manuscript, believed to be the earliest extant English ‘Fiddlers’ Tunebook’, dating from 1694. Indeed, a chief theme in Campbell’s work is the broad range of repertoire, with Campbell arguing that:

the evidence uncovered by this study demonstrates the wide, eclectic nature of the repertoires of the compilers of the manuscripts and how many of their melodies lie outside what is accepted today as the traditional music canon. These pieces are, to use William Chappell’s descriptor, ‘the popular music of the olden time’.⁶⁶⁶

Yates’ investigation into nineteenth-century Manx manuscripts also acknowledges a broad range of repertoire,⁶⁶⁷ as does the Rose manuscript.⁶⁶⁸ Discussing dance, Rippon recognises an eclectic mix, perhaps unsurprisingly corroborated by the manuscripts’ contents reflecting exactly the fusion he describes:

The dance repertoire was never consciously ‘folk’ or ‘non-folk’ (or ‘English’ or ‘Scottish’ for that matter) as it is in our revivalist functions. Rather it was a mixture of all sorts of things—an old country dance, an old-fashioned version of ‘The Lancers’, a favourite couple dance, a quickstep—and therefore a genuine continuation of the traditional process...⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶³ Gammon, ‘Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England’, p. 60.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Campbell, ‘Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)’, p. 140.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 9.

⁶⁶⁷ Yates, ‘Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music’, p. 104.

⁶⁶⁸ Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin’s Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, p. 10.

⁶⁶⁹ Hugh Rippon, *Discovering English Folk Dance*, (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1975), p. 54.

In the field of popular music, the idea of an amalgamation of genres is accepted as normal.⁶⁷⁰ The broad tastes catered for in the popular music field can be seen in the wide range of printed published music. This is true across the sources specific to different popular musical practices such as the brass band repertoire,⁶⁷¹ and the Drawing-room genre,⁶⁷² as well as in the sources specific to the compilers. Take for example the MB series which caters for the popular music market serving both amateur monophonic instrumentalists and the Drawing-room genre, via different publications.

These accessible, printed popular compilations and music-sheets were immensely widespread and popular in the nineteenth-century amateur music market. They comprised amongst other genres, both existing and newly composed lancers, quadrilles, waltzes, polkas and varsoviana. Additionally, MB published historic dance tunes, excerpts from art music such as Beethoven, Mozart and Italian opera, alongside 'National Airs', musichall and minstrel songs and "polite moves towards ragtime and jazz".⁶⁷³

There is a large gap in both general and academic literature regarding nineteenth-century publications serving the vernacular musical market, including the extensive MB publications, which it transpires are a vitally important part of this study. Gammond, writing the preface to Slatter's extensive online research,⁶⁷⁴ notes the absence of musical and historical study in this area:

Sadly, you are unlikely to find very much written information about the 'Musical Bouquet'. It is difficult to understand why, for it is a rich source of valuable obscure information. I can be proud to say that I am almost certainly a rarity among musicologists in having written anything at all about the series.⁶⁷⁵

MB's chief market was participants of the Drawing-room genre, and there is an even greater paucity of academic material on those publications which are specifically

⁶⁷⁰ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. viii. Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, p. 123. Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 10 & 185.

⁶⁷¹ Herbert, 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band.', pp. 123-31; Taylor, *English Brass Bands and Their Music, 1860-1930*.

⁶⁷² Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*.

⁶⁷³ Peter Gammond, 'Peter Gammond's Essay', *Musical Bouquet* (2011)
<<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk/peter-gammond>> [accessed 15 October 2015].

⁶⁷⁴ Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet'.

⁶⁷⁵ Gammond, 'Peter Gammond's Essay'.

aimed at the amateur monophonic instrumentalists. Such publications, it transpires are of vital importance in this research and become the focus of Chapter 4.

Causes of a Heterogeneous Repertoire

The outward transmission, or function, fulfilled by the musicians would undoubtedly have had a large impact on the selection and thus diversity of repertoire. For example, selecting hornpipes could result from accompanying step-dancers in the local pub and quadrilles and waltzes to accompany informal and formal dances. It is also feasible that the function was more simply for personal enjoyment and entertainment, the inclusion of a song or waltz having no other purpose other than it was popular and the compiler liked it or wanted to learn it. Outward transmission is discussed in Chapter 5 and this section of the chapter looks beyond outlets or functions in which the amateur musicians were likely participants. It considers broader auditory influences to observe if the eclectic mix in the manuscripts reflects what was being heard in the wider popular soundscape of England.

Contemporary writer, Mayhew shows the diverse combination of style and genre in the repertoire of the ubiquitous street organ.⁶⁷⁶ It is significant to observe the commonality between this broad assortment of musical genres and the manuscript repertoire.

There is two 'Liverpool Hornpipe'. I know one these twenty years. Then com 'The Ratcatcher's Daughter'; he is a English song. It's get a little old; but when it's first come out the poor people do like it, but the gentlemens they like more the opera, you know. After that is what you call 'Minnie', another English song. He is middling popular. He is not one of the new tune, but they do like it. The next one is a Scotch contre-danse. It is good tunes, but I don't know the name of it. The next one is, I think, a polka; but I think he's made from part of 'Scotische'. There is two or three tunes belongs to the 'Scotische'. The next one is, I think, a valtz of Vienna. I don't know which one, but I say to the organman, 'I want a valtz of Vienna'; and he say, 'Which one? Because there is plenty of valtz of Vienna'. Of course, there is nine of them. After the opera music, the valtz and the polka is the best music in the organ...It won't do to have all opera music in my organ. You must have some opera tunes for the gentlemen, and

⁶⁷⁶ Mayhew was a journalist writing mid-nineteenth-century describing the conditions of the poor: Mary L Shannon, 'Henry Mayhew's London Labour and the London Poor', *Discovering Literature: Romantics and Victorians*, (No date), <<https://www.bl.uk>> [accessed 21 April 2016]. There is much content crossover, for example, opera, schottisches and vales appear in all three manuscripts. More specifically, 'Liverpool Hornpipe' is *Ham.3.1* and 'The Ratcatcher's Daughter', *Ham.9.2*.

some for the poor people, and they like the dancing tune. Dere is some for the gentlemens and some for the poor peoples.⁶⁷⁷

This description of an everyday popular urban soundscape reflects the repertoire found in the manuscripts. The informant's hierarchical exclusion of opera is interesting to note, as this is not echoed in the evidence presented below or in the manuscripts, and becomes the topic of discussion later in the chapter.

The popular musical culture and soundscape could be heard in the concerts, Music Halls and singing saloons of towns and cities. The compilers did not necessarily have access to such events,⁶⁷⁸ but the effect of these entertainment venues percolated into the manuscripts. Some of the most influential are discussed below.

Promenade Concerts

The Promenade Concerts, appealing to both the upper middle class,⁶⁷⁹ as well as to the lower middle class, were likely not attended by the demographic represented by the compilers due to cost.⁶⁸⁰ However, the influence of their repertoire reached the amateur musicians, if not directly then indirectly. Concert programmes show that the events consisted of popular dance music (waltzes, polkas (or galops pre-1840) and quadrilles),⁶⁸¹ mixed with more middle and higher brow art music items.

In 1840, concert promoter and conductor, Jullien, came to London and ran a series of 'concerts l'ete' at Drury Lane,⁶⁸² and by 1844 Jullien and his concerts were well established and highly considered. A theatrical showman, Jullien would include his own waltzes, quadrilles and polkas in these concerts, alongside popular ballads and classical items.⁶⁸³ He toured extensively around the larger cities in England, influencing not only the compilers, but other conductors and promoters in London and

⁶⁷⁷ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London: Griffin, Bohn and Company, 1861), p. 176.

⁶⁷⁸ This is discussed in depth in Chapter 6.

⁶⁷⁹ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 214.

⁶⁸⁰ Pearsall states that admission was 1 shilling, which is shown in Chapter 6 to be prohibitive. Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, p. 127. Although Russell does document one working-class man saving his dinner money in order to attend concerts: Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 78.

⁶⁸¹ As seen in numerous newspaper articles, see examples given in Chapter 5.

⁶⁸² Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 41.

⁶⁸³ 'Jullien's Concert and Fete at the Zoological Gardens ', *Western Daily Press*, 5 July 1858 <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017].

nationwide. As a member of the population in Victorian England, it would be difficult not to be aware of him and his concerts. In 1845 Jullien put on *concerts monstres*,⁶⁸⁴ in which his orchestra numbered four hundred players, three brass bands, and included specially made nine-foot-long trumpets.⁶⁸⁵ His mix of repertoire, showmanship and sensational approach to music led him to be called a 'musical Luther' by *Musical World* in 1859. Russell suggests this may be an exaggeration, but at the very least it 'point[s] up his importance as populariser and educator'.⁶⁸⁶ Within the manuscripts, the reflection of corresponding repertoire is profoundly evident. Much of the repertoire in all three manuscripts comprises galops, waltzes, polkas, schottische and in the earlier two, quadrilles. Furthermore, the repertoire includes Jullien's eponymous compositions namely: Jullien's 'Royal Irish Quadrilles' (*Til.14.1-Til.17.1 and Ben.130.2*) and 'Jullien's Original Polka' (*Ben.129.1 & Ben.129.2*).

Chappell & Boosey's Concerts

Another form of popular concert emerged, again in London, although the repertoire travelled to the provinces and clearly reached the rural compilers. In 1855 the abundant capacity at Crystal Palace facilitated a large audience and hence was able to offer cheap admission, a fact which was not lost to music publisher: Chappell. In 1858 he began a concert series which was to last forty years, called the 'Pops'.⁶⁸⁷ These Monday concerts,⁶⁸⁸ were replicated in 1865 with Saturday afternoon 'Pops'. In 1867, Boosey introduced his highly successful London Ballad Concerts, mixing popular, light, old and new songs using celebrity singers.⁶⁸⁹ It is difficult to ascertain admission price to these concerts, as a proxy measure of accessibility to the demographic represented by the compilers, although contemporary newspaper articles give the impression that the audience were not especially from the working classes.⁶⁹⁰ Furthermore, the vocal nature of the concerts would have been more appealing to the participants of the Drawing-room genre. That said, examples of popular song can be seen in the

⁶⁸⁴ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 42.

⁶⁸⁵ Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, p. 128.

⁶⁸⁶ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 78.

⁶⁸⁷ E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 178.

⁶⁸⁸ These were held in St James' Hall, which had also been financed by Chappell. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 122.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁰ 'Mr John Boosey's Ballad Concerts', *The Era*, 22 March 1868, <www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> [accessed 12 March 2018].

manuscripts and the crossover with the Drawing-room genre repertoire has already been established. Hence an indirect influence into the manuscripts is plausible.⁶⁹¹

Minstrel Troupes

Minstrel songs from the ‘blackface’ minstrel troupes were a popular genre with widespread appeal across the social and geographical boundaries.⁶⁹² The repertoire appeared in many respectable concert programs, through to Music Halls, on the street via the barrel organ, and in sheet-music form for the domestic market. Minstrel music was at its most popular during the 1850s - 1870s,⁶⁹³ exactly in line to influence our compliers’ output.

The influence of ‘blackface’ minstrelsy can be seen in all three of the case-study manuscripts’ repertoire, some of which have been highlighted above, and are detailed in Figure 65 below.

MS	Reference	Title
Hampton	<i>Ham.9.5</i>	Mollie Darling
	<i>Ham.10.2</i>	The Gipsy’s Warning
	<i>Ham.10.5</i>	‘Tis But A Little Faded Flower
	<i>Ham.11.1</i>	The Little Brown Jug
	<i>Ham.11.4</i>	The Empty Cradle
	<i>Ham.13.3</i>	The Ship That Never Returned
Till	<i>Til.42.1</i>	Rosalie Prairie Flower
Bennett	<i>Ben.78.2</i>	Massas In the Cold Ground
	<i>Ben.92.1</i>	Mother I’ve Come Home To Die
	<i>Ben.112.2</i>	Poly Won’t You Try Me O!

Figure 65 : Influence of Minstrel Troupes in the case-study MSS.

Music Halls and Singing Saloons

Originating slightly later in the century (1851), than the Promenade Concerts, but running alongside, the Music Halls offered cheaper entrance at 3d.⁶⁹⁴ This possibly made such entertainment accessible to upper-working classes, and hence a potential

⁶⁹¹ See Appendix B for details of the vocal material included in the manuscripts.

⁶⁹² Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge 2016).

⁶⁹³ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 83.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 220. Scott describes how entrance to a West End Music Hall cost 6d, walking slightly East in Stepney, admission cost was 4d and further afield, even cheaper admission prices could be found. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 20.

direct influence for some urban or visiting rural compilers.⁶⁹⁵ Russell refutes Middleton's claim that it was "the principal source of musical entertainment for most urban working lower-middle-class people in the second half of the century", and states that the phenomenon was London-centric.⁶⁹⁶ However, towards the end of the century, the Music Hall was brought closer to the rural and provincial compilers via "nationwide touring circuits".⁶⁹⁷ Furthermore, larger pubs emulated the Music Hall experience in their singing saloons, (which Russell dates as well-established by the 1840s),⁶⁹⁸ to the point that by the 1880s, "the distinction between a public house singing saloon and a music hall was never a clear one".⁶⁹⁹

Scott quantifies the popularity of musichall in terms of the number of acts quoted by *Musical Era*, showing an increase from 862 acts in 1868 to a massive 1896 acts by 1878.⁷⁰⁰ This period of dramatic growth is likely to have been witnessed by the compilers, and doubtless bore some direct or indirect influence on their repertoire. Additionally, the influence was broadened by the production of commodities such as cheap music-sheets and publications, rather than necessarily through attendance itself. Subsequently, musichall can be seen to be influencing the compilers' repertoire namely, 'Champaign [sic] Charlie' (*Til.43.1*), 'I'll be There Love At Half Past Nine' (*Til.44.2*), and 'A Cure' (*Ben.78.1*).

On a more local level, the manuscripts' eclectic content is mirrored in the concerts held at the Mechanics' Institutes and Penny Readings. These concerts were aimed at and sometimes even participated in by the working classes and lower middle classes

⁶⁹⁵ Russell cautions against the "dangerously simplistic" assumption that these venues were the domain in audience, performers and composers of the working class. However, in audience terms, he finds the chief demographic during the earlier years to be similar to that of the manuscript compilers, males in their twenties although records suggest boys as young as twelve years old attended, with an increase in female attendance throughout the century. He concurs that the audience "was probably always the working class and the lower middle class...", with the more respectable of those being the attendees, as the poorest would be unable to afford suitable clothing to attend nor drinks once inside, and goes on to quote a Liverpool concert founder that two-thirds of the poor would not have been to a Music Hall, "Their almost sole "music-hall" is the Italian organ...". Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, pp. 91-92.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 83.

⁶⁹⁷ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 19.

⁶⁹⁸ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 25.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 84.

⁷⁰⁰ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 16.

and are discussed in Chapter 5 regarding outward transmission. Likewise, a similar scope of repertoire can be seen in dance programmes, whether a grand tenants' ball or a smaller event, although by the very nature of the subject, the historical record of the most informal events is of course rarely recorded. The wider soundscape which surrounded the compilers reflects the eclectic mix and accounts for the inclusion of certain types of music in the manuscripts' repertoire.

Specific Genres of Note within the Repertoire

As part of the broad scope of genre contained within the manuscripts (and correspondingly within the printed material and in the wider auditory backdrop), are examples of art music and historic tunes as well as contemporary repertoire. This is reflective of wider popular taste, and their inclusion in the manuscripts and implications is explored below.

Art Music

It becomes clear that art music was not the exclusive domain of the upper classes but was popular, enjoyed and widespread across all levels of society. Similar influences of art music can be found in the extensive music-sheets which form the Drawing-room genre market and the brass band repertoire. Herbert cites a selection from Bellini's opera *La Sonnambula*, including 'All Is Lost' (*Ben.79.1*), as part of the brass band repertoire, along with many other examples of art music alongside other shared contributors such as D'Albert, Montgomery, Musgrave and Coote.⁷⁰¹ In the MB sheet music catalogue alone (i.e. excluding MB's other publications and music book collections, and other publishers), arrangements of Donizetti's work appear forty-three times.⁷⁰² This suggests that operatic works of this nature were a popular genre to arrange and publish within the budget popular music market. Not only is this interesting from a repertoire perspective, but it shows that the amateur popular musicians, whether representing the Drawing-room genre, brass bands or monophonic instrumentalists, from whichever class, were sourcing their art music not through specific art music collections, but through printed sources aimed at specific markets.

⁷⁰¹ Herbert, 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band.', pp. 123-31.

⁷⁰² Mervyn Slatter, 'The Catalogue - Search Term 'Donizetti'', (2017)
<<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk/the-catalogue>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

Campbell's oddly facetious comment: "much of the contents may be described as 'art' music. (What music is not?)"⁷⁰³ is not reflected in my research. Some examples of art music are found as part of the eclectic mix, but they by no means dominate the content. That said, examples can be found in all three manuscripts, for example: 'The Rigoletto Waltz' (*Ham.9.3*), 'Lucrezia Borgia Waltz' (*Ham.9.4*), 'Ciascun Lo Dice' (*Til.40.1*), 'Poopagena Waltz' (*Til.51.1*), and 'All Is Lost' (*Ben.79.1*). My research has found that the art music found in the manuscripts frequently takes the form of motifs from well-liked works, rearranged into popular forms, often as waltzes, or re-produced as song extracts. The relationship between art music and folk music is examined by Gelbart who identifies that the distinction between the two genres was a relatively new concept, as until the early eighteenth-century music was categorised by its function.⁷⁰⁴ Interestingly, and perhaps intentionally, this idea appears to have gone full circle as in 2010, Marsh defines his discussion with regards to function, rather than referring explicitly to folk or non-folk music in a categorical sense.⁷⁰⁵ Despite being in favour of non-genre specific titles for the eclectic repertoire, as the thesis will show, at least from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards this music cannot necessarily be attributed to an exclusive function. The accompaniment of formal and informal dancing may be a legitimate function, as might the music existing for its own sake, as a personal, aesthetic, entertaining activity.

Campbell identifies the filtration and social mobility of music interacting in both directions, developing a theory introduced by Gammon as Burke's 'sinking' and 'rising' theory.⁷⁰⁶ Campbell describes the manuscripts as forming "an interface between the high and low brow, containing elements of each. They are a reflection of society rather than place".⁷⁰⁷ I disagree and see the inclusion of art music amongst popular music is simply a reflection of what was widely favoured at the time. Furthermore, as alluded to above and which becomes clear in the following chapter, the manuscript compilers were gathering the art music from contemporary popular music publications,

⁷⁰³ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 23.

⁷⁰⁴ Gelbart, *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music": Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*, p. 9.

⁷⁰⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 328.

⁷⁰⁶ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society: Sussex 1815 - 1914', pp. 238-39.

⁷⁰⁷ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 59.

alongside all the other genres found in their repertoire. Moreover, these same publishing houses were distributing this consistently wide-ranging repertoire in sources specifically aimed at differing demographics. It is not, therefore filtration, more a 'pot' or fusion of genres, partially dictated by the power of commercialism, driven by the publishers.⁷⁰⁸ Whether the compilers are playing quadrilles from the aristocracy's grand balls, country dances from the village fair's dancing booths,⁷⁰⁹ songs from the minstrel troupes and Music Halls and Mozart and Donizetti from the opera house, they are essentially playing that which was popular. Likewise, the ladies from the higher occupational class Drawing-room genre played a similar repertoire. It is not representative of a vertical two-way filtration, more a horizontal pool from which to draw repertoire and thus the social filtration argument is invalid.

Historic Tunes in 'Raw' Form

Despite the dominance of contemporary popular material, historic tunes also comprise part of the diverse repertoire. Many of the historic tunes are presented in the manuscripts in a way which renders them recognisable today by musicians who play tunes which received history might present as folk tunes. Likewise, tunes from earlier manuscript and printed dance tune collections and manuals from previous centuries appear familiar. They bear a strong resemblance melodically, rhythmically and structurally in both the manuscripts and in current tune repositories. Rather than the melody being taken as a motif and arranged into a wider composition, such as occurs with the examples of art music, the dance tunes appear in their entirety, their simple melodic eight bar phrases set in the typical AABB structure.

Within the case-studies, tunes of this sort are more prevalent in the most recent Hampton MS. It is fascinating to see tunes written down (and presumably played) by Thomas Hampton which are instantly recognisable and still part of the repertoire of his great-great-great granddaughters,⁷¹⁰ nearly one hundred and fifty years on. Similarly, that they can be found in printed or manuscript collections over one hundred years prior to appearing in the manuscript demonstrates a remarkable longevity for the

⁷⁰⁸ It is revealed in Chapter 4 that the sources for this eclectic mix emanate from published music.

⁷⁰⁹ Or indeed country dances from the aristocracy's grand balls and quadrilles from the fair's dancing booths!

⁷¹⁰ Two of my daughters are musicians - one a fiddle player, another, a flautist and both select tunes from the manuscript to absorb into their repertoire and are as such contributing to the survival of specific tunes and playing a part in the process of folk music tradition.

certain tunes. There are several examples, which can be seen in Appendix A and Appendix B (category 1a). An example would be *Ham.5.3*, 'College Hornpipe' which although popular in nineteenth-century printed music and manuscripts,⁷¹¹ can be shown to have earlier origins, dating from at least the mid-eighteenth-century.⁷¹²

Sources examined in the following chapter would suggest that some of these historic dances were viewed by the contemporary compilers as dance tunes, such as 'Country Dances' or 'Scottish Reels'. By using this term, I do not mean to imply that the compilers attributed a specific function to these tunes via their title. Rather that the titles do not imply a conscious interest by the compilers in historical tunes or tunes which were important to them because they represented a tradition. Instead, they represent a repertoire which was popular, regardless of age, origin or whether they were actually used to accompany dance or not.

A similar observation can be made in the song genre, for example the aforementioned items, *Til.34.1* and *Til.34.2* which despite having origins dating back at least to the late-eighteenth-century, have reappeared and become re-popularised, re-entering the mid-nineteenth-century repertoire by way of textual publication. It is of course possible that their longevity is the result of being kept alive by continuous generations of musicians. Their resurfacing via a textual medium could be in addition to undocumented aural/oral (or indeed a lost, textual) practice.

Historic Tunes in Contemporary Structures

The recycling or 'reinvention' of historic tunes into a popular contemporary structure can also be seen in the manuscripts. In a similar way that a popular motif taken from art music is morphed into a popular dance structure, composers were taking historic tunes and incorporating them into the framework of a dance, most usually, quadrilles. Such re-deployment of pre-existing tunes within contemporary form is seen in the form of quadrille sets in Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett MSS, for example: *Til.14.1-Til.17.1*; *Til.25.1-Til.29.1*; *Ben.25.1-Ben.29.1*; *Ben.59.1-Ben.64.1*, *Ben.130.2*. All these tune sets are strongly based on historical tunes, still existing in the current traditional

⁷¹¹ In Winder's MSS variants exists called the 'Sailor's Hornpipe 1746', and 'Chipping Fair' (Edward Winder's Book (1833-1835)), and two variants of 'Chipping Fair' in John Winder's book (1789). Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, pp. 145, 49, 50. Also found in Rose (Bb and A), Thompson and Laycock, *Benjamin's Book : The Complete Country Dance Manuscript of Benjamin Rose*, pp. 43, 49.

⁷¹² It is dated in Edward Winder's book dated as 1746. Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, p. 149.

or folk music repertoire. For example, despite Till/Clutterbuck's generic titles *Til.14.1-Til.17.1*,⁷¹³ can be identified as a widespread printed quadrille set,⁷¹⁴ (Figure 66), 'composed', or more truthfully, compiled by Jullien and published as 'The Royal Irish Quadrilles', comprising older tunes generally thought to be of Irish origin.



Figure 66 : 'Royal Irish Quadrilles'. Source: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk>.

In the manuscript the first tune is titled as 'Set of Quadrilles' with '1st Figure' given as a sub-title to the first tune. The subsequent three tunes are also labelled as part of the dance set, named 2nd, 3rd and 4th Figure respectively. *Til.15.1* and *Til.17.1* are identified with titles ('Girl I Left behind Me' and 'Irish Washerwoman') and although *Til.14.1* and *Til.16.1* are untitled they can be identified as 'Black Joak' or 'Sprig of Shillelagh' and 'Nora Creina'.

D'Albert also employed this practice. *Til.25.1-Til.29.1*,⁷¹⁵ can be identified as D'Albert's 'Bonnie Dundee Quadrille'. He has constructed the quadrille set and arranged the tunes accordingly but has taken the basic melodic and rhythmic structures from known and named pre-existing tunes thought to have Scottish roots.⁷¹⁶ It could be argued that

⁷¹³ Please refer to Appendix A.

⁷¹⁴ Victoria & Albert Museum, 'The Royal Irish Quadrilles', V&A (2017) <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>> [accessed 12 March 2018].

⁷¹⁵ See Appendix A.

⁷¹⁶ The individual melodies are identified as 'Bonnie Dundee', 'Kelvin Grove', 'Over The Sea' and 'Jessie, Flower O'Dunblane', 'Jock O'Hazeldean' and 'Of A' The Airs The Win'Can Blaw'. Identified via a piano music sheet: Temple Sheet Music Collections, 'Bonnie Dundee Quadrille', *Temple University Libraries* (No date) <<http://digital.library.temple.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15037coll1/id/111>> [accessed 24 April 2017].

the re-use of historic tunes demonstrates bad practice on behalf of the composers, claiming authorship of anonymous tunes and profiting from their use.

The existence of some historic tunes in the manuscripts, in whatever form, perhaps explains the interest generated amongst today's folk music enthusiasts. However, the wide range of repertoire they contain cannot (and must not), be ignored.⁷¹⁷ This chapter has shown that the eclectic mix reflects wider popular taste and the question remains as to how this affects the contents of the manuscripts in relation to belonging to folk music tradition.

Folk Music Tradition and a Heterogeneous Repertoire?

As discussed in Chapter 1, perceived notions concerning the factors that constitute a folk tune vary throughout history. Concerning origin and style, inherited ideas exist which suggest a folk tune is required to be un-attributable to a named composer and antonymic to commercial and urban popular music. The results revealed in this chapter, and shown in Figure 63, demonstrate that the compilers selected their repertoire from a broad scope of both origin and genre. Moreover, the manuscripts' chief content comprised songs and melodies whose origins were contemporaneous with the manuscripts or at the very most could be traced back only as far as 1830. The contents do not, in the main, comply with the notions set out above. Instead, the manuscripts' repertoire represents music that was popular at the time of compilation.

This is important, as if the manuscripts are to be defined by their contents' origin, the interest they generate in the current folk music field could cause them to be subject to the 'burden of expectation' or to be disregarded. However, Chapter 1 also set out the more catholic approach taken by recent scholars, and an earlier scholar: Kidson.⁷¹⁸ The acceptance of any tune, whether a popular and newly composed dance tune or song, art music, or from unknown, possibly historic origins, to become drawn into folk tradition, and hence classed as folk music, becomes possible. The content is no longer defined by origins or style, but by the process it has gone through to be selected by a musician, accepted by a community and survived. Roud explicitly notes the validity of commercially produced, popular songs to become part of folk tradition:

⁷¹⁷ For the reasons set out in Chapter 1.

⁷¹⁸ Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', p. 82.

Most songs which were later recorded as folk songs were not written by the singing and dancing throng, or by ploughboys, milkmaids, miners or weavers, but by professional or semi-professional urban song-writers and poets. Many songs started life on the stage, in the pleasure garden, concert room, tavern or music hall, and we shall never understand folk song without taking account of these other kinds of music. But what matters is that, of all the songs available at any given time, the ploughboys, milkmaids, miners and weavers took hold of some, and liked them enough to learn and sing them, to make them their own and pass them on, and this makes them well worthy of our notice.⁷¹⁹

Thus, despite the traditionally unconventional attributes and origins of much of the manuscripts' content, a modern scholarly approach would advocate that the heterogeneous repertoire found in these post-1850 manuscripts comprises tunes which could be considered to form part of folk music tradition.

As such, the historic tunes would be considered as folk melodies, as regardless of whether they have known or unknown composers or origins, they have survived more than two generations in the repertoire of amateur instrumentalists. That would suggest that under such terms, 19% (30% if including category 3x) of the manuscripts' content comprises folk melody. The oldest category, pre-1750, makes up 10% of repertoire. Despite not having comparable dating parameters, it is nonetheless interesting to observe Roud's statistics in the song field which show even fewer historic songs surviving. He found that the percentage of pre-1700 songs surviving in nineteenth and twentieth-century song repertoire amounted to less than 5%, the remainder having more modern origins.⁷²⁰

Equally, the more recent, popular tunes found in the tunebooks have the capacity to 'become' part of folk music tradition if they are subsequently selected by future generations. Essentially, they are embryonic or potential folk tunes – yet to go through the process of tradition, or perhaps 'in the process' of going through the process of tradition. As such, the textual nature of the manuscripts provides a synchronic capture and thus a valuable insight into the progression from a contemporary popular tune into a folk melody when viewed retrospectively in the context of subsequent (and

⁷¹⁹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 13.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 22.

current) instrumental players' repertoire. The manuscripts enable the inner working of Roud's 'sausage machine' to be viewed.⁷²¹

The re-use of historic tunes in contemporary structures by composers such as D'Albert and Jullien, must have had an impact on the interplay between contemporary and historic repertoires and on the transmission and popularity of the tunes, possibly causing them to remain in circulation. Therefore, this practice could be a contributory factor as to why the historic tunes were re-emerging rather than necessarily the result of the selection and survival through the traditional process. That said, evidence from other eighteenth and nineteenth-century manuscripts and printed tunebooks would suggest that historic tunes were known and in circulation prior to 1850s and 1860s,⁷²² so a continual survival is entirely feasible. Furthermore, if the composers were selecting these tunes to represent national identities, as suggested by their titles, it would be strange to do so if the tunes were generally unknown or from such a historic age that they had fallen out of popular use. To work effectively in the role in which they were placed, it makes sense that the tunes chosen would be known contextually, popular and widely understood to represent a specific identity.

However, both the 're-introduction' of historic items via assimilation into contemporary forms (for example as seen in the quadrilles discussed above), and the extensive publication of historic tunes in their 'raw' form, via the popular press may, paradoxically weaken the manuscripts' place in notions of folk music tradition. It cannot be assumed that their presence in the manuscripts is through continuous survival. This may place such melodies at the beginning of the process of tradition, rather than as a result of such a process. It is possible that their existence in the manuscripts results from being forced into re-circulation by the publishers and as such they have not been subjected to generations of selection and survival amongst the 'folk', and instead constitute a revival.⁷²³

⁷²¹ Ibid. p. 671.

⁷²² See for example the comprehensive tune history given for 'Irish Washerwoman', included as part of Jullien's 'Royal Irish Quadrilles' but with a continuous history dating back to at least the eighteenth-century. Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Irish Washerwoman (1)', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2017) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 11 April 2018].

⁷²³ This concept, introduced here, is explored in depth in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

An examination of the manuscripts' contents, observing the genres and tune provenance, found that with regards to width and depth, the melodies were made up of a broad range of dance and song genres with a majority having contemporary origins rather than being historic melodies. Thus, by their makeup, they do not represent folk music in an inherited notion of the term, which, rightly or wrongly would be seeking an abundance of historic melodies. By perceiving the manuscripts as repositories of popular music and representative of a strand of wider amateur popular music practice results in the acceptance of their eclectic depth and width. There is no pre-conception of what the manuscripts should contain; no myth to attempt to fit into. The weight of expectation is removed, and a more objective analysis can be carried out.

However, in a modern context, a wide eclectic mix of genres is entirely acceptable as part of folk music tradition. The popular, contemporary material could be seen to represent the process of tradition at work, an important and rare synchronic capture. So too, the manuscripts contain examples of melody which would by modern thought, be considered to comply with the process of tradition. They have turned into examples of folk music by their very selection, and by their survival in the manuscripts.

Nonetheless, this chapter has begun to broach the instability of this notion due to the re-cycling of historic tunes within mid-late-nineteenth-century print, and the reliance of the compilers on publishers in the selection of their repertoire. It is not known if the publishers took the historic melodies directly from much older sources, thus jumping the survival process consequently requiring these historic tunes to be viewed as being at the start of the process again. Furthermore, even if it could be proven that the historic tunes have existed in the process continuously, the act of selection has been carried out by publishers rather than the amateur instrumentalists themselves, the 'folk'. Does the publishers' conscious revival of the tunes and the 'folks' lack of control in the process invalidate the manuscripts' involvement in the process of tradition?

In view of the burden placed on the manuscripts by their current custodians (the folk music enthusiasts), by what they perceive folk music *should* be, combined with the now potentially unstable role of the manuscripts in the process of tradition, it is

possible to argue that they should not be considered as part of English folk music tradition. Instead, they are perhaps better placed as simply representative of a popular practice in nineteenth-century amateur musical culture. This chapter has shown that the eclectic mix alone does not exclude the manuscripts' inclusion as part of folk music tradition. However, the compilers' role in the 'selection and survival' may have implications on the stability of the notion. Chapter 4 develops this issue in the context of inward transmission and the compilers' sources to attempt to clarify whether the potential instability is substantiated.

Chapter 4 – Inward Transmission and Source Provenance

Inward transmission refers to the way the tunes were transferred into the manuscripts. In its broadest sense it distinguishes aural/oral transmission from textual influence although the terms are not mutually exclusive. It is crucial to acknowledge the prospect that the men had a vast unwritten repertoire, committed to memory which could have been acquired by aural/oral or textual means of which we have no knowledge. This chapter explores the direct inward transmission methods used by the compilers - establishing how the tunes were entering the manuscripts and the sources consulted by the compilers. My findings contrast acutely with inherited views regarding the role of orality/aurality in folk music, dispelling orality/aurality as a direct means of transmission into the manuscripts and indicate copying instead. Discovering that the tunes were sourced from the contemporary, mass published tune collections, reveals a much-understudied area of musical printed resources. It transpires that the contemporary, budget publications which fed into the manuscripts were aimed specifically at an amateur vernacular instrumental market and emanated from large London publishing houses. Ultimately this shows that despite containing a wide mix of tunes from across a broad spectrum of genres and provenance, the manuscript compilers were drawing on a body of source material which is narrow in chronological and geographical range.

Inward Transmission Methods

Essentially, I wanted to discover whether the tunes were being written from memory or being copied into the tunebooks. I used a combination of approaches to establish the most likely methods of transmission. Initially it is important to consider the term oral/aural transmission. 'Aural' is more relevant to the instrumental tune field, and my preferred term in the thesis, as items are passed on by ear rather than by mouth, yet 'oral' is the term more generally associated with folk music. There are several different permutations of the form. For example, a tune can be written down 'by ear', at the same time as it is being played or sung by another musician, thus removing any memorising element from the exercise. It can be written 'by ear' from memory, in which case the tune may have entered the mind of the transcriber via either a prior textual route or a prior aural route, or the tune may have existed purely orally and been passed down through an oral to aural source and subsequently transcribed. It is

difficult to state categorically that a tune has not had influence of printed text at any time, so despite the compiler transcribing a tune from either a direct oral source or aurally from memory, 'oral transmission' as a term meaning passed down orally/aurally through generations, of course cannot be proven, and is highly improbable.⁷²⁴

The influence of text on transmission suggests that the rare occasions in the tunebooks, where a tune does appear to have been written from memory or 'by ear' it is likely to represent either of the first two possibilities outlined above rather than a long line of exclusive aural/oral transmission. As such, the tunes written from memory are not necessarily representative of an inherited view of an orally/aurally transmitted tune. This can be seen in the manuscripts. For example Figure 67 shows a shorthand transcription which might indicate having been written from memory, or by ear. However, the title indicates the source of the tune is contemporaneous as the schottische was a popular mid-late-nineteenth-century dance, thus a long aural/oral line is unlikely.

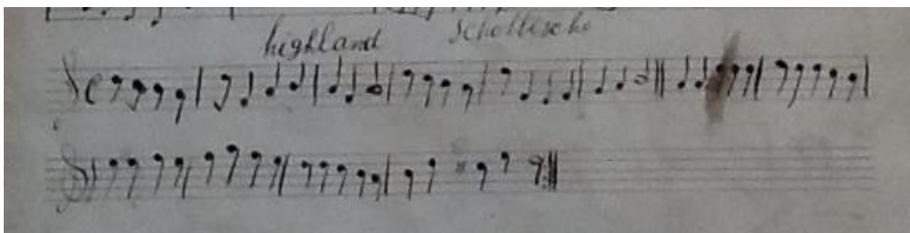


Figure 67 : *Ham.4.4.*

A further possibility exists whereby the tune appears to be written by ear or from memory but is a tune well known to the compiler and has in fact been hurriedly copied, perhaps to save time and space, only the 'bare bones' required in order to bring the tune back to the musician's fingers. Figure 67 is equally compelling in this regard. This idea explaining approximated notational style, incipits and tune fragments is also put forward by MacPherson when examining the Gairdyn manuscript.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁴ For discussion on this in the folk song field see: Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition'.

⁷²⁵ MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance', pp. 108-12.

Comparative Visual Evidence

A number of methods were used to establish how the tunes made their way into the manuscripts. Initial assessment was carried out by comparative visual evidence, observing stylistic indications. A combination of factors was usually, but not always, present which gave a strong indication that a tune had been copied from a source. This would include elements such as: neatness, more evenly spaced bar lines, melodic and rhythmic precision and accuracy, fewer corrections and 'crossing outs', uniformity of beaming, the addition of clefs, key and time signatures and accurate repeat markings. Additionally, varying degrees of detailed stylistic embellishments were added, such as: markings to denote phrasing, articulation, ornamentation, bowing, dynamics, correct use of the *dal segno*, and so on.

For example, Figure 68 shows two tunes from Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript, one which I have deemed copied (*Til.10.1*), and one which I believe was written 'by ear' (*Til.44.2*).⁷²⁶ *Til.10.1* displays evidence of quite intricate musical detail. The tune is neatly transcribed, with a title given. Additionally, Till/Clutterbuck's use of articulation and staccato markings, clef, key and time signatures and beaming are all features suggesting the tune is copied.

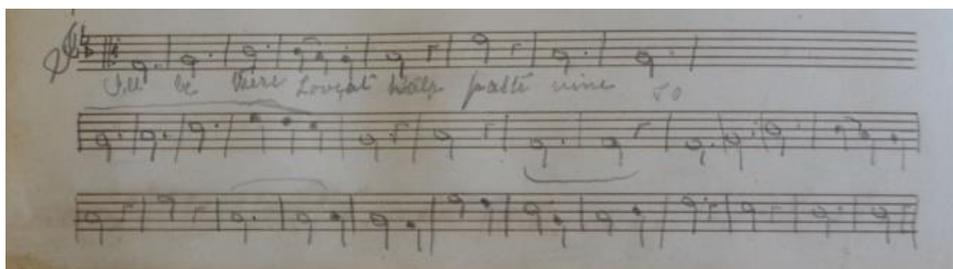
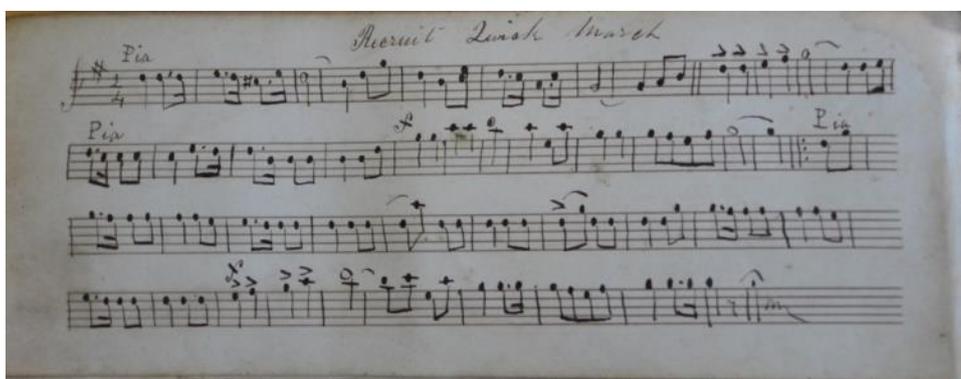


Figure 68 : *Til.10.1* and *Til.44.2*.

⁷²⁶ See Appendix A for larger images.

Conversely, tunes which strongly suggest being written from memory or 'by ear', while they are being performed by another musician, appear more stilted, inaccurate and basic. The basic melodic and rhythmic structure is transcribed, although not necessarily in its entirety or completely accurately, the details of the tune perhaps already known by the transcriber and the notation is acting simply as an aide-memoire.⁷²⁷ They can have the appearance of being hastily transcribed, perhaps in shorthand, with the title absent or incorrect, not showing care to neatness and accuracy. This may indicate a sense of urgency to capture the melodic detail when it is fresh in the compiler's mind, suggesting a printed or manuscript copy is not visually prompting him to insert details such as clefs from the copied source.⁷²⁸ In addition to showing *Til.44.2*, I have shown *Ham.11.3* (Figure 69). As an example, note the lack of title (written above the wrong tune), missing time signature, inaccuracies in barring and melodic notation and general lack of neatness.

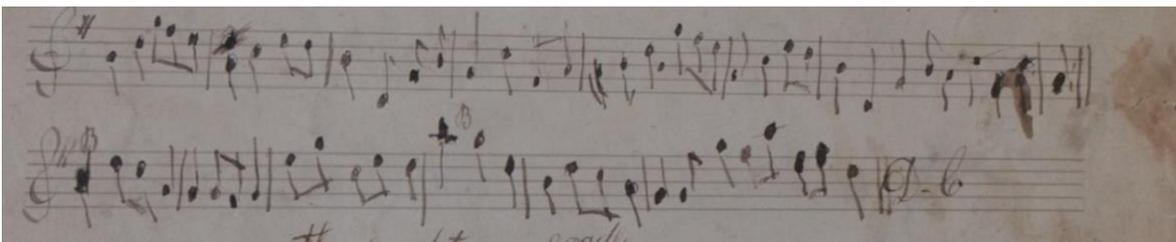


Figure 69 : *Ham.14.2*.

See also *Ham.4.4* (Figure 67), in which the key signature is omitted, the basic melodic shape and initial rhythmic ideas are presented but the tune's transcription exists more as shorthand than a precisely copied version of a source visible to the scribe.

The comparative visual stylistic analysis suggests that over 90% of the tunes in the three case-studies appeared to have been directly copied into the manuscripts, as opposed to being written from memory.

Inaccuracy and Omissions

Before moving on to discuss additional methods of analysis, it is necessary to clarify that those tunes deemed copied were not always immune from inaccuracy and omission. As an illustration, *Ham.1.2* (Figure 70), if judged solely on inaccuracies could be considered to be written from memory due to musical theory and notational errors:

⁷²⁷ This of course, could also be the case if the tune was indeed copied as outlined above.

⁷²⁸ See Chapter 6 for more evidence of Till/Clutterbuck's urgency in transcription.

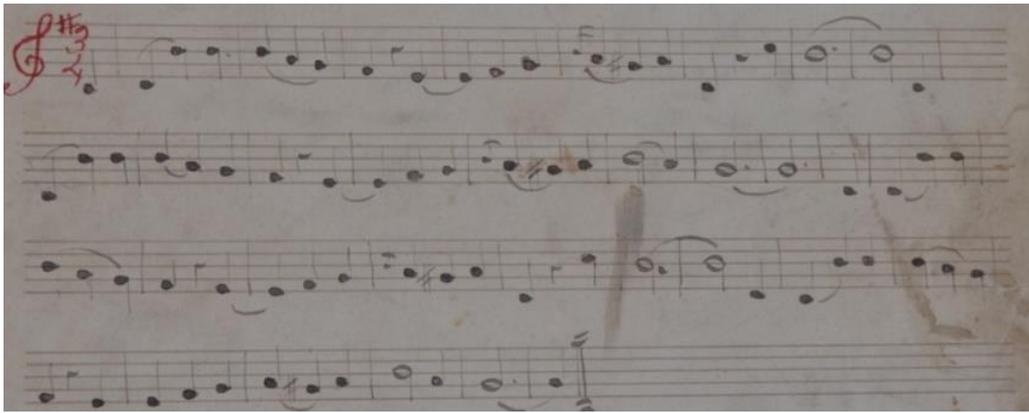


Figure 70 : *Ham.1.2.*

For example, in bar 16, a minim would be expected in order to accommodate the upbeat of the next musical phrase. Instead, a dotted minim fills the entire bar and the transcriber has given the crotchet upbeat a complete bar. Furthermore, the last bar contains a crotchet, rather than a minim to balance out the anacrusis. That said, the tune is very neatly transcribed, with additional slurring, ornamentation, relatively evenly spread barring, key and time signatures drawn (although the key signature is not written on every line as would be expected today). The inaccuracies and slight inconsistencies are, I believe, merely copying errors as the latter factors indicate copying and moreover, copying from a printed source.

The labour-intensive act of copying combined with the potential urgency to return a printed copy, mean that small errors and inaccuracies are not surprising. Copying at the end of a long day, in poor light and perhaps in a hurry to pass on or return the printed copy or source manuscript, could easily result in this. Thus, the presence of some errors does not negate transmission via a textual method.

Stems, Clefs and Signatures

Arguably contradicting my findings regarding the extent of copying are the downward drawing of stems and the position of the treble clef. All three manuscripts show inconsistencies. It could be assumed that both treble clef and stem alignment would be copied from the source, but it appears that personal style and preference was in play. In Hampton MS, despite obvious differences in their writing skills, both Hampton and Soobroy draw their downward stems on the right hand side of the note.⁷²⁹ This is

⁷²⁹ There is one exception in *Ham.11.3*, corroborating the idea that this tune was added by a guest scribe as discussed in Chapter 2.

opposite from today's convention, and even where a strong prospect of a direct source is found, showing downward left-hand stems, the compiler draws them on the right.⁷³⁰ Throughout most of Till/Clutterbuck MS the downward stems are drawn on the right-hand-side of the note head.⁷³¹ Likewise, Bennett follows the right-hand downward trend overall.⁷³²

Comparisons with contemporary printed publications show that right-hand downward stems were not the accepted norm in print. Yet I have found evidence of many other nineteenth-century manuscript compilers writing in the same manner as the case-study compilers, including evidence from a transcription by Mozart in the late eighteenth century, Figure 71.⁷³³ Mozart draws downward stems on both sides, with a preference for right-hand downward stems on minims or longer.



Figure 71 : Mozart String Quartet in D Major K575. Source: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>.

⁷³⁰ Direct sources are explored in depth later in the chapter. They refer to printed sources which have the potential to be the same edition from which the compiler copied.

⁷³¹ There is some inconsistency as all but one of the opening hornpipes (*Til.2.1 – Til.8.1*), are drawn 'correctly', as per today's convention.

⁷³² Notable exceptions can be seen in *Ben.40.1* and *Ben.92.1* clearly both by a different scribe copying a piano arrangement and *Ben.50.1* in the bell ringing sequence notation.

⁷³³ British Library, 'Add Ms 37765 1789-1790, Autograph Manuscript of Three of Mozart's String Quartets', *British Library* (No date) <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>>.

It has been suggested the custom of downward stems on the left and upward stems on the right was led by the type-setting printing process due to inverting a note making the type more versatile,⁷³⁴ and it appears that manuscript convention or personal preference was to keep all the stems, whether up or down on the right-hand side.

Clef and musical signature usage is also an interesting feature. Today and in mid-nineteenth-century contemporary printed music, the clef and key signature are written on each stave line and the time signature on the top line, yet the compilers adopted their own style. In Hampton MS, Soobroy adopts a style of writing clef, key and time signature once, on the top line of each piece, in red ink and then omits anything on subsequent lines. Hampton is inconsistent and although uses a similar convention to begin with (perhaps following his 'teacher's' style), from *Ham.8.1* he consistently writes a treble clef on each line.⁷³⁵ Despite providing a clef on each line, the key signature is frequently omitted altogether but when written is only placed on the first line.⁷³⁶ Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck MSS follow suit, with the exception of using red ink.⁷³⁷ I believe this is due to the copying process being hurried and points to the function of the books as practical repositories, intended for personal use by the compiler, rather than indicating oral/aural transmission or writing from memory. Campbell notes a similar practice in the manuscripts he examined, attributing it to "saving ink and paper, plus adding to the speed of transcription".⁷³⁸ Campbell also observes this employed in Chappell's book which similarly only prints the treble clef, key and time signature once, at the beginning of each piece. However, when observing different editions of Chappell's book, I noted that in Wooldridge's later 1893 edition,

⁷³⁴ Open University, 'Early Music Printing Uploaded by Cantum Mensurable', *Vimeo* (2017) <<https://vimeo.com/101737669>> [accessed 25 February 2016]. Kindly drawn to my attention by Chris Partington, *Email Correspondence* (10 February 2016).

⁷³⁵ This occurs with a few exceptions namely: Line 3 of *Ham.10.3*; line 4 of *Ham.11.2*; lines 2-5 of *Ham.13.1*; line 3 of *Ham.15.1* and the final 4 lines of the manuscript.

⁷³⁶ Again *Ham.11.3* provides an exception to this.

⁷³⁷ Three exceptions occur: *Ben.130.1* and the initial three staves of *Ben.59.1* and *Ben.56.1* (but here he is using the treble clef to distinguish between the 1st and 2nd parts).

⁷³⁸ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 372.

clefs are printed on each line, perhaps indicating that by this time, there was more conformity and standardisation in print.⁷³⁹

Where does this non-conformity leave the argument regarding copying? I believe the idiosyncratic drawing of stems, clef and signatures comes down to personal preference, or ease or speed of transcription, being deliberate deviations from the printed versions, rather than transcription errors or indicating that no printed source was present.

Survey Evidence

To validate the results of my visual examination, I employed further methods namely; a stylistic survey of current musicians, a survey of wider literature and survey of printed music which resulted in an important discovery which conclusively supported my results. The stylistic survey of current musicians was conducted to observe the difference in transcription stylistics of music when writing a tune from memory compared to copying a melody from a printed copy. Survey participants were required to have some level of musical literacy in order to participate,⁷⁴⁰ and were asked to complete two tasks. They were presented with three printed sheets of paper.⁷⁴¹ The first sheet contained instructions, clearly informing the candidate that it was not a test of knowledge, transcription skill, nor a test which had a right or wrong answer.⁷⁴² Importantly I requested that the candidate made no amendments to their first task when they had completed the second task. In the majority of cases I was present to ensure this occurred. The second sheet, task 1 consisted of manuscript paper on which the participant was required to write the melody of 'God Save The Queen', from memory, as far as they were able.⁷⁴³ When this task was complete, the participant was instructed to turn to the third sheet (task 2), which consisted of a printed version of

⁷³⁹ Brussel's edition is a reprint of Wooldridge's 1893 edition, and Dover's is Chappell's original edition, 1st published in 1859: Chappell, *Old English Popular Music*; Chappell, *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*.

⁷⁴⁰ I aimed to find non-professional but musically literate musicians who most closely represent the manuscript compilers with regards to musical ability (i.e. amateurs).

⁷⁴¹ An example of the survey and results is shown in Appendix D.

⁷⁴² This was in order to comply with the ethics approval: University of Sheffield Ethics Approval No. 013359.

⁷⁴³ This melody was chosen as it is generally well known and provides enough rhythmic and melodic variation to make the analysis worthwhile (i.e. more complex than the melody of a simple nursery rhyme).

'God Save The Queen', including dynamic markings, articulation and so on, which they were then requested to copy.

Overall, the results revealed that the first transcription, carried out from memory, was less accurate and written in a short-hand manner (of varying degrees, largely dependent on musical ability and a natural 'inner ear'). The transcriptions varied in key, pitch and in some cases clef. Very few participants added any form of stylistic or musical additions and frequently the tune was incomplete. The second transcription, copying the given music, very clearly demonstrated that regardless of the participant's individual level of musical literacy, incredibly accurate facsimiles of the printed copy were transcribed. Not only were these second transcriptions more melodically and rhythmically accurate but they also included the stylistic and musical annotations copied from the original. This contemporary survey provides strong comparative evidence to support my argument that the compilers were copying the majority of the tunes from printed, published music (or possibly other manuscript copies), rather than writing down orally/aurally transmitted tunes or tunes from memory.

Wider Literature

This pivotal point regarding transmission and its dependence on textual sources as demonstrated in the manuscripts is crucial to the thesis. Looking at the evidence in wider literature I found that similar conclusions were drawn by others. Referring back to Hardy's preface at the start of the thesis, his direct inference to the transmission method further corroborates my argument, "their music in those days was all in their own manuscript, copied in the evenings after work".⁷⁴⁴ Similarly, Gammon's pioneering work on manuscripts in Sussex recognised that notated, published music is far more important with regards to transmission, than previously thought. In identifying the manuscripts' lack of dependence on orality/aurality as a means of transmission, he concluded that, "in most cases it seems clear that the musicians copied the tunes either from printed sources, most likely compilations of country dance published in London, or from other musicians' manuscripts, which ultimately seem to derive from printed sources".⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴⁴ Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, p. xxiv.

⁷⁴⁵ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 69.

This theory was quite ground-breaking as previously orality/aurality was generally considered as the main means of dissemination in folk music, and moreover, one of its major defining factors. Indeed, even today orality/aurality can still be seen as a fundamental element in defining folk music characteristics, discussed in Chapter 1. Scholars have begun to agree with Gammon's findings and argue that written sources are being seen to play a far more crucial and much earlier role in the transmission of folk music than is acknowledged. Campbell found this to be true in the manuscripts he scrutinised, claiming "the foundations... may be traced back to the many hundreds of publications that saw light between 1650 and 1850",⁷⁴⁶ and: "It is more likely, however, that Vickers obtained the volume's contents from printed sources..."⁷⁴⁷ Pendlebury concludes that the manuscript tunes "hav[e] been copied from common written sources, and I propose these were published tune-books".⁷⁴⁸ Yates also identifies the unstable notion of purely oral/aural transmission, recognising the importance of interaction between text and orality/aurality.⁷⁴⁹

The song field is ahead of the tune field in this regard. Roud's position on the lack of reliance on orality/aurality as the sole means of transmission was explored in Chapter 1, and in 2004 Atkinson questioned to what extent folk song had genuinely been transmitted orally/aurally. He argued that during the entire period from which folk song is known, England was a "text-based society", and that "...vast numbers of songs, including classic ballads and items from the standard folk-song repertoire, were printed and re-printed from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries and distributed throughout England...as broadsides and/or in garlands of songsters".⁷⁵⁰ He states that 95% of English folk song repertoire was, at some point distributed in "cheap printed form".⁷⁵¹ This is an astonishingly large number and must have had an impact on the distribution of text and tune.

⁷⁴⁶ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 130.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 149.

⁷⁴⁸ Pendlebury, 'Jigs, Reels and Hornpipes: A History of "Traditional" Dance Tunes of Britain and Ireland', p. 64.

⁷⁴⁹ Yates, 'Excavating Notes: The Archaeology of Canon Formation in Manx Music', p. 60.

⁷⁵⁰ Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition', p. 456.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid. p. 457.

Middleton notes that “the seemingly most archaic “folk song,” [which] will generally turn out to have among its ancestry connections with the print world of the towns”.⁷⁵²

Lloyd suggests that:

We see that in thousands, indeed millions, of instances the words of folk songs reached their singers by way of print. And not only the words. The existence of manuscript tune books shows that the melodies too had a certain written currency from quite early days, especially among tune-swapping fiddlers.⁷⁵³

Likewise, Russell believes that:

manuscript and printed copies of songs and tunes have continued to underpin oral tradition to this day...among Northumbrian pipers there has been a long tradition of musical literacy in which tunes have been passed on or exchanged in manuscript or printed form....⁷⁵⁴

The popular music field appears to struggle less than the folk music field with the need to assert oral/aural transmission as part of its identity, and suggests copying was normal, or at least more accepted. Russell states that before the mid-century, “working men and women in choral and instrumental societies were forced to buy a single published copy and then laboriously (but lovingly) copy out the necessary duplicate parts”.⁷⁵⁵ Discussing choral societies, he takes a quotation from Curwen, a weaver from Huddersfield who reminisces that:

When any new pieces were required people subscribed and bought one copy. The blank music paper was purchased at three half pence a sheet, often fetched from places four and five miles away. The different parts were copied out. It was no uncommon thing for a person to sit up all night copying. When written, each part would be bound in brown paper and most carefully guarded and used as long as the paper would hang together.⁷⁵⁶

At the socially ‘higher’ end of the popular music spectrum, the middle and upper-class bourgeoisie, consumers of the Drawing-room genre would “build a collection of printed ballads suited to one’s individual taste and technique and have them privately stitched together and leather bound”.⁷⁵⁷ The manuscript compilers appear to fall between the two, and like the mid-upper-class Drawing-room genre, compile their

⁷⁵² Middleton, *Voicing the Popular : On the Subjects of Popular Music*, p. 22.

⁷⁵³ Lloyd, *Folk Song in England*, p. 31.

⁷⁵⁴ Banfield and Russell, 'England (I)'.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁵ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 173.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁷⁵⁷ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 58.

own selection of tunes, often using a very similar repertoire to the piano culture and yet copy them and sometimes self-bind them (seen in Hampton MS), like the working-class choral society members.

The Discovery of ‘Direct’ Sources

With the evidence beginning to show that copying was the chief method of inward transmission, it was significant to find further, strong evidence which backed this up. In approximately 25% of the tunes, potential ‘parent’ or direct sources were discovered from which the compilers were copying.⁷⁵⁸

It is important to make the distinction between identifying a named direct source as opposed to merely a duplication of the same tune. Whereas some printed tunes share the same name, structure, melodic shape and basic rhythm of their manuscript counterparts, there can be deviations in varying degrees, between copies (both in manuscript and printed books). There is no *Urtext* edition sought by the performers of these genres. Even if a ‘true’ original existed in the sense that it was written, arranged and copyrighted by a composer and publisher, the means of transmission, coupled with copyright issues and mass publications of similar items, results in variation and a lack of adherence to the original.

However, a direct source demonstrates a strict observance to, and copying of, smaller details resulting in stylistic mirroring such as: identical melodic and rhythmic shape; imitated beaming; addition of phrasing or slurring etc., which exists on what could be called the parent copy or direct source. For example, Figure 72 shows *Ham.6.3* – ‘The Triumph’, and two printed versions of ‘The Triumph’: one is an arrangement by Westrop,⁷⁵⁹ and one is from the publisher Boosey.⁷⁶⁰ Despite being similar, it becomes clear that Hampton’s and Westrop’s are more closely related than Boosey’s; to the extent where I would call Westrop’s a direct source.

⁷⁵⁸ My time at BL was limited by financial and logistical restraints and I strongly believe that more research in the BL archives would reveal many more direct sources.

⁷⁵⁹ Westrop, *120 Country Dances*, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁰ Boosey, *Boosey's Hundred Reels, Country & Other Dances. For the Violin*, p. 2.

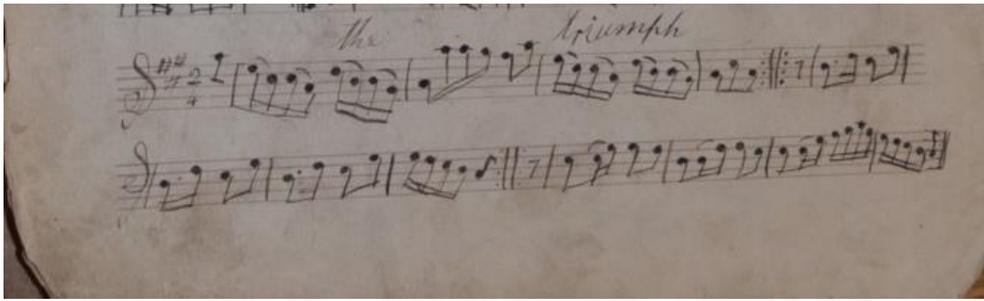


Figure 72 : 'The Triumph' shown in Hampton MS (*Ham.6.3*), Westrop's *120 Country Dances* and Boosey's *100 Reels etc.*

In some cases, a strong stylistic, melodic and rhythmic resemblance (such as the beaming of notes, phrasing, dynamic markings, identical rhythmic or melodic detail etc.), could be perceived between manuscript and printed version, but not enough to qualify as an exact direct source (for example differences in key, or slight arrangement or melodic alterations). In these cases, a 'publisher' source was proposed. This indicated that I had likely found a printed copy by the same arranger or publisher, yet the arrangement might be for a different instrument. Definitive decisions regarding this were hard to make, indicated in Appendix B, although I felt that if a relationship appeared to exist then the connection between the tune, compiler and publisher was worth noting. *Til.35.1* (Figure 73),⁷⁶¹ illustrates a potential publisher source. Here, melodic, rhythmic and stylistic features on the printed source indicate more than a mere variation of the same tune, yet not enough similarities exist to deem it a direct source.

⁷⁶¹ Duval, 'The Lancers' Quadrilles', *Robert Cock's & Co.* (1857) <<https://archive.org>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

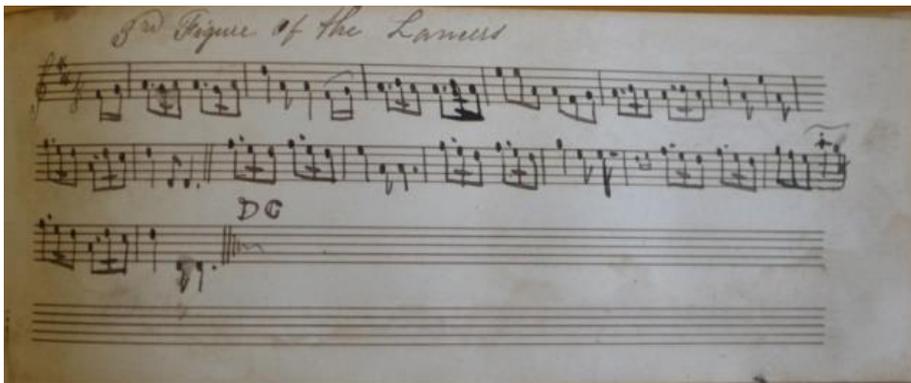


Figure 73 : Example of a 'Publisher Source'. Photo: R Dellow. Sources: *Til.35.1* and <https://archive.org>.

Justifying Source Provenance

Appendix B shows that I identified a potential direct or publisher source for 43% of the tunes.⁷⁶² The discovery of a direct source revealed not only that the tunes were copied, but that the compilers were copying from contemporary printed sources. I felt confident to class some tunes as being copied from contemporary sources, for which neither a direct nor publisher source could be found. This is due to the same item appearing extensively within other contemporary printed music collections at that time, and which demonstrate the traits of being copied rather than written from memory.

In Hampton MS, I was able to detect four tune books which I am confident were direct sources consulted by Hampton during the compilation of the manuscript. They comprise 23% of the manuscripts' tunes, namely *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of*

⁷⁶² This number includes those which have been classed as 'yes' and 'maybe' from the direct and publisher source columns in Appendix B.

Quadrilles Bk 4,⁷⁶³ *Hopwood & Crew 100 Country Dances for the Violin*,⁷⁶⁴ *Westrop's 120 Country Dances*,⁷⁶⁵ and *Kerr's Merry Melodies Bk 1*,⁷⁶⁶ along with several other potential direct sources.⁷⁶⁷ A strong inclination towards publishers Charles Sheard, MB and Hopwood and Crew, amongst others was identified. Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript revealed fewer definitive direct sources, although I believe he copied some tunes from either *Westrop's 150 Melodies*,⁷⁶⁸ or *Montgomery's 120 Dances for Violin*.⁷⁶⁹ Westrop and Montgomery were also promising direct influences for Bennett, and although only one definitive direct source was found (*Ben.92.1*), he appears to have been strongly influenced by works published by Chappell and Charles Sheard (including MB).

Further Observations on Direct Sources

In some cases, the presence of a similar stylistic notation of a tune in another manuscript can consolidate the decision that the tune was copied. An example within the sacred music is shown in Chapter 6 where the tune 'Queensborough' exists in both Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck MSS, and is strongly indicative of having been copied from the same source.

In Bennett MS a close correlation can be seen between *Ben.35.1* and a tune in the slightly earlier Winter MS, dated both 1848 and 1850,⁷⁷⁰ Figure 74. 'Speed the Plough' appears several times in Winter MS and one version is very similar to Bennett's. There is exact rhythmic and melodic reproduction between the versions, the chief difference only being the key. Winter's version is written in A major, and Bennett's, G major, suggesting a similar source but arranged for different instruments.

⁷⁶³ Coote, *Hopwood & Crew's Selection of Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas &C. Edited and Expressly Arranged for the Violin Book 4*.

⁷⁶⁴ Jones, *Hopwood & Crew's 100 Country Dances for the Violin, Arranged by S. Jones. London, [1875] Music Collections E.269.(3.)*.

⁷⁶⁵ Westrop, *120 Country Dances*.

⁷⁶⁶ Kerr, *Kerr's First Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin*.

⁷⁶⁷ See Appendix B.

⁷⁶⁸ Westrop, *One Hundred and Fifty Melodies for the Violin. Adapted Also for the Flute, or Any Treble Instrument*.

⁷⁶⁹ Montgomery, *120 Dances for the Flute*, (London: Musical Bouquet J Allen, No date).

⁷⁷⁰ Winter, *William Winter Music Manuscript Book*.

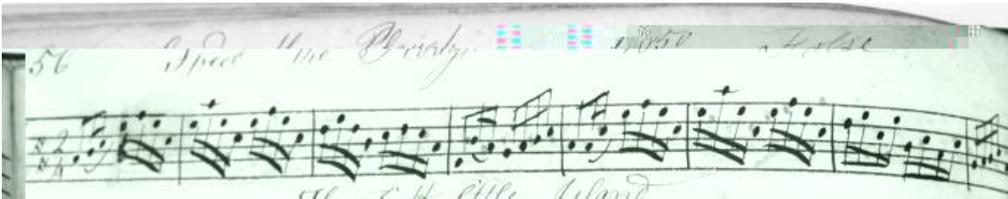
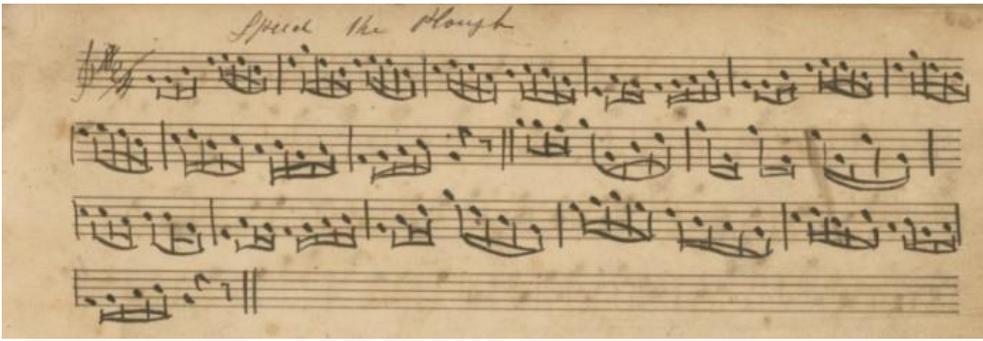


Figure 74 : 'Speed the Plough', from *Ben.35.1* and Winter MS. Photo: G Carter / R Dellow. Source: Huronia Museum / Halsway Manor Library, copyright Halsway Manor Society Ltd 2001.

Winter's tune has the word 'Folse' written above. Reference to a published tune book by this name could not be found. However, a census search revealed that a man named William Folse was living twenty-six miles away from Winter in 1841 in Collumpton.⁷⁷¹ Despite having moved to Leicestershire by 1851,⁷⁷² his child was born in Coombe St Nicholas, Somerset c1846,⁷⁷³ nineteen miles from West Bagborough. This could indicate that Winter knew Folse and wrote down his version of the tune before he moved away. It is feasible that Folse had found his version of the tune in a published tune book which was the same source from which Bennett either directly or indirectly copied. Interestingly this also serves as an example regarding the inconsistency of stems. Despite the potential of both examples originating from the same source, Bennett and Winter favour different stem stylistics.

⁷⁷¹ Folse and Forse appear to be interchangeable in the census records. 'William Forse', 1841 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 225; Book: 4; Civil Parish: Cullompton; County: Devon; Enumeration District: 2; Folio: 9; Page: 12; Line: 8; GSU roll: 241313), <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁷² 'William Folse', 1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 2090; Folio: 429; Page: 37; GSU roll: 87718), <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁷³ 'William Forse', 1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 2275; Folio: 51; Page: 32; GSU roll: 542947), <www.ancestry.co.uk>[accessed 25 April 2017].

Results

My research into direct inward transmission indicates that 94% of the items are copied, with only 4% indicating direct oral/aural transmission, leaving 2% for which I did not feel confident definitively classing. Campbell concurs that the direct inward transmission is via copying, yet cites pre-1850 printed dance tune collections as a potential source.⁷⁷⁴ Unlike Campbell, I believe approximately 98% of the copied tunes were copied from contemporary sources aimed at amateurs. Therefore, despite displaying an eclectic mix of genre, the compilers were actually selecting from a geographically and chronologically narrow range of contemporary sources, specific to monophonic amateur instrumentalists. Even the art music and older historic tunes appear to have been sourced, in a direct sense from contemporary printed music. The results are shown in Figure 75.⁷⁷⁵

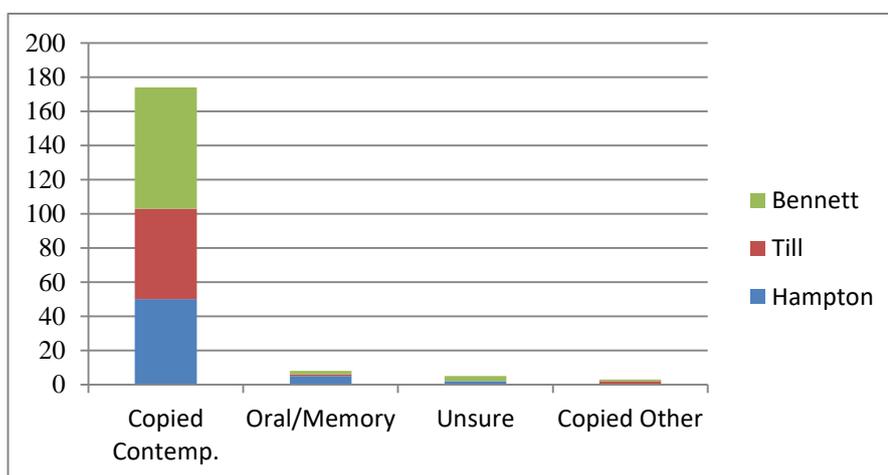


Figure 75 : Graph to show distribution of inward transmission.

Sources

The following section considers the sources from which the compilers were drawing the tunes.

'Cheap Works'

The types of sources used by the compilers were budget publications specific to amateur monophonic instrumentalists and were frequently referred to as 'cheap' works. They were published chiefly in London and varied in price between one shilling

⁷⁷⁴ See above.

⁷⁷⁵ The results consist of four categories: 'Copied Contemp.', refers to tunes which I have classed as being copied from contemporary printed (or possibly manuscript) sources; 'Copied Other', refers to tunes I considered copied, but from unknown sources; 'Oral/Memory', denotes tunes written 'by ear', from memory or while someone is singing or playing the melody; the final category 'Unsure', is for those tunes where evidence was unambiguous as to whether the tune was copied.

and eighteen pence. They covered all popular genres, reflected in the heterogeneous assortment found in the manuscripts. Extracts and arrangements from opera, minstrel songs, popular song, modern dances, jigs, reels and hornpipes etc. were included. Chapters 1 and 3 noted the crossover in repertoire with the Drawing-room genre, and with the brass band movement, however the sources used by the compilers were specifically published and aimed at individual, amateur, monophonic instrumentalists. Some research has been carried out on the vocal and piano market, and that of the brass band repertoire,⁷⁷⁶ but no academic studies appear to have focussed on this printed monophonic instrumental music and no catalogues exist. Like the manuscripts, this genre of popular printed music seems to have been overlooked. This could be due to their ambiguity of definition as discussed in reference to the manuscripts,⁷⁷⁷ or perhaps as a result of their affordability discussed below.

Within the manuscripts, three key publishers have so far emerged as influential namely, Hopwood & Crew, Chappell and Charles Sheard (MB).⁷⁷⁸ My research suggests that Hopwood & Crew were prominent in Hampton MS and possibly Till/Clutterbuck MS, although their impact is not seen in Bennett MS, unsurprising given their business commenced in 1860, the same year as Bennett MS.⁷⁷⁹ Of potential importance in Bennett MS is the publisher Chappell, the “longest-established music publishers in London”,⁷⁸⁰ operating from 1811 and still operating under the name *Warner Chappell* following a takeover in 1987.⁷⁸¹ In addition to their publishing business they promoted concerts,⁷⁸² and were respected piano manufacturers.

⁷⁷⁶ Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*; Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*; Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*; Herbert, 'The Repertory of a Victorian Provincial Brass Band.'; Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet'; Taylor, *English Brass Bands and Their Music, 1860-1930*.

⁷⁷⁷ This is discussed in Chapter 1.

⁷⁷⁸ Work is ongoing in an attempt to identify more direct sources, especially in Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett, which subsequently might widen the number of influential publishers.

⁷⁷⁹ Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers : An Annotated List*, p. 132.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁷⁸¹ W.H. Husk and others, 'Chappell', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, (2017), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 22 November 2016].

⁷⁸² See Chapter 3.

The extent of Chappell's cheap publications specifically aimed at monophonic instrumentalists was large, seen in Figure 76 below.⁷⁸³ Publications covered a wide range of genres and instruments under the title of *Chappell's Cheap Works*, which were priced at eighteen pence (1s 6d).

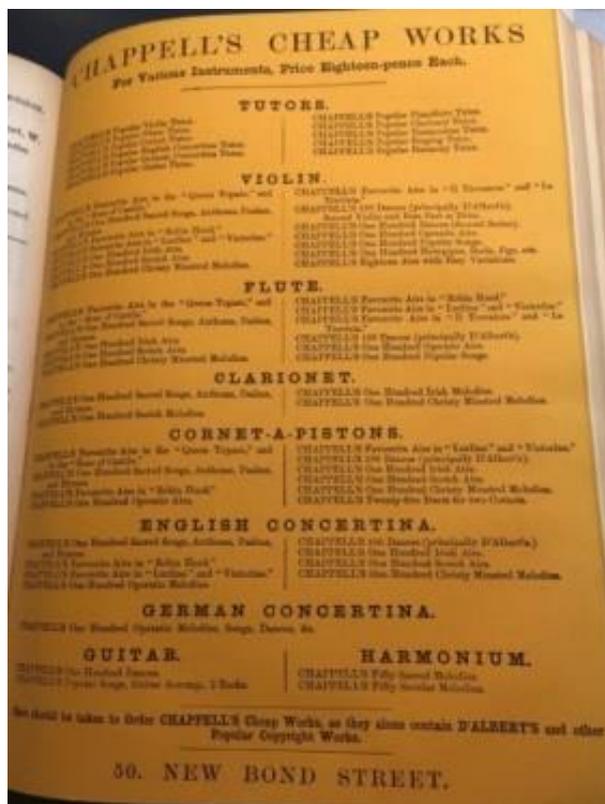


Figure 76 : 'Chappell's Cheap Works', priced at 18d. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (f.161).

The influence of Hopwood & Crew can be seen in Hampton MS. Founded in 1860 and specialising in popular dance music,⁷⁸⁴ they priced their instrumental collections even cheaper than *Chappell's Cheap Works*, at one shilling (Figure 77),⁷⁸⁵ and show a similar range of genres including general 'Selections' and collections of 'Country Dances', 'Popular Songs Of The Day', 'Quadrilles, Waltzes, Galops, Polkas, etc.',⁷⁸⁶ and from the evidence found in BL, were frequently arranged for violin, flute and cornet.

⁷⁸³ I felt it was important to show a photograph of an actual example of one of the sources, however for ease of reading and clarity in order to understand the extent of genres and versions available, I have transcribed the various different genres advertised on this one photograph in Appendix E.

⁷⁸⁴ Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers: An Annotated List*, p. 132.

⁷⁸⁵ Jones, *Hopwood & Crew's 100 Country Dances for the Violin, Arranged by S. Jones. London, [1875] Music Collections E.269.(3.)*.

⁷⁸⁶ The list is an example of various different genres published by 'Hopwood & Crew', viewed at BL.

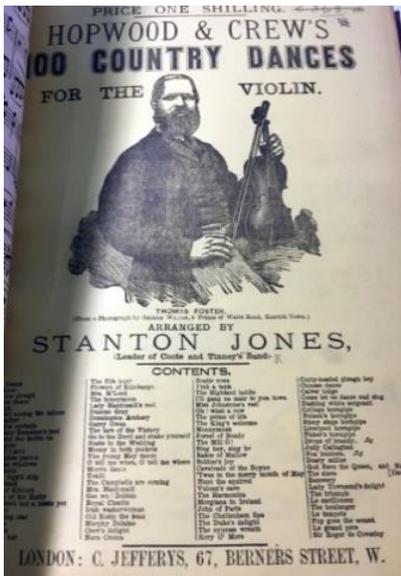


Figure 77 : 'Hopwood & Crew's 100 Country Dances for the Violin', Priced at 1s. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (e.269.(3)).

Meanwhile, the largest influence on the compilers is by Charles Sheard who, although hugely influential with his MB series, also published separately. Parkinson lists Charles Sheard operating from 1851 until 1920.⁷⁸⁷ MB was in existence prior to this date (from 1845), as the names and addresses of owners, taken from the printed music sheets show.⁷⁸⁸ Despite the enormity of their influence on popular music in the mid-late-nineteenth century, demonstrated in the manuscripts and the proliferation of their publications, neither Charles Sheard nor his MB series warrant a mention in *Grove Music Online*. Of the little research into Sheard,⁷⁸⁹ most focuses on the MB series whose chief market was in publishing individual music sheets, catering predominantly for the Drawing-room genre.

Initially MB was a weekly publication which was edited and bound into a volume every six months and

⁷⁸⁷ Parkinson, *Victorian Music Publishers : An Annotated List*, p. 248. Following Charles senior's death in 1873 the company was run by Charles' son Charles Henry and following his death in 1913, thought to be run by Charles senior's second wife Clara Elizabeth until the company was sold. Mervyn Slatter, 'Foreword', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk/foreword>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁸⁸ Mervyn Slatter, 'Addresses', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) <<http://www.musicalbouquet.co.uk/addresses>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁸⁹ I have only been able to uncover a mention in Russell and the work done by Slatter which includes an introductory essay by Peter Gammond. Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 174; Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet'; Gammond, 'Peter Gammond's Essay'.

though one amongst a plethora of publishing houses in London and the provinces in the 1800's, the Musical Bouquet can hold its head high in that it provided "cheap and sterling" music for the masses over most of Queen Victoria's reign, Edward VII's and into the first 7 years of George the Vth.⁷⁹⁰

MB and Sheard were also prolific publishers of tune collections for the monophonic instrumentalist market, covering numerous genres and instruments, of the same genres and instrumental types as Chappell and Hopwood & Crew. The following figure,⁷⁹¹ shows MB's instrumental collections retailing for one shilling.

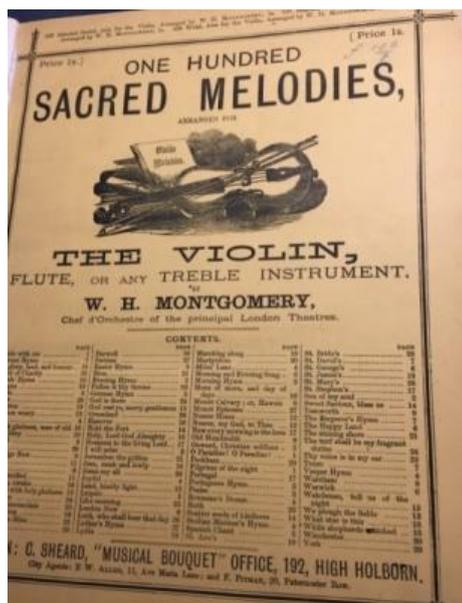


Figure 78 : Sheard's 'Musical Bouquet' Publication, selling for one shilling. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (f.106. (1)).

During the BL archival visit, I also unearthed an MB publication called *Musical Gem* (Figure 79),⁷⁹² which I thought may be more of an influence within the manuscripts than it transpired to be. Priced at a more affordable three pence,⁷⁹³ these tiny instrumental tune books,⁷⁹⁴ were issued fortnightly through the 1860s. Despite not providing a direct source for any of the manuscript contents, a distinct parallel in repertoire can be seen. Furthermore, these books are evidently rare, and their re-

⁷⁹⁰ Slatter, 'Foreword'. The work of Mervyn Slatter in re-constructing MB's catalogue and research into the entire series has been invaluable in this thesis.

⁷⁹¹ W. H. Montgomery, *One Hundred Sacred Melodies, Arranged for the Violin, Flute, Etc.*, (London: C. Sheard Musical Bouquet, c1876).

⁷⁹² *Musical Gem, The Musical Gem, a Companion to the Musical Bouquet*, (London: Musical Bouquet J Allen, 1858-60).

⁷⁹³ Chapter 6 details that sellers often sold the music at half or a third of the stated price, suggesting that the *Musical Gem* may have retailed for as low as one pence.

⁷⁹⁴ The books measure 17cm x 12cm.

discovery has been described as “of great interest” by MB expert, Slatter.⁷⁹⁵ It is interesting to consider whether their affordability directly reflects their lack of influence on the manuscripts, perhaps signifying that, being affordable, the compiler demographic purchased these books and hence there was no requirement to transcribe the tunes (possibly causing the decline of a manuscript culture). Subsequently the lack of survival of print discussed below has cast these ‘gems’ and their content into obscurity. This highlights the importance of the manuscripts as surviving repositories of a musical and cultural history, a point to which I shall return to discuss in more depth.

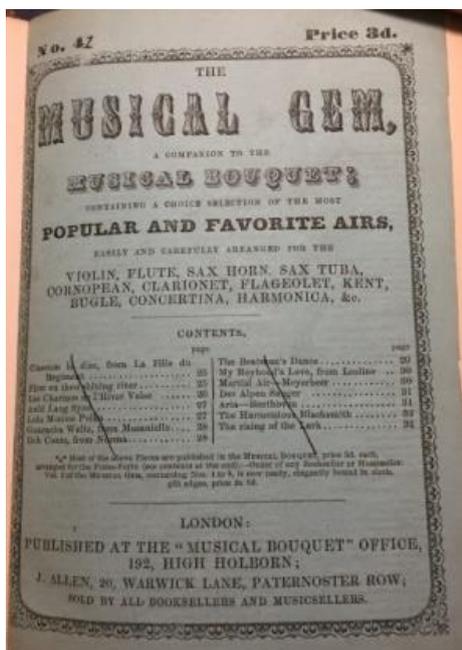


Figure 79 : The ‘Musical Gem’. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (b.94).

The Legality of Copying Music

Ascertaining that print was the key direct inward transmission method raises the question of the legality of the practice. Before considering this in relation to the manuscripts, it is worth setting the groundwork by examining this from a wider perspective. Piracy was a big problem faced by mid-late-nineteenth-century music publishers. Coover discloses the enormity of the threat from cheaper American printed copies but this aside, evidence on a smaller scale exists in the manuscripts of imitation and perhaps deliberate confusion in titles, between rival firms.

⁷⁹⁵ Mervyn Slatter, *Email Correspondence* (30 March 2017); Mervyn Slatter, 'Welcome to the Musical Bouquet : Latest News', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) [accessed 25 April 2017].

For example, both Montgomery and D'Albert composed/arranged a set of quadrilles called 'Bonnie Dundee Quadrille'. Till/Clutterbuck, unusually, provides a composer's name, attributing his version, *Til.25.1-Til.29.1* to D'Albert. Both versions are 'constructed' of traditional Scottish tunes (see Chapter 3), yet they comprise a different selection of tunes. This could have caused confusion for Till/Clutterbuck, who later in the manuscript includes consecutive transcriptions of two of the tunes from Montgomery's version of the quadrille (*Til.34.1* and *Til.34.2*), perhaps out of necessity if his musical colleagues none played (or his audience prefer), Montgomery's version.

Additionally, Till/Clutterbuck transcribes 'Scotch Polka' (*Til.24.1*) which is found to be written by D'Albert (published by Chappell), which was dated in BL as 1865.⁷⁹⁶ A version in MB catalogue, dated 1857 is attributed to Montgomery.⁷⁹⁷ Not only do the dates differ but likely the versions too as it transpires that an exclusivity deal existed between D'Albert and Chappell (Figure 80).⁷⁹⁸

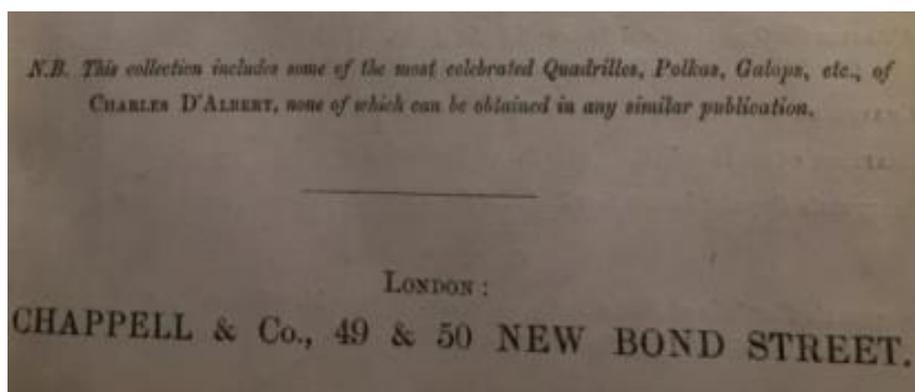


Figure 80 : Evidence of the exclusivity deal between D'Albert and Chappell. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (e.251.a).

Similarly, Bennett transcribes D'Albert's 'Off To Charlestown Quadrilles',⁷⁹⁹ (the same tune set is called 'Charlestown Quadrilles' in other versions), yet a version exists in MB's catalogue, again written by Montgomery, dated 1860.⁸⁰⁰ Clarification in BL confirms Montgomery's version differs from D'Alberts. A comparable situation occurs in *Ben.25.1*, 'England Quadrilles', this time between similarly named quadrille sets by

⁷⁹⁶ British Library Catalogue, 'The Scotch Polka. [P.F.] Charles Louis Napoléon D' Albert', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁹⁷ British Library Catalogue, 'The Scotch Polka W H Montgomery', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁷⁹⁸ Nava, *Chappell's 100 Dances, Arranged for the Cornet-à-Pistons, Etc.* .

⁷⁹⁹ *Ben.30.1* and found in printed version: *ibid*.

⁸⁰⁰ Mervyn Slatter, 'The Catalogue - 2055d the Charlestown Quadrilles Montgomery, W.H', *Musical Bouquet* (2017) <www.musicalbouquet.co.uk> [accessed 25 April 2017].

D'Albert and Jullien which are again constructed with different tunes. Further attempts at potentially deliberate confusion were seen in *Til.19.1*, found to be composed by A. P. Juliano,⁸⁰¹ presumably hoping to profit from the similarity in name to the highly celebrated composer, arranger and conductor, Jullien.

The use of art music, although discussed in Chapter 3 is relevant here too. Both Montgomery and Chappell's books list several tunes with connections to art music, or opera, and the manuscripts demonstrate similar influences.⁸⁰² Although arranged into their respective genres, such as quadrilles or waltzes etc., they still bear a close resemblance to the original opera yet are attributed to the arranger not the original composer (Figure 81).⁸⁰³

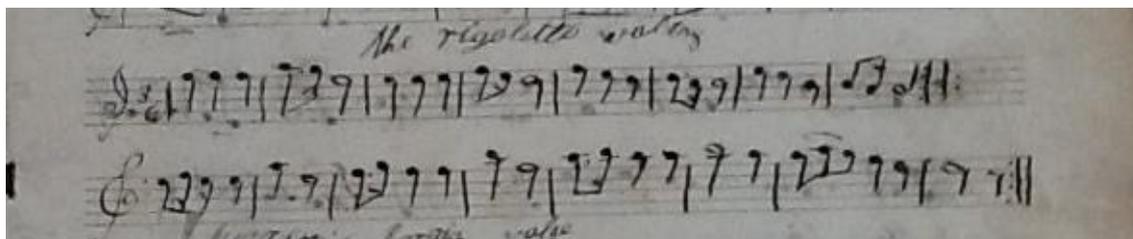
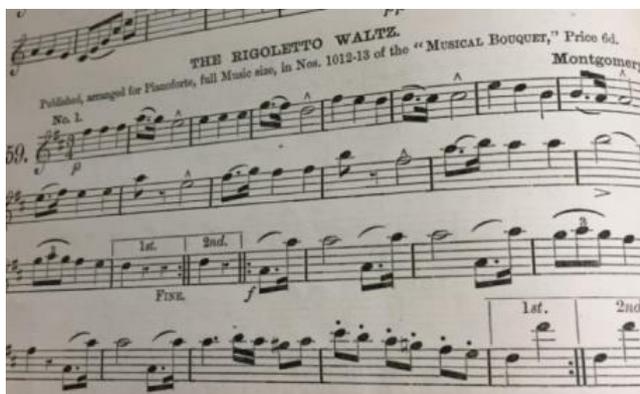


Figure 81 : 'The Rigoletto Waltz'. Photos: R Dellow. Source: BL (e.73.a) and *Ham.9.3*.

Montgomery is named as composer perhaps as the melody was so well known that citing Verdi as the composer was superfluous. Interestingly, the tune also occurs in Boosey's *100 Dances for the Violin* and is attributed this time to Henri Laurent,⁸⁰⁴ again with no reference to Verdi. The similarity between Montgomery and Laurent's versions is striking and one wonders which publisher, if either, had an arrangement with Verdi

⁸⁰¹ Boosey, *One Hundred Dances for the Violin*.

⁸⁰² *Ham.9.4*, 'Lucrezia Borgia Valse', *Ham.9.3*, 'Rigoletto Valse', for example.

⁸⁰³ Montgomery, *120 Dances for the Flute*.

⁸⁰⁴ Boosey, *One Hundred Dances for the Violin*.

to use his melody. Discussion of copyright in 1881 clearly states the illegality of simply ‘borrowing’ a melody: “recognizable paraphrasing of an air or melody forming part of an opera [is] an infringement of the copyright as a whole”.⁸⁰⁵

Chapter 3 witnessed a similar ‘borrowing’ with regards to D’Albert, Jullien and Montgomery’s construction of quadrille sets using the historic tunes. As with the art music above, these quadrilles are attributed to specific composers yet are constructed from pre-existing tunes.⁸⁰⁶ For example, Till/Clutterbuck’s ‘Royal Irish Quadrilles’ comprise historic, pre-existing tunes yet the front page of a published copy credits Jullien as the composer with further notes that “These Quadrilles were composed expressly for the Dublin Promenade Concerts...”⁸⁰⁷

Another example of rival publishers ‘borrowing’ from each other can be found in the publication of anonymous dance tunes.⁸⁰⁸ There are powerful similarities between Hampton’s hornpipe transcriptions of ‘Millicen(t)’s’ (*Ham.15.2*), ‘Bristol’ (*Ham.15.1*) (Figure 82), ‘The Navvie’ (*Ham.16.1*), and ‘The Harvest Home’ (*Ham.9.1*), and those found in both *Kerr’s Merry Melodies*,⁸⁰⁹ (Figure 83), and *Chappell’s 100 Hornpipes, Strathspeys etc.*,⁸¹⁰ (Figure 84). Furthermore, both ‘Bristol’ and ‘Millicent’s’ appear on the same page in all three. Although I believe Kerr is the most likely direct source for Hampton (mainly due to the imitation of the mis-spelling of ‘Millicen’s’), this strongly suggests copying between Kerr and Chappell. As Kerr’s dates slightly later than Chappell’s publication I would propose that Kerr were copying Chappell.⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁵ James Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, (London & New York: Mansell Publishing Limited 1985), p. 10.

⁸⁰⁶ For example, *Til.25.1-29.1*, ‘Bonnie Dundee’, *Til.14.1-17.1*, ‘Royal Irish’, *Ben.25.1-29*, ‘England Quadrilles’.

⁸⁰⁷ Louis Antoine Jullien, ‘Royal Irish Quadrilles’, *Historic Sheet Music Collection*, 558 (1844), <<http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/558>> [accessed 22 April 2017]. See also image in Chapter 3.

⁸⁰⁸ Anonymous in the sense that the publishers did not attribute composers to the tunes.

⁸⁰⁹ Kerr, *Kerr’s First Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin*, p. 44.

⁸¹⁰ Chappell, *Chappell’s 100 Hornpipes, Strathspeys, Reels, Jigs and Country Dances for the Violin*, (London: Chappell & Co.).

⁸¹¹ The start of Kerr’s publications date from mid-1870s and Chappell’s publication dates from early 1870s (1873).



Figure 82 : 'Bristol Hornpipe' and 'Millicen's Favorite [sic] Hornpipe', *Ham.15.1* and *Ham.15.2*⁸¹².



Figure 83 : 'Millicen's Favourite' and 'Bristol Hornpipe'. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Kerr's Merry Melodies Book 1.

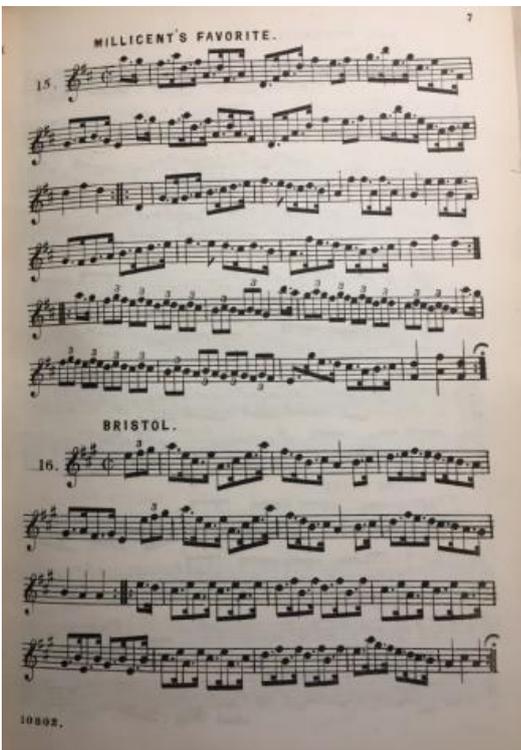


Figure 84 : 'Millicent's Favourite' and 'Bristol'. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Chappell's *100 Hornpipes*, BL (251.a).

⁸¹² See Appendix A for a larger version of Hampton's tunes.

The issue of publishers copying both melody and arrangement does not go unnoticed at the time. However, it is not until 1890 that as part of Lord Monkswell's bill to amend the law of copyright that provisions are made for copyright to exist "on anonymous works, for thirty years after publication".⁸¹³ These examples of publishers copying each other's arrangements of anonymous tunes leads on to the overall issue of ownership and copyright of tunes with an unknown composer, which still exists to some extent today.⁸¹⁴

Of similar interest is the generic titling of such tunes in both the manuscripts and the sources. There are several incidences of individual tunes within books named simply as 'hornpipe', a convention also seen in other dance genres such as waltz (or valse), schottische, quadrille and galop. Many of these generically titled tunes can subsequently be traced as well-known pre-existing tunes and it is possible their non-specific title is an attempt at evading copyright.

In Bennett MS some of the now more well-known hornpipes are simply called by the generic title 'hornpipe'.⁸¹⁵ In Till/Clutterbuck MS the opening seven tunes comprise a batch of generally known and identifiable hornpipes, but with no titles given.⁸¹⁶ The tunes bear characteristics of being copied and thus suggest they were acquired from a source which omitted specific names,⁸¹⁷ which in turn might be attributed to avoiding copyright.

In addition to omitting, or using generic titles, there is evidence of name changing. Figure 85 shows the title of a traditional Scottish tune, 'Blue Bells of Scotland' changed to 'Scotch Melody' in *Ham.2.2*. I suspect this is not a change initiated by Hampton (or Soobroy), rather by the arranger or publisher of his source, perhaps to navigate a copyright issue, discussed below. An identical alteration can be seen in Reinacle's *The*

⁸¹³ Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, p. 44.

⁸¹⁴ fRoots Forum, 'Cecil Sharp : A 'Knobhead ?'', *Folk Roots* (2008) <<http://www.froots.net/phpBB2/viewtopic.php?t=3450&postdays=0&posto>> [accessed 3 February 2013].

⁸¹⁵ For example, see *Ben.110.2* and *Ben.111.2*.

⁸¹⁶ For example, see *Til.2.1 – Til.8.1*.

⁸¹⁷ Such an example was viewed in BL which whilst they are not Till/Clutterbuck or Bennett's source, they are evidence that generic naming existed in the sources. Douglas McKenzie, *Boosey's Instrumental Library, No. 102 One Hundred Modern Hornpipes, Jigs, Breakdowns, Sand-Dances, Comic Tunes &C.*, (London: Boosey & Co.).

Violinist's Portfolio,⁸¹⁸ (also Figure 85), suggesting this book as Hampton or Soobroy's source, indicating the switch at a higher level. Despite the intriguingly similar name change, I have not listed this as a definitive direct source however as the phrase endings between the two versions differ. That said, although doubtful, this could be additional evidence of the same fact, this time indicating changes by Soobroy, in order to navigate copyright issues at manuscript level in order to hide plagiarised sources.

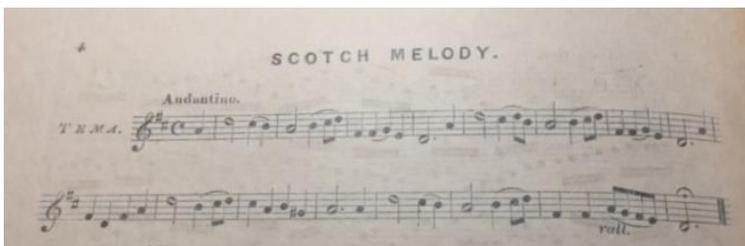
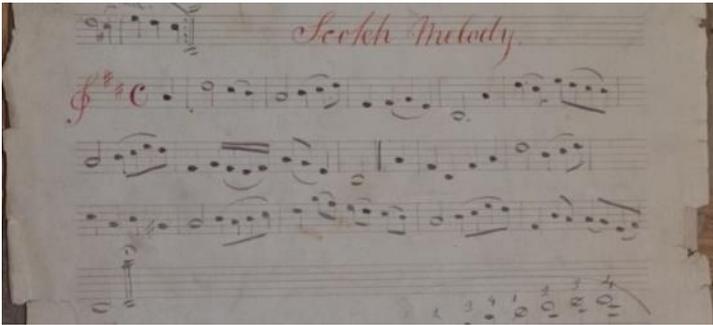


Figure 85: *Ham.2.2* and 'Scotch Melody' from Reinacle's *Violinist's Portfolio*. Photos: R Dellow. Sources: Hampton MS and BL (h.217).

Some differences in tune name, of which there are many in the older anonymous repertoire, might simply be caused by the tunes' previous transmission not being consistently rooted in a text-based environment. This would result in name changes occurring in a more natural, un-conscious manner. Many examples of tunes being known by different (indeed, several), names throughout the manuscripts were noted. Serving as a representative example is *Ham.14.2*, 'The Clown's Hornpipe' (which was traced to be the same as 'New Clog Hornpipe'),⁸¹⁹ which in turn was traced to print,⁸²⁰ in a book entitled *Blackman - A Selection of the most favorite Hornpipes for the Violin*

⁸¹⁸ A. R. Reinacle, *The Violinist's Portfolio*, (London: D'Almaine & Co.).

⁸¹⁹ Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. 61.

⁸²⁰ Via a transcription: Peter Dunk, 'New Clog Hornpipe', *abcnotation*

<<http://abcnotation.com/tunePage?a=www.cpartington.plus.com/links/Blackmans-H%27pipes/0031>> [accessed January 2016].

ca1810-22,⁸²¹ shown in Figure 86. This is unlikely to have been Hampton's source as the tune name differs, yet curiously the similarity between the two versions is strong.

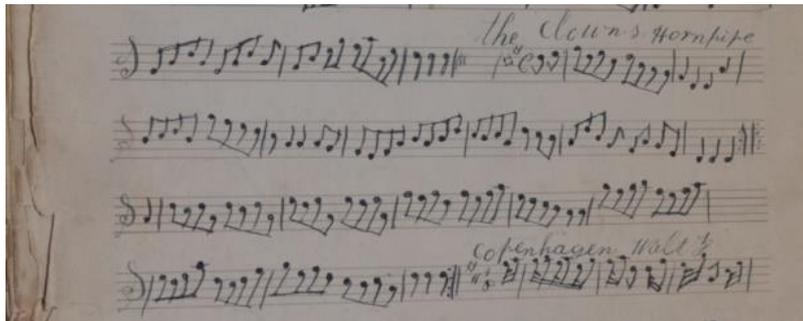


Figure 86 : *Ham.14.2* and 'New Clog Hornpipe' from Blackman. Sources: Hampton MS and <http://folkopedia.efds.org>.

With the upsurge of production and demand of musical print throughout the later-nineteenth-century came the need to review copyright laws which, in their current state were insubstantial. Coover studies the articles in the trade press which led to the 1906 copyright act,⁸²² and several key weak areas emerge. In summary, these are, piracy from cheaper, illegal copies and copies from America, piracy between themselves, the ownership of performing rights (including the charging of performers to sing specific songs at charitable and amateur penny concerts), and manuscript copying of tunes.

Of key importance here is the legality of the compilers' practice. It transpires that despite copying being a common practice, with advertisements showing that for those prepared to pay one pence per page, professional music copying services were

⁸²¹ W. Blackman, *A Selection of the Most Favourite Hornpipes for the Violin*, (London: W. Blackman). Image taken from Folkopedia, 'Blackman's Hornpipes Pdf', *Folkopedia* (No date) <http://folkopedia.efds.org/images/7/7f/Blackman%27s_Hornpipes.PDF> [accessed 20 September 2017].

⁸²² Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*.

available,⁸²³ it was in fact illegal. Coover's research covers a period slightly beyond that of the manuscripts. However, the general attitude towards copying is one of confusion, suggesting that the same confusion would have applied earlier.

In December 1882 *The Musical Publishers' Association* (MPA) asked *The Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review* (MO&MTR), to print a warning to its readers that "any copying of a copyrighted song, even by hand, is an infringement",⁸²⁴ and the secretary notes that journal advertisements, "circulating primarily among ladies" offer copying as a service. There is some dispute in the press about the legality and in 1883 the *Family Herald* states that "it is certainly not illegal to copy printed music".⁸²⁵

Five years later the confusion is still rife, even amongst the members of the MPA, with the editor noting:

some confusion in the minds of more than one member of the Music Publishers' Association about the law concerning MS. Copies of copyrighted music. Though it is undoubtedly illegal to copy for purposes of sale, he says, 'there is no law which prevents anybody from copying in MS. any music for his own private use. Any opinion to the contrary is manifestly absurd...Music is so cheap that it does not pay to copy it', and as engraved music is so much easier to read than MS., 'both young men and maidens' should prefer it.⁸²⁶

However, two months later MPA issue another public warning against copying adding that "transcription of copyright songs into other keys is unlawful copying, subject to heavy penalties".⁸²⁷

It is hard to believe that the actions of the amateur musicians were having a massive effect on the profits of the publishing companies by copying out tunes. It appears that, as implied above, one of the main 'culprits' were the pianists from the middle-class Drawing-room genre. The demographic of the manuscript compilers does not even register as a menace here when the chief perpetrators of the practice are described by the *Musical Times*:

⁸²³ An advert in the Belfast Telegraph advertises manuscript copies for nine pence each: Belfast Evening Telegraph, 'Music', *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, 31 January 1883, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

⁸²⁴ Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, p. 13.

⁸²⁵ Ibid. p. 14.

⁸²⁶ Ibid. p. 33.

⁸²⁷ Ibid. p. 34.

a practice, 'which is growing every day more pronounced, of reproducing in manuscript copyright works'. Three types of offenders are singled out: 1) the young lady who, just having purchased a copyright song, makes a copy for her accompanist or circulates it to her friends; 2) the parson who buys a Service or an Anthem and re-copies it until he has supplied each member of the choir; 3) the enthusiastic organizer of local concerts. The usual excuses - ignorance of the law, not knowing a work is copyrighted, or feelings that 'the law is absurd' - are discussed and examined as nonsensical.⁸²⁸

That said, the annotation 'Not Copyright', shown on Figure 87 implies Till/Clutterbuck was aware of the dangers of copying:



Figure 87 : *Til.21.1.*

This is intriguing as in the published sources, Coote is clearly acknowledged as the composer of 'Great Eastern Polka', and Hopwood & Crew as the publisher. Hopwood & Crew were established in 1860 until 1906 and both Charles Coote senior and junior were still alive when Till/Clutterbuck was copying the tune, so it could be assumed that the tune was copyright.⁸²⁹

A workable copyright law was not established until 1906, and during the last decades of the nineteenth century publishers began to explicitly print 'copyright' on a copy to prevent copying. This was more to prevent large scale piracy and to establish performance rights,⁸³⁰ but as stated in *The Musical Times*, January 1884, "every new composition can be safely presumed to be public property unless the contrary is stated upon the title page".⁸³¹ Awareness of the wisdom in doing this prior to 1884 is shown

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁸²⁹ Alternatively, this might hint at Till/Clutterbuck's literacy levels, as discussed in Chapter 6 (and with reference to the transmission survey), that Till/Clutterbuck perhaps copied these two words 'blind', unable to understand their meaning and copying by rote. Or he could be referring to the performance of the tune in public not being copyrighted.

⁸³⁰ Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, p. 12.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.* p. 16.

in Figure 88, which is dated according to BL from 1864 in a copy of Montgomery's 'Charlestown Quadrilles'.⁸³²

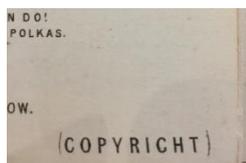


Figure 88 : Indication of awareness of copyright. Source: BL (h.2345.2001-2100).

Till/Clutterbuck's comments could be a clue that he was copying during this period of misperception and as his source did not explicitly state 'copyright', he felt justified in declaring his copy as "Not Copyright", although for what reasons is unclear.

The matter of manuscript copying does not seem to be resolved, rather the issue dematerialises. By the turn of the century, when the publishers succumb to a reduction in price, copies are perhaps more affordable, and no more mention of manuscript copying is made, suggesting it no longer caused a threat to the publishers.

Favouring Copying Over Using Purchased Print

Having established that their source material was advertised as 'cheap', and that the act of copying was a grey area in terms of legality, an important question remains as to why the compilers copied rather than purchased printed music. I believe the answer is multi-faceted. Initially, the selection process afforded by a self-made compilation fulfils personal taste across all genre boundaries and creates adaptability in function, resulting in a unique, individual collection which is compact and easily transportable. Likely this format, despite the labour involved was favoured by amateur musicians for its adaptability and economic advantages.

Secondly, just by employing the word 'cheap' in the title does not necessarily make the music affordable. Although possibly comparatively cheaper, and sold below the marked price, in reality, for the lower end of the demographic, printed music remained a luxury item, unobtainable in many cases. Evidence has been put forward that Hampton, Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett were not affluent. Although exact income and outgoings are undetermined, discussed in Chapter 6, copies of Chappell's 'Cheap

⁸³² W. H. Montgomery, *Popular Dance Music : The Charlestown Quadrilles*, (London: Muisca Bouquet).

Works' even at a third of the marked price, at six pence could not have been easily afforded.

Additional reasons to copy and compile their own tunebook above purchasing print could perhaps be evidence of an element of pride in their musical literacy skills and aspiration too due to emulating (in a cheaper fashion), a practice employed in the higher social culture of piano-centric Drawing-room genre discussed above.

Print Survival and Lack of Interest

Just as the medium was favoured by the compilers, it appears that it was also favoured by their descendants, contributing to better manuscript survival than the source material.⁸³³ The link a hand-crafted, self-selected repository created with their deceased relatives over and above copies of printed music is important to the survival of (or perhaps merely a better awareness of) the manuscripts. Yet this survival does not necessarily mean that compilers did not keep printed copies. Printed music dating from the same period as the manuscript was handed down to me alongside the Hampton MS, suggesting both purchased print and manuscript were used.

It is not known whether lack of attention to the contemporary, more modern elements of the amateur monophonic instrumental repertoire exists simply due to a lack of awareness of the repertoire or culture, lack of survival of sources or from a lack of interest. The possibility exists that not enough time has passed for these publications or their melodies to reach a value of antiquity amongst performers or collectors, the musical content still viewed as unfashionable and out-dated and not yet re-generated an interest. The same can be seen in the Drawing-room genre. Despite the individual music sheets generating attention and surviving,⁸³⁴ this is largely due to a growth in interest from art-historians caused by their lithographed covers. The musical content, which is shared between both musical practices, generates little interest. This raises the question whether these music sheets and the popular songs and tune collections are analogous with the Broadside ballads of the previous centuries, yet to be

⁸³³ The lack of extant source material could be suggestive of the compilers borrowing printed copies, discussed in Chapter 6.

⁸³⁴ Some single music sheets can be found for sale on websites such as The Sheetmusic Warehouse (SMW) for £75 each, see for example, Coote's 'The Great Eastern Polka': The Sheetmusic Warehouse, 'The Great Eastern Polka', *The Sheetmusic Warehouse* <<http://www.sheetmusicwarehouse.co.uk>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

rediscovered and researched. Alternatively, perhaps it is because the tunes and songs are indeed “abominable trash”!⁸³⁵

The music sheets generate interest in USA and Australia, again largely due to interest from art-historians. Both LOC,⁸³⁶ and The National Library of Australia,⁸³⁷ (NLA) have online digital resources, which have proved useful in this study.⁸³⁸ Furthermore, an American university has established an online archive of American publications of these printed music sheets,⁸³⁹ comparable to the work done by The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM) in the Medieval Music field.⁸⁴⁰ Thus, some lithographed music sheets survive, again perhaps due to the interest of art-historians, and some song sheets survive, perhaps due to the interest of philologists. However, the lack of survival of instrumental music books, specifically the lower brow, budget publications feeding the manuscripts, appears to suggest that, until now, musicologists have not been interested in their content or the story they tell.⁸⁴¹

Print versus Manuscript Survival

When researching these sources, a difficulty arises from the lack of extant copies. Although BL hold many, their holdings are not complete,⁸⁴² and although LOC and NLA are helpful resources for piano music sheets, their helpfulness is limited when it comes to the instrumental copies for reasons outlined above. Research then relies on references in adverts and concert programs found in contemporary newspapers, which are clearly limiting by the lack of melody. It is interesting to consider what has caused this lack of survival, particularly when compared to the manuscript survival. I believe that part of their invisibility now may be due to two of the same reasons accounting for their popularity: that of its relatively cheap cost and of its fashionable nature.

⁸³⁵ Frank Kidson, 'Folk-Song and the Popular Song', *The Choir*, 3. 32 (1912), 149-51 (p. 149); J Heywood, 'Correspondence - Folk Songs (in Response to Mr Kidson's Article)', *The Choir*, 3. 27 (1912), 60.

⁸³⁶ Library of Congress, 'Online Catalog', *Library of Congress* <<https://catalog.loc.gov/>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁸³⁷ National Library of Australia, 'Catalogue', *National Library of Australia* (No date) <<http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁸³⁸ Library of Congress, 'Online Catalog'; National Library of Australia, 'Catalogue'.

⁸³⁹ Music Library, '19th-Century American Sheet Music', *University of North Carolina* (No date) <<http://www2.lib.unc.edu/dc/sheetmusic/>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁸⁴⁰ DIAMM, 'Diamm', *The Faculty of Music, St. Aldates, Oxford* (No date) <<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/>> [accessed 25 April 2017].

⁸⁴¹ This could be the result of both the low-mid brow content and due to the ambiguous classification of this genre as folk music, in which more often the chief focus is on song and not instrumental tunes.

⁸⁴² See Chapter 1, part 2 where I detail the printed copies I own which are not in BL.

The ephemeral, transient nature of the tunes and songs, coupled with the perceived value of the printed copy as 'cheap' may have resulted in musicians happily discarding out of date music for new trends, particularly if the melodic quality was dubious. If printed music survived in a family home longer than the musician, then a similar sentiment may have been felt by a relative, as discussed above and in Chapter 2 ('Environment'). However, that the repertoire has survived in the manuscript archive, enabling content selection to be seen, the better manuscript survival and the aspect of content selection by the compiler adds to the social and historical significance of these manuscripts and validates their importance as primary sources. They provide an unwritten narrative to popular culture of the time and an insight into the people creating them, which is largely denied in a seemingly more stable but now extant medium of print.

Using the Sources to Define an Autonomous Practice

By 1898, annual sales of sheet music were estimated at twenty- million in Britain,⁸⁴³ yet very little is recorded, or possibly known about the sheet music aimed at this specific amateur, vernacular instrumental musical practice. The publishers printed books containing much of the same repertoire marketing it towards the players across a range of different monophonic instruments, namely flute, violin, cornet-a-piston and concertina, which is directly reflected in the compiler's manuscripts.⁸⁴⁴ Leaving aside factors of duplicity or commerciality, this reveals a broad acceptance of similar repertoire which on face value might appear to be a unifying factor within this musical assemblage or culture. However, this broad repertoire stretches beyond this specific musical practice and reaches into wider amateur musical milieu. Publications of the same repertoire were marketed to encompass different arrangements for the Drawing-room genre and small ensembles (fife and drum band, military band, brass band etc.). This was discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, but it is an important point to consider from the perspective of using the sources in defining a distinct musical practice.

⁸⁴³ Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, p. 68.

⁸⁴⁴ As seen in Figure 76.

The fact that all three manuscripts are for amateur monophonic instrumental musicians,⁸⁴⁵ strengthens their inclusion in an independent archive or defined as an autonomous practice. This practice differs from that of the Drawing-room genre, or brass bands etc. even if the repertoire shows similarity. With regards to the filtration of art music in Chapter 3, I suggest a 'melting pot' of repertoire. The genres cross different musical practices and therefore across social boundaries. The manuscripts' contents share parallels with the middle-upper-class, female dominated, Drawing-room genre. Similarly, the repertoire of a military band, brass band and popular concert programs demonstrate a cross-over. Quadrilles from the ballrooms of aristocrats and the repertoire from the street music machines all share song and dance melodies with the manuscripts. The music machines' eclectic mix was seen to appeal to specific social layers in society,⁸⁴⁶ therefore crossing boundaries but not necessarily filtering down or up, merely demonstrating that the repertoire was essentially popular music and it was being successfully disseminated commercially.

However, what is important here is that whilst a heterogeneous repertoire may be reflected across the breadth of musical practices, each musical practice has distinct publications and thus the sources differ. The sources found to influence the compilers are specifically created for this autonomous musical culture. Participants of the middle-class, female Drawing-room genre were catered for by individual lithographed, homophonic music sheets, and the collective brass band and choral cultures had their own distinct set of sources and publishers.⁸⁴⁷ Thus the sources examined in my research are key in shaping or helping define an autonomous mid-late-nineteenth-century vernacular, monophonic, amateur, instrumental musical practice. I feel it is important to define the musical practice represented in the manuscripts independently from other Victorian musical practices to ensure the story of the amateur mid-working-class musician is no longer overlooked.

⁸⁴⁵ Although some of Bennett (and possibly Till's) suggests some use of ensemble playing see for example: *Ben.85.1* and *Ben.129.1* & *129.2*. I do not believe there is enough material to deem it exclusively a military or brass band manuscript book.

⁸⁴⁶ See the quotation from 'Mayhew's London' in Chapter 3, found in Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 83.p. 83.

⁸⁴⁷ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 174.

If a scale of Victorian, amateur, musical practice is drawn, the area represented by the manuscripts would perhaps fall between the non-musically literate musicians,⁸⁴⁸ and the Drawing-room genre, perhaps with the brass band and Choral Society members placed next to the Drawing-room genre. Interestingly, in Roud's discussion he appears to leapfrog over the vernacular, domestic instrumental musical practice represented by the manuscripts, moving from folk singers to the 'singing bourgeoisie', with too much ease and little regard for that which fell between.⁸⁴⁹ This must be in part because he was focussing chiefly on song, not tunes. That said, it perhaps reflects a more general lack of awareness of this musical practice reliant on published music and popular amongst lower occupational classes, which sat between the Drawing-room genre, "for whom it was the music publishers who made all the running",⁸⁵⁰ and Roud's folk singers. Chapter 2 established that the compilers were from the same demographic as the 'folk', yet as this chapter and Chapter 3 have demonstrated, their domestic musical practice was similar in repertoire and likewise heavily dependent on published sources, as was the Drawing-room genre. The major difference between the musical practice represented in the manuscripts and that from the Drawing-room genre being class and instrumentation (and specific source material). It would be interesting to see where Roud would place these musicians in his concentric circles of 'folkiness'!⁸⁵¹

Survival, Revival and Selection in Folk Music Tradition

In Chapter 3, I put forward that tunes from both the 'Historic' and 'Early' categories which had survived for approximately two generations could be considered as part of the process of tradition. I then introduced the destabilising concept caused by contemporary print being the source of both the majority of the historic and contemporary tunes. This instability is not due the textual nature of the sources. Although inherited notions of folk music might see the reliance on contemporary print as contrary to its values, it has been established that modern scholarly thought accepts textual sources to have played a major role in transmission.

⁸⁴⁸ For example the exclusively 'ear playing' musicians.

⁸⁴⁹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 381-83.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 381.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp. 25-26.

The destabilising factors result from the role played by the music publishers in the selection of the tunes, and the uncertainty regarding continuous survival. It becomes apparent that the tunes could be representative of a revival by the commercially motivated publishers rather than survival through continuity by the participants.

Bohlman describes revival as:

an overt and explicit act of authentication. The revivalist not only identifies a specific time and place for folk music but is fundamentally concerned with recreating its value-laden social context.⁸⁵²

Although the specific term of folk music was not in general use at the time, were the publishers attempting to re-create certain values through a connection with the past which they believed may have existed through the older material? Similarly, we do not know if the publishers were acting on demands made by the consumers, the participants in the musical practice who sought to seek out this material as a means to authenticate past values and revive a tradition they believed to have existed.

The immense influence of music publishers in selecting and forming or informing this vernacular amateur musical practice could be seen to mirror the actions of the early folk song collectors, who were accused of hegemony in mid-late-twentieth-century folk music literature, whereby the music was seen to be coming 'top down', in this case, from a handful of publishers. Although commercial success of print relies on two-way interaction, that the process was dominated by the publishers who had the power of selection is important. Further, the publishers may not have been continuing a process, but selecting tunes which may have been out of the repertoire for decades or even centuries,⁸⁵³ thus skipping many generations and rather than playing a part in the formation of the process of folk tradition may instead have been responsible for initiating a revival.

The modern tunes are also problematic in this regard. We have established that despite being 'popular' and contemporary the modern repertoire can be perceived as part of tradition (as factors such as genre and age are irrelevant in modern concepts of

⁸⁵² Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. 130.

⁸⁵³ It could be argued that if the tunes were so well-known there would be little commercial reason to publish them and thus the published ones and consequently those found in the manuscripts are the less well-known tunes. However, relating this to modern practice, I find it doubtful.

tradition, and as such minstrel or musichall songs can form or become part of folk music tradition).⁸⁵⁴ However, does a potential hiatus or ‘discontinuation’ render them part of a revival rather than a tradition: a revival instigated by subsequent musicians in the case of the ‘popular’ tunes, and by both the publishers and subsequent players with regards to the historic tunes? Thus, two key elements of ‘when’ and ‘who’ need to be explored when examining whether these aspects of the manuscripts are more representative of a revival rather than a survival of a tradition.

Kidson, writing in 1907, appears to find a temporal hiatus unproblematic: “Some of these go to sleep for fifty or sixty years, or even a century, but they, like musical Rip Van Winkles or Sleeping Beauties, are roused from slumber and take their place in the ranks of modern music”.⁸⁵⁵ More recently, Atkinson identifies that the:

temporal continuity between the past and present...and the spatial connection between different places...is now recognised as being more apparent than absolute. The ‘continuity’ is in fact perceived in the present, where it is deliberately given expression through the conscious selection and privileging of these particular cultural forms and products.⁸⁵⁶

As such, tradition is constantly in a state of flux,⁸⁵⁷ and “expresses a relationship between the past and the present which is both continuous and discontinuous”.⁸⁵⁸

Atkinson discusses the social and cultural discontinuities which constitute a revival over a tradition and concludes that:

the merit of the concept and terminology of ‘revival’ lies in its inherent acknowledgement that a substantial discontinuity (very often a social one) has intervened. Nevertheless, temporal, spatial, social, and epistemological discontinuities can all in principle also be accommodated by a model of tradition that is both selective and affective, and which is itself prone to discontinuities and change.⁸⁵⁹

Therefore, whether the tunes continued to be played, or if a chronological lapse occurred and they re-emerged several generations later, they can still be considered as part of the process of tradition, rather than a revival.

⁸⁵⁴ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 600.

⁸⁵⁵ Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', p. 82.

⁸⁵⁶ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 147.

⁸⁵⁷ Atkinson describes tradition as “continually altering to suit a changed circumstances and new ideological requirements; the process of the selection and privileging of cultural forms and products is always going on”. Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 148.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 155.

Atkinson suggests that by personally selecting repertoire which gave a connection to the past, the folk song collectors or 'early revivalists' were demonstrating continuity as required in a process of tradition:

Thus for all the discontinuities introduced by the early revival, especially social and performative discontinuities, the very fact that the revival itself was a volitional and overtly selective movement provides, paradoxically, a channel for a degree of theoretical continuity between traditional and revival activities...the selectivity of the early revivalists was not as far removed from the traditional process as is sometimes suggested.⁸⁶⁰

A parallel between the early folk song collectors and the publishers can be seen. If no continuous evidence of a tune can be found, the role of the publishers in selecting and re-introducing the historic tunes into the musicians' repertoire via their printed publications could, like the folk song collectors, be considered not as indicative of a revival but part of the process of tradition. However, we do not know if their actions were a deliberate act to connect with the past, a "specific goal of editors to spur revival, to make the folk music of the past live again",⁸⁶¹ or whether their motives were driven by widespread popularity and commerciality and as such some uncertainty remains.

Wider literature would suggest that the 'folks' lack of control in the selection process does undermine the tunes' involvement in the process of tradition. Kidson suggests that the role of the folk in the selection process is important:

I believe in the popular verdict, where we can get that verdict into true focus. This focussing can only be done by at least two generations of people, and if a favourable verdict is returned by them then I think we may accept as true art that which has won their approval. Therefore I rank as high-class melody that which has appealed to the masses of previous ages as well as to our own.⁸⁶²

At opposite ends of the chronological spectrum, Roud too implies the importance of personal involvement:

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 152.

⁸⁶¹ Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. 131.

⁸⁶² Kidson, 'The Vitality of Melody', pp. 82-83.

It is the process through which the songs pass, in the brains and voices of ordinary people, which stamps them as 'folk' ...*it is not the origin of a song which makes it 'folk', but what the 'folk' do with it.*⁸⁶³

The publishers with their potential commercial motivations were not the ordinary people.

Until these printed sources are examined in depth, and their respective sources investigated the process will remain hidden. We will not know if the tunes have passed down in continuous practice into the manuscripts, or whether they have skipped generations. Whilst this temporal continuity may not have an impact on their inclusion as part of tradition, we will likely never know the subtle cultural and social motivations behind the publishers' choice to re-introduce these tunes and as such whether a substantial social or cultural discontinuity has intervened,⁸⁶⁴ more aligned with the process of revival than tradition.

The Role of Orality/Aurality

It is at this point that the interaction of orality/aurality and text becomes a central theme, and a crucial revelation illustrates the possible interface (and misunderstanding) between oral/aural and literate cultures. Despite all three compilers writing a manuscript book not one signs their names on their marriage certificates. I believe this provides fascinating evidence of a cultural or social effect which occurred within the nineteenth-century working-class psyche and proves that it is impossible to fully understand the past.

As shown in Figure 89, both Ann and Thomas Hampton mark a cross,⁸⁶⁵ implying illiteracy. Hampton's marriage and manuscript date from the same time removing the likelihood that one reflects skills learnt later in life.

⁸⁶³ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, pp. 22-23. Although quoted in Chapter 1 it is important and relevant enough to re-quote here.

⁸⁶⁴ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 155.

⁸⁶⁵ Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for Thomas Hampton and Ann Wyatt.

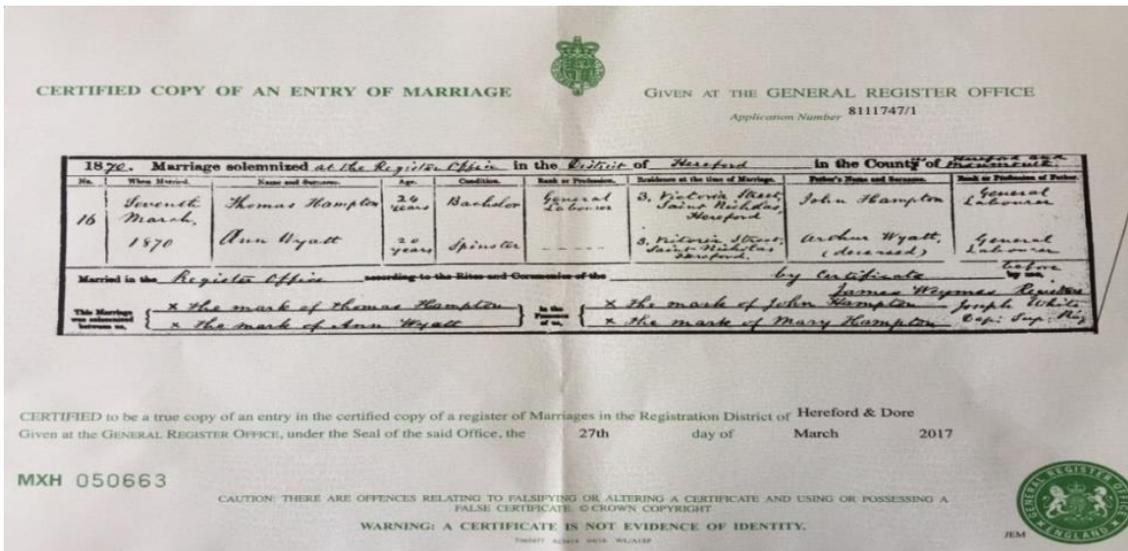


Figure 89 : Certified Copy of Thomas Hampton's Marriage Certificate, 1870.

Intrigued by Hampton's situation, I examined both Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck's marriage certificates. The original marriage certificate of Till/Clutterbuck can be found amongst the Smith/Clutterbuck papers, and is shown in Figure 90.⁸⁶⁶ The certificate appears to have been completed in its entirety by J H Howard, the curate of St James' Church. Therefore, as is the case in Hampton, despite knowing he could write, or copy at the very least, he has not signed his own name.

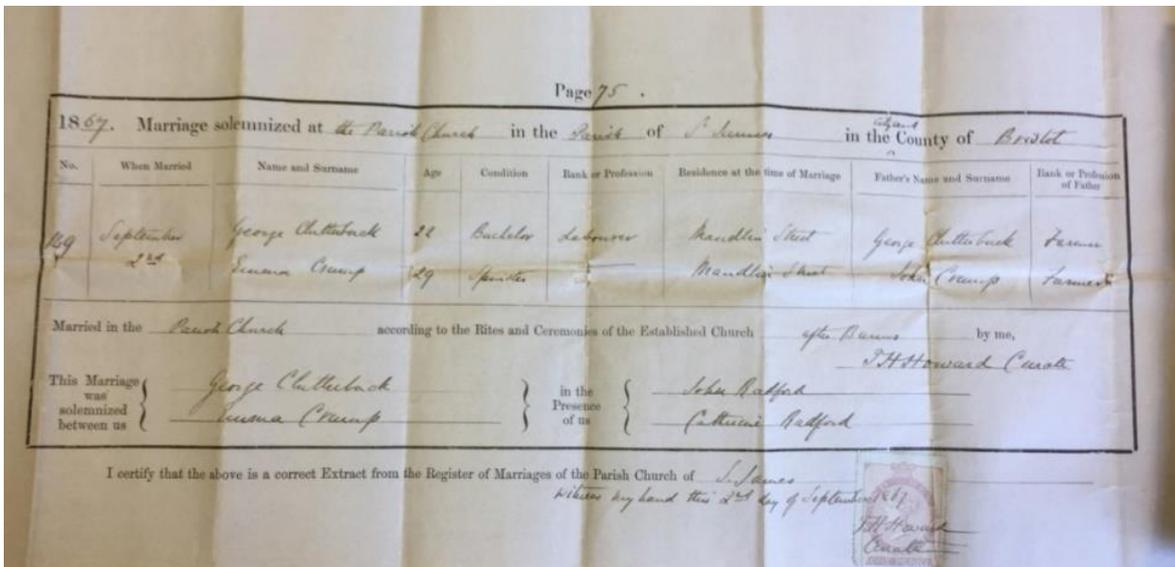


Figure 90 : Original Marriage Certificate of George Till/Clutterbuck. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (D4190\2\1).

⁸⁶⁶ Marriage Certificate for George Clutterbuck and Emma Crump.

So too, Bennett's certificate (Figure 91),⁸⁶⁷ is once again completed in full by the rector. However, it appears to show Bennett providing a fingerprint as an alternative to a signature, placed on top of his name and Mary appears to have attempted the letter 'M' before her name (see close up in Figure 92). This is despite having evidence to the contrary, that Bennett could both write and was an accomplished artist.

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF MARRIAGE

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number 8177386-2

No.	When Married	Name and Surname	Age	Condition	Rank or Profession	Residence of the couple at Marriage	Father's Name and Residence	Rank or Profession of Father
1859	by Mary	George W. Bennett	full	Bachelor	Blacksmith	Chedoke	William Bennett	Blacksmith
	130	Mary J. Hook	full	Spinster		Chedoke	James Hook	Tailor

Marrried in the parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, by Richard Hook or other Parson by us.

This Marriage was solemnized between us, George William Bennett in the Presence of us, Richard Hook J. Mullock Rector
Mary Jeannina Hook County Hook

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a register of Marriages in the Registration District of Bridgewater
 Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the 24th day of April 1859

MXH 069521

CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE. © CROWN COPYRIGHT
 WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.

Figure 91 : Copy of Marriage Certificate of George Bennett, 1859.

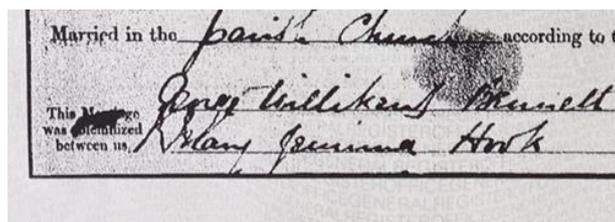


Figure 92 : A close-up of George and Mary's 'signatures'.

These important points indicate the possibility that this represents general practice rather than suggestive that none of the compilers could write their own names. My revelations show the assumptions made by twentieth-century historians are incorrect.⁸⁶⁸ Basing their statistics of nineteenth-century literacy levels chiefly on certificate signatures dramatically reduces the validity of their research, research

⁸⁶⁷ Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for George W. Bennett and Mary J. Hook.

⁸⁶⁸ For example see David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture : England 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 16-18.

which is still relied upon in current scholarship.⁸⁶⁹ In turn, this demonstrates the wider and interdisciplinary value of these manuscripts as primary sources.

Thompson puts forward an interesting explanation, proposing that elements of modesty and self-deprecation were in play, in order not to appear different from their friends and community.

It was surprising to find how many of the old people in the hamlet who had had no regular schooling could yet read a little. A parent had taught some; others had attended a dame school or the night school, and a few had made their own children teach them later in life. Statistics of illiteracy of that period are often misleading, for many who could read and write sufficiently well for their own humble needs would modestly disclaim any pretensions to being what they called 'scholars'. Some who could write their own name quite well would make a cross as signature to a document out of nervousness or modesty.⁸⁷⁰ Their ideal for themselves and their children was to keep to the level of the normal. To them outstanding ability was no better than outstanding stupidity.⁸⁷¹

The danger of relying on marriage certificate signatures as a level of literacy has been identified by Sykes, who estimates that between 10% and 25% of marriage certificates do not reflect the literacy capabilities of the couple with one or both refusing to sign out of "embarrassment caused by poor writing or, more likely, for fear of embarrassing a partner unable to sign".⁸⁷² Thus corroborating Thompson's memoirs and providing an explanation for the compilers' apparent illiteracy. The historical document is appearing to give us fact, yet the reality is different. Gammon's quote from Joyce sums this up: "...the events, structures and processes of the past are indistinguishable from the forms of documentary representation, the conceptual and political appropriations, and the historical discourses that construct them".⁸⁷³ Lemire asks: "Does signing one's name in a marriage register count as proof of literacy?"⁸⁷⁴ however this research has

⁸⁶⁹ "Literacy statistics are difficult to calculate but the commonly accepted measure is 'signature literacy'; the most comprehensive survey of this in the Victorian period is on marriage certificates". Paul Rodmell, 'Introduction', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Paul Rodmell (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), (p. 3).

⁸⁷⁰ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 80.

⁸⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁸⁷² Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', p. 453.

⁸⁷³ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 4.

⁸⁷⁴ Devon Lemire, 'A Historiographical Survey of Literacy in Britain between 1780 and 1830', *Constellations*, 4. 1 (2012), 248-61 (p. 249).

shown that it is equally important to pose the question: Does not signing one's name in a marriage register count as proof of illiteracy?

By their use of statistics based on nineteenth-century marriage certificate signatures, historians have likely assumed a lower level of nineteenth-century literacy than existed. In the same way, in this field it is important not to make assumptions regarding lack of orality/aurality based on the textual and literate nature of the manuscripts. Despite this chapter proving that the compilers' method of inward transmission was by copying from print, implying they could read and write music, it does not mean that was their only source of the tunes – they could have learnt the tunes aurally (either years ago or contemporaneously) and subsequently sought them in accessible 'cheap' print for speedier copying. As such, it remains possible that the inward textual transmission method into the manuscripts is potentially skewing the actual reliance on orality/aurality, which, if true would draw the manuscripts closer to folk music tradition, in both the inherited sense of the term and in modern usage, with regards to the selection and survival issues highlighted.

This has binary connotations. Despite this chapter having shown that the compilers were drawing their direct influence from printed published texts, there is not (and likely never will be), evidence to suggest that they were not first hearing the tunes aurally. Older tunes could have been passed down aurally/orally through the family,⁸⁷⁵ or more contemporaneously, through informal playing by a friend or in the more formal setting of a concert. Subsequently, finding their musical literacy skills to be a more reliable, effective and swift manner in which to recall the tune, they sought printed copies of the tunes. From this they would then copy the tune into their manuscripts and learn or practice the tune into their repertoire.

If this was the case, this would have parallels with my own experience. Having the skills of musical literacy, I find that taking a photocopy, or copying a tune from a tunebook by hand is a more reliable way to capture a tune which I have heard and wish to learn. Frequently (although by no means exclusively), the initial transmission of a tune into

⁸⁷⁵ In *A Song for Every Season*, Bob Copper describes how his father's 1936 song book was the result of a concerted effort not to forget the songs passed down through the family. Whilst I am not suggesting that he necessarily sought them in print to then copy, I am using this as an example to show the function of his song book to preserve songs which formed a family tradition, a possible function for the manuscripts. Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, p. 2.

my consciousness is via aural means, having heard a recording or performance of it rather than taking it directly from a textual source.

Similarly then, whether the survival in print was continuous or not, and whatever the exact role played by the musicians themselves in the selection process, is not of paramount importance. It is not known, and likely will never be known to what extent print was only a partial route to inward transmission. Whilst it might have been the 'direct' route into the physical manuscripts, initial 'inward transmission' could have been strongly associated with oral/aural transmission or via older printed tunebooks or manuscripts and dominated by the ordinary folk themselves rather than publishers. As such, the manuscripts would be well placed in notions of folk music tradition, both in the received view of the term and as examples of process, as it is considered in modern discourse.

Gammon and MacPherson note the potential interaction between oral/aural and literate culture within the manuscripts. In the Turner MS, Gammon highlights the fact that Turner wrote a list of country dances but omitted the actual tunes. Gammon asks whether "Turner knew these from memory or was there a third manuscript book that has failed to survive?".⁸⁷⁶ Gammon develops this further, suggesting that the list could represent tunes he knew from memory and that the manuscripts could reflect the repertoire "he was learning, had learnt or would like to play".⁸⁷⁷ Similarly, singer Henry Burstow was known to keep a list of the tunes he knew off by heart,⁸⁷⁸ and MacPherson raises a similar point regarding the interplay with regards to the performance of tunes:

It is all too easy to assume that 17th-and 18th-century fiddlers regularly played from these volumes and that the music therein was what they played; or that the various editions of the DM [Dancing Master] and similar anthologies are collections of transcriptions from performance...Once these assumptions are challenged, a host of questions follows. Did anyone, in fact, play from the country dance books? ...How would an individual fiddler's repertoire have compared with that in the country dance books? How would his tune versions have compared with those in printed sources?⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁶ Gammon, 'Michael Turner. A 19th Century Sussex Fiddler (Mt068)'.
⁸⁷⁷ Vic Gammon, *Email Correspondence* (23 October 2017).

⁸⁷⁸ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 6.

⁸⁷⁹ MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance', p. 102.

These examples refer to the outward transmission of the tunes but there is no reason to discount a similar interface with regards to inwards transmission.

Conclusion

The content in the manuscript, whether historic or contemporary, was chiefly transmitted via copying. On the surface this undoubtedly dispels the notion of aural/oral transmission as an important means of dissemination into the manuscripts. Furthermore, the tunes were copied from printed sources and moreover, contemporary, commercial printed sources, rather than sources necessarily contemporary to the tunes' origin. Although copying from contemporary print is not in line with a received idea of folk music, in a modern perspective, such characteristics sit happily in a definition framed by process rather than origin and orality/aurality. Aspects related to these important printed sources were explored, such as relationships between publishers and composers/arrangers, the legality of copying, lack of research into Victorian vernacular printed music and their survival compared to the manuscripts.

The role played by publishers in selecting this material, as opposed to the folk themselves, and the inability to trace the continuous survival of the tunes, bears weight in considering if the manuscripts embody notions of folk music tradition. However, when the notion of a potential relationship between both the aural/oral and the textual nature of the manuscripts is considered, it becomes clear that judging the place of the manuscripts based purely on their textual nature is flawed. The extent to which oral/aural culture affected the inward transmission into the manuscripts will likely never be known.

Notwithstanding this new dimension with regards to inwards transmission, it cannot be denied that the compilers were reliant on the printed sources and copied them. This raises three key questions which remain: How could the men from the lower-class demographic afford, access and interpret these printed sources? These questions make up the enquiry in Chapter 6. Prior to this, Chapter 5 returns to the evidence shown in Chapter 3 regarding the range of genres. By considering the various genres contextually, the outward transmission, or performance from the manuscripts is

examined, to continue the examination into the manuscripts' place in folk music tradition.

Chapter 5 – Outward Transmission



Figure 93 : Thomas Webster, 'A Village Choir', c1847. Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/>

Inherited notions of the performance of nineteenth-century vernacular music, received via fictional literature, oral narratives, contemporary newspaper reports and wider literature conjure up images of informal rural gatherings often centred on a pub or dancing.⁸⁸⁰ The use of manuscripts at these events is rarely documented and the absence of citing textual material in oral narratives and iconographic evidence suggests that most participants were 'ear players', or that manuscript or printed books were not shown for social or cultural reasons or simply not used.⁸⁸¹ Interestingly, when clarifying his definition of folk song, Roud states that, "however learnt (even if from print or musical notation), performance is normally carried without the aid of written text or notated tune",⁸⁸² but I would prefer to have more evidence to substantiate this statement.⁸⁸³ Modern discourse offers little more on the subject of performance space, nor the use of textual sources at the point of performance, although the following descriptions given by Roud are comparable with those that come via received history. He defines key parameters which indicate that to be considered as folk music the performance is informal, amateur, non-commercial and face-to-face.

⁸⁸⁰ Evidence is given in the discussion below.

⁸⁸¹ Exceptions do exist of course, for example the two paintings referenced in this chapter and the description by Thompson discussed later: Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 69.

⁸⁸² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 24.

⁸⁸³ For discussion on this in the context of singing see: Neil V. Rosenberg, "'It Was a Kind of a Hobby': A Manuscript Song Book and Its Place in Tradition", in *Folklore Studies in Honour of Herbert Halpert*, ed. by Kenneth S. Goldstein and Neil V. Rosenberg (Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1980), pp. 315-34.

Moreover, the performance place or situation is important because it is here that the process occurs.⁸⁸⁴

Initially I examine the sacred material in the manuscripts to set the investigation in the compilers' wider social and cultural framework. I then turn to secular repertoire where a multi-functional musical practice can be seen which can be divided loosely into two defining categories. The first defines music that accompanies a specific function, which I have labelled 'Utilitarian' and the other, 'Aesthetic' where the function is less obvious, and genre or performance exists in its own right, largely for pleasure. I then address the motivation of the compilers to play music. The final section brings together two key issues within the framework of folk music tradition. Firstly, I consider the wider argument of the performance space or functions' role in situating the manuscript practice in folk music tradition, and secondly, how the use of manuscripts in outward transmission may affect this.

Sacred Repertoire

Until now the thesis has not scrutinised the manuscripts' religious content to the same extent as the secular. However, each manuscript contains religious material to varying degrees which is useful to examine when evaluating the overall musical activity of the musicians. Hampton, despite baptizing his first child in a parish church, appears to be Nonconformist as the four religious items in Hampton MS, found amongst the secular tunes, are Nonconformist hymns. Their inclusion does not verify participation or performance in a chapel environment, and although Ainsworth's research into Nonconformist practice suggests this could have been a possibility,⁸⁸⁵ for Hampton the tunes could simply indicate personal devotion or recreational playing at home.

However, the form, style, layout and genre of the Anglican hymns and psalms in Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett MSS, infer a stronger contextual use: that within a West Gallery church band. These bands were made up of villagers from the skilled and semi-skilled members of the working class,⁸⁸⁶ and provided music to accompany the services, often from the upper West Gallery. The bands were integral to the

⁸⁸⁴ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 35.

⁸⁸⁵ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 369.

⁸⁸⁶ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 31.

soundscape of the village, providing informal music in the pubs and accompanying local dances and club days. From mid-century onwards, these musicians were ousted from their role in the church as the bands were disbanded, often replaced by an organ or piano. Musicians and music in this context, and the consequence of their subsequent decline have been researched in depth by Gammon,⁸⁸⁷ and documented by Hardy,⁸⁸⁸ and Baring-Gould.⁸⁸⁹

Thomas Webster's painting (c1847), *The Village Choir* (see Figure 93),⁸⁹⁰ is a helpful iconographical resource in contextualising these sacred items. It depicts a mixed age and gender group,⁸⁹¹ singing and playing in the West Gallery of a church. The image is especially informative in this study as it provides evidence of the use of textual sources and implies levels of general and musical literacy. It is interesting to see Webster's preliminary sketch for the painting, conceivably based on an actual scene (Figure 94), and thus could be a more accurate representation of the activity.⁸⁹²



Figure 94 : Sketching by Webster for 'The Village Choir'. Source: www.royalacademy.org.uk.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid. It is also important to reference other scholars in this field. Sally Drage's work is particularly useful as it considers Church music from a Nonconformist perspective. See, for example, Sally Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in Northern England', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 195-221; Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁸⁸⁸ Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*.

⁸⁸⁹ Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, p. 244.

⁸⁹⁰ Wikimedia Commons, 'File: Thomaswebster - the Village Choir.Jpg', *Wikimedia Commons* (2018) <<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/>> [accessed 30 October 2018].

⁸⁹¹ It is noteworthy that the representation of females is only in the choir and by girls rather than women instrumentalists.

⁸⁹² Royal Academy, 'A Preparatory Study for 'the Village Choir', Ca. 1847', *Royal Academy of Arts* (2018) <<https://www.royalacademy.org.uk>> [accessed 15 April 2018].

Secular Repertoire

The context of the secular content is not so immediately clear. Although the titles indicate that the majority of the secular tunes are dances, the occasions and environments for performance by amateur musicians are not well documented. This is especially true for the more informal occasions where information is incredibly scant. Searching local newspaper articles for the mention of the specific compilers' names within secular musical environments proved fruitless apart from Soobroy, discussed below. On face-value this might suggest Hampton, Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck had no involvement in the secular musical activities of their communities. However, toiling for hours copying out tunes, collating a repertoire possibly in candlelight, after a long day at work and presumably putting in time to learn the tunes and improve technical skill, without a rewarding outlet for such a repertoire is maybe unlikely.

Being unable to obtain information regarding the case-study compilers' specific musical activities resulted in evidence from wider literature, oral narratives, images and newspapers being sought. In newspapers, information often only comes forth in the court or 'Local Intelligence' sections of newspapers, reporting on the musical activities contextually or as an aside to the frequently drink-induced crime which has occurred.⁸⁹³ Although this research illuminated practices of vernacular musicians it did not specifically target the activities relating directly to manuscript use. Similarly, examining photographs from the late-nineteenth-century revealed fascinating images of musicians and band line-ups yet none showed the use of manuscripts. Likewise, there was written evidence regarding activities of vernacular musicians, but very little referring to their method of recalling the tunes. For this reason, I decided not to use these more generalised lines of research as a starting point, but instead to pursue musical activity directly implied by the repertoire in the manuscripts. Whilst I have only limited proof that the case-study compilers were involved, the evidence suggests if not involvement, then enough interest in the events or occasions to warrant imitation of the same style of music for their own entertainment.

As outlined in the introduction, this section navigates through two chief aspects of outward transmission: a utilitarian function such as playing for dances, including social

⁸⁹³ See below.

dancing and solo, exhibition dances, and possible involvement in processional community or military events and an aesthetic function, whereby the manuscripts represent a musical culture that exists simply for pleasure, to entertain both performer and a possible audience. There are crossovers and the division is not drawn to imply exclusivity and create restrictive boundaries, but to aid clarity in narrative, and to draw conclusions on how the differing function of outward transmission can impact the idea of the manuscripts and their musical practice in folk music tradition.

Utilitarian

Hampton's MS is given the title, 'Dances for Violin' implying a functional role for the manuscript and its contents. This section considers some of the practical functions in which the tunes and the musicians may have been involved.

Social Dancing



Figure 95 : Condy's 'The Court Dinner at Cotehele' c1836. Photo: © National Trust/John Hammond. Source: Rachel Hunt, National Trust House and Collections Manager at Cotehele House.

Many tune titles indicate that a potential activity or function for all three musicians was to accompany dancing. This does not necessarily mean they were members of organised dance bands, and the participatory element, if at all, could have been for

smaller community events or for their own entertainment. The scope represented in the manuscripts demonstrates influence of dance forms popular in the eighteenth-century,⁸⁹⁴ such as Scottish reels and country dances, through the early-nineteenth-century emergence of the waltz, quadrilles, polkas and galop to the mid-century varsoviana, lancers and schottische. The purpose of this section is to detect the occasions and context in which the musicians could have been engaged,⁸⁹⁵ and not to provide an abridged history of the individual dances.

A dance programme was found within the Smith/Clutterbuck papers belonging to George Till/Clutterbuck's daughter, Kate (Figure 96).⁸⁹⁶ Despite dating eighteen years after the manuscript it reflects a similar repertoire, listing a varsoviana, a schottische, waltzes, quadrilles, polkas, lancers and galops, all of which can be found in Till/Clutterbuck MS.

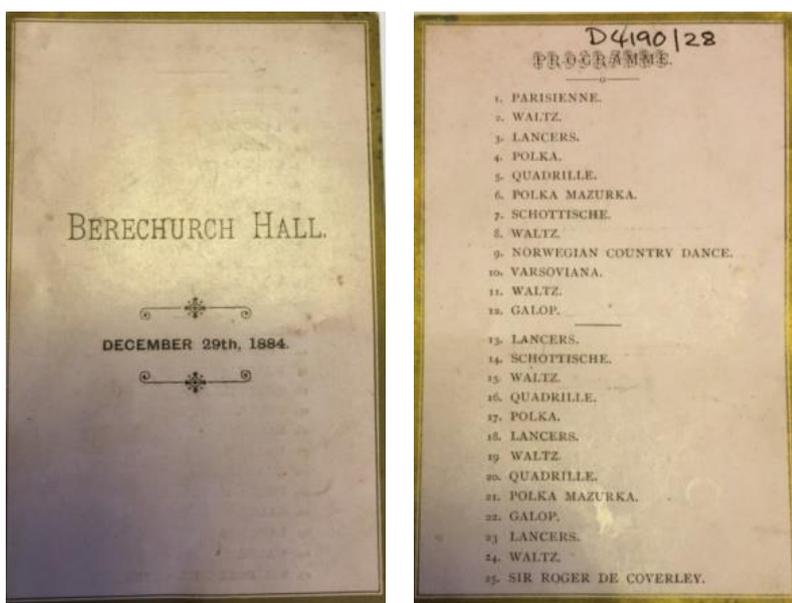


Figure 96 : Kate Clutterbuck/Till's 1884 Dance Programme. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (D4190\3\1).

⁸⁹⁴ It is important to note that whilst the manuscripts include the dance forms from earlier periods, the tunes are frequently contemporary, for example many of the waltzes in the manuscripts do not date from the early-nineteenth-century but were newly composed when included.

⁸⁹⁵ If indeed the manuscripts were being used beyond a personal recreational function.

⁸⁹⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, *Dance Programme for Berechurch Hall*, D4190/28 (1884). Whilst it might seem surprising that the daughter of an Agricultural Labourer would attend such events, the papers showed Kate to have become heavily involved with the Women's Institute, which perhaps offered opportunities to rise up the social scale or have access to such events.

Condy's painting of 'A Tenants' Supper at Cotehele' (c. 1836), (Figure 95),⁸⁹⁷ depicts musicians entertaining and seemingly accompanying a song which is being sung by the whole hall. Whilst not actively engaged in dancing, newspaper evidence of other such events, suggest that dancing would follow the supper.⁸⁹⁸ Figure 97 shows a close up of the musicians depicting two violinists and a 'cellist reading from sheets of music. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is printed or hand-written music, but illustrates musically literate musicians entertaining at large, relatively formal gatherings, and moreover, a rare iconographical example of reading from written music at the point of outward transmission.



Figure 97 : A close-up on the musicians in Condy's 'The Court Dinner at Cotehele'. Photo: © National Trust/John Hammond. Source: Rachel Hunt, National Trust House and Collections Manager at Cotehele House.

Details of large, formal and sophisticated balls can be found within Till/Clutterbuck's environment. Berkeley Castle,⁸⁹⁹ and its occupants, Lord and Lady Fitzhardinge hosted many balls during the time of Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript.⁹⁰⁰ At the date of the

⁸⁹⁷ The image used with kind permission from Rachel Hunt, National Trust House and Collections Manager at Cotehele House. The picture hangs at: Mount Edgcumbe House Cornwall, *Nicholas Condy - the Court Dinner at Cotehele*, (c1836). The image is given a different title of 'A Tenants' Supper at Cotehele' in Mike O'Connor's notes: Mike O'Connor, *The Edgcumbes & Musical History in the Tamar Valley*, (Unpublished, No date).

⁸⁹⁸ For example, see with reference to Berkeley Castle later in the chapter.

⁸⁹⁹ Berkeley Castle is only three miles from Till/Clutterbuck's village of Stone.

⁹⁰⁰ The castle remains in the same family since it was built in Saxon times, apart from a brief spell from 1492 when it was seized by royalty, and is 'the oldest building in the country to be inhabited by the same family who built it.' Berkeley Castle, 'About', *Berkeley Castle* (No date) <<http://www.berkeley-castle.com>> [accessed 2017 26 April].

manuscript, Maurice Frederick Berkeley held the title of Lord Fitzhardinge, inhabiting Berkeley Castle, until his death in 1867. The title and castle passed to his son, Liberal party politician Francis William Berkeley, who resided there from 1867 until his death in 1896. The estate extends to six-thousand acres, suggesting the family were of great importance to the tenants and villages surrounding Berkeley.⁹⁰¹

Newspapers report on a Tenants' Ball hosted by the Fitzhardinges in February 1869, with music supplied by the band of the South Gloucestershire Militia.⁹⁰² In 1873 Lord Fitzhardinge attended a Yeoman's Ball held at The Berkeley Arms Hotel, with dancing from 8.30pm until 4am, with Mr Penby's Quadrille Band providing the music,⁹⁰³ and in the 1890s Sam Bristowe's Quadrille Band appears to be much in favour at dances in the castle. However, the highlight of 1871 in Berkeley must have been the much-reported visit of the Prince of Wales,⁹⁰⁴ hosted by Lord and Lady Fitzhardinge at Berkeley Castle. A grand Tenants' Ball was given, again with the band of the South Gloucestershire Militia. The dancing started at 10.30pm with The Prince of Wales and Lady Fitzhardinge partnering each other for the opening quadrille. Dancing continued with polkas, waltzes (the Prince's favourite dance),⁹⁰⁵ and schottisches, finishing at 2.30am with 'Sir Roger de Coverley'. One newspaper report lists some of the attendees, which includes a Mr & Mrs J Clutterbuck from Ham Fallow and a Till family from Coaley, relations of George perhaps.⁹⁰⁶ Appendix F shows a transcription of relevant points from two newspaper articles which describe the ball and is worthy of inclusion as it creates an image of the enormity of the event which must have had some influence on the inhabitants of the surrounding hamlets and villages such as Till/Clutterbuck.

⁹⁰¹ Berkeley Castle, 'The Berkeley Castle Estate', *Berkeley Castle* (No date) <<http://www.berkeley-castle.com/estate.php>> [accessed 26 April 2017].

⁹⁰² 'Berkeley - Lord Fitzhardinge's Tenants' Ball', *Gloucester Journal*, 13 February 1869, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 8. The Royal South Gloucestershire Militia and the Fitzhardinges had previous associations as Earl Fitzhardinge was subaltern of (or led) the Militia in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century. David Smith, 'The Berkeley Castle Muniments', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 125 (2007), 11-28 (p. 19) [accessed 22 April 2017]; Charles Kent, 'The Peerage', *The Peerage* (2017) <<http://www.thepeerage.com/e310.htm>> [accessed 17 April 2017].

⁹⁰³ 'Berkeley - Yeomanry Ball', *Gloucester Journal*, 11 January 1873, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 8.

⁹⁰⁴ The Prince of Wales was the future King Edward VII.

⁹⁰⁵ 'The Prince of Wales at Berkeley Castle', *Gloucester Journal* 21 January 1871, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 5.

⁹⁰⁶ 'The Prince of Wales at Berkeley. Ball to the Tenantry', *Western Daily Press*, 14 January 1871, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 3.

In the newspaper excerpt the musicians comprise the band of the South Gloucestershire Militia. A subsequent newspaper article comments specifically on the band, which notably appears to have included string players:

THE MILITIA BAND AT BERKELEY CASTLE – We are informed that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales passed very high encomiums on the stringed band selected by Mr. T. Hinton, the band master of the Royal South Gloucestershire Militia, to play during the recent royal visit to Berkeley Castle. His Royal highness sent a special request that the band would repeat the overture to Figaro, and remarked that, taking into consideration the number of performers, the band was as good as any he had heard in the metropolis.⁹⁰⁷

Employing named and seemingly established dance bands, or volunteer militia bands is reflected in other newspaper reports of dances around the country. Attempts to find Till or Clutterbuck listed as members of any bands have failed. Nonetheless, it remains possible that the case-study compilers were unnamed members of such bands.

Alternatively, their involvement could have leant towards more informal activities, gathering to play for dances on a smaller scale, such as at: club day feasts; Whitsun ales; village feast days; “revels, harvest homes, ringers' suppers, shearing feasts”;⁹⁰⁸ servant’s balls;⁹⁰⁹ weddings; wakes; and hiring fairs at various locations ranging from gentry country houses and assembly rooms to barns, village halls and pubs.⁹¹⁰

Hardy, Gammon and Baring-Gould all document the additional musical activities pursued by church musicians detailed above, strengthening the possibility of Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett at least, being participants in these activities. In line with Hardy’s preface,⁹¹¹ Baring-Gould corroborates these musicians’ use of manuscripts:

these instrumentalists attended all the festivities in a village, wakes, harvest homes, revels, and weddings, and were well received and well treated. They played old country dances, old ballads, old concerted pieces of no ordinary merit. In some parish chests may be found volumes of rudely written music, which belonged to these performers, mostly sacred, but not always so.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁷ 'Berkeley', *Gloucester Journal*, 21 January 1871, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

⁹⁰⁸ Sabine Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, 2nd edn, (West Yorkshire: EP Publishing, 1975), p. 243.

⁹⁰⁹ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 70.

⁹¹⁰ Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, p. 3.

⁹¹¹ As cited at the opening of the thesis.

⁹¹² Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, p. 244.

A long article exists in the 1864 *Somerset County Gazette* reporting on the Harvest Home of Bennett's village, Chedzoy.⁹¹³ Despite featuring dancing and festivities, the day was presided over by the vicar and focussed around the church, thus minimising the "excesses which usually render these gatherings objectionable".⁹¹⁴ The event would have perhaps resembled a more genteel Harvest Festival than the raucous Harvest Homes of more ancient times,⁹¹⁵ as referred to in the article and by Baring-Gould below. Chandler's research further supports the involvement of amateur musicians at such events and not only those from a church tradition.⁹¹⁶ Scan Tester's oral narrative also corroborates this which despite covering a slightly later time period, suggests it was a continuation rather than a revivalist practice.⁹¹⁷ Many colourful and descriptive narratives paint a picture of a thriving and vibrant community musical culture, indicative of an active role for a local musician, even into the early-twentieth-century. A ball in 1909 is described in Rippon's article:

the music of our balls is supplied by one of the fiddlers of the district, who is seated on a chair raised aloft upon a table which forms the minstrels gallery for the time being...⁹¹⁸

and another from 1929 when:

after an early evening milking the farm people and their families tramped for miles across the hills to be there by 7.30pm. The band was composed of local people, whose repertoire, though small, was full of life and vigour... The band played and the dancers danced until, at daybreak, usually about five o'clock, the long trek back to the farms began in order to be there for the morning milking.⁹¹⁹

However, some literature suggests that these smaller, communal events were dying out. Gammon perceives a "decline in the practice of traditional music-making in the south of England from the mid-nineteenth century: the time of the suppression of the

⁹¹³ See Appendix F for transcription.

⁹¹⁴ 'Chedzoy Harvest Home', *Somerset County Gazette*, 3 September 1864, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 6.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid.

⁹¹⁶ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'.

⁹¹⁷ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215'.

⁹¹⁸ Rippon, *Discovering English Folk Dance*, p. 53.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 54.

church bands”,⁹²⁰ and similar evidence can be seen in newspaper reports. Baring-Gould too notes their disappearance:

The harvest home is no more. We have instead harvest festivals, tea and cake at sixpence a head in the school-room, and a choral service and a sermon in the church. Village weddings are now quiet enough, no feasting, no dancing. There are no more shearing feasts; what remain are shorn of all their festive character. Instead we have cottage garden produce shows. The old village 'revels' linger on in the most emancipated and expiring semblance of the old feast. The old ballad-seller no more appears at the fair. I wrote to a famous broadside house in the west the other day, to ask if they still produced sheet-ballads, and the answer was, “We abandoned that line thirty years ago,” and no one else took it up.⁹²¹

Baring-Gould was writing in 1890 and his final sentence suggests that the compilers were party to the gradual shifting of musical activity. If the case-study musicians were playing for smaller scale dances examined above the content suggests that the dances performed were similar to those at the larger formal balls and consisted of more than historic ‘traditional’ dances. If, as Gammon and Baring-Gould suggest, the informal dances were generally dying out, and the above examples represent the exception than the norm, then the presence of such dance repertoire in the manuscripts suggests this music lingered on in musicians’ repertoires regardless of an occasion. This would indicate a recreational, aesthetic use and could be indicative of this music existing to be listened to for pleasure rather than needing a function.

According to newspaper reports and research by Chandler, dancing also occurred at Victorian fairs, which were major events and vibrant, temporary places in a rural community.⁹²² There were hiring fairs, fairs to trade animals, fairs to celebrate Whitsun Ales and annual October fairs.⁹²³ One under-researched yet relevant element of these fairs is the dancing booth, or bowers, which were “long-established features at the popular and widespread Whitsun Ales”,⁹²⁴ as well as at club days. Gammon quotes shoemaker, Thomas Geering, writing in 1880, of the booths:

⁹²⁰ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 70.

⁹²¹ Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, p. 280.

⁹²² Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'. See especially MT078 re. 'Dancing Booths'.

⁹²³ Ibid. MT064

⁹²⁴ Ibid. A Whitsun fair was still held by the Rogers family at Whitsun on my local common at Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire in my childhood until the mid-1980s.

We had our dancing booth with raised orchestra, and planked floor for the dancers. This was the meeting place for lovers. The fiddle screeched, the basses twanged and grunted as Hodge in his shirt sleeves, with collar unbuttoned, and his Molly at his side, went up and down the middle, or struck off to the tune of the “triumph” – a great favourite in those days.⁹²⁵

Chandler, corroborated by many newspaper reports, quotes numerous memoirs attesting to the popularity of these dancing booths throughout the 1850s-1870s, employing quadrille bands as well as single fiddlers.⁹²⁶ The booths’ musicians tended to be peripatetic, travelling with the booths and not likely to have been one of the compilers, so although noteworthy for their immense presence in the nineteenth-century vernacular musical backdrop they are largely outside the remit of this research.

Processional Events - Club Days and Military Involvement

Club day walks and civic events would provide another opportunity for functional musical participation by amateurs.⁹²⁷ Club days were still active until the end of the nineteenth-century,⁹²⁸ and many newspaper reports corroborate Chandler’s oral narratives,⁹²⁹ of music accompanying the parading, often followed by dancing afterwards.⁹³⁰ Gammon proposes that musicians were structured as institutional or voluntarily organised bands, suggesting a more formalised existence.⁹³¹ Influence of more formalised settings can be seen in some of the music and instrumentation in Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett MSS perhaps indicating their involvement in brass, reed or fife and drum bands.⁹³² Likewise, the marginalia implied by Bennett’s “Dress

⁹²⁵ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 57.

⁹²⁶ Numerous (see Chandler above), but also see this fascinating crime report of a booth owner blocking the road as an example: 'Rugby - Petty Sessions Tuesday Last', *Nuneaton Advertiser*, 21 September 1872 <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 4 June 2016] p. 2.

⁹²⁷ Club days were annual festive days held by the various Friendly Societies. Friendly Societies were “an early cooperative form of social welfare on a local and increasingly national scale”: Christian Roy, *Traditional Festivals: A Multicultural Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), p. 496.

⁹²⁸ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'. MT078

⁹²⁹ Ibid.

⁹³⁰ See also: Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 125.

⁹³¹ Ibid. p. 126.

⁹³² It is important to point out that even if their instruments and repertoire suggest they were members of the volunteer militia or brass bands, their involvement is not exclusive, and the repertoire and instruments also corroborate involvement in dances or amateur recreational pursuits of less formalised institutional music making. In Bennett’s case, the cornet does not necessarily make him (exclusively) a brass band member thus nullifying his relevance in this study as it is clear that cornets were valued dance band instruments and were played by pub instrumentalists too: Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215'.p34

Jackets”,⁹³³ (Figure 98) might hint at involvement in events requiring smarter dress such as club days.

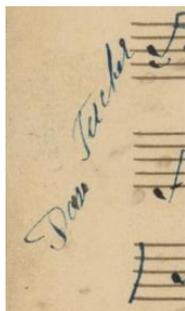


Figure 98 : *Ben.97.1.*

The endpiece of Till/Clutterbuck MS show the initials 'R.S.G' (Figure 99), which could refer to Royal South Gloucestershire, perhaps implying membership, association with or influence by the band of the Royal South Gloucestershire Militia who are associated with Berkeley due to the involvement of the Fitzhardinges at Berkeley Castle.⁹³⁴

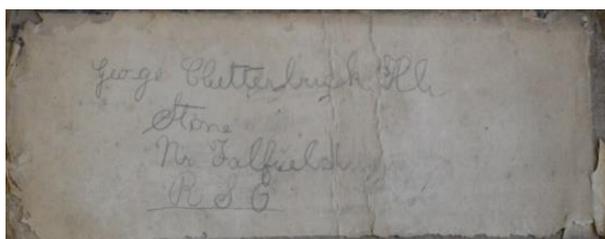


Figure 99 : Endpiece of Till/Clutterbuck MS.

Research into potential bands with which Bennett could have been associated uncovered the Bridgewater Promenade Band. They played in Bennett’s own village, three miles from Bridgewater at the Chedzoy Harvest Home in September 1864, entertaining throughout the day, “whilst the young and old of both sexes availed themselves of the opportunity of having a dance on the green sward”.⁹³⁵ In January 1860, a newspaper report details a performance, “for the first time since its formation’ by the subscription brass band of the ‘Taunton, or Third Somerset Rifle Corps.”. The distance of seventeen miles between Chedzoy and Taunton suggests Bennett’s

⁹³³ *Ben.97.1.*

⁹³⁴ In 1911 census Till/Clutterbuck was living with a relative who is a sergeant in the army (see Chapter 2), further strengthening some involvement or awareness with military organisations (although admittedly some years later). I attempted to check the records for Gloucestershire militia members, but these were not held at Gloucestershire Archives.

⁹³⁵ 'Chedzoy Harvest Home'.

membership of this band on a regular basis is unlikely, although it is noteworthy that the “Bridgwater, or Fifth Somerset Rifle Corps.” were watching proceedings. It is reported that the band performed ‘Nelly Bly’, The National Anthem, and “popular selections of music”. The article closes with the comment that “although this was their “first appearance in public” the members of the band acquitted themselves exceedingly well, and with a little more practice they will form a very pleasing addition to the attractions of the corps.”.⁹³⁶ Perhaps this event inspired the Bridgwater Volunteers to create their own band, as in 1861 they are reputed to be an “excellent band”,⁹³⁷ and within a few years were holding fundraising concerts.⁹³⁸ Attempts to establish Bennett’s membership of the band have been fruitless.

The evidence above suggests that these bands played popular repertoire, as found in the manuscripts. Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck’s MSS also have some specifically military themed items. For example, I found ‘Quick Step’, *Til.9.1* (Figure 100) in Hughes’ manuscript (c1811) (Figure 101),⁹³⁹ revealing that the tune was known in the early-nineteenth-century as the ‘Glocester Quick Step’[sic]. Hughes lived about fifteen miles from Stone, in Westbury-On-Trym.⁹⁴⁰ The title suggests that the tune and possibly Hughes and Till/Clutterbuck, had connections with the military, perhaps the Royal South Gloucestershire Militia,⁹⁴¹ or the 61st (South Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot.

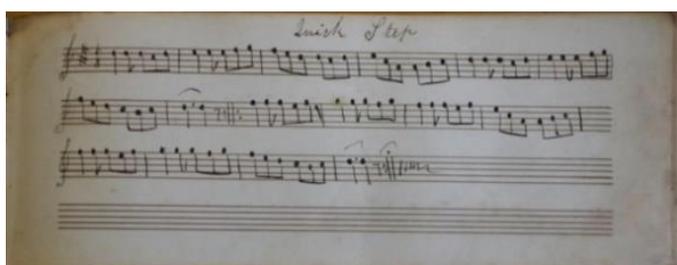


Figure 100 : *Til.9.1*.

⁹³⁶ 'Inspection of the Taunton Volunteer Rifle Corps.', *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser*, 29 February 1860, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017] p. 8.

⁹³⁷ 'The Infirmary', *Dorset County Chronicle*, 26 September 1861, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017] p. 7.

⁹³⁸ 'The Annual Supper', *Somerset County Gazette*, 26 January 1867, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 26 March 2016].

⁹³⁹ Hughes, *Edward Hughes Music Manuscript Book*.

⁹⁴⁰ This town used to be part of the old county of Gloucestershire.

⁹⁴¹ See above.



Figure 101 : 'Glocester Quick Step' from Hughes MS. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Bristol Archives (40358).

The subsequent tune in Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript, 'Recruit Quick March' (*Til.10.1*), has a military themed title. It can also be found in Bennett, seen in Figure 102.

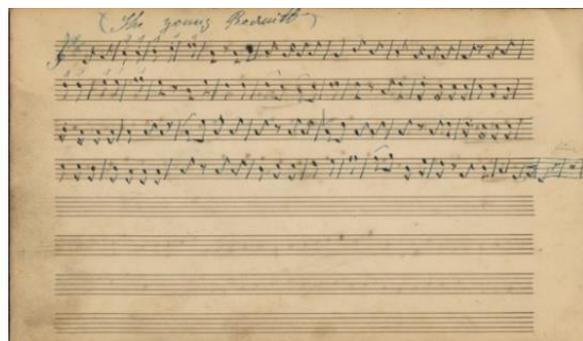
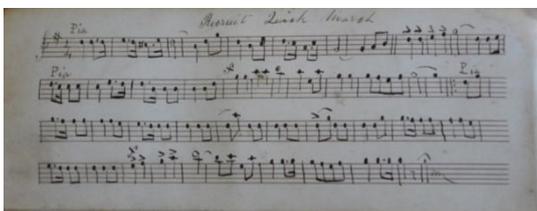


Figure 102 : *Til.10.1* and *Ben.76.1*.

Whilst stemming from a popular song called 'The Young Rekrut', by C Barthmann,⁹⁴² a printed source has the subtitle of quickstep. Military association is also implied by the availability of this tune in printed sources as brass band,⁹⁴³ and reed band parts,⁹⁴⁴ and the tunes' inclusion in a concert programme of a Volunteer Band and drum and fife band.⁹⁴⁵ Other titles indicative of military association within the manuscripts are 'Campaign' (*Til.32.1*), 'The Signal March' (*Ben.38.1*), 'Quick Step' (*Ben.71.1*) and 'Britannia The Pride of the Ocean' (*Ben.126.3* and *Ben.127.1*).

⁹⁴² Barthmann was perhaps the arranger rather than composer as BL indicate the composer as Wilhelm Kuchen. British Library Catalogue, 'Explore the British Library Main Catalogue Search : Rekrut', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 5 March 2016].

⁹⁴³ British Library Catalogue, 'The Youngest Recruit. Quick March. [Brass Band Parts.]', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 5 March 2016].

⁹⁴⁴ British Library Catalogue, 'The Young Rekrut Quick Step. [Reed Band Parts.]', *British Library* (No date) <<http://explore.bl.uk>> [accessed 6 March 2016].

⁹⁴⁵ 'Amateur Musical Performance'. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

Throughout the nineteenth-century, aspects of army life were never far from civilian life and the Militia were frequently recruited from the lower and middle classes, providing a demographic link to the compilers. They were reputedly lured into the part-time profession when drunk.⁹⁴⁶ The Crimea War (1854), and Indian Rebellion of 1857 took its toll on the numbers and in 1858 the Volunteer Rifle Corps (VRC) was formed to recruit more civilians, each county forming its own unit. Regimental bands were an important aspect in both the Militia and the VRC, so it is not surprising to see elements of this music in the manuscript books, juxtaposed with the dance tunes of the day, which it transpires also, made up their repertoire.

Morris Dancing

Several of the tunes in Hampton MS suggest accompaniment to Morris dancing.⁹⁴⁷ The dating of Hampton's manuscript suggests the book was compiled when he lived in Hereford city, but the proficiency shown in the transcriptions' technical ability could indicate that he played the violin prior to this, maybe when working on the canal or as a youth in Blaisdon. Details are recorded of a musical life on the water and of a Morris side only seven miles away from Blaisdon:

Henry Allen was originally from Ruardean and played for the Morris side there until 1871 when a meeting between rival sides on Plump Hill produced a fight and a fatality.⁹⁴⁸ When Sharp met him, he was living at Mere Street in Stratford-on-Avon and playing fiddle on the boats there.⁹⁴⁹

Furthermore, a possible connection or acquaintance between Hampton and the Baldwin family of fiddlers, known to Cecil Sharp and researched by Heath-Coleman, might corroborate this theory.⁹⁵⁰ Both Stephen Baldwin and Hampton knew *Ham.4.3* by the unusual name of the 'Swansea Hornpipe'.⁹⁵¹ Stephen, born in Hereford in 1873,

⁹⁴⁶ Robert Henderson, 'Taking the King's Shilling: Recruitment for the British Army, 1812', *Access Heritage* (2001) <<http://www.warof1812.ca/recruit.htm>> [accessed 4 March 2016].

⁹⁴⁷ Namely *Ham.4.1*, *Ham.6.3*, *Ham.7.3*, *Ham.8.3*, *Ham.9.1*.

⁹⁴⁸ Plump Hill is equidistant between Ruardean and Blaisdon. Despite further contact with Menteith and much searching, no evidence can be found in newspaper reports for the fatality in 1871. It is possible that the event has altered due to oral transmission and perhaps refers to a fight between James Phillips and Elam Phipps from Plump Hill which took place at The Point Inn following a night of 'carousing', which led to Phipps stabbing Phillips in the thigh, although this does not appear to have been a fatal wound: 'Newnham - Charge of Stabbing', *Gloucester Journal*, 21 March 1874, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

⁹⁴⁹ Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. ii.

⁹⁵⁰ Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.* Track 1 on CD. The tune is more commonly known as the 'Gloucester Hornpipe', which, given the men's proximity to Gloucestershire makes it strange that they knew it as the 'Swansea Hornpipe'.

played for morris, country dances and gypsy weddings.⁹⁵² Yet despite moving in the same geographical area as Hampton, with joint connections to Hereford and the Forest of Dean, he would have been too young to have been a direct musical contemporary of Hampton whilst they were both living in Hereford.

However, Stephen learnt the violin by watching his father Charles Baldwin (1827-1910) play.⁹⁵³ Charles, born in Newent (only seven miles from Blaisdon), also moved in geographically similar locations to Hampton. Remarkably, Charles was living in Hereford, about a mile away from Thomas in 1871 and the possibility exists that the two fiddlers knew each other during this time. Not only do they share a mutual musical interest, but in 1861, when Thomas' father and brothers were transporting charcoal on the Hereford and Gloucester canal, Charles was working as a charcoal burner in Newent,⁹⁵⁴ through which the canal passed.⁹⁵⁵

With a likelihood of a social or work-related connection between the Hampton and Baldwin families comes a similarity of repertoire. The recording of Stephen and the collection of Charles' and Stephen's tunes show six tunes in common with Hampton's repertoire.⁹⁵⁶ The function of the recordings and Sharp's collecting was to find traditional tunes. If a more popular repertoire was included, I believe there would be even more tunes in common. Heath-Coleman's research shows that Charles played for the Clifford's Mesne morris, which is directly between Blaisdon (five miles) and Newent (three miles).⁹⁵⁷ Evidence given in Chapter 6 shows the men travelled for their music, making the opportunity of the two men meeting reasonably likely and making the suggestion that Hampton had also played for the Clifford's Mesne morris credible,

This may suggest that contemporary print was the source, and there exists the possibility that 'ear player' Baldwin learnt it from someone, tenuously Hampton, who had acquired the tune or name from print.

⁹⁵² Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. ii.

⁹⁵³ Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*, p. 2.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁹⁵⁵ Herefordshire & Gloucestershire Canal Trust, 'Maps', *Herefordshire & Gloucestershire Canal Trust* (No date) <<http://www.h-g-canal.org.uk>> [accessed 26 April 2017].

⁹⁵⁶ Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*. (*Ham.3.1, Ham.4.3, Ham.5.3, Ham.13.1, Ham.6.3, Ham.8.2*).

⁹⁵⁷ Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*, p. 4.

due to his possible connection with Baldwin, his location and the inclusion of Morris tunes in the manuscript.⁹⁵⁸

One such tune, *Ham.4.1* is of interest due to the deviation from the normal key in which it is found. Hampton writes the tune in A major which is an interesting choice as G major would fall under the fingers more easily on a fiddle. Although a direct source for this tune (in A major) was found, it is possible that he chose this source as the key fitted with that played by a fellow musician, the key suggesting a tuned pipe.⁹⁵⁹ Whilst fiddles were the main accompanying instrument for Morris from the 1840s, they superseded the pipe and tabor.⁹⁶⁰ The potential association with Morris is corroborated further as family members of the Hampton line have played for Morris dancing throughout the twentieth-century. This involvement could stem from a now forgotten continuation of a family pastime.

Hornpipes

Hornpipes are one of the most represented dance or tune genres in the overall manuscript tally (14%), with high individual representation (Hampton: 19%, Till: 13%, Bennett: 12%). Before examining the potential functions implied by their inclusion, a brief explanation of the form and its origins may be useful. Hornpipes in the manuscripts are all of the 4/4 'new' style and not the 3/2 hornpipes of earlier centuries. In general, they take the structural form of 8AA 8BB and the quaver pairs are frequently but not always dotted. Honeyman's 1898 tune book explains three styles of bowing which differentiate between what he calls the 'Sailor's' style of hornpipe – generally a rhythmically undotted hornpipe,⁹⁶¹ and the dotted hornpipes of the 'Newcastle' style (which is used for 'clog dancing or other step dancing' and is dotted), and the 'Sand Dance' style.⁹⁶² Emmerson dates the 'new' style, 4/4 hornpipes

⁹⁵⁸ Despite attempts to access the morris ring's records I have been unable to corroborate Hampton's involvement.

⁹⁵⁹ It is possible that Hampton also played pipe/fife as two were passed down to me along with his fiddle, the manuscript and the printed music. See Chapter 7 for images.

⁹⁶⁰ Sean Goddard, 'The Morris Tradition', *The Morris Ring* (2004)

<<http://themorrisring.org/publications/morris-tradition>> [accessed 8th September 2015].

⁹⁶¹ Undotted meaning equal pairs of quavers and dotted meaning the pairs of quavers are split between a dotted quaver and a semi-quaver.

⁹⁶² William C. Honeyman, *The Strathspey, Reel, & Hornpipe Tutor (1898)*, (Aberdeenshire: Catacol, 2008), p. 35. The hornpipes in the manuscripts are transcribed as either 'Sailor's' or 'Newcastle' style yet it is possible that in some of the 'Sailor's' style hornpipes are in fact 'Newcastle' hornpipes where the dotted rhythm was not actually transcribed.

from 1760,⁹⁶³ yet my research shows they were in existence in the seventeenth-century.⁹⁶⁴ Despite all of the manuscripts' hornpipes being in the 'new' style 4/4, time signature, dating many of them more precisely than post-seventeenth century proved impossible. Hornpipes were composed throughout the centuries, conforming to a similar style and when no wider references were available, differentiating by stylistics was futile, resulting in the category 3X.

An explanation for their widespread popularity comes from their use on the eighteenth-century stage, "the age of the Harlequin and Columbine. They were performed as entr'acte entertainments during the performance of plays and at the close".⁹⁶⁵ Emmerson suggests that hornpipes' names often originate from the person who performed them.⁹⁶⁶ Evidence of hornpipes whose titles suggest potential celebrity or eighteenth-century stage connections can be found within the manuscripts detailed in Figure 103, although it must be remembered that they cannot be accurately dated to this period as they could have existed prior to the stage plays.

MS	Reference	Title
Hampton	<i>Ham.5.1</i>	'Runns Hornpipe'
	<i>Ham.14.1</i>	'Byrne Hornpipe' (also known as 'Grimaldi Hornpipe', ⁹⁶⁷ Grimaldi, a famous early-nineteenth-century clown).
	<i>Ham.14.2</i>	'Clown's Hornpipe'
	<i>Ham.15.2</i>	'Millicen's Favourite Hornpipe'
	<i>Ham.16.1</i>	'Manchester Hornpipe' known as 'Rickett's' see below
Till/Clutterbuck	<i>Til.2.1</i>	Unnamed but 'Manchester Hornpipe' see below
Bennett	<i>Ben.115.1</i>	'Jones Hornpipe'

Figure 103 : Hornpipes with titles potentially linked to stage plays.

Hornpipes in Till/Clutterbuck MS are all unnamed and although some have been identified, as above, some remain unidentified. Several of Bennett's hornpipes are also

⁹⁶³ George S. Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', *Folk Music Journal*, 2. 1 (1970), 12-34 (p. 17).

⁹⁶⁴ This is discussed in Chapter 3, with reference to *Ham.5.1*.

⁹⁶⁵ Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', p. 17.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁹⁶⁷ Heath- Coleman knows this hornpipe as *George Foreman's Hornpipe*, Foreman being an old step-dancer. Heath-Coleman also informed me that the tune exists in Watson's manuscript as *Grimaldi Hornpipe*. Heath-Coleman, *Email*. Chris Partington informed me that Grimaldi was famous clown. Chris Partington, *Email Correspondence* (11 February 2016).

unnamed suggesting the above list could contain more names if the tune titles were identifiable.

A vast number of new hornpipes were composed in the period when the musicians were compiling their manuscripts. This could have been the result of the step-dancing 'craze' (or indeed the popularity of the hornpipes danced on stage earlier in the century). A famous fiddler and supposed composer of many contemporary hornpipes was Scottish born James Hill (c1810-1853) who lived in Tyneside.⁹⁶⁸ The online traditional tune discussion forum, 'The Session', lists those hornpipes attributed to Hill,⁹⁶⁹ of which two appear in the manuscripts, although it is questionable that all of the tunes attributed to Hill were actually composed by him.⁹⁷⁰ 'Stage Hornpipe' (*Ben.114.1*), bears much similarity to Hill's 'Quayside Hornpipe', despite the different name,⁹⁷¹ and 'The Navvie Hornpipe' (*Ham.16.1*) is also attributed to Hill.

As cited above, there is much sharing of names. 'The Swansea Hornpipe', is also known as 'The Gloucester Hornpipe'.⁹⁷² Till/Clutterbuck MS contains an unnamed hornpipe, clearly identifiable as 'The Manchester Hornpipe', which also appears in Hampton MS.⁹⁷³ The tune is also found to be known by several other names.⁹⁷⁴ One such name is 'Rickett's Hornpipe', which Hall states dates from 1781 when Aldridge, a stage dancer

⁹⁶⁸ Mitchell Music, 'James Hill (C1810-1853)', *Mitchell Music* (No date)
<<http://www.theladslkebeer.com/james-hill>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

⁹⁶⁹ The Session, 'James Hill', *The Session* (No date)
<<https://thesession.org/discussions/3050#comment60464>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

⁹⁷⁰ Mitchell Music, 'James Hill (C1810-1853)'; The Session, 'James Hill'.

⁹⁷¹ It is possible that the word 'Quayside' has evolved to 'Stage', with reference to a landing stage for boats.

⁹⁷² *Ham.4.3*.

⁹⁷³ *Ham.16.2 and Til.2.1*

⁹⁷⁴ A discussion on the online tune discussion forum, 'The Session', shows the numerous titles and the confusion this can create. 'Cerimatho' [*sic*] posts: "'Manchester hornpipe' in Swansea, it's used to dance 'The Gower reel', and Phill Tanner who dowlled the music for dancing, called the tune 'The Liverpool hornpipe'. The rest of Wales call it 'The Wrexham hornpipe', (Wrexham not being that far from Liverpool). Variations were played in Wales but under different names – 'The Spanish hornpipe', 'Seven', and 'The Aldridge' amongst others. 'The Aldridge hornpipe' is known in England but is a number of different tunes. Also in England the tune is used by the Bampton Morris, in Oxfordshire as a jig, called 'The Fool's jig'. Aldridge is near Birmingham but Mr Aldridge was a dancer who had several dance tunes including hornpipes and allemandes composed for him in the eighteenth century. As if that weren't confusing enough, there is another tune called 'The Wrexham hornpipe' in Wales, which the people around that area in North East Wales call 'The Swansea hornpipe', which is near Gower." A subsequent participant, 'Ceolachan' [*sic*] lists the Welsh names by which it is also known: 'Pibddawns Wrecsam', ('The Wrexham Hornpipe'); 'Y Bibddawns Sbaenig', ('The Spanish Hornpipe'); 'Saith', ('Seven'); 'Pibddawns Aldridge', ('The Aldridge Hornpipe'). The Session, 'Rickett's Hornpipe', *The Session* (No date) <<https://thesession.org/tunes/272>> [accessed 1 February 2015]. Punctuation, spelling mistakes and grammar slightly corrected.

published the tune. In turn this became known as 'Ricketts' after John Bill Ricketts a late-eighteenth-century American circus promoter, in a similar way to the earlier hypotheses regarding the tunes taking on performers' names.⁹⁷⁵ Similarly, Hampton's 'Millicen's Hornpipe' (*Ham.15.2*), is also known as 'The Belfast Hornpipe'.

Many hornpipe tune titles are location related, moreover frequently city-port locations, such as 'Belfast Hornpipe' above, 'Swansea Hornpipe' (*Ham.4.3*), 'Bristol Hornpipe' (*Ham.15.1*) and 'Manchester Hornpipe' (*Ham.16.2, Til.2.1*). Bennett MS too has a version of the 'Swansea Hornpipe' (*Ben.112.1*) and 'The Royal Welsh Hornpipe' (*Ben.111.1*). A further reason for this trend or indeed the popularity of the hornpipe could be due to an increased interest in nationalism and patriotism, the hornpipe being associated with nautical locations (and activity), as the naming implies.

These 'location' hornpipes appear to be named due to nautical connections which could result from their known use in naval cadets' drills.⁹⁷⁶ However, their naming is likely more in line with where they were most associated (perhaps still related to the sailors or cadets, although not necessarily so), and clearly some were also known by other names. Despite Emmerson playing down the nautical connection to hornpipes a historical narrative from Newcastle describes a binding supper given by an employer to the keelmen from Newcastle, during which hornpipes were danced.⁹⁷⁷ As a regular occurrence at one quayside, it is probable the practice occurred at other quaysides around the country and may account for the alternative 'location' names for the favoured regional tune to which the hornpipes were danced.⁹⁷⁸

This also highlights that the compilers or Hampton at least, were not sourcing different aged hornpipes from different sources. For example, Hampton places *Ham.16.1*, 'The Navvie Hornpipe' (considered to be a contemporary mid-nineteenth-century composition by James Hill),⁹⁷⁹ and *Ham.16.2*, 'The Manchester Hornpipe' (thought to

⁹⁷⁵ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 78.

⁹⁷⁶ Emmerson, 'The Hornpipe', p. 28.

⁹⁷⁷ A binding supper was described as "*a supper when the terms on which they were to serve for the ensuing year were agreed upon*" Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, 'Quayside (1) (the)', *Traditional Tune Archive* (2014) <<http://tunearch.org>> [accessed 27 April 2017]; Anon, 'Newcastle', *The Land We Live In: A Pictorial and Literary Sketch-Book*, 3 (1847), 147-48.

⁹⁷⁸ Possibly resulting from nothing more than the repertoire knowledge of whichever fiddler they could find!

⁹⁷⁹ The Session, 'James Hill'.

represent a hornpipe common on the eighteenth-century stage (see above)), on the same page. It is probable that he took them from the same published source, Kerr's *Merry Melodies Book 1*,⁹⁸⁰ (Figure 104).

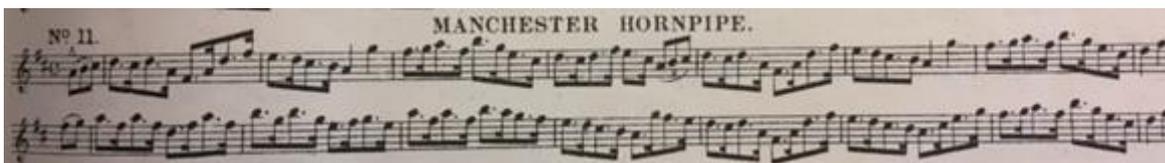
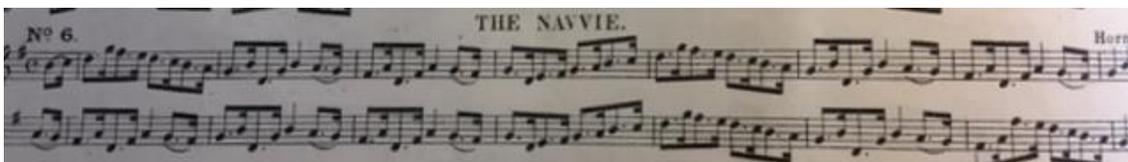
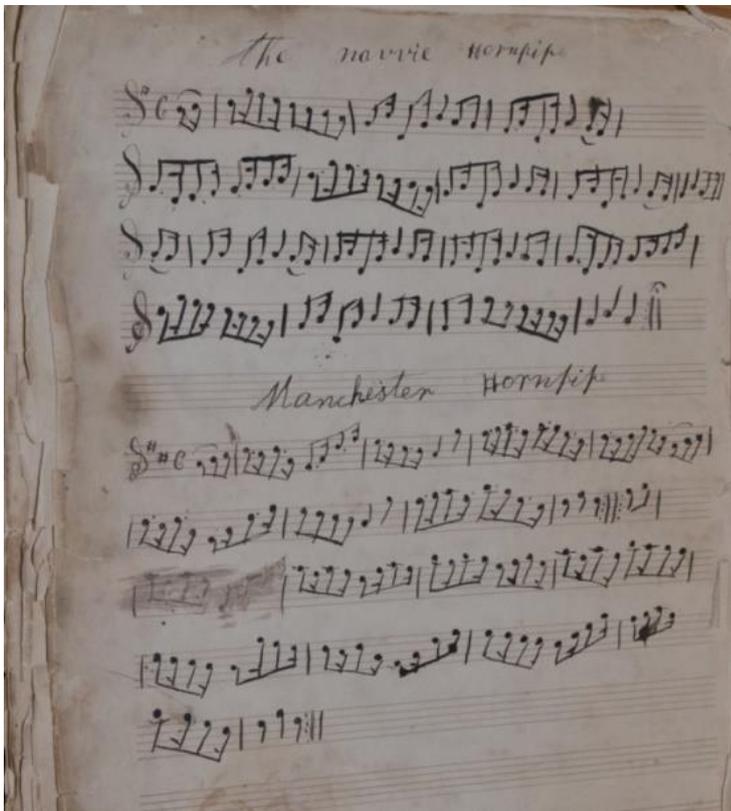


Figure 104 : The Navvie and Manchester Hornpipe. Photos: R Dellow. Sources: *Ham.16.1-16.2* and Kerr's (pp. 42-43).

This would suggest that to the compilers and the publishers, the original provenance of the hornpipe was unimportant, meaning that the original function had also lost its relevance.

⁹⁸⁰ Kerr, *Kerr's First Collection of Merry Melodies for the Violin*, pp. 42-43.

Function of Hornpipes in the Manuscripts

The function of hornpipes in the manuscripts is difficult to determine. No perceivable role exists in the programmes of balls and other social dances. Both Richardson and *The Ballroom Guide* include no mention of hornpipes suggesting they did not have a role at social dances.⁹⁸¹ However, Dean-Smith states that “at country assemblies they were performed both as solos and collectively, the dancers advancing in a row, each performing a sequence of steps jealously regarded as exclusive personal property”,⁹⁸² although she does not provide a date. So too, Emerson says that late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century reports suggest that hornpipe stepping, “was familiarly employed in Country Dances wherever these were enjoyed in the British Isles, although it was regarded as vulgar in the more select assemblies”.⁹⁸³ So although hornpipes might not be listed as specific dances on the published programmes of higher brow dances, in the unrecorded history of lower brow dances it is possible they were included and might account for their existence in the manuscripts. That said, although hornpipe stepping might be employed as part of a formal dance it does not necessarily indicate that dances were performed to a 4/4 8AA8BB ‘hornpipe’ tune.

It is highly likely that hornpipes’ presence in the manuscripts results from their function as the musical accompaniment to the thriving nineteenth-century solo exhibition dance practice of step-dancing and clogging, see Figure 105 below.⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸¹ P. J. S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the 19th Century*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960); Warne, *The Ballroom Guide*.

⁹⁸² Margaret Dean-Smith, 'Hornpipe (li)', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.*, (2017), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

⁹⁸³ Emerson, 'The Hornpipe', p. 20.

⁹⁸⁴ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 76. The image was initially found on page 76 of Reg Hall’s account of Scan Tester and then kindly emailed to me by the author. As part of the Reg Hall Collection it is scanned from *The Graphic*, 22 October 1887, and is an engraving by Charles J. Staniland, the venue is ‘The King’s Head’, Hoverton, Wroxham, Norfolk and the fiddler is the landlord, Mr Jimpson. Reg Hall, 'I Never Played to Many Posh Dances... Scan Tester, Sussex Musician, 1887-1972', *Keith Summers (Ed) Musical Traditions* (1990) <<https://www.mustrad.org.uk/pdf/scan05.pdf>> [accessed 12 April 2018]; Reg Hall, *Email Correspondence* (13 April 2018).



Figure 105 : 'Step Dancing in the Tap Room', *The Graphic*, 22 October 1887. Source: The Reg Hall Collection.

This activity is documented in the oral narratives recorded by Chandler and Hall, with Holderness recording an oral narrative stating that “most men done a little bit of stepping years ago”.⁹⁸⁵ Step-dancing occurred at informal locations such as the pub, and during functions such as feasts and wakes. However, there is very little written about this practice in the wider nineteenth-century musical or social history and it is interesting that the manuscripts might document or support these oral narratives.

Interestingly, the hornpipes appear in the manuscripts in distinct clusters, grouped together as if to suggest a utilitarian purpose perhaps accompanying step-dancing within an informal pub setting. However, I believe this might simply be the result of having been copied directly from printed contemporary sources implying that they were fashionable tunes to listen to and to play.

Use for Aesthetic Value

Examination of printed music of the time demonstrates the tunes' popularity and many 'hornpipe specific' tunebooks or sections were found at BL. The possibility exists that this music was beginning to represent music for music's sake and that these hornpipes were played purely for aural enjoyment rather than needing to fulfil a function such as accompanying a dance. This would account for their appearance in the programs of penny concerts and amateur concerts.⁹⁸⁶ As such, an aesthetic function of the manuscripts, or the musical practice they represent, is possible, the

⁹⁸⁵ Holderness, 'Hindringham. Traditional Music and Dancing in This North Norfolk Village. Mt285'.

⁹⁸⁶ See for example advertisements for concerts which include hornpipes: 'Harp Recitals Chesterfield and Brampton Mechanics' Institute', *Derbyshire Courier*, 21 October 1871, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017] p. 2.

tunes existing simply for personal recreation. This is further corroborated by the inclusion of songs as well as dances within all three manuscripts. The revelation of the stand-alone aesthetic value of the manuscripts' contents adds another dimension to their functionality and to the activities of the musicians. Thus, the eclectic mix of genres could suggest the function of the musical practice represented by the manuscripts was one of personal recreation and self-entertainment. Before developing this idea, informal playing of music will be considered.

Pubs and Informal Activity

From a rural perspective, Hardy's novel *Under the Greenwood Tree* depicts the informal soundscape created by local musicians, and these fictional images are backed up by newspaper reports.⁹⁸⁷ Whilst the manuscripts and their content do not shed light on direct involvement within pubs, informal activity is implied by association through the repertoire and by the demographic of the people who feature within these environments. Furthermore, the realisation that a specific participatory function is not necessarily expected by the musicians' audience opens up a role for the musicians as informal entertainers for their own and an audiences' auditory pleasure. This can occur on several levels: personal and private in a domestic situation; informal in a social, perhaps in a 'tune-up',⁹⁸⁸ in a pub setting; or on more formal level and is discussed in the 'Aesthetic' section below.

A semi-rural account of an informal soundscape can be seen here, taken from Hampton's local newspaper in 1860, but referring to a commotion in the small town of Monmouth. It tells of the trial between a local blind fiddler, John Watkins, and Rev. Thomas Harris. Watkins was fiddling at five o'clock in the morning when an angry vicar rushed out of his house and assaulted him. He took hold of the bow, broke it and promptly discarded it. In his defence, the vicar explained: "I went to him and I broke his bow intentionally; I do not like to hear music in the night, nor every sort of music in the daytime".⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁷ See the reference to Julian Taylor's work below.

⁹⁸⁸ A tune-up is an English equivalent to the Irish music 'session', whereby musicians will sit in a pub and take turns starting a tune generally to which others can join in.

⁹⁸⁹ 'A Dispute About a Fiddle', *Hereford Times*, 28 January 1860, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 6 June 2016] p. 9.

Informal music making also occurred off the street, in the public house both in rural and urban areas: it was a location for hornpipes to be heard accompanying step-dancing on a Saturday night;⁹⁹⁰ “a centre for convivial singing”, justifying the inclusion of both older and contemporary popular songs in all three manuscripts; so too “it was also the haunt of convivial instrumentalists”.⁹⁹¹ Roud quotes a colourful narrative from Edwin Waugh’s *Lancashire Sketches*, dated 1855, in which instrumental musicians are playing in a pub, albeit in an accompaniment role:

In another corner you might hear the fiddler playing the animated strains of the ‘Liverpool Hornpipe’ or ‘Th’ Devil Ript his Shirt’, while a lot of hearty youngsters, in wooden clogs, battered the hearthstone to the tune. In the room above, the lights flared in the wind, as the lads and lasses flitted to and fro in ‘The Haymaker’, ‘Sir Roger De Coverley’, or ‘The Triumph’, or threaded through a reel and set till the whole house shook.⁹⁹²

So too, Russell has evidence of a tune-up tradition in Suffolk: “local singers and instrumentalists gathered in the taproom of a set hostelry and entertained each other, anyone refusing or unable to contribute being forced to buy drinks”.⁹⁹³ He describes the class of those participating as similar to Hampton and Till/Clutterbuck whilst “the ‘respectable’ classes kept at safe distance in the parlour or saloon bar”.⁹⁹⁴ Scan Tester’s recollections make mention of much music on a Saturday night in the pub, and a line-up in which the compilers would fit well. Although several decades after the period in question,⁹⁹⁵ the vivid description defines an environment which, apart from the piano could perhaps have existed earlier:

You know, we used to play regular in the *Nutley Inn*...sometimes we had old Dido’s brother, who used to blow a cornet, and there used to be a chap come up there and used to vamp on the old piano...There used to be Jack Carr; he used to vamp and play mandolin. He was a good bloke, he’d played in a string band in the Army; and then we used to have old Tommy’s sister used to play a concertina as well, and I used to play the old fiddle, and another bloke, name of Bill Gorringe, used to play the fiddle along with me. And old Tommy

⁹⁹⁰ Hall, ‘Scan Tester “I Never Played to Many Posh Dances” Mt215’; Holderness, ‘Hindringham. Traditional Music and Dancing in This North Norfolk Village. Mt285’; Chandler, ‘Musicians in 19th Century Southern England’.

⁹⁹¹ Gammon, ‘Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England’, p. 56.

⁹⁹² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 324; Edwin Waugh, *Sketches of Lancashire Life and Localities*, (London: Whittaker, 1855 and 1857).

⁹⁹³ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 183.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ The extract is of Scan’s memoirs. He was born 1887 and mention of an ‘old’ piano and women in the pub coupled with Hall’s dating suggest this memoir dates from just before the 1st World War.

Stephenson's father used to play a tambourine, and his tambourine was as far across as ...two foot, I expect, and he used to rosin her up and he used to rrrrrrrrhhh! Yes!⁹⁹⁶

Taylor's collection of newspaper extracts provides evidence of numerous informal fiddle and dance events. These give an insight into informal pub culture, via incidental reports; for example, the suicide of Robert Clough, a fiddler who played at 'The Boat' public-house two nights a week.⁹⁹⁷ Chandler's study of nineteenth-century musicians also indicates a vibrant informal rural pub music culture,⁹⁹⁸ as does Hall's research.⁹⁹⁹ Researching newspapers local to Hampton, uncovered an article depicting informal music and dancing events at pubs, once again in an unrelated section. See Figure 106,¹⁰⁰⁰ in which the report focusses on the crime of selling beer after time and theft, but paints a wonderful picture of informal step-dancing and fiddle-playing at a pub.



ought to be put a stop to.
SELLING BEER AT ILLEGAL TIMES.—William Clarke, of Marden, again appeared to answer the charge of keeping his beer-house open, after ten o'clock, on the night of the 1st of May.—This case was adjourned from the previous Saturday in consequence of the non-attendance of one of the witnesses.—Mr. Gwillim now appeared for the defendant.—In addition to the evidence previously given, a man named Weaver, who it appeared acted as fiddler upon the occasion, was examined, and from his statement it seems that he left the house about two o'clock on the Sunday morning; there being twenty or five-and-twenty people in the house. There was a little "stepping" going on in the course of the evening; he was fiddling until about eleven o'clock, and when he left off to take a little refreshment,—for the fiddle could not go unless the physical strength of the fiddler were supported by an element stronger than water—the fiddle itself was carried away, and with the music, the dancing of course soon terminated; the company consequently adjourned from the "ball-room," some to the tap-room and others more prudently to their dwellings. The room thus vacated was soon occupied for a very different purpose, it being converted into a sleeping apartment for the "navvies," and "Young" (the witness examined last week), was soon there buried in sleep, and dreaming of "fairies hovering round his pillow." Not so the unfortunate musician; who was engaged in searching hedges and ditches, fields and groves, vainly looking for the lost instrument, until daylight began to make its appearance, and then he wended his disconsolate way homewards, lamenting his loss, and reflecting what steps he had better pursue, to recover possession of his very means of subsistence—his fiddle.—It was stated that no less than three robberies (exclusive of the fiddle, which was returned on the following day) occurred at the house upon the night in question; and that a very violent assault had lately been committed there by which the life of a young man had been greatly jeopardised.—

Figure 106 : 'Selling Beer At Illegal Times', from *Hereford Journal*, 1852. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

⁹⁹⁶ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 34.

⁹⁹⁷ Taylor, 'Music of North West England'.

⁹⁹⁸ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'. See for example part 3 (MT066) describing Potter playing in pubs and the coroner's report.

⁹⁹⁹ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215'.

¹⁰⁰⁰ 'Shire Hall : Selling Beer at Illegal Times', *Hereford Times*, 22 May 1852,

<<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 May 2015] p. 7. A transcription is provided in Appendix F.

The report suggests the local pub environment had spontaneous and informal music, corroborated by personal oral narrative. It appears that a pub tradition existed where if you could play or sing without making a piglet squeal, you won the piglet – “an important member of the family”,¹⁰⁰¹ and a vital commodity in those days. According to family narrative, Thomas was in a Hereford pub, (see Figure 107),¹⁰⁰² competing for the piglet which he duly won. In the process of the competition he had evidently consumed a fair bit of ale and on his way home, with pig and fiddle under his arm, he stumbled over and broke the fiddle. Whether he managed to hang on to the pig is not known!¹⁰⁰³



Figure 107 : The Red Lion, Victoria Street, Hereford. Source: www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk.

The tradition of the free and easy, which Russell likens to the urban equivalent of a tune-up,¹⁰⁰⁴ indicates an urban, informal participatory environment where, according

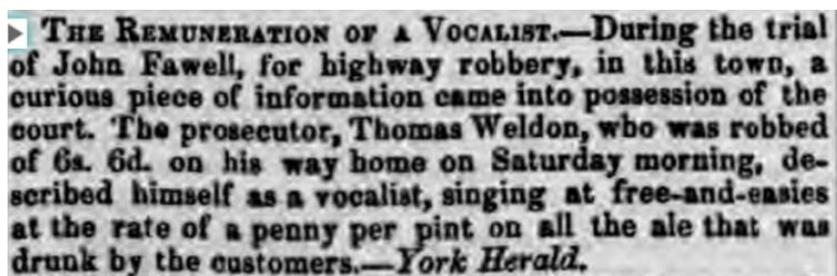
¹⁰⁰¹ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 24. Thompson states that in the 1880s a piglet was worth ten-fifteen shillings suggesting this was a worthy prize to win as when fattened up and slaughtered was used to pay off debts and feed the family with the luxury of fresh meat and then “bacon for the winter or longer”.

¹⁰⁰² The image in Figure 107 is of The Red Lion Inn, Victoria Street, Hereford, the street in which Thomas lived in 1871, thus making it a potential location for the scene of the Pig Squealing competition. Herefordshire History, 'The Red Lion, Victoria Street, Hereford', *Herefordshire Council* (No date) < <http://www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk/archive/herefordshire-images/hereford-images/160481> > [accessed 2 June 2015].

¹⁰⁰³ In trying to ascertain some foundation to this story I searched for mention of a similar practice (presumably most occurrences were not worthy of mention as the activities occurred as a lower-class pursuit in a public house). However, I found a late-nineteenth-century newspaper report of a similar event whereby the game was to sing and prevent the pig squirming or moving rather than squealing : 'A 'Pig-Carrying' Competition', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 18 July 1896, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017] p. 6.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 183.

to Scott, “any customer could contribute a song”.¹⁰⁰⁵ However, though clearly popular with working classes, in reality they do not appear to have been participatory or entirely spontaneous and are perhaps exclusively the domain of singers rather than instrumentalists. Figure 108, shows an 1851 newspaper report revealing that the singer was paid a penny for every pint bought by the audience.¹⁰⁰⁶



THE REMUNERATION OF A VOCALIST.—During the trial of John Fawell, for highway robbery, in this town, a curious piece of information came into possession of the court. The prosecutor, Thomas Weldon, who was robbed of 6s. 6d. on his way home on Saturday morning, described himself as a vocalist, singing at free-and-easies at the rate of a penny per pint on all the ale that was drunk by the customers.—*York Herald.*

Figure 108 : ‘The Remuneration of a Vocalist’, from *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1852. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Scott describes the back rooms of pubs which were used for the Free and Easies, gradually becoming concert rooms and singing saloons in the 1840s, employing professional entertainers.¹⁰⁰⁷

Aesthetic

The idea of music in the manuscripts existing for aesthetic value alone was introduced above in the discussion of hornpipes. Similarly, the evidence of pub ‘tune-ups’ and the suggestion that pubs were the “haunt of convivial instrumentalists”,¹⁰⁰⁸ supports the idea that tunes, be they hornpipes, marches, quicksteps, polkas, waltzes and varsoviana were being played for aesthetic reasons aside from requiring a dance function. This idea was set out by Gammon,¹⁰⁰⁹ yet is curiously refuted by Campbell who makes an unsubstantiated statement that “the playing of such music solely for

¹⁰⁰⁵ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ‘The Remuneration of a Vocalist’, *Dublin Evening Mail*, 18 August 1852, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 June 2016] p. 3.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Gammon, ‘Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England’, p. 56.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 55.

listening is a recent phenomenon and very much a revivalist practice growing in popularity from the 1960s onwards".¹⁰¹⁰

Admittedly, the references to informal musical practices in the pub are dominated by a singing culture. Those which do mention instrumentalists often do so in the context of accompanying dancing – either informal social dances or stepping. As such it is hard to ascertain whether a truly autotelic instrumental musical practice took place in these environments, in a similar way that an exclusively tune session might occur today. It is entirely possible that tunes were played during song sessions, independently from accompanying dancers and merely not documented, and it is noteworthy that all three manuscripts include a few examples of vocal items.

Evidence of Soobroy playing with his 'string band' at a gymnastics display in 1891 indicates the music may have had a role in providing entertainment (see Figure 109).¹⁰¹¹ The article suggests the music was listened to for its aesthetic value although not as formal concert, but as incidental music, presumably on a non-commercial, voluntary basis accompanying the sporting event. Although the specific repertoire is not provided the string band performed an overture for each half of the evening, the National Anthem at the close and possibly some background music during the display, suggested by the 'Musical Maze' event included in the programme. It is fascinating to find Soobroy mentioned in a newspaper article and opens the possibility of forty-seven year old Hampton being a member of this band, five years before his death.

¹⁰¹⁰ Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 148.

¹⁰¹¹ 'Gymnastic Display', *Ross Gazette*, 16 April 1891, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> p. 4. A transcription of the first section is provided in Appendix F.

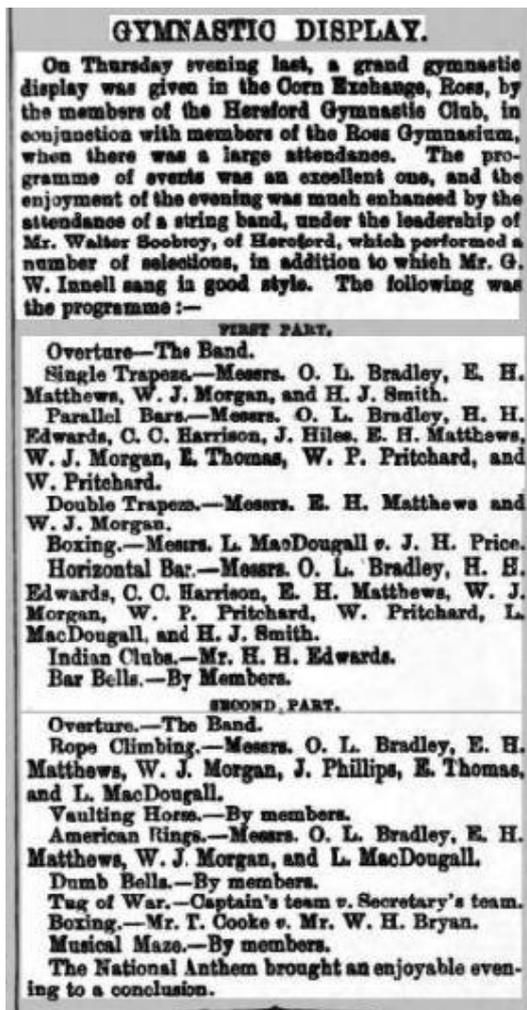


Figure 109 : Soobroy's String Band, from *Ross Gazette*, 1891. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

An aesthetic (combined with a partially commercial or auto-didactic) function exists towards the formal end of musical entertainment in the form of concerts. As such, the music may be expected to raise funds, educate or improve, but on the whole the music would be fulfilling an 'entertainment' function and thus to a certain extent, existing as music in its own right. It is incredibly hard to ascertain the extent of involvement of the amateur, lower-class instrumentalists in these performance spaces. However, newspaper articles hint at some involvement and so it is worth pursuing.

Mechanics' Institutes and Penny Concerts

Mechanics' Institutes and Working Men's Clubs have a fourfold involvement in this thesis. Not only are they relevant as a potential participatory platform for the compilers, they provided a source of influence and motivation as part of the cultural backdrop, introduced in Chapter 4. Additionally, they were a gateway to acquiring the

necessary skills to participate in music and manuscript compilation, and a location where printed resources might be borrowed.¹⁰¹²

Performers were sometimes musicians from the Institutes' own members,¹⁰¹³ yet major celebrities also performed. In 1857 at the Brighton Mechanics' Institute national celebrity singer Sims Reeve and his wife, Emma were the chief performers, alongside other professionals. Admission was free to members and members' friends, and an audience of 1400 attended.¹⁰¹⁴ The repertoire featured both vocal and instrumental items, played on instruments largely mirrored in the manuscripts namely, concertina, cornet-a-piston, violin and flute, which according to other newspaper reports appears to be standard for these events.¹⁰¹⁵ Furthermore, the manuscripts' repertoire is reflected too, with many programmes actually listing specific tunes from the manuscripts. Whilst this might suggest a direct source of influence for the men who compiled the manuscripts, this could merely be a reflection of mass taste and repertoire which could also be heard in London concerts, the Music Hall, pub concerts and amateur bands and orchestras.

In the same vein, Penny Concerts,¹⁰¹⁶ affordable as their names suggest occurred in both larger and smaller towns. A search on BNA shows a clear rise in their popularity between 1850-99,¹⁰¹⁷ with the start of popularity in the 1860s but continuing at a similarly high level to the end of the century. Figure 110, describes a Penny Concert from 1865, in Leamington Spa.¹⁰¹⁸ It clearly highlights the target audience as the lower classes, those who do not have means to get to London concerts despite 'excursion trains'.

¹⁰¹² This is discussed in Chapter 6.

¹⁰¹³ 'Titchfield Literary and Mechanics' Institute', *Hampshire Telegraph*, 1 January 1859, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 4 June 2016] p. 5.

¹⁰¹⁴ 'Mechanics' Institute Concert', *Brighton Gazette*, 8 October 1857, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 4 June 2016] p. 7.

¹⁰¹⁵ References are numerous, but as an example see *ibid*.

¹⁰¹⁶ In some articles this term is interchangeable with the term 'Penny Readings'.

¹⁰¹⁷ 250000 search results exist between 1850-99: The British Newspaper Archive, 'Search Results : Penny Concerts', *British Library* (2017) <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

¹⁰¹⁸ 'Penny Concerts', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 18 November 1865, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 4 October 2015]. *Leamington Spa Courier* 18 November 1865, p8. A transcription is provided in Appendix F.

PENNY CONCERTS.

The second of these popular fortnightly entertainments came off on Tuesday evening at the Corn Exchange. The room was pretty well filled. Mr Repton, M.P., occupied the chair, and he was accompanied on the platform by Mr R. Greaves, Mr Nelson, and Mr J. Moore. In opening the proceedings, the Chairman said:—Ladies and gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to be called to the chair on this occasion, and still greater pleasure to see so large a number of my friends of Warwick here. I am well aware that in these days of excursion trains most persons have opportunities of going to places of amusement at a distance—to such places, for instance, as the Crystal Palace and the Metropolis. Still, there is a large mass of people who earn their bread by their daily labour, and have neither the means nor the time to go to such places, and I believe to such classes these musical entertainments, these penny concerts, are a great boon. I am glad to see so many of them here to-night, and I confess it gives me equal pleasure to see so large a number of those who have the means and the opportunity of coming and participating in the amusement of their less fortunate brethren, for I am quite aware that it is only by accident that we possess and are enabled to enjoy those advantages. I think you have got a most attractive programme this evening, and it is quite unnecessary for me to trouble you with a long speech. I will only say that I most cordially and heartily wish success to these meetings, and I hope that this will not be the last time I may have the pleasure of being present at them. (Applause.) But we will now

Figure 110 : 'Penny Concerts' from *Leamington Spa Courier*, 1865. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

The programme shows that whilst not able to bring in the celebrities from London, there were plenty of performers, playing a variety of instrumental dances and tunes and vocal numbers reflecting a similar repertoire to that found in the manuscripts. This 1860s report (Figure 111) suggests that performers were drawn from the local community,¹⁰¹⁹ and once again highlights the main audience focus as the working class, implying potential involvement by or influence on the case-study compilers if not as performers then as audience members.

SATURDAY PENNY CONCERTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER.

Sir,—You very kindly last season reported the progress of the Popular Fortnightly Concerts, and the publicity you gave it by your friendly criticisms rendered good service to the society; in fact your valuable little paper is weekly looked for with interest, as replete with the topics of the day. You are well aware the interest that was taken both in the society, and by the committee of the Total Abstinence Society, to enhance the pleasure and comfort of the working classes for a couple of hours on a Saturday evening. But you are not perhaps aware of the petty jealousy caused by their prosperity, and 'twill be well for you to know it, and through you the public. This season two or three more gentlemen have rallied round the committee's standard amongst them a pianist, Mr. J. Bighton, who, we understand, has never before presumed to develop those abilities before a public audience. His singing was very good and expressive in that well known song "Ah che la Morte," from that distinguished opera "Il Trovatore," accompanying himself on the piano as he did with that delicacy of touch and feeling expression which alone meets the approbation of judges of fine music (a few of whom we are glad to learn were present). His performances elicited for him a hearty applause from the audience, and we hope to have the pleasure of hearing him again this evening.

Our Penny Concerts are getting very popular and bid fair to prosper during the forthcoming season, and we trust that those gentlemen, who so kindly lent their services last year, will again come forward this season, and we may rely upon the concerts being well attended, and will no doubt in the end prove a beneficial interest to the town.

FRIEND OF THE WORKING MEN.

Figure 111 : 'Saturday Penny Concerts' from *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 1860. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

¹⁰¹⁹ 'Saturday Penny Concerts. To the Editor of the Advertiser', *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 17 November 1860, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 7 March 2016] p. 4. A transcription is given in Appendix F.

However, newspaper reports would suggest that participation by the lowest social levels was not the norm, and that concerts were instead intended as a venue for them to attend as an audience, largely organised and performed by the middle classes.¹⁰²⁰ No conclusive details emerge of the compilers' direct involvement at the more formal end of the scale. However, the marginalia in Bennett's manuscript detailed above (Figure 98), may hint at some involvement in more formal events and it is possible that Till/Clutterbuck was involved in Penny Concerts through a potential association with Mr Moffatt. Andrew Marvel Moffatt (c1831-1898), composer of *Til.23.1*, is referred to frequently in local newspaper articles throughout the latter half of the century with reference to the Penny Readings and Choral meetings in Berkeley. He can be identified as the blind organist of St Mary's Church, Berkeley, 1868 – 1898.¹⁰²¹ He was born in York to Nathaniel and Eliza Moffatt and was living in Berkeley, listed as blind aged twenty in 1851.¹⁰²² In 1861 he is listed as an organist, still living at home in Berkeley,¹⁰²³ and by 1881 aged forty-nine, he is head of the household, living with two sisters and a servant.¹⁰²⁴ His burial is recorded on the 28th January 1898, aged sixty-six.¹⁰²⁵ He was evidently a respected organist, seen playing here (Figure 112),¹⁰²⁶ for

¹⁰²⁰ Mackerness describes concerts for the working classes taking place at such institutions from 1830s onwards. Arguably the paternalistic intervention in cultural improvement could be viewed as hegemonic. However, this was likely unproblematic to the lower classes who were keen to participate in the autodidactic movement regardless of the origins. Rose quotes ticket prices of 4d at the Manchester Working Men's Concerts (attracting an average audience of 3400), and Rowlands quotes prices at some Mechanics' Institutes as free for members and 3d or 6d for non-members. Results for Mechanics' Institute concerts exist extensively within BNA and frequently show free entry, for example: "free to as many of the working classes that the room would hold". The potential accessibility of the lower classes to these events is interesting as it highlights a source of audible influence to inward transmission for the compilers. Having heard a song or melody as part of the audience, the compilers could subsequently seek out the tune in cheap print to copy into their books to learn. Thus, whilst the direct inwards transmission is via copying, initially the source could have been transmitted aurally. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, pp. 148-49. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 198; David Rowlands, 'Widening Access to Art Music: Creating New Audiences in Victorian Britain', (Cardiff University: Conference Paper given at BAVS conference: Consuming (the) Victorians, August 2016); 'Mechanics' Institute', *Shepton Mallet Journal*, 31 January 1862, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 6 June 2016].

¹⁰²¹ Clan Moffatt Genealogy, 'Andrew Marvel Moffatt', *Clan Moffatt Society Website* (2017) <<http://genealogy.clanmoffat.org/getperson.php?personID=I1098&tree=UKEire>> [accessed 5 January 2017].

¹⁰²² 'Andrew M Moffatt', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 1957; Folio: 439; Page: 15; GSU roll: 87357)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 28 January].

¹⁰²³ 'Andrew M Maffatt [Sic]', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 1749; Folio: 13; Page: 20; GSU roll: 542862)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 20 January].

¹⁰²⁴ 'Andrew Marvel Moffatt', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 2517; Folio: 6; Page: 6; GSU roll: 1341607)*, <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 28 January 2016].

¹⁰²⁵ 'Andrew Marvel Moffatt', *Burial Record for Andrew Marvel Moffatt, 28 January 1897* (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; P42 in 1/41) <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 27 January 2016].

the organist for Gloucester Cathedral in 1891 (note the reference to Till/Clutterbuck's village of Stone):

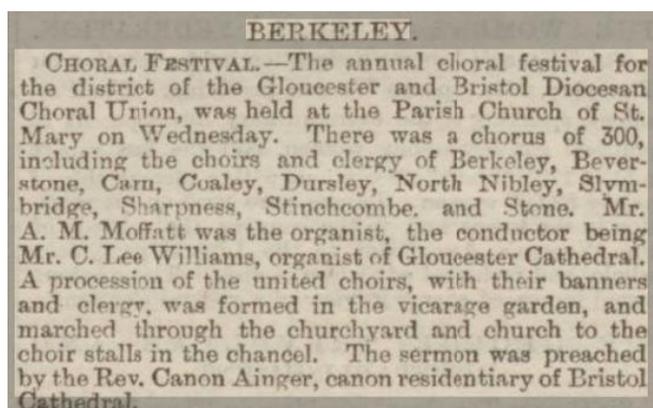


Figure 112 : 'Berkeley' from *Gloucester Citizen*, 1891. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

An excerpt (Figure 113), from *The Gloucester Journal* November 13th, 1869,¹⁰²⁷ lists Moffatt playing a solo on the pianoforte and the town band playing an overture at the Penny Readings.

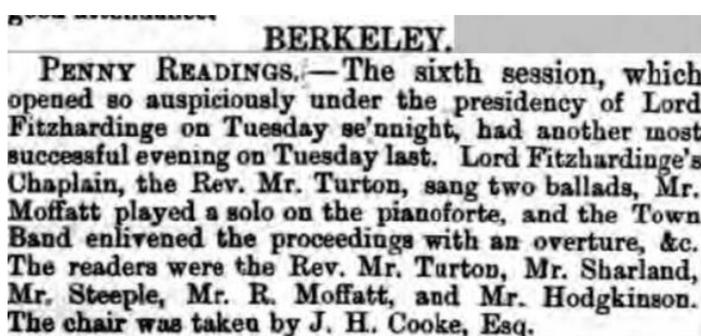


Figure 113 : 'Berkeley' from *Gloucester Journal*, 1869. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

There are numerous instances in the papers which show Mr Moffatt playing and singing solo and with 'his party', at both religious and secular events. His presence as a musician in the town was clearly well known. Another excerpt describes how the anonymous members of the band "also kindly gave their assistance as usual", which,

¹⁰²⁶ 'Berkeley - Choral Festival', *Gloucester Citizen*, 2 October 1891, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 January 2016] p. 4.

¹⁰²⁷ 'Berkeley - Penny Readings', *Gloucester Journal* 13 November 1869, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>> [accessed 27 January 2016] p. 8. Mr R Moffatt in the excerpt above is likely Robert Moffatt, his brother then aged 28. See 'Andrew M Moffatt', *1851 England Census Return*.

given Moffatt and Till/Clutterbuck's potential association could have included Till/Clutterbuck as an unnamed participant of such band.¹⁰²⁸

Motivation to play music

The majority of the participatory environments listed above suggest that the manuscripts were used for, or rather that the musical practice they represent took the form of, social or personal entertainment, which appears to exist largely on an informal basis. The possibility of involvement in the more formal concerts existed, although the participation of the working classes was more as an audience member rather than performer. It is possible that the musicians could have received money for some of the events, for example if they were to play in a dance band, and the advantage of any extra money is obvious. However, apart from the fiddler in the booths,¹⁰²⁹ and the established quadrille dance bands,¹⁰³⁰ many of the situations open to the compilers do not seem to suggest a formal monetary payment. It is possible that work was compensated by "fiddlers' payment",¹⁰³¹ in the form of beer and food.

Looking beyond financial gain, it can be seen that whether a member of a dance band, volunteer militia or village band there were also social incentives. Alongside a mutual and community respect for having a musical skill, belonging to a band would bring the musicians into contact with likeminded men from different social classes. Farmers and shop-keepers would meet on an equal skill level with labourers. For the lower-class musicians this provided possibilities to network, better their circumstances and improve social standing and emulation. Furthermore, being a member of a group provided a level of support and inclusivity. The additional skill of musical literacy could have elevated a compiler's status in comparison to his ear-playing companions,

¹⁰²⁸ 'Berkeley - Penny Readings', *Gloucester Journal*, 9 December 1865, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 2 January 2016].

¹⁰²⁹ Booth fiddlers could earn £10 16s 4d in a festival week as opposed to an agricultural labourer's weekly wage of 12s. Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'. MT064. See Chapter 6 for more discussion regarding wages and economics.

¹⁰³⁰ We can tell they were paid, rather than offering their services voluntarily as Skinner urges ball organisers that "if you want to have a thoroughly successful dance, get good music, and don't grudge to 'pay the piper'". James Scott Skinner, *The People's Ball Room Guide* (Dundee and London: Leng & Co., 1905)

<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/scottskinner/collectiondisplay.php?Record_Type=PBG&pageNum_collection=44> [Accessed 4 October 2016].

¹⁰³¹ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 153.

although evidence suggests a strong sense of modesty existed.¹⁰³² Aside from the social benefits of a band context, self-expression and pride in one's abilities result in raising esteem. In times of hardship the escapism and pleasure found by these men in local, home-made, low-cost entertainment in the pub or at home was likely a welcome distraction.

Outward Transmission in Notions of Folk Music Tradition

This section considers how compatible outward transmission is with notions of folk music tradition from the dual perspective of the function of the musicians and the manuscripts.

Function of the Musicians

In the introduction to the chapter, I outlined the defining parameters of performance which would be encompassed within folk music tradition, namely "informal, untrained, face-to-face, voluntary, [and in] non-commercial situations".¹⁰³³ If participation did occur in the Penny Concerts and Mechanic's Institutes then the function moves towards a more formal (and possibly commercial), end of the performance scale, thus the association becomes more questionable. The environment would suggest that the performer/audience relationship is more passive in nature and not one in which an organic process could easily take place as "the stage imposes a distance between the performer and the audience".¹⁰³⁴ Karpeles suggests a fundamental characteristic of folk song is that "it exists for itself and not for some ulterior motive, such as to impress an audience".¹⁰³⁵ Atkinson, relating back to the performance of John England's song, collected and harmonised by Sharp and performed the same evening, with piano accompaniment in "evening dress", to a middle-class Edwardian audience,¹⁰³⁶ draws attention to the presentation of folk songs "through alien modes of performance", questioning how "such a different kind of performance could really be perceived as an expression of engagement with their singers in the past".¹⁰³⁷ Roud develops the performer/audience interaction further and denotes how a performance in which a man dresses up, gestures and acts a part,

¹⁰³² Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 80.

¹⁰³³ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 24.

¹⁰³⁴ Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*, p. 126.

¹⁰³⁵ Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, p. 19.

¹⁰³⁶ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 159.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 151.

marks a key point in the transition from the free-and-easy convivial sing-song to the professional concert, and a growing separation between performer and audience. In one respect, this is the point where the event definitely leaves the 'folk' culture and moves into 'popular' culture.¹⁰³⁸

Participation at Mechanic's Institutes, Penny Concerts and the more formal functions may have been voluntary and to a certain degree non-commercial, but they were neither informal nor untrained, presumably with the motive to impress or entertain and audience. As such, this potentially amateur concert platform could be seen to move the outward transmission into a more formalised and genteel transaction between audience and performer, consequently "dressing up",¹⁰³⁹ the repertoire and distancing the manuscripts' musical practice from notions of folk music tradition.

However, contemporary reports and the compilers' repertoire would suggest that participation at these events is less obvious or less prolific than events which lie at the more informal end of the performance scale. The sort of repertoire within the manuscripts, combined with the wider contextual evidence would suggest that the outward transmission from the manuscripts centred on playing for social dances and step-dancing, playing for community events, informal playing in the pub and for personal recreation. These events sit relatively well within the defining parameters of performance platforms listed above, encompassed within folk music tradition and allowing the process of tradition to occur.

Function of the Manuscripts

The contextual function of the manuscripts or perhaps that of the compilers has been assessed with regards to potential participatory musical activities. However, the direct role or function of the manuscripts as a physical artefact in outward transmission adds an interesting dimension to the discussion. Scant evidence exists of manuscripts or tunebooks in use during performance. Two images were shown earlier in the chapter in the Webster and Condry paintings. Thompson's comment that some of the songs sung in the 'Wagon and Horses' were "culled from the penny song-book they most of them carried",¹⁰⁴⁰ if taken literally could suggest textual use during outward transmission. However, much of the evidence excludes the mention of manuscripts,

¹⁰³⁸ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 352.

¹⁰³⁹ Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 151. Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 352.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 69.

printed music or musically literate musicians. The aphorism, 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence' comes to mind,¹⁰⁴¹ and yet this general lack of pictorial and written evidence is fascinating and raises many questions.

Were most musicians who participated in the activities playing from memory, thus singling out the compilers as something quite special if they did use the manuscripts at the point of performance? Alternatively, are their written sources (either manuscript or printed) so bountiful that the mention of them is not necessary? Was a deliberate decision generally taken not to show the sheet music or manuscripts in photographs or paintings, even if needed or used by the musicians? This would signify that paintings and photographs were staged and not a true representation of fact, thus greatly reducing their value as historic primary sources. Perhaps the lack of evidence could be interpreted as a strong indication that the manuscripts were not used at the point of performance, and thus evidence of the interaction between oral/aural and literate mediums?

The interaction between aural/orality and textual cultures was introduced in Chapter 4 with regards to inward transmission. So too, when addressing outward transmission, it is important not to make assumptions regarding the compilers' reliance on the textual nature of the manuscripts. It is impossible to tell how the manuscripts were employed in the act of performance. It is easy to assume, and a small number of literary and iconographic examples may indicate, that the manuscripts were used as reference copies at the point of outward transmission. If this was the case, this may remove the musical practice further from characteristics associated with folk music tradition. For example, in the view of received history, the textual nature of either print or manuscript would be an obvious contradiction to the concept of orality/aurality, a strong defining factor in inherited terms, set out and discussed in Chapter 1. Although textual influence in the transmission of folk music is accepted in modern scholarly thought,¹⁰⁴² little explicit discussion can be found regarding the use of a physical manuscript as an artefact. However, Roud and Atkinson's discussion regarding the formalising of a folk song in performance, cited above, could be

¹⁰⁴¹ I was reminded of this saying in an email conversation with Dr Vic Gammon in relation to oral and literate interaction. Gammon, *Email*.

¹⁰⁴² See discussion in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

interpreted to suggest that using a textual source at point of performance will result in formalising a performance and stabilising a tune. This can create a perception that a correct or incorrect way of performance exists and that the written text is correct and needs to be adhered to. Consequently, a formality overtakes an informal, untrained environment.¹⁰⁴³ So too, it could be argued that the organic path of its transmission will be altered, which is a key component to the concept behind a process of tradition.

Ultimately, we have no idea whether or not the compilers were using their manuscripts when they played the tunes. Just as amateur musicians in an informal setting of a pub session today might use printed, handwritten or electronic sources of music in order to learn or remember their repertoire, they do not always use these sources during outward transmission. In fact, in English folk music performance today, in both informal sessions and more formalised gigs, I have experienced a perceptible yet unwritten rule suggesting that requiring textual or digital copies of the tunes is somehow inferior. Reasons for this cultural and social attitude could make the subject of a separate thesis, yet it is important to consider that an inverse perception could have existed amongst the nineteenth-century amateur musicians. The attitude could even have resulted from an extension of an existing practice dominated by 'ear' players and the musically literate musicians not wishing to appear as 'scholars'.¹⁰⁴⁴ As shown in Chapter 4, the failure to sign marriage certificates did not imply illiteracy, and despite having acquired the skill of musical literacy, doubtless a tool of social emulation, it might be considered as boastful to sit in a performance 'reading' the tunes.

Transposing the aforementioned adage to the 'existence of evidence is not evidence of existence' and applying it to outward transmission would suggest that the existence of the manuscripts does not provide decisive evidence to indicate that the compilers used the manuscripts as part of their performance practice. Thus, despite appearing to be reliant on a direct literate medium, the compilers could have been participating in the musical practice aurally, and the outward transmission may have had no direct reference to, or reliance on, the manuscripts in performance. This potential lack of

¹⁰⁴³ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, p. 192. This would be in line with the possible reason given for the absence of signatures on marriage certificates from musically literate compilers, discussed in Chapter 4.

reliance on textual sources would align the musical practice more closely with that experienced in folk music tradition both in the received sense and in modern scholarly thought.

Instead, the manuscripts' role could have been as a storehouse of their repertoire, providing a list of tunes and a back-up of their melody to use as an aide-memoire or practice copy.¹⁰⁴⁵ This would account for the list found by Gammon in Turner MS,¹⁰⁴⁶ Burstow's repertoire list,¹⁰⁴⁷ and incipits found in the Gairdyn MS,¹⁰⁴⁸ discussed in Chapter 4. Fox is writing about the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries when he warns that, "any crude binary opposition between 'oral' and 'literate' culture fails to accommodate the reciprocity between the different media by this time".¹⁰⁴⁹ His words are equally relevant when observing this vernacular amateur musical culture in both the nineteenth-century and today. I myself have a large amount of repertoire material. It exists as unruly piles of fully transcribed tunes in the form of photocopied tunes, printed tune books and handwritten manuscript tunes, alongside scribbled tune lists, neatly printed set-lists, incipits and short-hand notation. I rarely require them in performance (whether informal or formal), and use them when planning a set, as a catalogue list of my repertoire, or to fall back on, to remind me of the beginning of a tune.

Therefore, although the presence of a manuscript during performance could move the musical practice away from folk music tradition due to its formality implying less of an organic process and more of a structured 'correct' performance, it must be remembered that simply because the manuscripts existed, does not mean they were used at the point of outward transmission.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the outward transmission and participatory environment open to the compilers had potentially both utilitarian and aesthetic functions, encompassing the accompaniment of social and exhibition dances informally and

¹⁰⁴⁵ Chapter 4 drew attention to the function of the Copper's family song book as "a determined effort to ensure [the songs] would be remembered". Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Gammon, 'Michael Turner. A 19th Century Sussex Fiddler (Mt068)'.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance', p. 108.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, p. 6.

possibly formally, alongside playing the repertoire for personal pleasure or informal recreation in a pub. A place in community events such as village fairs, processions and club days was also suggested. Activities which fulfil informal, personal and social needs on an amateur level are characteristics recognised in notions of folk music tradition. However, the repertoire also showed influence of the widespread formalised 'concert' culture, as part of the autodidactic movement. Such events created more distance between the audience and performer, and their more formal nature may push the musical practice towards the outside boundaries of folk music tradition. That said, it was arguable whether the demographic represented by the compilers would have been involved in performance at these events. However, these concerts in conjunction with personal and pub playing developed the idea of performing music for its aesthetic value alone.

Outward transmission from the physical manuscripts was then considered. Whilst some evidence of the use of written music during performance existed, which could be seen as contrary to the notions of folk music tradition, the idea was put forward that it was unsafe to make over-simplistic assumptions as to its generalised use. Gammon articulates this point more eloquently:

The past is [also] unattainable; it is gone, vanished. To investigate it is simultaneously a necessity and in some ways an impossibility. We bring to its investigation our assumptions, prejudices and half-baked ideas...The past will always be a problem to the present, an ultimately insoluble but fascinating problem...we cannot fully reconstruct, let alone inhabit, their cultural knowledge...Awareness of the limits of historical understanding and inquiry should be a humbling experience that makes us both reflective (we need to be aware of what we are doing) and modest in our claims.¹⁰⁵⁰

Just because the manuscripts existed does not mean they were used in performance and as such, it remains inconclusive as to whether the compilers were reliant on their manuscripts at the point of outward transmission. Importantly, this chapter has corroborated the idea which emerged in Chapter 4, showing that the interaction between orality/aurality and literacy should be acknowledged, and the two aspects should not be seen as mutually exclusive or polarised.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Gammon, *Desire, Drink and Death in English Folk and Vernacular Song, 1600-1900*, pp. 4-5.

Chapter 6 –Acquiring Resources and Skill

As is often the nature with historical exploration, the sources raise as many questions as they answer. The revelation in Chapter 2, that the people most closely associated with the manuscripts were ‘ordinary’, from the lower occupational classes, moreover predominantly from rural environments raises some vitally important questions. Essentially these questions concern the dichotomy between living a modest existence within remote, rural communities and having enough funds and transport to access printed sources (revealed to have been of vital importance to the compilers), and secondly, the literate and technical music ability and acquisition of this level of society. The chapter is divided into two sections, part 1 considers how the men from lower occupational groups afforded and accessed printed music and part 2 investigates levels and acquisition of both general and musical literacy.

Part 1 - Acquiring Resources

Part 1 addresses the financial and logistical aspect examining the manuscripts, biographical research and wider literature for evidence. I then consider the remoteness of the rural compilers and all three compilers’ access to printed musical sources. When both elements of cost and accessibility are combined, I conclude that the men were borrowing their sources and a potential location is explored.

Poverty or Prosperity?

The harsh existence which resulted from the shift from an overall rural way of life towards a heavily industrialised, urban country throughout the nineteenth-century is apparent in wider literature. Awareness of the multitude of problems faced by the urban poor is not new in current historiography and was topical at the time. Many writers argue that the rural life it replaced was not the pastoral romantic idyll that it was painted to be – even nostalgic sentimental Victorians themselves describe the misery and hard times of the rural poor during the early and middle years of the century. Heath, writing in 1874 describes the desolation found in both urban and rural quarters:

It is terrible to witness want and misery in the foul slums of a great city; but it is assuredly much more terrible to find it in rose-bound cottages - embosomed in

the most charming of country nooks, where the very richness of nature seems to rebuke the meanness of man.¹⁰⁵¹

Therefore, both urban Hampton and rural Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck can be considered within the same context. However, this image of hardship is set against a backdrop of a vibrant and rich culture of entertainment for many. It is well documented that by the end of the century, leisure time increased for working-class Victorians with the introduction of a Saturday half-day and a reduction in working hours,¹⁰⁵² affording the working classes time for day trips and excursions, which brings the question back to disposable income. The extent of financial hardship experienced by working-class men during the nineteenth-century appears to be controversial in wider literature and needs further exploration. Word-count prevents inclusion of my comprehensive survey of nineteenth-century working-class earnings and so my wider research is in Appendix H, allowing for more specific discussion relating to the manuscripts and musicological issues, but the conclusion drawn is that money was scarce for the lower classes and for many, disposable income a luxury.

The rural compilers reacted to poverty in individual ways. Till/Clutterbuck relied on shared housing with relatives in his later years,¹⁰⁵³ and despite Bennett's supposed higher status as a skilled worker he emigrated for health and economic reasons.¹⁰⁵⁴ Their modest existence alone is an explanation why the working-classes compiled manuscripts, favouring long hours of copying over purchasing print. More specific evidence of economic austerity can be seen in Hampton MS, which is homemade. The front cover turn-ins are imprecise, lacking in uniformity and untidily sewn together (Figure 114).¹⁰⁵⁵

¹⁰⁵¹ F. G. Heath *The English Peasantry*, (1874) p. 10. Quoted by Gammon in: Vic Gammon, 'Introduction', in *A Small Account of My Tracels through the Wilderness James Nye*, ed. by Vic Gammon (Brighton: QueenSpark Books, 1860-1888), pp. 6-7 (p. 6).

¹⁰⁵² Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁵³ 'George Clutterbuck', *1901 England Census Return*.

¹⁰⁵⁴ We know from the personal narrative that Bennett suffered poverty "when hard times came to Somerset", quoted in full in Chapter 2: Bennett, 'Family History of George Wilkins Bennett and Daughter Helena Mary Bennett Posted by Grc08 2014 Written 1982'.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Whilst the rough, untidy nature is not indicative of economic austerity, these attributes are given as evidence of handmade characteristics as opposed to those expected in a professional, purchased manuscript book.

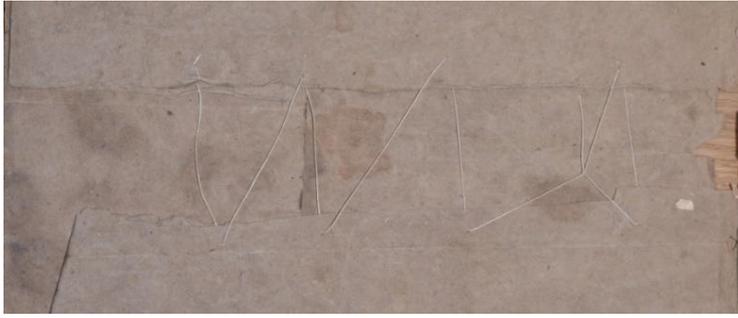


Figure 114 : Stitching in Hampton MS.

The pages are also stitched together in a rudimentary way implying the blank music sheets were purchased and turned into a book at home. When magnified the unbleached paper shows small fibres and no watermarks are visible indicating cheaper, lower grade, mass produced paper. The layout of tunes also indicates a lack of disposable income. Unlike Soobroy, whose writing is larger and who uses a whole stave for the title, Hampton preserves space, squeezing tunes into as few lines as possible and writing the titles in between the staves. Occasional spare staves exist at the foot of pages but apart from the final page (where he writes a title on a stave), no stave is left empty between tunes, indicative that manuscript paper was a valued commodity to Hampton.

Rural Accessibility

It has been shown that London, provincial cities and larger towns enjoyed a vibrant musical culture with London especially forming a central hub for the production of printed sources. The content of the printed sources was reaching both the rural and urban compilers as the repertoire has been found as consistent. However, Russell states that, “most communities of over 10,000 had at least one music-seller and instrument dealer”,¹⁰⁵⁶ which is borne out by the evidence in the compilers’ locale. Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett’s immediate communities of Stone and Chedzoy had a population of less than 500,¹⁰⁵⁷ and Berkeley, Till/Clutterbuck’s market town, less than 5000, none listing a specific music shop in their trade directories.¹⁰⁵⁸ Roud sees a division between rural and urban musicians, stating that:

¹⁰⁵⁶ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 179.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The population sizes of Stone and Chedzoy were c300 and c500 respectively, see Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ The population of Berkeley in 1841 was 4405, 'Berkeley', *Slater's Directory of Berks, Corn, Devon ...*, 1852-53 (1852-53), (p. 403) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017]. In 1856 it is 4344, 'Berkeley', *Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire, Bath & Bristol*, (1856),

...access to musical forms (and therefore taste) could be broadly different between the two groups. It is only with the development of recorded and broadcast sound that access to music in rural and urban areas could start to even out.¹⁰⁵⁹

But this has not been borne out in my research. Bearman highlights a disadvantage, believing poorer rural people to be isolated, unable to afford transport and therefore only able to travel as far as they could walk:

It is mistaken to assume that because railways, or canals, or stage coaches, are available, everyone has equal access to them...Apart from the railways – if you could afford them – and the carrier’s cart, there was no public transport in rural Somerset even in the early 1900s. Remoteness, to most people, meant that everyday journeys were limited to the distance they could walk.¹⁰⁶⁰

Whilst this may have been true for some, I argue below with direct reference to the manuscripts, and on a wider scale in Appendix I, that accepted distances to walk were far longer than would be expected today,¹⁰⁶¹ and that there were modes of transport affordable to the poorer people. My contextual investigation and evidence to support this can be found in Appendix I.

The case studies do not specifically inform travel to concerts or music-shops, but they do hint at access outside their environs. Bennett presumably travelled the seven-mile round trip from Chedzoy to local market town of Bridgwater fairly regularly to where his fiancée, Mary Hook was reputed to have worked.¹⁰⁶² Here he would have had access to more musicians and wider transport networks which possibly brought in new music. The reference to “Dress Jackets”,¹⁰⁶³ in the marginalia might suggest performance at a larger town than his home village, implying capability to travel. Evidence has been given of the Bridgwater Rifle Corps., travelling twenty miles to Taunton,¹⁰⁶⁴ and contrary to Bearman’s statement, a variety of transport *was* available

<<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 July 2016].(1856 p238) and in 1861 is similar at 4316.

'Berkeley', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops & Wales,,* (1868), (p. 15)

<<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017].

¹⁰⁵⁹ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 772.

¹⁰⁶¹ For example, Scan walking ten miles each way to play at a pub. Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 35.

¹⁰⁶² Although this part of the oral narrative is in dispute as it appears Hook was a Tailor in Chedzoy. See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶³ See *Ben.97.1*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ See Chapter 5.

in rural Somerset. Bridgwater, easily accessible by foot from Chedzoy is described as a port,¹⁰⁶⁵ and with rail, coach, omnibus and carrier services, was well connected.¹⁰⁶⁶

Till/Clutterbuck would have had access to Berkeley, a five mile round trip and the local South Gloucestershire Militia band are shown to travel long distances to perform.¹⁰⁶⁷

Berkeley was in close proximity to the navigable Severn as well as the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal. The town had a railway station with a connecting omnibus, 'from John Mabbett's, to meet every train at the Berkeley road station'.¹⁰⁶⁸ Therefore although classed as a rural compiler, Till/Clutterbuck had access to travel if he had the financial means.

Hampton's urban location afforded him easier access to resources and with links to the canal, travel between more distant towns and through rural areas would have been possible. Research into his manuscript also gave evidence of musicians travelling long distances possibly on foot.¹⁰⁶⁹ Chapter 5 gives three examples: The fatal incident on Plump Hill exposed mentions Henry Allen who played for the Ruardean Morris,¹⁰⁷⁰ and who would have travelled a six-and-a-half mile round trip, taking an hour each way if walked; and Charles Baldwin, who played for the Clifford's Mesne morris,¹⁰⁷¹ the morris-men dancing, drinking and playing cards at Dancing Green and on their way home to Newent walking up May Hill, a distance of eleven miles.¹⁰⁷² Walter Soobroy's String Band performed at Ross, a distance of thirteen miles.¹⁰⁷³ Recognising that the compilers were more mobile than might be thought opens up their musical milieu from both an influential and participatory perspective, providing contact with larger towns in which to access musical resources including printed music from which to copy.

¹⁰⁶⁵ 'Bridgwater', *Slater's Directory of Berks, Corn, Devon ...*, (1852-53), (p. 759) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 28 April 2017].

¹⁰⁶⁶ 'Bridgwater', *Pigot & Co.'s Directory of Berks, Bucks ...*, 1844. [Part 2: Hants to Wilts, & Wales], (1844), (p. 244) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 28 April 2017].

¹⁰⁶⁷ One report shows that they travelled more than twenty-six miles to perform in Tewksbury 'Tewksbury Flower Show and Regatta', *Worcester Journal*, 7 August 1869, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 7 August 2016] p. 7.

¹⁰⁶⁸ 'Berkeley', p. 238.

¹⁰⁶⁹ This corroborates the evidence given in Appendix I.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Menteith and Burgess, *The Coleford Jig Traditional Tunes from Gloucestershire*, p. ii.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² Google Maps, 'Newent - May Hill - Dancing Green, Ross-on-Wye Hr9 5tg', *Google* (2017) <<https://www.google.co.uk/maps>> [accessed 4 May 2016]. It is of course possible that walking over May Hill was a short cut between two pick-up points of public transport and the walk was therefore shorter.

¹⁰⁷³ 'Gymnastic Display'.

Accessing the Printed Copy

It makes sense that printed music was available in music shops, and the previous section has established that the compilers were likely able to access the larger towns for musical resources. However, it transpires that from c1875 music shops were becoming increasingly frustrated with publishers undercutting their prices either by selling directly to the public (sometimes post free), or via other shops “who supply the public direct at less than a third”.¹⁰⁷⁴ Music shops began to resent the sheet music side of their business: “Musicsellers have begun ‘to look on “paper” as a nuisance and are giving up that branch of the trade’”.¹⁰⁷⁵ Publishers were allowing sheet music and music books to be sold from a wide range of establishments, such as drapers, general stores, booksellers, printers and stationers in addition to illegal hawkers on the street selling printed music.¹⁰⁷⁶ Railway Book Stalls (Figure 115) also enabled nationwide and easy access to and dissemination of printed music,¹⁰⁷⁷ and in reality, access to musical resources was much greater than might be suggested by the number of music shops listed in trade directories.

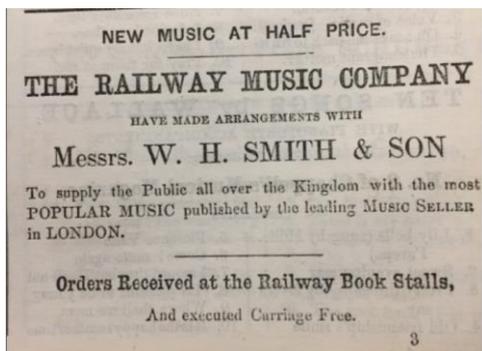


Figure 115 : Advert for the Railway Music Company. Photo: R Dellow. Source: BL (f.161).

Consequently, the apparent absence of a specific music shop in the rural compilers' locality is not alarming; however, it does raise archival issues.¹⁰⁷⁸ A specific music shop

¹⁰⁷⁴ This can be seen in numerous newspaper advertisements, on the printed music and also Coover, *Music Publishing, Copyright and Piracy in Victorian England*, p. 60.

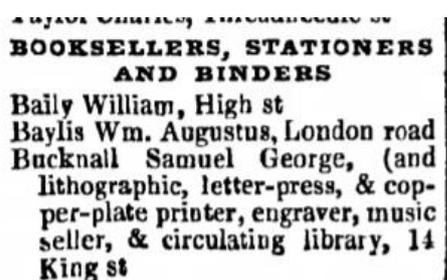
¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 23.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 23, 60. Evidence of booksellers selling music can also be seen in some of the images of printed music shown throughout the thesis. See for example, Figure 79.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Edward F. Rimbault, *Chappell's Musical Magazine. No.36.*, (London: Chappell, 1862).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Finding reference to an explicit music shop is easier and more informative than finding reference to a draper or bookseller and assuming they also sold music.

cannot be found in Till/Clutterbuck's location;¹⁰⁷⁹ but it *is* plausible that bookseller, Povey, was Till/Clutterbuck's music dealer, as his bookshop sells tickets for local musical events. This newspaper excerpt is one example, relating to tickets for a Penny Concert: "Application for tickets must be made to Mr Povey, bookseller, before the evening of the performance".¹⁰⁸⁰ Looking beyond Berkeley, the close by towns of Thornbury and Dursley are also too small to support an independent, exclusive music seller. A possible location would be Stroud,¹⁰⁸¹ where a bookseller who also dealt in music, can be found listed in 1859 (Figure 116).¹⁰⁸²



**BOOKSELLERS, STATIONERS
AND BINDERS**
Baily William, High st
Baylis Wm. Augustus, London road
Bucknall Samuel George, (and
lithographic, letter-press, & cop-
per-plate printer, engraver, music
seller, & circulating library, 14
King st

Figure 116 : Extract from *Slater*, 1859 'Stroud'. Source: University of Leicester Archives & Special Collections.

Bucknall cannot be found in the 1868 directory, although two other men are listed under the category "Pianoforte & Music Sellers & Teachers of Music".¹⁰⁸³

Till/Clutterbuck's proximity to Berkeley Castle would have brought him in contact with up-to-date music. As a Member of Parliament with royal connections, Lord Fitzhardinge and his wife moved in highly fashionable circles, giving the opportunity, or even necessity for local musicians to perform the latest music perhaps sooner than comparable towns and villages. Berkeley may have acted as a hub for its surrounding villages disseminating musical fashion.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Povey can be found in trade directories dating throughout the period of the manuscript 'Berkeley', p. 238 (1856). 'Berkeley', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops, & Wales*, (1859), (p. 10) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 5 April 2017]. 'Berkeley', p. 16 (1868).

¹⁰⁸⁰ 'Berkeley', *Gloucester Journal*, 15 December 1866, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>>.

¹⁰⁸¹ Population of 8798 in 1851 'Stroud', *Post Office Directory of Gloucestershire, Bath & Bristol*, (1856), (p. 373) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017]. Population of 9090 in 1868 'Stroud', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops & Wales*, (1868), (p. 272) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017].

¹⁰⁸² 'Stroud', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops, & Wales*, (1859), (p. 231)

<<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 March 2017]. Musical Circulating Libraries become the focus later in the chapter and will be introduced there.

¹⁰⁸³ 'Stroud', p. 279 (1868).

Bennett's access to a music seller existed in Bridgwater in 1856;¹⁰⁸⁴ although little can be uncovered other than he hosted a dental surgeon every Thursday, see Figure 117.¹⁰⁸⁵

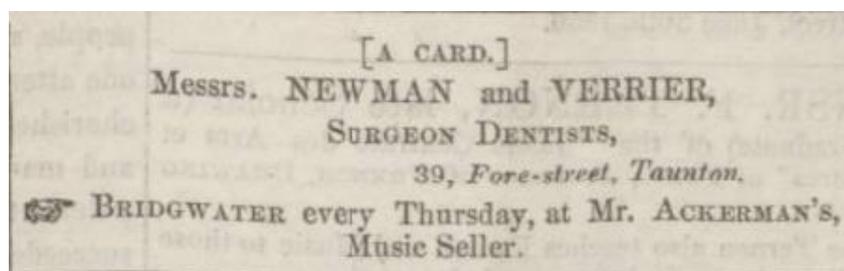


Figure 117 : Advert of a Music Seller in Bridgwater from *Sherborne Mercury*, 1856. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Additionally, in Bridgwater during the 1850s and 1840s, were bookseller and stationers, Flixton Dowty,¹⁰⁸⁶ and William Tiver,¹⁰⁸⁷ who have the title 'music seller' added in after their names.

For Hampton, the city of Hereford,¹⁰⁸⁸ had specific music shops along with many other potential shops selling sheet music. It also had a thriving professional/semi-professional,¹⁰⁸⁹ and amateur musical environment,¹⁰⁹⁰ providing Hampton with a varied musical milieu. In 1840, Pigot lists two music sellers, William Bradley and Ebenezer Child.¹⁰⁹¹ An 1860 newspaper advertisement, Figure 118, details a teacher

¹⁰⁸⁴ A population of 7807 in 1831, 10499 in 1841 ('Bridgwater', p. 245 (1844). growing to 11000 in 1851 ('Bridgwater', pp. 760 (1852-53).) and 12637 by 1881 ('Bridgwater', *Kelly's Directory of Somerset*, (1889), (p. 147) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/>> [accessed 5 January 2017].

¹⁰⁸⁵ 'A Card', *Sherborne Mercury*, 29 July 1856, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>> [accessed 5 November 2016] p. 1.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 'Bridgwater', pp. 760 (1852-83).

¹⁰⁸⁷ 'Bridgwater', p. 245 (1844).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Population of 12,108 in 1851 'Hereford', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops, & Wales*, (1859), (p. 260) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/>> [accessed 7 March 2017].

¹⁰⁸⁹ Seen in advertisements of events at the cathedral and the festival, for example 'Topics of the Day', *Western Daily Press*, 22 June 1870, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>>.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Seen in the advertisements at The Shire Hall, for example 'Shire Hall Hereford under Distinguished Patronage. A Grand Amateur Evening Concert', *Hereford Journal*, 7 April 1866, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>> [accessed 4 April 2017] p. 5.

¹⁰⁹¹ 'Hereford', *Pigot's Directory of Herefordshire*, (1840), (p. 14)

<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nmfa/Directories/pigot_directory_of_herefordshire_1840/pdoh1840p014.html> [accessed 4 January 2017].

selling music and instruments in Commercial Street only a couple of minutes' walk from Hampton's 1871 home.¹⁰⁹²



Figure 118 : Teacher and Music Seller in Commercial Street, *Hereford Times*, 7 January 1860. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

The 1859 trade directory lists five specific music sellers in Hereford,¹⁰⁹³ which by 1868 had reduced to four.¹⁰⁹⁴ Notably Child was still operating from 53, Broad Street although Figure 119 shows an additional music seller called 'Heins', operating from Broad Street.¹⁰⁹⁵



Figure 119 : Heins Music Shop, Hereford. Source: www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk.

¹⁰⁹² 'Piano-Fortes and Harmoniums', *Hereford Times*, 7 January 1860, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 24 July 2016] p. 4.

¹⁰⁹³ These are listed as Burvill, Davies, Parker, Merrick and Ebenezer Child of Broad Street. 'Hereford', p. 272 (1859).

¹⁰⁹⁴ These are listed as Davies, Jakeman, Merrick and Ebenezer Child. 'Hereford', *Slater's Directory of Glos, Herefs, Mon, Shrops & Wales*, (1868), (p. 330) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 7 December 2016].

¹⁰⁹⁵ Herefordshire History, 'May Fair, Broad Street, Hereford, C.1895', *Herefordshire Council* (2017) <<http://www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk>> [accessed 24 April 2017].

The photograph is dated c1895, but when enlarged (Figure 120) the establishment of the shop dates to 1830, making the omission from the mid-nineteenth-century trade directories interesting. Further investigation reveals that Nicholas Heins,¹⁰⁹⁶ bought the music shop in 1871,¹⁰⁹⁷ and is listed in a later trade directory.¹⁰⁹⁸ The address given is 53, Broad Street, suggesting that Heins took over Ebenezer Child's Music Shop.



Figure 120 : Enlarged image of Heins Music Shop, Hereford. Source: www.herefordshirehistory.org.uk.

Heins was evidently a respected musical figure in Hereford,¹⁰⁹⁹ and sold sheet music as well as instruments.¹¹⁰⁰ Dating from the 1870s this could have been a shop where Hampton bought his instruments, manuscript paper or possibly printed music.¹¹⁰¹ Also

¹⁰⁹⁶ Heins was Honourable Secretary of the Hereford Choral Society, and previously a tenor soloist for Queen Victoria. Robert Anderson, Martin Bird, and John Norris, 'Edward Elgar : Collected Correspondence', *Elgar Works* (No date) <<http://www.elgar.org/6ccnewGP.htm>> [accessed 2017 3 March].

¹⁰⁹⁷ John George Freeman, *Three Men and a Bradshaw : An Original Victorian Travel Journey*, (London: Random House Books, 2015), p. 297.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Rosemary Lockie, 'Hereford, Herefordshire', *Littlebury's Directory and Gazetteer of Herefordshire*, (1876), <<http://texts.wishful-thinking.org.uk/Littlebury1876/HerefordTrade.html>> [accessed 9 January 2017].

Transcribed by Rosemary Lockie, © Copyright 2005

¹⁰⁹⁹ Freeman, *Three Men and a Bradshaw : An Original Victorian Travel Journey*, pp. 296-300.

¹¹⁰⁰ 'Nicholas Heins & Co.', *Hereford Times* 27 July 1878, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 24 April 2017] p. 9.

¹¹⁰¹ Of further interest regarding this shop and possible connections with Hampton can be found when the shop was owned by Ebenezer Child. Information has been found which links Child with the Baptist Chapel most likely associated with Hampton, discussed in Part 2. Child was one of the "group of local Baptists" who purchased land in 1836 for the new Baptist Chapel in Commercial Road (close to Hampton's house) to be built. Andronikos Excavating Grey Literature, 'Relation Extraction - Crm-Eh Annotations Report Title 49-53 Commercial Road, Hereford: Desk-Based Assessment', *Andronikos Excavating Grey Literature* (2012) <http://www.andronikos.co.uk/Anno_CRM-EH.php?id=2075&view=incontext> [accessed 9 March 2017].

noteworthy is the trade directory listing of music teacher, Mary Gore who lived at 18, Victoria Street, a few houses away from Hampton at 3, Victoria Street.¹¹⁰²

It transpires then, that even the rural compilers had opportunities to access shops selling musical resources. Chapter 4 established that 'cheap' music had a cover price of between one shilling and eighteen pence,¹¹⁰³ with various discounts offered, selling at half or a third of the cover price.¹¹⁰⁴ However, even discounted, I believe those prices would still have been prohibitive for the compilers with little disposable income. As the analysis in Appendix H shows, even paying six pence for a book of Chappell's 'Cheap Works' would have been excessive for Hampton and Till/Clutterbuck.

The mass production of resources required for manuscript production, such as paper and ink pens resulted in reduced cost and widened availability. In 1861 "paper duty, the last of the 'taxes on knowledge'",¹¹⁰⁵ was repealed, undoubtedly having an impact on the increase of published sources, the cost of pedagogic tutors and manuscript paper. An advertisement in 1855 shows music manuscript books for sale from four pence each,¹¹⁰⁶ and nearly thirty years later their price remained the same.¹¹⁰⁷ Whilst manuscript paper might be affordable as a luxury and a one-off purchase of a second-hand instrument achievable, the purchase of printed music, especially on a regular basis given the popular trends in evidence in the manuscripts, would I believe be unaffordable to a middle to lower-working-class musician.

Borrowed not Bought

The lack of survival of printed music surviving with the manuscripts coupled with the key economic factor of the price of print indicates that the compilers were not buying their music and then copying a personal selection from it into their manuscripts.¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰² Lockie, 'Hereford, Herefordshire'.

¹¹⁰³ 1 shilling and 6 pence.

¹¹⁰⁴ This can be seen in some of the newspapers excerpts above and noted by Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 124.

¹¹⁰⁵ Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain : The End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge' 1849-1869* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014) <<https://books.google.co.uk>> [Accessed 24 January 2017].

¹¹⁰⁶ 'Stamp Office', *Weston-super-Mare Gazette, and General Advertiser*, 25 August 1855, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 24 May 2016] p. 1.

¹¹⁰⁷ 'The New Patent Portable Bell Piano', *The Star* 17th November 1883, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> p. 5.

¹¹⁰⁸ Despite printed music being passed down with Hampton MS, it is interesting that only one of the tunes in Hampton MS (in Soobroy's section) appears to have been copied directly from those books.

Instead I believe they were borrowing a printed copy, selecting specific items and copying them into their manuscripts to create their own personal repertoire and returning the printed source. Given that we have ascertained that they were not transcribing from memory, supporting evidence can be seen in ‘cluster copying’,¹¹⁰⁹ the haphazard tune ordering,¹¹¹⁰ and the evidence of hurried transcriptions.

Two key elements in Hampton MS confirm this, firstly the layout of the books and secondly, clues which hint at the speed at which it was compiled. Hampton’s manuscript can be loosely divided into five different stages, starting with a pedagogically influenced section, perhaps taken from a tutor book or book for amateurs (see *Ham.2.2*) followed by older, tunes, some of which were copied from Hopwood & Crew’s *100 Country Dances*. The third section demonstrates more contemporary tunes with a prospective parent source identified. From *Ham.6.3*, seven of the following ten tunes replicate Westrop’s arrangements to the extent that Westrop’s *120 Country Dances*, can be identified as a credible direct source. Furthermore, the layout of the other tunes (at the top of pages, *Ham.6.1*, *Ham.6.2*, *Ham.7.1*, *Ham.7.2* for example), could imply Hampton copied Westrop’s tunes sequentially, initially filling up spaces on three pages underneath more modern, popular tunes, until he reached an empty page where he copied his final two tunes from Westrop. A more religious and sentimental tone follows in section four, influenced by Moody & Sankey’s writing, interspersed with popular, contemporary songs. The final ‘hornpipe’ section clearly identifies a direct source of Kerr’s ‘Merry Melodies’, for a number of the tunes.¹¹¹¹

These vaguely defined stages and evidence such as the inclusion of a waltz (*Ham.5.2*), sandwiched between two hornpipes indicates that Hampton did not plan to lay out his music in dance sets ready for continuous performance or in dance type in order to select a specific tune. Instead, it appears that he has copied out groups of tunes or a single tune he liked or wanted to learn, when he came across them in a variety of printed books.

¹¹⁰⁹ See below.

¹¹¹⁰ If the compilers were purchasing their own copies of print and used the manuscripts to simply create personal repositories, it would make sense to organise the music into dance type or a specific order to help retrieval.

¹¹¹¹ See Chapter 4, ‘Sources’ section and Appendix B.

Further evidence in Hampton MS (*Ham.1.3*), suggests that groups of tunes were transcribed in one sitting, indicating one source for a cluster of tunes. Here, ink smudges, which were not evident in the first two items, could show that the ink of the last tune on the first page was not dry when the page was turned. *Ham.10.1* is another example, where the melody of 'Last Rose of Summer', is placed on a page with a cluster of religious tunes. This tune was used as a temperance song towards the end of the century,¹¹¹² and indicates the chapel as a source for some of the tunes on this page, perhaps borrowing a printed collection of religious tunes and copying down in one sitting. Throughout the manuscript Hampton generally shows an inconsistency in transcribing dotted hornpipe rhythms. In *Ham.15.1* he transcribes dots consistently for the entirety of the tune, yet the dots in the two hornpipes on the opposite page (*Ham.14.1* and *Ham.14.2*) are omitted, implying he has copied them from different sources.

Similarly the contents of Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript are not necessarily ordered by dance type. Although the first seven items are all hornpipes, I believe this was due to being copied from one source rather than ease of performance. The remainder is a mixture of chiefly popular dance and song melody, suggestive of copying down tunes when he came across them. I would argue that the bulk of the manuscript was compiled in a few sittings rather than over a lengthy period of time and that there was a requirement to transcribe with haste, perhaps to return a printed copy, rather than a leisurely compilation. A sense of urgency in transcription is implied in *Til.36.1 – Til.38.1* which are all transcribed in pencil, with the following tune (*Til.40.1*), also written in pencil and then inked over,¹¹¹³ suggesting initial copying in pencil with the intention of inking over when more time allowed. Likewise, as seen in Hampton MS discussed above, mirrored ink blotting seen on *Til.42.1* and *Til.43.1* suggests that the ink of *Til.42.1* was still wet as he turned the page after having written *Til.43.1*,¹¹¹⁴ (Figure 121).

¹¹¹² Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois : Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, p. 189.

¹¹¹³ The same occurs later in *Til.58.1*.

¹¹¹⁴ The e' on the top line and the f#' and e' on line 2.

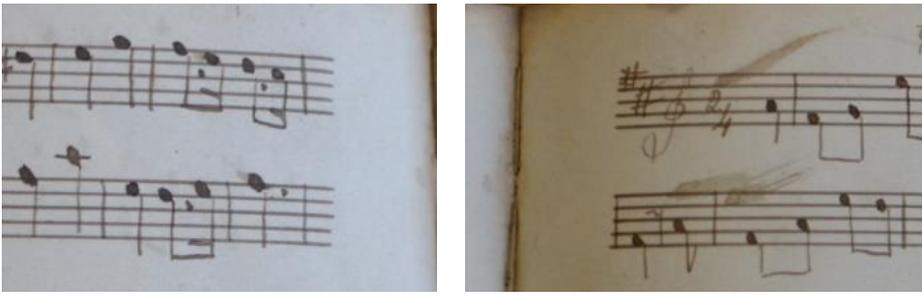


Figure 121 : *Til.42.1* and *Til.43.1*.

So too, *Til.56.1*, appears to be untitled, yet the title is given on the following page (*Til.57.1*, Figure 122), suggesting the melody was transcribed before the title, and when returning to add the title, he wrote it in error over the wrong tune.

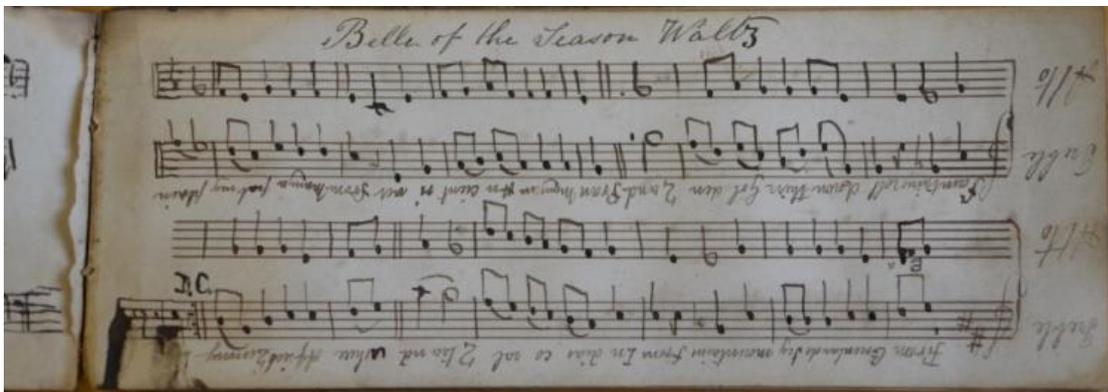


Figure 122 : *Til.57.1*.

Bennett's layout shows similar evidence. The hornpipes are all grouped in one section (*Ben.110.2-Ben.117.1*), and otherwise there does not appear to be a logical or practical order in the overall layout of tunes once again suggesting selection and copying from a number of different sources.

Having proposed that the compilers were copying their tunes from borrowed printed or manuscript sources, investigation is needed into where they were borrowing from. In the nineteenth-century borrowing was commonplace and Lenneberg remarks on its effect on music dissemination.¹¹¹⁵ It is possible that the compilers were borrowing from friends,¹¹¹⁶ and Russell describes how, in larger groups of amateur musicians (as opposed to our single instrumentalists), a published, printed version would be

¹¹¹⁵ Hans Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 52. 2 (1982), 122-30.

¹¹¹⁶ Perhaps Soobroy's printed music was borrowed by Hampton and not returned.

purchased and then circulated amongst the members to be copied.¹¹¹⁷ In the case of some of Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett's tunes which imply group or band involvement, this may have been the case, or perhaps borrowing from a dance or military volunteer band leader,¹¹¹⁸ however I believe a much larger social and cultural influence was the cause.

It is known that some of the self-improvement institutions had libraries, some even music libraries.¹¹¹⁹ However, the interest in music is more specialist and maintaining an up-to-date musical library to match trends in popular fashion would have put constraints on these charitable institutions. When searching through contemporary newspaper advertisements for music sellers, I became aware of a much under-studied yet seemingly wide-spread nineteenth-century social and cultural phenomenon: Musical Circulating Libraries (MCL). These libraries are mentioned in the art music field too as when comparing the small number of sales of Schumann's work to the wide dissemination of his music and reputation, Lenneberg concludes that musical lending libraries could have accelerated the distribution.¹¹²⁰ I believe the compilers of the Fiddlers' Tunebooks were also accessing their printed music from MCLs.

Musical Circulating Libraries

The number of newspaper advertisements mentioning MCLs implies they were commonplace, yet I found only four academic papers written about them.¹¹²¹ The most recent scholarly work dates from 1982, and it is worth considering reasons for this. It could be due to a lack of previous academic study, which in turn could result from minimal commentary regarding MCLs in nineteenth-century music journals or the historical record. It is possible that their presence at the time was so widespread that much advertising of their whereabouts was unnecessary. Lenneberg believes that the "matter-of-fact tone" given in references to MCLs implies "that by the middle of the

¹¹¹⁷ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 173.

¹¹¹⁸ It was interesting to come across perforated, smaller music sheets at BL for band leaders to distribute amongst members.

¹¹¹⁹ In 1821, The Bradford Musical Friendly Society was founded "as a music library for local musicians". Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 196. And just as music was sold by non-specific shops so it is possible that the general libraries also held music.

¹¹²⁰ Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', p. 122.

¹¹²¹ Trevor Fawcett, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Norwich', *The Musical Times*, 119. 1625 (1978), 594-95; Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music'; Alec Hyatt King, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Britain', *The Musical Times*, 119. 1620 (1978), 134-38; Victor A. Perch, 'Music Circulating Libraries', *The Musical Times*, 122. 1663 (1981), 601-01.

nineteenth century musical lending libraries were common".¹¹²² He suggests that MCLs were not approved of due to "the musical world [having] misgivings about the practice of lending...seem to have been held in contempt by publishers and booksellers",¹¹²³ and that general lending libraries had a bad reputation due to their role in the dissemination of "erotic literature".¹¹²⁴ This could account for the absence of advertisements or references to MCLs in the more prestigious music journals of the time. Perhaps a fear of copying diminishing profit might also have affected music-sellers' opinions although this contempt and fear is not reflected by the publishers who maintained their own lending libraries, nor were MCLs mentioned in the articles covered by Coover regarding copyright.¹¹²⁵ Perhaps the unsubstantiated legality or an embarrassment at being unable to afford to purchase, might have played a part at MCLs adopting a low profile. However, I feel their inconspicuousness is most likely evidence of the historical record omitting to tell the story of the ordinary person.

No advertisements for MCLs appear in the musical journals but advertisements in contemporary newspapers are plentiful. They advertise MCLs operated by the large London publishers, through to small MCLs operated by music shops and even independent music teachers.¹¹²⁶ Newspapers are perhaps the chosen format as they had a wider circulation,¹¹²⁷ but also as they target more specifically the demographic using the libraries. The musical elite (the demographic more acquainted with music journals), being able to afford to purchase print. This favoured advertising medium might account for lack of study or awareness as until recently scholars relied on time-consuming manual searches of newspaper advertisements. Now, digitalisation facilitates fast and easy newspaper searches and the abundance of MCLs is more clearly in evidence.

Despite the seeming profusion of MCLs, very few printed 'Terms and Conditions' survive, presenting difficulties when assessing affordability for the lower classes.¹¹²⁸

¹¹²² Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', p. 123.

¹¹²³ Ibid. pp. 125-26.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 126.

¹¹²⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4.

¹¹²⁶ King, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Britain', p. 134.

¹¹²⁷ Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', p. 128.

¹¹²⁸ I can only find two extant Terms and Conditions, both in BL and both of large London MCLs. *Catalogue of Novello, Ewer & Co.'S Circulating Music Library*, (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, c1890?);

From what can be determined, terms of borrowing vary not only between different libraries, but between the different services a borrower required.¹¹²⁹ An advertisement for Duck's 'Cheap Music Repository', shows an annual subscription of twenty-one shillings,¹¹³⁰ which would equate to a weekly subscription of just under five pence, excessive for the compilers' demographic but affordable if shared between a group of musical friends. This fee would offer access to vast quantities of tune collections for a whole year costing much less than a one-off purchase of one copy of Chappell's 'Cheap Works' outright. However, it is possible that the compilers' sources were more along the lines of a smaller MCL establishment detailed by Fawcett which offered a copy on a nightly rate of one penny.¹¹³¹ This time-limit would corroborate the sense of urgency suggested in the copying.

Whilst no MCLs can be found advertised in Povey's bookshop or in other outlets of Berkeley or Dursley for Till/Clutterbuck, reference to a potential MCL in Stroud,¹¹³² can be seen in Figure 116 above. Bennett could have had access to Mr Erith's MCL in Taunton, dated 1844 if it was still a going concern sixteen years later (Figure 123).¹¹³³

Catalogue of the Universal Circulating Music Library, (London: Novello, Ewer & Co, c1868?). Some advertisements in BNA provide some further details.

¹¹²⁹ For example, Novello, Ewer & Co's MCL offered six different classes (appropriate for town or country borrowers). They ranged from five Guineas per annum for a town dwelling band leader to borrow instrumental parts, up to eighteen pieces daily, down to three shillings on a weekly basis to borrow twelve pieces per week (for a town dweller), or twenty pieces (for a country dweller). *Catalogue of Novello, Ewer & Co.'S Circulating Music Library.c1890?*

¹¹³⁰ 'Duck's Cheap Musical Repository', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 11 January 1866, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 28 April 2017] p. 8.

¹¹³¹ Fawcett, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Norwich', p. 594.

¹¹³² Admittedly the music side is not explicit.

¹¹³³ 'Music Saloon and Music Circulating Library', *Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser*, 21 February 1844, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017] p. 1. A transcription is provided in Appendix G.



Figure 123 : Extract from Taunton Courier, 1844. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

In Hereford, an advertisement can be found for an MCL operating in the same street in which Hampton lived fifteen years later (Figure 124).¹¹³⁴

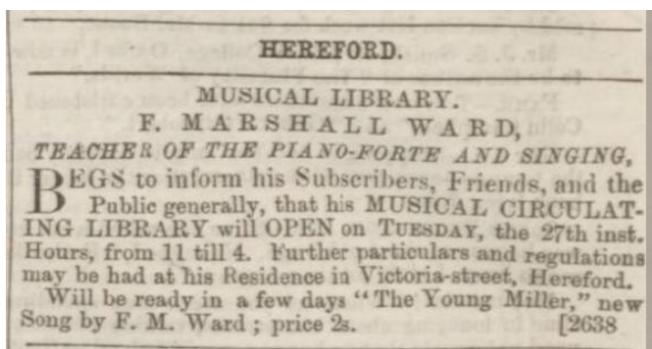


Figure 124 : Extract from Hereford Times, 1855. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Although no evidence exists to show Hampton as a customer, it is an interesting example indicating that individual music teachers had access to either catalogues or actual stock too. The disappointing number of MCLs found in relation to the compilers might be due to their commonality, suggesting advertisements were not necessary, and word of mouth or local knowledge serving just as well. This could suggest that

¹¹³⁴ 'Musical Library', *Hereford Times*, 24 March 1855, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 29 March 2017] p. 5.

both the music seller in Bridgwater (Figure 117), and Hereford's large music shop, 'Heins' (Figure 119) may have operated unadvertised MCLs too.

The range of music offered by the MCLs was extensive and catered not only for ensembles or the Drawing-room genre but would have been directly applicable to the compilers. Advertisements show the repertoire included that reflected in the manuscripts. This advertisement for ex-library stock lists instrumental music:

Thousands of Pieces of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, used in the Library are now offered for a short time only, at ONE THIRD the Published Price, An Immense Selection of POPULAR MUSIC, a little soiled, AT ONE QUARTER.¹¹³⁵

And in Taunton, Mr Erith's MCL offers "The most popular Quadrilles, Waltzes, by Jullien...and arrangements from Balfe's *new* and popular Opera 'The BOHEMIAN GIRL'".¹¹³⁶

Interestingly, it appears that MCLs belonging to specific publishers were not confined to lending their own published material. An examination of the two surviving MCL 'Terms and Conditions' held at BL, both operated by Novello, Ewer & Co., shows that they lent Chappell's songs, Boose's Military Journal and, of interest to our compilers, single instrumental arrangements of popular music, such as those influencing the compilers.¹¹³⁷ It seems that smaller, provincial MCLs saw their lack of dependence on a specific publisher as a selling point. James Moutrie's MCL in Bristol states:

the following advantages over those in London, viz. – of having a different selection of Music every Day, which will not be circumscribed within the limits of one publisher's catalogue, as those of London are; also of allowing persons to subscribe for any length of time, from One Week to a Year, besides the saving of carriage to and fro...¹¹³⁸

Whilst copying was voiced as a threat to publishers, it is noteworthy that in Coover's documented meetings and court cases, there is no mention of MCLs or their threat to publishers' profit.¹¹³⁹ Copying was clearly commonplace and Lenneberg shows it was

¹¹³⁵ 'Great and Immediate Sale of Music', *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 3 January 1860, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 6 October 2016] p. 4.

¹¹³⁶ 'Music Saloon and Music Circulating Library'.

¹¹³⁷ *Catalogue of Novello, Ewer & Co.'S Circulating Music Library*.

¹¹³⁸ 'Music Circulating Library', *Bristol Mirror*, 22 August 1835, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 23 June 2016] p. 3.

¹¹³⁹ Coover

even a service offered by the MCL outlets themselves.¹¹⁴⁰ Cramer felt that copying “furthered musical enjoyment”,¹¹⁴¹ acknowledging that some borrowed specifically to copy, stating “it would be foolish to try to prevent such practices”.¹¹⁴² Lenneberg suggests that lending worked not just as it enabled copying, but to try the music before you buy it, stating that “by lending to reliable customers, the dealer at least earned some interest on his investment and tempted many to purchase the works they especially liked”.¹¹⁴³

Nineteenth-century musician and poet, John Clare, “used [sic] to seize the leisure that every wet day brought me to go to Drury’s shop to read books & to get new tunes for my fiddle”,¹¹⁴⁴ and VMP put forward that he was “copying the latest tunes from published books into his manuscript book”.¹¹⁴⁵ Trade directories are scant for Clare’s location and period yet Gorji names the ‘New Public Library’ owned by Edmund Drury, “an early supporter of Clare’s and a source of much of his early reading”,¹¹⁴⁶ who operated as a bookshop and lending library, and presumably also acted as a music-seller. Although no mention is made of whether he also ran an MCL, presumably he did, or some other financial arrangement existed between Drury and Clare, otherwise Drury might have given Clare short shrift. This hint of an MCL as an everyday part of Clare’s contextual background not only justifies Clare’s actions but indicates no direct mention of the MCL, perhaps unnecessary due to widespread public knowledge, thus its subsequent absence in the historical record.

Lenneberg states that “many borrowers would damage their music forcing them to buy it”,¹¹⁴⁷ corroborated by the Hales advertisement above and Novello’s regulations.¹¹⁴⁸ It is not impossible that Soobroy was forced to purchase his printed

¹¹⁴⁰ Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', p. 125.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁴ George Deacon, *John Clare and the Folk Tradition*, (London: Frances Boutle Publishers, 2002), p. 305.

¹¹⁴⁵ The Village Music Project, 'Manuscripts'.

¹¹⁴⁶ Mina Gorji, *John Clare and the Place of Poetry* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008) <<https://books.google.co.uk>> [Accessed 27 April 2017].

¹¹⁴⁷ Lenneberg, 'Early Circulating Libraries and the Dissemination of Music', p. 125.

¹¹⁴⁸ These regulations insist that: “Any pieces of Music which become torn, soiled, written on or otherwise damaged, whilst in the possession of the Subscriber, will be charged for”, *Catalogue of Novello, Ewer & Co.'S Circulating Music Library.c1890*

copy of *Boosey's 100 Dances* following the pencil transcription of the waltz which also appears in Hampton's manuscript.¹¹⁴⁹

Whether the sole purpose of the MCLs was to provide copies for their customers to transcribe, or if the original intention was to provide a 'try before you buy' service, is not known. Certainly, MCLs are not comparable with general lending libraries where, once a book is read the end-user retains the overall shape of the story and the emotions evoked from reading it. It is generally read and enjoyed once, after which it does not matter if one forgets it, whilst sheet music is referred to repeatedly over a period of time. The likelihood of remembering an entire book of tunes once returned to an MCL is doubtful and suggests copying was a strong motive behind them. As the century progressed MCLs and the need to compile manuscripts became redundant as, combined with mass production lowering prices, and the real-time pay increases from 1870s taking effect, the lower classes had more disposable income to purchase their own copies of music.¹¹⁵⁰ Consequently the once commonplace MCLs became a short-lived phenomenon whose existence has been largely forgotten.

Not only did MCLs offer cheaper access to printed music, they offered a wide and varied repertoire enabling the compiler to create their own selection, bound up in one easily transportable manuscript. King highlights the importance of this aspect and the role of the MCLs in controlling and monitoring changes in fashion and taste:

The choice offered not only reflected the tastes of the musical public to some extent through the widespread, repeated use of its catalogue, but also must have contributed in part to the creation of those tastes. This is the significance of the music circulating library.¹¹⁵¹

The re-discovery of MCLs is important as is their crucial role in the formation of the manuscripts. They offer a justifiable means through which the working-class compilers, both urban and rural could access a wide range of both historic and modern tunes

¹¹⁴⁹ Discussed and shown in Part 2 and concerning *Ham.8.1*.

¹¹⁵⁰ See also *The Musical Gem*, discussed in Chapter 4 regarding sources and survival, and priced at three pence (face value so perhaps actually sold at a third less, at one penny).

¹¹⁵¹ King, 'Music Circulating Libraries in Britain', p. 138.

from contemporary, popular print. This significant finding raises the importance of the manuscripts. Their ability to show a synchronic period demonstrates popular taste at that time, and moreover personal selection of this taste, which cannot be perceived by examining the content of the printed sources alone.

Part 1 - Conclusion

Part 1 has considered the compilers' economic and logistical ability to access musical resources, specifically printed music. Despite extensive discounting, the high price of the 'cheap' works was deemed likely beyond the reach of a compiler from the lower end of the demographic. This, coupled with the evidence of the 'cluster' layout of tunes found in the manuscripts led to the conclusion that the compilers were borrowing printed music, with the intention of making their own copy. Unearthing the existence of MCLs showed them to be a highly probable establishment from which the compilers' up-to-date musical items were being sourced. Not only do I believe that the musical practice represented by the manuscripts was heavily dependent on MCLs, it also appears that MCLs were a wide and popular resource in broader nineteenth-century amateur music making – whether vernacular or higher brow. As such they are a crucial, yet understudied element of Victorian popular music culture. I believe MCLs to have been vital in the formation of the post-1850 manuscript archive and consequently, should also be considered as an important resource in the formation of folk music tradition.

Part 2 – Acquiring Skill

Part 2 considers how the men from this lower demographic acquired substantial levels of both general and musical literacy, levels which surpass those perceived to exist amongst the unlettered English nineteenth-century lower-class society. Initially, I examine perceived literacy levels amongst this occupational class and then explore the interaction between musical literacy and general literacy. The manuscripts are consulted to understand the compilers' levels of musical literacy and wider evidence sought to inform their route to these skills. Two very different acquisition routes begin to emerge and while the compilers' differing environments do not appear to influence the content of the manuscripts, an urban/rural divide can potentially be seen with regards to their acquisition of skill.

Perceived Literacy Levels

As discussed throughout the thesis, an inherited view of the folk suggests they were rural, lower-class and unlettered.¹¹⁵² Reasons for this notion have been explored, but what is key here is to establish how illiterate the lower classes in nineteenth-century England actually were. A clear result is impossible to ascertain. This is in part due to differing interpretations regarding measuring literacy. Whilst some historians measure those who can read but not write, others would consider both are necessary factors while some consider numeracy to play a part too.¹¹⁵³ Rodmell accepts that “literacy statistics are difficult to calculate”, acknowledging that “the commonly accepted measure is 'signature literacy'”; the most comprehensive survey of this in the Victorian period is on marriage certificates”.¹¹⁵⁴ However, research revealed in this thesis shows that using marriage certificate signatures as evidence of literacy is unreliable.¹¹⁵⁵ I have carried out a wider literature survey, shown in Appendix J, to try and establish nineteenth-century literacy levels,¹¹⁵⁶ which suggests that the unlettered folk and the “inarticulate masses”,¹¹⁵⁷ did not make up quite such a substantial proportion of the population as is often thought. Hence it is not overly surprising that the three case-study compilers were capable of general literacy skills.

With specific reference to musical literacy, Sartin believes it was “almost unknown amongst the labouring classes”,¹¹⁵⁸ and Russell suggests that musical education in school was haphazard at best. He believes that prior to 1840 it was largely non-existent and cites the work of Kay and Hullah teaching schoolmasters to sing, as pivotal, from the 1840s onwards, although notes “the actual existence of school music was still almost entirely dependent upon the whims of individual teachers”.¹¹⁵⁹ However, Marsh, writing about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries argues that, “it seems possible that levels of musical literacy were rising more rapidly than we might have assumed”,¹¹⁶⁰ and Hornby finds musical literacy levels in early nineteenth-

¹¹⁵² Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (1907), pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁵³ Lemire, 'A Historiographical Survey of Literacy in Britain between 1780 and 1830', p. 249.

¹¹⁵⁴ Rodmell, 'Introduction', p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁵ This was discussed in depth in Chapter 4.

¹¹⁵⁶ As this contextual survey is not directly musicological I have placed it in Appendix J, citing the main findings.

¹¹⁵⁷ Kathleen Raine, *The Land Unknown*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975), p. 81.

¹¹⁵⁸ Sartin, 'The Songs of Edith Sartin of Corscombe', p. 30.

¹¹⁵⁹ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 51.

¹¹⁶⁰ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

century Wyresdale seemingly high, attributing it to the “number of Quakers and Methodists who believed that education was the route to self-improvement”.¹¹⁶¹

The most helpful theories regarding lower-class musical literacy are found in Gammon’s work. In addition to proposing self-tutors and psalm collections as a route to self-educated musical literacy,¹¹⁶² he cites itinerant music teachers as “having a vested interest in the musical literacy of their customers”.¹¹⁶³ Gammon provides details of a musically capable head-teacher and a vicar who would come in “three times a week to teach scripture and sometimes music theory and singing”.¹¹⁶⁴ He also points to opportunities for adults to have instrumental lessons during the late-nineteenth-century at, “mechanical institutes, mutual improvement societies, and reading rooms”,¹¹⁶⁵ echoed by Rose in the area of general literacy. Gammon’s discovery of Nye’s spiritual autobiography reveals that Nye, who had a diverse career dominated by labouring professions, was musically literate, even to the extent of transcribing his own compositions.¹¹⁶⁶ However, unfortunately, Nye does not provide details of how he acquired his skills (both literate and technical). We learn that it was around the time of his marriage that he learnt to play music (1845), suggesting that the skill was not assimilated as a boy, but it was a conscious act of learning as a young man, which then facilitated him to join a band, and to play music to accompany dancing.¹¹⁶⁷

Thus, it appears that general literacy was not out of reach of the mid-lower levels of society and in reality, was likely to be more wide-spread than is perceived. Likewise, musical literacy was not inaccessible to lower classes. However, further investigation is

¹¹⁶¹ Hornby, *The Winders of Wyresdale*, p. 4.

¹¹⁶² Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 35.

¹¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 286.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 287.

¹¹⁶⁶ Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness', p. 39 & 41. Gammon states he “left us a quantity of music he played, amongst which are many of his own compositions”, although there is no detail whether the music was all sacred or if secular music was also included. Gammon, 'Introduction', p. 7.

¹¹⁶⁷ Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness', pp. 13-14. It is possible he acquired musical skill through a church band, although the only mention he makes of music in church at that time, is specifically denoted as singing. Gammon includes examples of two hymns composed by Nye (see above footnote), although there is not date given when these were composed or if they were used in church services.

required to ascertain from where these skills were emanating, especially as the compilers' manuscripts date prior to the start of compulsory education.

Musical Literacy in Relation to General Literacy

General literacy, musical literacy and musical skill are different entities and all three skills are not required in order to achieve proficiency at one. Musical skill can be acquired independently as the illiterate 'ear-players' demonstrate.¹¹⁶⁸ They can play tunes without being able to read music and also do not necessarily need (or have) a skill in general literacy in order to do so. Similarly, being able to read music does not inevitably imply instrumental musicianship and so too, does not prove an ability to read or write in general terms. With guidance, young children are capable of rudimentarily reading music and playing that music on an instrument before learning to reading words.¹¹⁶⁹ Basic musical notation relies on identifying the position of symbols, rather than complex ordering of letters.

However, a general skill in literacy can enable a subsequent skill in musical literacy. In Medieval music, Strohm argues that musical literacy could have expanded dramatically from as early as the late Middle Ages, in line with an increase in general literacy, "which with little educational effort, could be turned into musical literacy".¹¹⁷⁰ This is interesting, not least because it opens up the possibility of a nineteenth-century musician reading pedagogic material to acquire those skills. Gammon observes this in church band musicians who were able to self-teach musical literacy (and skill) using psalm collections "and other sorts of self-tutor".¹¹⁷¹ It is also possible to see a connection between this method and the self-improvement movement.

Just because some young children can read simple music notation they are not necessarily as capable of transcribing it. This may suggest that, in line with general literacy, the ability to read music is acquired prior to the skill of writing it. The concept of copying music could be seen as an intermediate stage between reading and writing music, as copying does not require an ability to understand and therefore be wholly

¹¹⁶⁸ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'.

¹¹⁶⁹ I am citing personal experience with three of my children, and I do not believe they are alone in this ability.

¹¹⁷⁰ Reinhard Strohm, 'Unwritten and Written Music', in *Companion to Medieval & Renaissance Music*, ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 228-33 (p. 231).

¹¹⁷¹ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 35.

musically literate. In Medieval music, scholars debate the role and ability of the copyists, questioning whether the scribes were mindlessly copying the repertoire from exemplars into chansonniers or if they actually did possess some level of musical literacy and compositional skill.¹¹⁷² Transferring these ideas to the manuscript compilers reveals several interesting points.

The survey conducted to justify transmission methods in Chapter 3 goes some way to support the Medieval theorists, revealing that in order to achieve a convincing, neat and accurate copy, a high level of musical skill was not necessarily required. As the examples in Appendix D show, the vast difference in transcription skills demonstrated between many of the 'memory' transcriptions versus the copied transcriptions carried out by the same person, suggests that despite being musically literate,¹¹⁷³ the participants were neater and more accurate when copying. Some of the participants' 'memory' transcriptions were musically inaccurate and unclear yet their 'copied' transcriptions were accurate, orderly and precise and gave the impression of much higher levels of musical literacy (with regards to transcription).¹¹⁷⁴

The evidence indicates that the majority of the compilers' tunes were copied into the manuscripts, which could indicate that they did not possess a good standard of musical literacy and were merely 'blind' copying, with little understanding of what they were copying. Likewise, general literacy skills could be over-exaggerated and Till/Clutterbuck's transcription "Not Copyright",¹¹⁷⁵ could arguably have been blindly copied from a music book rather than having any relevance. Similarly, Hampton's lack of marginalia could be evidence of poor levels of general literate ability. Consequently, this might indicate a better understanding of musicality and literacy levels than was true.

¹¹⁷² Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Literacy, Orality and the Preservation of French and Occitan Medieval Courtly Songs', *Revista de Musicologia*, 16 (1993), 2355-66 (p. 2357).

¹¹⁷³ The participants were chosen so that they could read and 'write' music and perform on an instrument but were not professional, nor studied music at degree level.

¹¹⁷⁴ It would be interesting to conduct a similar survey in which the focus group comprised solely non-musically literate people and assess their ability to copy music accurately. Had the idea come to me before February 2018 I would have done such a survey, but given the time taken to receive University of Sheffield Ethics Approval (as this survey would differ from the earlier one for which Ethics Approval was obtained in May 2017 (which took seven weeks to be granted), it was decided to leave this as an area for future study).

¹¹⁷⁵ See *Til.21.1* and Chapter 4.

Further, as examined in Chapter 4, none of the compilers signed their own marriage certificates, which, if taken on face value, could suggest they were all lacking in general literacy skills. Thus it is possible that despite the manuscripts providing an initial impression of both good levels of general and musical literacy, the compilers in fact had poor levels of both. Therefore, those few tunes which appear to be written in ‘shorthand’, and thought to be written from memory,¹¹⁷⁶ may be a better reflection of the compilers’ actual musical transcription skills, as opposed to copying skills.

In truth, I believe that being capable of copying a tune title suggests they had the capacity to copy and then learn at the very least, their own name and illiteracy is unlikely. Furthermore, oral narrative describes Bennett as artistic and well-read,¹¹⁷⁷ and his marginalia suggests he could write, rather than merely copy.¹¹⁷⁸ Added to this, copying was a time-consuming, laborious task. It is fair to assume that they would only commit to this effort if it offered advantages of speed, ease and reliability and they could actually read the tunes and translate them into a sound on their instruments compared to learning the tune ‘by ear’. Given the potential interactions and independence of the different skills it is important that assumptions are not made based on the evidence of one skill.

Musical Literacy and Ability in the Case-Studies

Thus I believe that the compilers’ ability to read music is an established fact.

Furthermore, the shorthand transcriptions in Hampton and Bennett MSS,¹¹⁷⁹ which suggest a tune hastily copied or written by ear to act as an aide-memoire rather than a note for note representation, suggest a fair level of musical literacy and subsequently a good level of musical skill to interpret the rough transcriptions into music.

Hampton

It would have been interesting to observe a progression of musical literacy skills throughout the manuscripts, but this does not appear to be the case. What can be seen within the printed music which accompanied Hampton MS,¹¹⁸⁰ however, is a tune written slightly primitively, in pencil with hand drawn staves. Figure 125 shows the

¹¹⁷⁶ See Appendix A and B.

¹¹⁷⁷ Grc08, *Email*.

¹¹⁷⁸ See *Ben.97.1* and his writing of the word “Dress Jackets” discussed in Chapter 5.

¹¹⁷⁹ See Chapter 4 and Appendix B, *Ham.4.4*, *Ham.12.3*, *Ham.13.2*, *Ham.13.3*, *Ben.36.2*, *Ben.81.1*.

¹¹⁸⁰ Boosey, *One Hundred Dances for the Violin*.

back of the book (which precedes the book signed by Soobroy), on which a pencil version of 'valse' (*Ham.8.1*) is written. Despite the first two treble clefs differing (the top treble clef resembles Hampton's), the remainder appears to be in Hampton's notational hand. This is potential evidence of Hampton practicing his musical notation, either prior to entering into the manuscript in ink, or some time before when he was learning, and could be evidence of Hampton's improving musical literacy skills.¹¹⁸¹

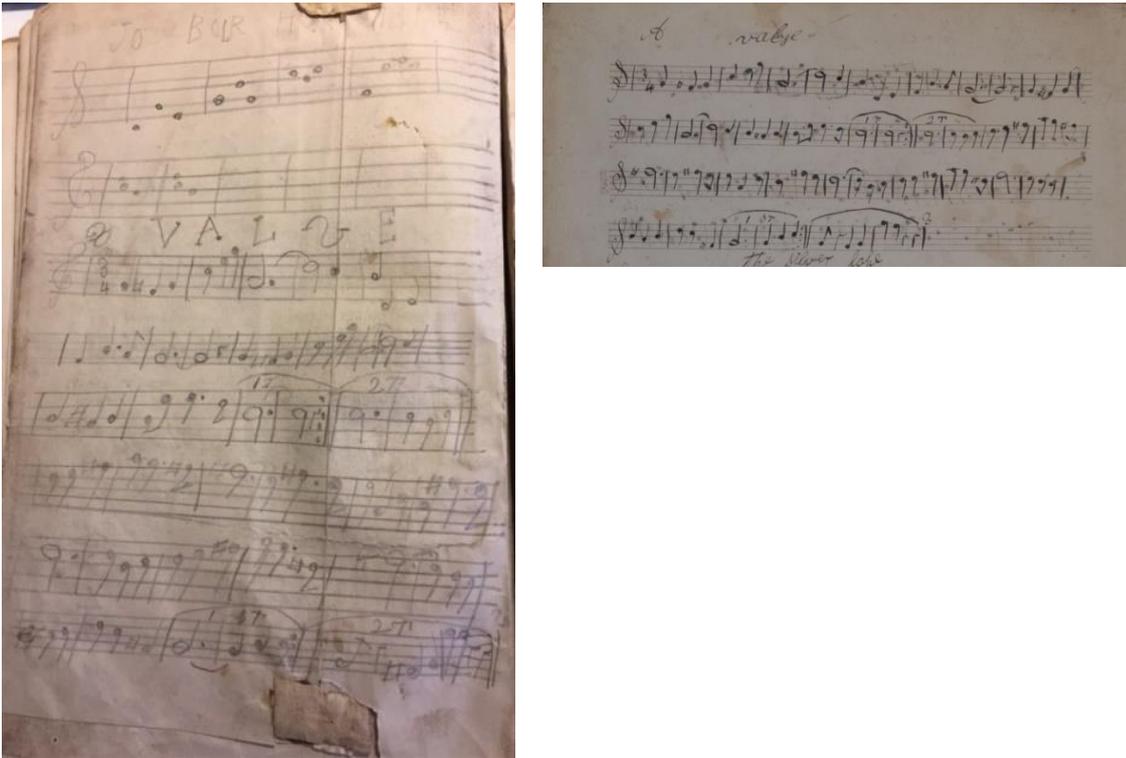


Figure 125 : A pencil transcription of 'Valse' found in Boosey's *100 Dances*, compared to 'Valse', *Ham.8.1*.

Other pedagogic elements are visible in Hampton too, although not demonstrative of progression as such, and are discussed later in the chapter with reference to the auto-didactic movement.

Overall however, the technical ability required to play the tunes suggests that Hampton was an adequate player and was not learning the instrument as a beginner. This can be corroborated by a transcription error in *Ham.9.2* (Figure 126), which he does not correct, yet was presumably aware of and can adjust when playing: the four tunes before *Ham.9.2* existed as exact duplicates in Westrop's *120 Country Dances*.¹¹⁸² On the surface, this tune marks Hampton's departure from that source: Westrop's

¹¹⁸¹ Alternatively, it could merely be evidence of haste of copying and on an uneven surface.

¹¹⁸² Westrop, *120 Country Dances*, p. 3.

version (Figure 127), is in C major and Hampton's version, although not having a key signature, thus suggesting C major, is written as if it should be in E major.

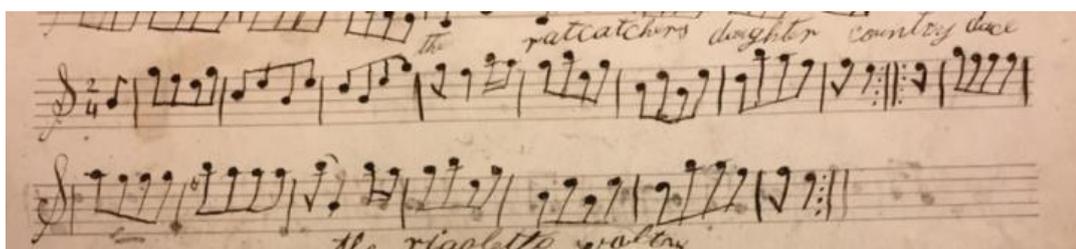


Figure 126 : *Ham.9.2.*

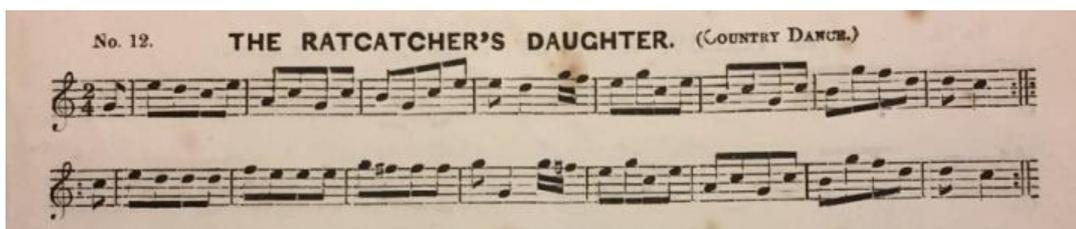


Figure 127 : Westrop's arrangement of 'The Ratcatcher's Daughter'. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Westrop, *120 Country Dances.*

I believe Hampton accidentally started the tune one line above the intended line. It is likely he realised his error and continued regardless, to avoid re-working or to avoid extensive crossings out, as he includes the accidental # used by Westrop for the 'f' in bar 11 and tentatively places it in front of the 'b' in his respective bar 11, to refer to the three subsequent incorrect 'a's. This suggests he had musical ability to play by ear, or transpose on sight, using the transcription as an aid but playing a third below. Other examples of musical proficiency can be seen in tunes where the note registers indicate a necessity to move a violinist's left hand out of 1st position into 3rd position, a more technically advanced technique.¹¹⁸³ Admittedly these only occur in Soobroy's transcription so may not be indicative of Hampton's skill.

Till/Clutterbuck

Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript demonstrates a knowledgeable level of musical literacy, with articulation and other stylistic markings frequently present. However, as indicated above, this does not necessarily mean that he possessed great musical literacy skills, merely that perhaps he was a proficient copyist. Overall the notation and hand-writing

¹¹⁸³ See for example *Ham.1.1* and *Ham.2.4.*

are neat, and it is sometimes possible to notice pencil markings (Figure 128), which have been subsequently inked over, suggesting a lack of confidence or pride in ensuring the manuscript is tidy and accurate.

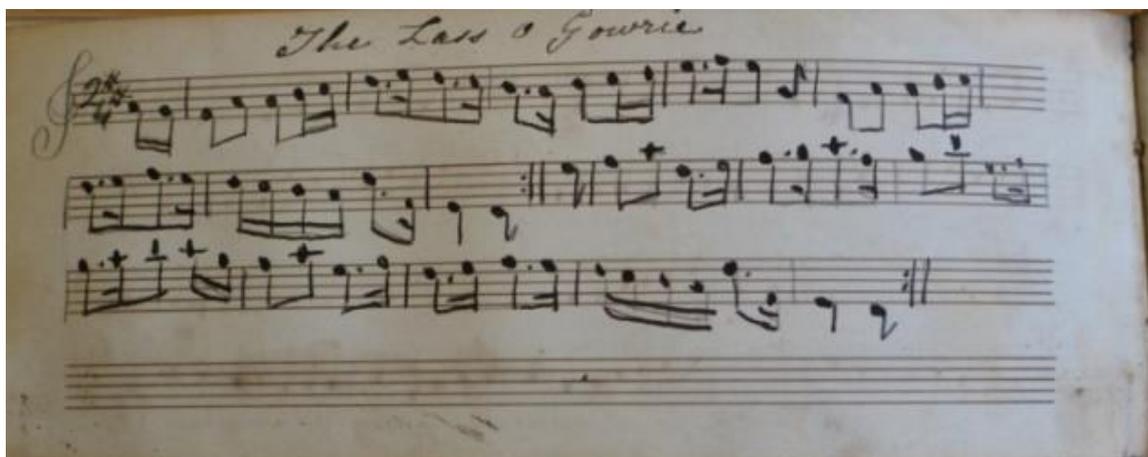


Figure 128 : *Til.58.1* where initial pencil notation can be seen to have been inked over.

There is nothing excessively technical in the manuscript due mainly to the style of tunes although the copying of articulation, structural, slurring, phrasing and dynamic markings,¹¹⁸⁴ suggest the book was not being used by a novice and that Till/Clutterbuck was (or aspired to be) a competent musician.

Bennett

Bennett, the most occupationally skilled of the three compilers, not only shows a good level of general and musical literacy, but artistic skill and his manuscript is suggestive of musical competence on several instruments.¹¹⁸⁵ The inclusion of articulation, dynamics and phrasing or slurring could suggest a good level of musical understanding and/or instrumental technique, or at the very least indicates he was unlikely to be a beginner.¹¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, the 'Dress Jacket' marginalia (*Ben.97.1*),¹¹⁸⁷ hints at a good standard of playing, worthy of performances at formal occasions or locations.

Routes of Literacy and Technical Acquisition In the Case-Studies

Evidence from all three manuscripts suggest that the compilers (and additional guest scribes), were capable musicians with a good musical reading level and likely equipped with general and musical transcription literacy skills, and the discussion now explores

¹¹⁸⁴ For example, see *Til.5.1*, *Til.7.1*, *Til.10.1*, *Til.25.1*, *Til.36.1*, *Til.38.1*, etc.

¹¹⁸⁵ See discussion in Chapter 2 and images in Chapter 1.

¹¹⁸⁶ Notwithstanding previous remarks regarding copyist skills.

¹¹⁸⁷ Discussed and shown Chapter 5.

where these skills were acquired. Four key environments emerge as potential places from which the compilers could have acquired musical literacy, namely school, home, religious institutions and the autodidactic movement.

School

Despite no compulsory or national school system prior to the 1870 Education Act, some school access was available to poorer children.¹¹⁸⁸ Bob Copper gives a valuable insight by providing a fascinating account of school life for both his grandfather, James (born 1845 and attended a Dame School) and his father, Jim (born 1882 and hence eligible for the compulsory 'free' state education, although Copper describes a weekly fee of one penny for his father to attend the school).¹¹⁸⁹ Here Copper describes schooling methods used mid-century:

Pupils were each given a horn-book which consisted of a piece of paper printed on both sides with the numerals from 0-9, the alphabet, the vowel sounds and the Lord's prayer. It was set in a wooden frame and protected on each side with a sheet of transparent horn. A handle was attached and the overall shape was not unlike a square hand mirror and it was held in the same way. The scholar was made to read and memorise what was printed on the book and then, with it held behind his back, repeat out loud what he had learnt. This was termed 'saying his book'.¹¹⁹⁰

Schooling in the following generation took the form of the Church of England School, where "the younger children sat on long forms or benches and leant to write on slates with a slate-pencil tied to the wooden frame with a piece of string. They later graduated to sitting at a desk with a copy-book and pen".¹¹⁹¹

However, despite the existence of school, children did not always attend (partly due to the family's financial loss of children's wages and saving on the fees payable), and

¹¹⁸⁸ Schools available to poorer children were charity schools (often with religious backing) and Dame Schools, but no national system of schooling or compulsory attendance existed until the 1870 Education Act. This Act aimed to provide "free, compulsory and non-religious education for all children", although the compulsory element was not made law until 1880 for five to ten-year-olds although attendance rates in early 1890s were only 82%, and fees were still charged until 1891. Living Heritage, 'Going to School : The 1870 Education Act', *www.parliament.uk* (No date) <<http://www.parliament.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹¹⁸⁹ Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, p. 20.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 20.

teaching standards varied with no overall system in place.¹¹⁹² That said, there was scope for children from the lower occupational classes to have access to schooling, which may have equipped them with skills to teach themselves music (playing and literacy), from an instrumental tutor book.

Specific music education varied from place to place, dependent on regional trends, and local knowledge.¹¹⁹³ Evidence exists of music being taught in Scotland in 1825 “upon the Lancasterian plan, from a large roll many yards in extent, containing the gamut, with the addition of select tunes”.¹¹⁹⁴ This was not commonplace, at least in England and Russell states that “before about 1840, the study of music in schools...was almost non-existent”.¹¹⁹⁵ In 1835, Lord Brougham called for the teaching of the rudiments of vocal music,¹¹⁹⁶ and systems of sol-fa developed in different ways by Sarah Glover, John Curwen and John Hullah had widespread influence both within and outside the education system.¹¹⁹⁷

Regarding the compilers, evidence only exists for Hampton attending school or at the least being marked as a scholar on the census.¹¹⁹⁸ Blaisdon’s National School is listed in the 1856,¹¹⁹⁹ and 1868,¹²⁰⁰ directories and was established in 1847, “in the old poorhouse by the church”.¹²⁰¹ Hampton is absent from the 1861 census and by 1871 is grown and married, so the length of time he attended school, if he did, cannot be ascertained.¹²⁰² No extant records exist for Blaisdon school for this period.

¹¹⁹² Ibid. p. 21. Copper describes how the boys and girls were taught practical skills in addition to academic lessons. Both sexes were taught to knit, and the boys to weed the garden, and clean the windows and toilets.

¹¹⁹³ See the above example from Gammon regarding the head teacher in Flimwell.

¹¹⁹⁴ Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, p. 129.

¹¹⁹⁵ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 51.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁷ Bernarr Rainbow and Charles Edward McGuire, 'Tonic Sol-Fa', (Oxford University Press, 2014); Bernarr Rainbow, 'Norwich Sol-Fa Ladder', (Oxford University Press, 2001); Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, p. 117. Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', p. 463. Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 54.

¹¹⁹⁸ 'Thomas Hampton', *1851 England Census Return*.

¹¹⁹⁹ 'Blaisdon', p. 242 (1856).

¹²⁰⁰ 'Blaisdon', p. 254 (1868).

¹²⁰¹ British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Blaisdon: Education', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol10/pp10-11>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²⁰² Perhaps scholar was merely used as a term by some registrars to indicate a child of school age, rather than explicitly indicating attendance at school.

In the 1851 census Till/Clutterbuck is not listed as a scholar,¹²⁰³ and by 1861, aged fifteen, he was working as an Agricultural Labourer.¹²⁰⁴ There is no mention of a school in Stone in the trade directories or the 1835 *Education Enquiry*,¹²⁰⁵ and the parish records detail one being built in the late 1860s,¹²⁰⁶ too late for Till/Clutterbuck to attend. Several schools are listed in Berkeley so it is conceivable that he travelled the five mile round trip to attend one there.¹²⁰⁷

Bennett too, in the 1841 census, aged nine years, is not marked as a scholar.¹²⁰⁸ An excerpt from *The Education Enquiry* (Figure 129) lists three schools in Chedzoy in 1835.¹²⁰⁹

... ..
CHEDZOY Parish (Pop. 549.)—*Three Daily Schools*: in two of which (commenced 1818) are 11 males and the same number of females; in the other (commenced 1830) are 18 males and 14 females: all these children are instructed at the expense of their parents.—*One Sunday School* (commenced 1820) is attended by 36 males and 37 females, and supported by the Minister and the Lord of the Manor.

Figure 129 : Extract from 1835 Education Enquiry. Source: <https://books.google.co.uk>.

Despite all having closed by 1843,¹²¹⁰ they feasibly could have provided early schooling to Bennett. It is possible that the cost was prohibitive to George's parents, especially being one of four children in 1841 and one of seven children by 1851. It transpires that a Sunday School provided educational provision until a National School was established in 1861, taken over by the School Board in 1874.¹²¹¹

Even if the case-study compilers had attended school, the evidence suggests that during their respective relevant time periods, they would not have been guaranteed a

¹²⁰³ 'George Clutterbuck', 1851 England Census Return.

¹²⁰⁴ 'George Clutterbuck', 1861 England Census Return.

¹²⁰⁵ House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers, Volume 41 and 42 : Education Enquiry* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1835), p. 304.

¹²⁰⁶ The foundation stone laid in 1868. Gloucestershire Archives, 'P315 - Stone Parish Records. P315/Sc/1/3', *Gloucestershire County Council* (2017) <<http://ww3.gloucestershire.gov.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=P315%2f11%2f1%2f3&pos=58>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²⁰⁷ 'Berkeley', p. 10 (1859).

¹²⁰⁸ 'George Wilkins Bennett', 1841 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 953; Book: 2; Civil Parish: Chedzoy; County: Somerset; Enumeration District: 11; Folio: 9; Page: 12; Line: 3; GSU roll: 474602), <www.ancestry.co.uk> [accessed 24 April 2017].

¹²⁰⁹ House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers, Volume 41 and 42 : Education Enquiry* p. 799.

¹²¹⁰ British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Chedzoy : Education', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol6/pp250-251>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²¹¹ *Ibid.*

comprehensive and systematic education. Further, evidence of notational musical provision in schools is rare. Hence, general and musical literacy skills from this source cannot be assured.

Home

By its very nature the informal passing on and assimilation of skills generally from a parent or family member leaves a distinct lack of evidence. Some evidence can be found in oral narratives such as Baldwin who learnt to play the violin from his father,¹²¹² and brothers, Walter and John Chamberlain Bulwer who were taught to both play violin and read music by their father in the late-nineteenth-century.¹²¹³ Establishing the initial source of the knowledge is unclear although membership in the church bands is a plausible suggestion, discussed in detail by Gammon,¹²¹⁴ and touched on below. A 'bottom up' approach may also have existed whereby children attending Sunday School or school were acquiring skills and passing them up to their parents.

Soobroy's education, or writing at least appears better than Hampton's and the census reveals that Walter's mother/grandmother did not work.¹²¹⁵ This may have offered more opportunity to pass skills to Walter at home, or indicative of disposable income to afford to send Walter to a school. His father/grandfather's role as a cabinetmaker would class him as a skilled labourer, a higher occupational class than Hampton's parents, once again possibly contributing to better access to education and literacy within the Soobroy family.

Similarly, it is feasible that Bennett, following in the skilled trade of his father, learnt literacy and musical skills from family members alongside the trade.¹²¹⁶ The lease document (Figure 130),¹²¹⁷ provides evidence of George's grandfather, William being able to write, suggesting a potential source for Bennett's literacy.

¹²¹² Heath-Coleman, *Stephen Baldwin 'Here's One You'll Like, I Think'*, p. 3.

¹²¹³ Chris Holderness, 'Walter and Daisy Bulwer. Recollections of the Shipdham Musicians by Members of Their Community. Mt185', *Musical Traditions Internet Magazine*, (2009), <<http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/bulwer.htm>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²¹⁴ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914'.

¹²¹⁵ 'Richard Gough', *1851 England Census Return*.

¹²¹⁶ However, no evidence of musical siblings or family members to support this can be found.

¹²¹⁷ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Lease of Twelve Acres of Pasture on King's Sedgemoor*. Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

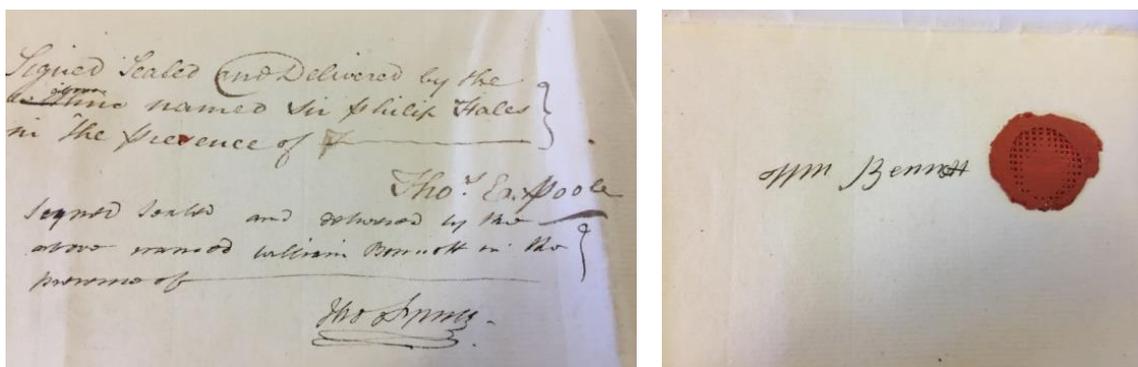


Figure 130 : William Bennett's Lease. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (DD/BR/ely/13/1/116).

Religious Institutions

The traditional activities of the Anglican churches differ from Nonconformist chapels and for this reason I have differentiated between the two, apart from the discussion regarding Sunday School.

Anglican Churches

The Anglican Church contributed much to musical ability and literacy in the early-mid part of the century but more from 'inside' involvement rather than deliberate education. Webster's painting,¹²¹⁸ shown and discussed in Chapter 5, depicts members of a West Gallery church band reading from music, corroborating levels of both general and musical literacy.

The skills of a band member could be "assimilated through upbringing and exposure",¹²¹⁹ thus acquiring musical literacy through self-teaching using psalm collections and self-tutors (relying too on general literacy), and "the encouragement of others".¹²²⁰ It is possible that membership of the church bands would have been obtained through a relative or family friend who would take the time to teach and nurture a young, keen instrumentalist to the standard required to accompany the singing on a Sunday. Whilst churches clearly had a role in the early part of the century, the disbandment of the bands mid-century would have seriously affected their place in the transmission of musical skill as the century progressed. It is feasible that an indirect influence remained, with skills acquired by earlier generations of family members or neighbours remaining in use and passed down in the home. This could be especially so for Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett whose manuscripts contain Anglican hymns and

¹²¹⁸ Wikimedia Commons, 'File: Thomaswebster - the Village Choir.Jpg'.

¹²¹⁹ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 34.

¹²²⁰ Ibid.

psalms. The similarity between the compilers' demographic and that revealed by Gammon in the members of the church bands (not just in occupations, but rural and male dominated), is striking.¹²²¹ The correlation strengthens the argument that Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett acquired their skills this way.

Bennett's manuscript opens with twenty Anglican psalms and hymns, some with titles and meter, for example 'Pilgrim Song 8:7:6' or 'Psalm 106 L. M.', and others simply indicating the psalm number. They are written in four parts,¹²²² the upper three in treble clef (*tenor, alto, air*), and the fourth part, *bass* in bass clef,¹²²³ and frequently written across two pages indicating use as a performance copy (Figure 131).



Figure 131 : Sacred material from Bennett MS, pp. 8-9.

In popular church music down to the mid nineteenth century the tune was commonly placed in the tenor voice. Many parts were present, however, a continuity from much earlier musical practice. Despite detailed descriptions of the church's interior and exterior, nineteenth-century trade directories make no mention of an organ in Bennett's local church of St Mary's in Chedzoy, during his time.¹²²⁴ However, a harmonium appeared in the churchwarden's accounts from 1863 (needing mending in the same year at a cost of fifteen shillings (Figure 132)).¹²²⁵ Subsequent references can

¹²²¹ Ibid. p. 31.

¹²²² Two exceptions exist in 'Martins Lane Psalm 18th' and 'Symphony Isiaha' [sic], both in three parts.

¹²²³ The order of parts differs in some of the hymns, even on the same page. *Ben.20.1* is ordered tenor, alto, air and bass whereas *Ben.20.2* is ordered alto, tenor, air, bass.

¹²²⁴ Kelly, *The Post Office Directory Somerset and Devon with Bristol*, p. 326 (1866); Kelly, *Post Office Directory Somerset and Devon with Bristol*, p. 316 (1861); 'Chedzoy', *Kelly's Directory of Somerset*, (1889), <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²²⁵ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (I.E Full Rates) to 1829; Church Restoration Account 1886; Vestry Minutes, 1843-1849*. April 1863. Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

be found relating to repairs for the harmonium in 1872, and in 1892 for tuning of an 'American Organ'.¹²²⁶

paid for sweeping Bench & Blooms	1	0	
paid for C. & Mullins as by receipt of Mr. Babbage towards payment of Harmonium	15	0	0
paid Mr. Babbage for redressing	1	0	0
Mr. Brien's Account for Lease	1	1	0
	51	5	9
Repair of Harmonium		15	0
	52	0	9

Figure 132 : Extract from Chedzoy Churchwarden's Accounts, 1863. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/4/1/2).

Prior to this entry there was no mention of payment for specific musical activity or instruments apart from payments related to bell-ringing.¹²²⁷ The metal work was often carried out by George's grandfather and father in the earlier years and later by George himself (Figure 133 and Figure 134).¹²²⁸

Wm Bennetts Bill about the Bells, Church	0	0	
Hatches & c.			0
Mr. Trott for a Bell Rope	0	2	

Figure 133 : Extract from Chedzoy Churchwarden's Accounts, 1805. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/4/1/1).

making rate			
Geo Bennetts Bill for Iron for Roof			
Mrs Martin 1/2 yr Salary			

Figure 134 : Extract from Chedzoy Churchwarden's Accounts 1865. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/4/1/2).

¹²²⁶ Ibid. 1892, 1872. It is possible that the churchwarden was using different names to describe the same instrument, although the technical difference between the two is that one sucks air whereas the other blows air.

¹²²⁷ Payments exist for the bell-ringers (on 5th November and notable royal occasions), alongside frequent costs for replacing bell ropes and payments for mending the bells and bell wheels.

¹²²⁸ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (Rates) 1760-1819*; Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (I.E Full Rates) to 1829*; *Church Restoration Account 1886*; *Vestry Minutes, 1843-1849*. SHC D/P/chedz/ 4/1/2. Images reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

A gallery in the North transept of the church was removed circa 1845.¹²²⁹ It is not known if this was used by musicians, but could indicate the start of the demise of band activities, which Bennett (born 1831), may have participated in. The introduction of the harmonium in 1863 possibly heralds the end of the church band and ties in with the date of the secular material in Bennett's manuscript. Dated 1860, this perhaps demonstrates a desire to maintain playing and looking for alternative functions and repertoire to perform. Till/Clutterbuck's sacred material, comprising thirty-one items,¹²³⁰ is found inverted at the end of the secular material (Figure 135).¹²³¹



Figure 135 : Till/Clutterbuck MS secular tunes meet sacred, *Til.56.1 – Til.57.1*.

The tunes are written with titles and meter (LM, CM) and are a combination of both treble and bass clef, frequently written in F or Bb major keys. They are mainly written in two parts (labelled 1st and 2nd or treble and counter).¹²³² The former items are written in blue/black ink and pencil, whereas the later inclusions are, like the secular items written in black ink. These are more in line with the notational and handwriting style of the secular items, and therefore possibly date. They are copied neatly with aligned parts suggesting a performance copy, and 'Queensborough P M',¹²³³ Figure 136, suggests copying from the same source as Bennett's.

¹²²⁹ British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Chedzoy : Church', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol6/pp249-250#fnn53>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²³⁰ Some of which exist more as fragments than entire psalm tunes.

¹²³¹ The meeting of secular and sacred brings to mind the preface of *Under The Greenwood Tree*, quoted in full at the opening of the thesis, "...the insertions being continued from front and back till sacred and secular met together in the middle, often with bizarre effect..." Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, p.

xxiv.

¹²³² Although one exists in four parts (labelled 1st, 2nd, Tenor and Bass.

¹²³³ Compare Bennett's third part, 'Air' with the top part of Till/Clutterbuck's transcription.

Bennett

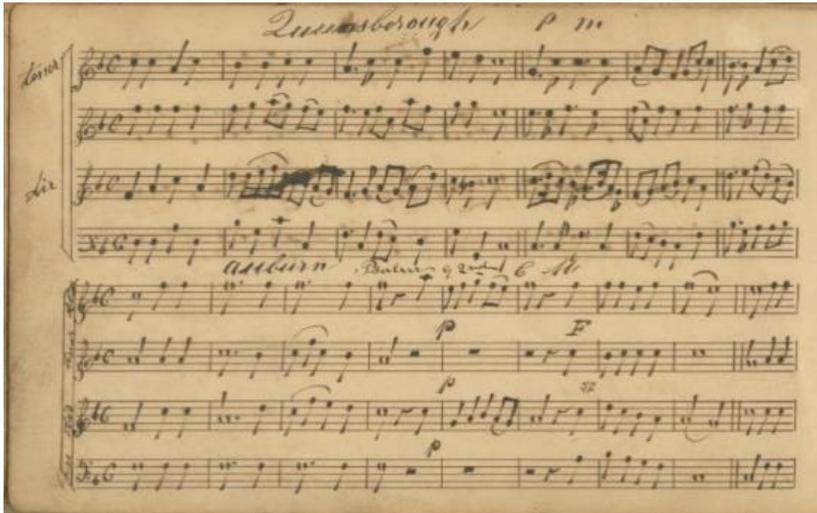


Figure 136 : 'Queensborough PM' from Bennett and Till/Clutterbuck MSS.

In comparison to Bennett's sacred items, Till/Clutterbuck's transcriptions are simpler and in fewer parts. Some also show a haste of transcription (especially those in pencil), and a distinct lack of musical accuracy, perhaps hurriedly copied down as a quick aide-memoire prior to a hymn starting or transcribed by someone less musically literate.

Till/Clutterbuck's manuscript includes a secular tune composed by the blind organist of Berkeley church, Moffatt,¹²³⁴ which could strengthen Till/Clutterbuck's involvement with a church band. Moffatt was organist two years after the date of the manuscript, 1868-1898,¹²³⁵ showing that the men possibly knew each other prior to Moffatt's employment as organist, perhaps through a church band either in Berkeley or through associations with the chapelry at Stone.

¹²³⁴ See *Til.23.1*, and Chapters 3 & 5.

¹²³⁵ Clan Moffatt Genealogy, 'Andrew Marvel Moffatt'.



Figure 137 : 'All Saints', Stone, Drawn c1870. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (P315/MI/2).

Remarkably, the “recently repaired” chapelry of All Saints, at Stone (Figure 137),¹²³⁶ is recorded as having an organ in 1856.¹²³⁷ This would date Till/Clutterbuck’s sacred material prior to the inscribed date of the secular tunes and as the handwriting suggests, indicates the involvement of an older person. That said, the plans for an organ chamber in 1872,¹²³⁸ and the subsequent removal of a gallery not until 1883 might suggest a continuation in band participation during church services.¹²³⁹ The churchwarden’s accounts for Stone list repairs to a gallery in 1830 and no mention is found for costs to purchase, repair or tune organs, nor for organ blowing, thus the listing in the *Post Office Directory* could be an error.

The presence of Anglican sacred music in the earlier two manuscripts suggests that the church band tradition had existed in their locality. It is fascinating to imagine Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett or their forefathers in such an environment. Interestingly, Gammon cites disbandment to the early 1860s, commenting that “by the end of the 1860s very few of the old style church bands and choirs existed”,¹²⁴⁰ placing Bennett MS (1860), and Till/Clutterbuck MS (1866),¹²⁴¹ still within the outer edges of involvement in and influence by these means. Furthermore, disbandment was gradual, and the influence of the culture surrounding it and the skills acquired would have survived for longer.

¹²³⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, *Anon Pencil Sketch of the Church at Stone*, P315/MI/2 (c1870).

¹²³⁷ 'Stone', p. 370 (1856).

¹²³⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, *Plan and Papers for Proposed Organ Chamber*, P315 CW 3/2 (1872).

¹²³⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, *Removal of Gallery*, P315/CW/3/1 (1883).

¹²⁴⁰ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 55.

¹²⁴¹ It is possible that the MS date in Till/Clutterbuck refers to the secular music (based on where the date is written), thus possibly dating the sacred material to well within the period of church bands.

Hampton's Nonconformist religious music may relate back to family preferences as a boy in Blaisdon, as a Baptist minister is recorded as holding services in his house in Blaisdon from 1844.¹²⁴² However, Blaisdon's parish church of 'St Michael and All Angels', was relevant in Hampton's childhood as close members of his family were buried there (including his mother), and it was the place he and his siblings were baptised.¹²⁴³ Furthermore, Hampton's first child was baptised in the Anglican parish church of Holmer.¹²⁴⁴ Hence it is useful to look for involvement of his ancestors in a church band there, and consequently a potential route for musical skills and/or literacy.

The church of 'St Michael and All Angels' in Blaisdon is listed as having an organ in 1879,¹²⁴⁵ although it is not clear when it was installed. The churchwarden's accounts would suggest 1869 as from this date references start to appear relating to organ blowing and tuning. The first mention of an organ (Figure 138),¹²⁴⁶ is dated 1869 and details an annual payment of ten shilling to R Cook for Organ Blowing:

Churchwardens		— 15 —	
Janis in acct for litz	6	5	12
Organ Blowing R. Cook	—	10	—
Mat. apparatus	—	—	10 —
			—————
	13	19	2 1/2

Figure 138 : Extract from Blaisdon's Churchwarden's Accounts 1869. Photo: R Dellow. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (P49/CW/2/1).

As this post-dates Hampton's time in the village it might suggest the use of church bands during his childhood. Furthermore, there is reference to the thirteenth-century West Gallery,¹²⁴⁷ possibly knocked down in 1867 when the church was rebuilt, due to its "dilapidated condition", and a "new Aisle, Vestry Room and Organ Chamber" were

¹²⁴² British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Blaisdon : Nonconformity', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol10/p10>> [accessed 17 April 2017].

¹²⁴³ 'Thomas Hampton', *Baptism Record for Thomas Hampton, 1844* (Gloucestershire Archives; Gloucester, England; Gdr/V1/410) <<http://search.ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²⁴⁴ See Chapter 2.

¹²⁴⁵ 'Blaisdon', *Kelly's Directory*, (1879), <<http://www.forest-of-dean.net/joomla/resources/kelly-s-directory-1879/41-blaisdon>> [accessed 27 April 2017].

¹²⁴⁶ Gloucestershire Archives, *Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Minutes*, P49/CW/2/1 (1820-1874).

¹²⁴⁷ British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Blaisdon : Church', *Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (2017) <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol10/pp9-10#fn36>> [accessed 17 April 2017].

built.¹²⁴⁸ Sadly none of the records has reference to payments to a church band or mention of any Hampton family members.

Nonconformist Churches

Social, moral and spiritual support could also be found in chapels,¹²⁴⁹ and Ainsworth describes how adults could gain an education through involvement in the chapel's lay work, which in turn they could pass down to their children.¹²⁵⁰ Adults' literacy levels were further influenced by the Nonconformist religious institutions that were supportive of self-improvement: "all Nonconformist sects encouraged the habits of close reading, interpretive analysis, and intellectual self-improvement".¹²⁵¹

Chapels would also have provided a place to hear music and possibly participate, perhaps accounting for the inclusion of Hampton's Nonconformist hymns,¹²⁵² and there is also evidence to suggest that musical skills could be acquired in chapels.¹²⁵³

Gammon noted a "large scale defections [sic] to the Methodists",¹²⁵⁴ in Little Walsingham which he attributes in part to a backlash to the introduction of the organ and subsequent disbandment of the church bands. As such, existing musical literacy and skill would be shared across denominations. Furthermore, a strong current of education, literacy and self-improvement existed in the Methodists, and Russell notes that "Methodism and music became synonymous".¹²⁵⁵ Hence a direct link emerges between music and self-improvement giving a plausible means and motivation for working-class compilers to emerge.

More detailed information on Hampton's Nonconformist denominational preference is hard to obtain, although family tradition would suggest Baptist.¹²⁵⁶ Hereford was the

¹²⁴⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, *Vestry Minutes*, P49 CW 3/1 (1866).

¹²⁴⁹ Ainsworth corroborates this point regarding chapel attendance in Lancashire, suggesting economic, political, educational and recreational motives alongside religious.

¹²⁵⁰ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 370.

¹²⁵¹ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 34.

¹²⁵² For example see *Ham.10.3*, *Ham.10.4*, *Ham.12.1*, and *Ham.12*.

¹²⁵³ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 369.

¹²⁵⁴ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 63.

¹²⁵⁵ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 189.

¹²⁵⁶ Thomas' son, Andrew was married at Frogmore Baptist Chapel in Abergavenny in 1902 and his son (my grandfather) and my father both followed in the Baptist tradition. 'Andrew Hampton', *Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate for Andrew Hampton and Louisa Probert, 18 September 1902* (Application Number 94: Monmouth, 27 April 2004).

home to many Nonconformist or 'dissenting' chapels and meeting places, and a Baptist chapel can be found in Commercial Road,¹²⁵⁷ neighbouring Hampton's Bath Street. The Zion Baptist Chapel was constructed in 1837 on land purchased by a group of local Baptists, one of whom was the music seller Ebenezer Child.¹²⁵⁸ The chapel's membership consisted of a cross-section of society, including labourers, shoemakers, an accountant and a sergeant in the Royal Marines.¹²⁵⁹

Sunday Schools

Both Anglican and Nonconformist Sunday Schools were fundamental in leading the way for a national school system to educate all children especially those from the working classes. Ainsworth notes that "much of the initiative behind the Sunday schools was due to the Methodists, who made extensive efforts to reach a section of the population for whom educational provision had hitherto been negligible [sic]".¹²⁶⁰ Sykes' research shows that in 1858, sixty percent of five-to-fifteen-year-olds attended a Sunday School of any denomination.¹²⁶¹

Sunday Schools provided access to a basic education yet there were limitations to the education provided. The focus appears to have been on reading,¹²⁶² rather than writing and moreover, the reading of religious material.¹²⁶³ Altick cautions over-estimation at the "number of literates" produced by Sunday Schools, as attendance was only once a week and not all participants were eager.¹²⁶⁴ The early Sunday Schools appear to have been strict and forbidding places, and Altick quotes an oral narrative of an old man, talking in 1863 who recalled:

¹²⁵⁷ 'Hereford', *Post Office Directory of Herefordshire, 1856*, (1856), (p. 44) <<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk>> [accessed 4 April 2017].

¹²⁵⁸ See above.

¹²⁵⁹ Andronikos Excavating Grey Literature, 'Relation Extraction - Crm-Eh Annotations Report Title 49-53 Commercial Road, Hereford: Desk-Based Assessment'.

¹²⁶⁰ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 362.

¹²⁶¹ Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', p. 455.

¹²⁶² Ibid.

¹²⁶³ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 370. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 19.

¹²⁶⁴ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 68.

some turrible [*sic*] bad chaps went to school when I first went...I know the parents of one or two of them used to walk them to school with 14-lb. weights tied to their legs...to keep them from running away.¹²⁶⁵

Rose states that Sunday Schools were the only place offering working people “opportunities for serious musical education, performance and composition”.¹²⁶⁶

However, from the evidence I have found, musical provision in Sunday Schools took the form of vocal instruction. Mackerness describes the instruction in Sunday Schools in the early 1840s as taught “chiefly by poorly equipped teachers who encouraged the children to imitate them in singing hymns and psalms by ear”.¹²⁶⁷ Following that, the Sol-fa system was introduced. Hullah’s 1841 school in Exeter Hall, London,¹²⁶⁸ used the Sol-fa system, alongside Curwen’s variation (a Congregationalist Minister), who was searching for a “suitable method for teaching music simply to Sunday-school choirs”.¹²⁶⁹

It is clear that Sunday Schools had an influence on the basic education of working-class people within a musical environment, and offered some teaching in music, chiefly vocal and via Sol-fa. However, this method is not seen in the manuscripts, suggesting it was not the direct route of musical acquisition for the case-study compilers. That said, Sunday School could have been a plausible route for general literacy for Bennett (and thus a gateway to musical literacy). Apart from Chedzoy’s fee-paying schools (which were shut by 1843), the only educational provision available to Bennett was through the Sunday school, “supported by the Minister and Lord of the Manor”.¹²⁷⁰ Several references were made in the churchwarden’s accounts in 1822 and 1823 listing significant expenditure to purchase books for the Sunday School (Figure 139).¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 67.

¹²⁶⁶ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 196.

¹²⁶⁷ Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, p. 154.

¹²⁶⁸ Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music*, p. 113.

¹²⁶⁹ Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, p. 157.

¹²⁷⁰ House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers, Volume 41 and 42 : Education Enquiry* p. 799.

¹²⁷¹ Somerset Heritage Centre, *Chedzoy Parish Records Accounts with "Receipts" (Rates) 1760-1819*.

1822. SHC D/P/chedz/4/1/1. Reproduced with kind permission of the South West Heritage Trust.

Keeping the Account	0	10	0
Pd for Books for the Sunday School by Order of the Vestry: & Carriage	1	0	2 1/2
Pd the Postage of a Letter	0	0	10

Figure 139 : Extract from Chedzoy Churchwarden's Accounts, 1822. Photo: R Dellow. Source: SHC (D/P/chedz/4/1/1).

The Sunday School opened in 1820, with thirty-six boys and thirty-seven girls in attendance in 1835,¹²⁷² and it is possible that Bennett made up part of that number, aged four. In 1843 (when Bennett would have been aged twelve), ninety children attended the Sunday School reducing to seventy-seven by 1846.¹²⁷³ Despite extensive searching for records, no extant Sunday School records for Chedzoy were found.

Although there is no evidence to show that Hampton acquired his skills from Nonconformist Sunday Schools, I believe he was influenced by a movement strongly supported by the Nonconformists: the self-improvement or autodidactic movement, discussed below. Furthermore, I believe it is the most likely environment from which many mid-late-nineteenth-century low to middle working-class compilers gained their musical literacy and skill and possibly general literacy too.

Autodidactic

The autodidactic movement was a massive part of the cultural and social make-up of Victorian England in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Not only did the autodidactic 'revolution' amongst the lower classes teach literacy skills which it is generally considered were lacking, there is also evidence that opportunities were available to learn new musical skill. This existed both in the form of playing an instrument and also reading and writing musical notation, alongside lectures and concerts and providing a stage on which to perform.

As with the reading skills taught in Sunday Schools, the Victorians' considerable desire for knowledge and the subsequent self-improvement movement could serve as a gateway to musical learning. Yet music itself was part of the self-teaching ethos and

¹²⁷² House of Commons, *Parliamentary Papers, Volume 41 and 42 : Education Enquiry* p. 799.

¹²⁷³ British History Online from Victoria County History, 'Chedzoy : Education'.

the various self-improvement clubs would have enabled adult working men to acquire direct musical skill and musical literacy through self-education.

Many of the activities were self-generated rather than officially run by higher classes or the village elite and as such there is little evidence recorded of its history, especially at the more informal end of the scale. Despite giving no statistical information, Altick, talking specifically about Mutual Improvement Clubs, claims that based on memoirs, “it appears that hardly a village was without one such group, and usually there were several”,¹²⁷⁴ suggesting these were not merely an urban undertaking. Rose describes them as effectively “a friendly society devoted to education”,¹²⁷⁵ citing their demographic as “working men aged twenty to thirty-nine”,¹²⁷⁶ strikingly similar to the compilers’ demographic. Rose describes the different activities, ranging from organised societies, to informal self-schooling programmes with “a half dozen to a hundred men from both the working and lower-middle classes who met periodically...”,¹²⁷⁷ participating not just in adult schools but “reading circles, dramatic societies, and musical groups”.¹²⁷⁸

At an even more informal end of the scale, Rose quotes Chartist, Lowery, detailing an informal culture in the pubs of nineteenth-century Newcastle,¹²⁷⁹ conjuring up images of like-minded musicians sharing and learning both instrumental skill and notational skill, perhaps poring over a borrowed printed tunebook and learning the skills to make their own copy. Thompson provides similar evidence of different locations for different disciplines: “Every weaving district had its weaver-poets, biologists, mathematicians, musicians”.¹²⁸⁰

Subscription Reading Rooms gave classes in subjects too, with the teaching shared by the members or by “professional teachers who volunteered their services”.¹²⁸¹ The Working Men’s Club and Institute Union, although predominantly social, nearly all had

¹²⁷⁴ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 205.

¹²⁷⁵ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 58.

¹²⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 78.

¹²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 58.

¹²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁹ “Every branch of knowledge had its public-house where its disciples met...There was a house where the singers and musicians met – a house where the speculative and free thinking met...” *ibid.* p. 38.

¹²⁸⁰ E P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 4th edn, (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 322.

¹²⁸¹ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 65.

libraries and held classes.¹²⁸² By the mid-century, the Mechanics' Institute had become "a recognised part of the educational scene, not only in the industrial cities but in rural market towns and even in quite small hamlets".¹²⁸³ They had libraries, perhaps containing music books in addition to traditional literature and most interestingly for this study, list music, "both vocal and instrumental",¹²⁸⁴ as appearing on the curriculum of the larger Mechanics' Institutes, quite possibly a source for the compilers. Gammon and Russell cite such institutions as providing actual instrumental classes,¹²⁸⁵ in "the form of cheap class lessons".¹²⁸⁶ Russell lists "part-time teachers, usually musically inclined clerks and skilled manual workers who swelled their income by giving lessons for as little as 3d an hour to the aspiring amateurs of the neighbourhood".¹²⁸⁷

This advertisement (Figure 140), dating from 1857 provides details and it is interesting to note the aspirational connection with the 'ladies' Drawing-room genre:

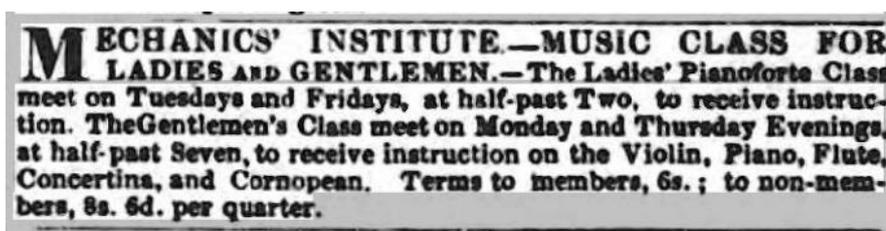


Figure 140 : Extract from *Saunders's [sic] Newsletter*, 1857. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

As earlier research showed, six pence a week is quite an expense for the lower end of the compiler demographic and suggests they would have participated in more informal auto-didactic events.

An educational relationship between a skilled manual worker and an aspiring amateur, shown above, puts forward a plausible explanation for the association between Soobroy and Hampton, advocating some informal or formal self-improvement through the initial nine pedagogic and popular items (*Ham.1.1-Ham.3.2*). These are written in

¹²⁸² Ibid. p. 79.

¹²⁸³ Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, p. 148.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁵ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 288.

¹²⁸⁶ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 172.

¹²⁸⁷ Ibid.

Soobroy's neater and possibly more educated hand and further strengthen the argument that Hampton acquired at least some of his skill via the auto-didactic route.

Evidence has already been given of Soobroy leading a String Band, and he was therefore a capable musician.¹²⁸⁸ Despite working as a brush maker at the time of the manuscript,¹²⁸⁹ by 1891 he was a bugler for the Shropshire Light Infantry,¹²⁹⁰ and following his discharge in 1897,¹²⁹¹ worked as a "violinist/music" in 1901.¹²⁹² This career did not last as by 1911 he was working as a carter.¹²⁹³

In *Ham.1.1* (Figure 141), not only are Soobroy's writing and notation skills neater, appearing far more educated, controlled and advanced than Hampton's but are perhaps indicative of his better technical skill too. If Soobroy was using the manuscript to teach Hampton, then the later addition of octave doubling below the melody (written in darker ink compared to the ink on the rest of the page), might show that Hampton was not quite as technically advanced on the violin. In this section, the melody extends beyond the reach of a violinist's normal hand position and would require either a 4th finger extension to reach the high 'c' or, more likely a change of hand position into 3rd position. This requires a higher level of technical skill, hence the inclusion of a lower octave as an option for a player who is not so advanced. That said, it is possible that the manuscript belonged solely to Soobroy at this point, and the markings were added for his own use.

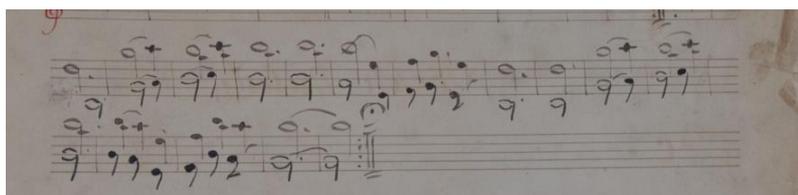


Figure 141 : *Ham.1.1*.

¹²⁸⁸ 'Gymnastic Display'.

¹²⁸⁹ 'Walter Soobroy', 1871 England Census Return; 'Walter Soobroy', 1881 England Census Return.

¹²⁹⁰ 'Walter Soohry', 1891 England Census Return England Census Return (The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Class: RG12; Piece: 2062; Folio: 79; Page: 5), <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 4 June 2018].

¹²⁹¹ 'Walter Soobroy', Royal Hospital Chelsea Pensioner Admissions and Discharges, 1715-1925 England Census Return (Royal Hospital Chelsea: Length of Service Pensions, Admission Books; Class: WO 117; Piece Number: 51), <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 4 June 2018].

¹²⁹² 'Walter Svobroy', 1901 England Census Return England Census Return (Class: RG13; Piece: 2481; Folio: 86; Page: 26), <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 4 June 2018].

¹²⁹³ 'Walter Soobroy', 1911 England Census Return England Census Return (Class: RG14; Piece: 15710; Schedule Number: 168), <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 4 June 2018].

Further pedagogic evidence can be seen in *Ham.2.3* (a D major scale detailing 3rd position fingering in the higher register), and *Ham.2.4* (a bowing and intonation scalar exercise).¹²⁹⁴

It is impossible to say whether Soobroy's instruction was limited to musical literacy, if indeed it were at all, or if Hampton was also receiving instrumental lessons (or indeed general literacy), in this way. Hampton's subsequent notation and transcriptions are perhaps too accurate and fluid to suggest Soobroy alone was Hampton's only access to musical literacy and technical skill. He had possibly acquired some musical competence before compiling the manuscript, perhaps as a youth in Gloucestershire. That said, I strongly believe that his connection with Soobroy, combined with urban location, low class status, Nonconformist religious music and later date all point towards the auto-didactic movement having a part to play in Hampton's route to acquire or improve both musical literacy and skill.

Conclusion

Part 2 of this chapter has shown that general literacy was more widespread amongst working classes than is largely perceived, and that general or musical illiteracy cannot be assumed based purely on socio-economic status. Schools did not emerge as the immediate source for instrumental teaching, and likely routes for musical education were via home and church environments, although direct evidence of the former is hard to establish. Whether through family members at home or through a more organised assimilation as members of a late church band I believe the older, rural manuscripts of Till/Clutterbuck and Bennett, with the remnants of church bands echoing in their content, show their vehicle of acquisition to be through the legacy of the church band tradition. This may be indirectly, via informal teaching or assimilation by family and elders through participation in village and church musical activities. Their skills were then nurtured and perhaps developed by involvement with a village band.

It also becomes clear that the largely undocumented societies and informal groups making up the self-improvement movement had a profound effect on the lives and education of working men and provide a strong suggestion of how and where these men were capable of acquiring musical literacy and technical ability. In Hampton's

¹²⁹⁴ See Appendix A.

case, he compiles at a later date than the other two and from an urban and Nonconformist standpoint and it is possible that this new route to skill acquisition or improvement is reflected in his manuscript. I believe he is a product, in part, of the mutual improvement movement, and his ability to learn, access, play and preserve music was influenced by Victorian cultural and social movements emerging from metropolitan centres. Whilst his technical skill and some tune melodies may have been acquired as a boy, the opportunity of self-improvement in his urban setting and the pedagogic associations with Soobroy, suggest this was a viable route for him to acquire or improve his musical literacy skills and either improve or learn to play the violin.

Thus, the case-studies show that despite emanating from largely rural and modest financial backgrounds with unreliable access to education, the compilers were able to obtain musical resources and skills resulting in a consistent heterogeneous and chiefly contemporary repertoire across all the manuscripts regardless of age or environment. Furthermore, two clear strands of skill acquisition emerge. These strands do appear to be related to both age of manuscript and environment and reflect the dichotomy which re-emerges throughout in the thesis: between the modern and popular and historic and traditional and can crudely be defined as a traditional and rural route versus an urban, more modern route. This binary route shows the older manuscripts with rural and Anglican links had access to source their skills from traditional routes of assimilation at home and educated by elders; whilst the newer, urban and Nonconformist example possibly represented aspects of contemporary education techniques via the autodidactic movement.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions

Responding to the Research Questions

My research set out to ascertain how mid-late-nineteenth-century Fiddlers' Tunebooks fit in notions of folk music tradition. Six specific research questions were drawn up to focus the investigation. The initial area of examination, responding to the first research question, centred on the people responsible for compiling the manuscripts. The image conjured up by modern ideas of the 'folk' is one of 'ordinary' men.¹²⁹⁵ Similarly, inherited views suggest rural, humble, village musicians.¹²⁹⁶ These images are partially reflected in the findings. The wider survey conducted in Chapter 2 concluded that a typical manuscript compiler was a young married man living in a rural environment and coming from the lower occupational classes. This closely complied with the case-study manuscript compilers who were found to be young, married (or soon to be wed), working-class men. Two of the men were rural and wider issues of environment showed that their rurality did not impact their ability to access the metropolitan sources, resulting in an analogous repertoire regardless of environment. However, their location did appear to have an impact on the route by which skills were acquired.

The few scholars who have approached the manuscript archive noted the heterogeneous repertoire as opposed to a content comprised of chiefly historic tunes,¹²⁹⁷ and in answer to the third research question the evidence from my research compellingly validates a similar musicological content. Content from a wide range of genres, sources and periods exists in the manuscripts, including historic tunes and songs, contemporary song and dance melodies, arrangements of art music, religious and pedagogic items. Contemporary popular dance and song melodies dominated the repertoire, and the analysis indicated a strong preference for hornpipes, waltzes and dance tunes making up quadrille sets.

Responding to the fourth research question, examination of the manuscripts and the subsequent investigation into the sources revealed that textual transmission, rather

¹²⁹⁵ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27.

¹²⁹⁶ Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions (1907)*, p. 3.

¹²⁹⁷ Gammon, 'Manuscript Sources of Traditional Dance Music in Southern England', p. 60. Campbell, 'Reconsidering and Contextualising the Vernacular Tradition: Popular Music and British Manuscript Compilations (1650-2000)', p. 140.

than aural transmission was key with regards to direct inward transmission into the manuscripts. The overriding extent to which copying and textual sources played a part in compiling the manuscripts became evident which aligned with transmission arguments made in the folk song field.¹²⁹⁸ However, despite direct inward transmission indicating textual influence, initial exposure of the compiler to a melody could have been via aural means.

Investigating that the tunes were being copied, led to the discovery of potential sources from which the compilers were drawing their tunes. This revealed a mass of printed publications of 'cheap' works aimed at amateur instrumentalists. These collections were found to be specifically applicable to the manuscript archive, being single stave, monophonic instrumental music covering a wide range of genres and specific styles such as country dances, national airs and dances, popular song, religious and operatic items, minstrel songs, quadrilles, polkas and waltzes.

The discovery of these sources was especially important in being able to define the manuscript archive as representing an autonomous literate, instrumental musical practice. Of additional importance was the indication from the manuscripts that a handful of publishers were key in this culture. The chief ones shown to influence the case-studies were Chappell, Hopwood and Crew, Charles Sheard and his publishing arm of MB.

The extent of this published music and its crossover with the manuscripts' repertoire, coupled with the discovery of actual direct sources, revealed that even the historic tunes were not directly transmitted into the manuscripts via oral/aural transmission or older printed publications, such as printed dance tune collections. Instead these tunes also emanated from the printed, contemporary, 'up to the minute' music market.

With regards to outward transmission, examined as part of the fifth research question, research into the breadth of content suggested a participatory function showing potential involvement in formal social dances with a stronger preference for informal dances, amateur concerts and pub gatherings and for personal recreation at home. The number of hornpipes in the manuscripts indicated the accompaniment of exhibition step-dancing although a clear perceivable function for hornpipes within

¹²⁹⁸ Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition'.

social dance could not be found. This resulted in the idea that hornpipes (and indeed the inclusion of other items such as popular and national song and operatic excerpts), had an aesthetic role (performed for the enjoyment of the music by the player and/or audience, rather than to accompany another function such as dance). Some items in repertoire and instrumentation hinted at involvement with, or influence by, more formalised bands, such as town or village bands or local voluntary militia bands. All three manuscripts suggested potential religious involvement to a certain degree, with the compilers' environment and manuscripts' age showing denominational preferences.

The function of the manuscripts as artefacts (rather than the function of the musicians), gave both financial and personal advantages. The manuscripts were cheaper than print and allowed the selection of one's own repertoire. Their medium as handwritten collections suggests that the compilers found it more advantageous to transcribe and read music to learn and preserve (and perhaps perform), their repertoire than memorising.

Having established that the compilers were 'ordinary' men from the lower occupational classes and largely from rural environments became an important consideration when responding to the second research question to ascertain how and from where they acquired the skills and resources to facilitate creating a personal tune repository. The levels of literacy in nineteenth-century working-classes were found to be higher than perceived although musical literacy transcription skills could have been exaggerated due to the transmission method. However given the labour-intensive task of copying I felt that the ability to read the music and have musical technical skill in order to reproduce the tunes was implicit. The manuscripts were working copies as opposed to prestigious collections and without the ready skills to read and play the content, it would be futile to expend the immense time and effort involved in creating such a repository.

Several potential routes to acquire musical literacy and skills are possible. In the case-studies a correlation between the compilers' environment, religious denomination, age of manuscript and the route of skill acquisition emerged and appeared chiefly (but not exclusively), to derive from two routes: via an Anglican church tradition and home

for rural dwellers and possibly a stronger reliance on the auto-didactic route and Nonconformist churches for the urban compiler, alongside more traditional methods. This was also reflected in the age of the manuscripts, the earlier two being rural examples whilst the later manuscript came from an urban environment. The anomaly regarding all compilers' supposed illiteracy gave a fascinating insight into nineteenth-century working-class attitudes to outward displays of intellect and was found to throw doubt on those statistics which rely on marriage certificate signatures to judge nineteenth-century literacy levels.

Access to the printed sources which formed the essential core of the manuscripts' content was possible by borrowing copies of music as opposed to purchasing. This was evident by the clustering layout and hasty transcription of some tunes, the scarcity of surviving printed copy and the lack of affordability to purchase print. It was interesting that religious denomination, environment and age of manuscript did not affect the access to resources, a similar heterogeneous and contemporarily sourced content being found in all three case-studies. Despite exploring the possibilities of borrowing copies from friends and self-improvement establishments, the existence of a credible 'service' or establishment was discovered, via a contemporary newspaper advertisement known as Musical Circulating Libraries. This wide-spread facility, offered by both local independent individuals and national publishing giants, potentially played a large role in supplying the compilers with an affordable, 'up to date' repertoire of printed music from which to copy.

Paradigmatic of Folk Music Tradition?

Acknowledging the "false dichotomy between tradition and modernity as fixed and mutually exclusive states",¹²⁹⁹ suggests the manuscripts represent a strand of vernacular nineteenth-century popular music making that may or may not be considered as part of folk music tradition. A critical enquiry running throughout the thesis has been to establish how well the musical practice represented by the manuscripts fits into notions of folk music tradition. I approached the question from a binary perspective of both current academic argument and received history due to the interest generated by the manuscripts amongst enthusiasts in the twentieth- and

¹²⁹⁹ Handler and Linnekin, 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', p. 273.

twenty-first-century folk music field who ascribe in part or entirely to the set of behaviours defined in an inherited definition.

From a received perspective, the evidence from the manuscripts is frequently contrary to inherited expectations. From the outset, the tunebooks' textual medium inherently opposes the notion of orality/aurality. Likewise, the thesis has shown that the manuscripts contain a broad range of content which is not exclusively made up of historic tunes and instead is dominated by popular contemporary music. The tunes, whether historic or modern, are coming into the manuscripts directly from contemporary textual sources, not historic sources and as such, do not represent direct oral/aural transmission. Furthermore, the potential role of the publishers in influencing the repertoire could imply a 'top' down approach rather than organic development including selection and continuity. The compilers themselves, although subscribing to the rural, working-class male characteristics were literate and younger than the inherited view of folk music only existing "in the minds and voices of the elderly non-literate",¹³⁰⁰ folk.

However, positioning the manuscripts within the framework of modern scholarly discourse reveals different results. As the product of, and generating interest amongst the 'ordinary' man, the musical practice represented by the manuscripts fits well into modern scholarly arguments. This thesis provides strong evidence to support textual transmission from contemporary printed sources as the means of direct transfer of the material into the manuscripts. Although the manuscripts' lack of direct dependence on orality/aurality, in a received view would thwart their place in folk music tradition, it does not encumber their inclusion by modern scholarly standards.

When viewed through the lens of a process of tradition the heterogeneous material found in the Fiddlers' Tunebooks is very much part of the formation of folk music tradition.¹³⁰¹ Previous definitions surrounding folk music may have tried to ignore the

¹³⁰⁰ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 27. See also Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions (1907)*, pp. 3-4.

¹³⁰¹ I set out at the beginning that the manuscripts may not represent tunes played by the compilers and perhaps instead were tunes they intended to learn. Even if this is the case, the manuscripts can still be viewed as part of a formation of tradition as they still show the selection and survival up to the point they are in the manuscripts, even if they were not subsequently learnt. Additionally, in order to be selected from print they are likely to be in common currency regardless of whether the compiler himself played that specific tune.

popular nature or eclectic mix of the repertoire but that has diminished in modern scholarly thought, and both the historic and contemporary tunes can have a place in tradition defined by process. The historic tunes could be said to have survived through previous generations and been selected by the compilers and as such are part of folk music tradition. The popular, contemporaneous ‘tunes of the day’, however, are not in the manuscripts because they survived and passed through the process to become part of a tradition. They are too modern, too contemporaneous for the process to have occurred. Yet they are an important part of the process as potential ‘embryonic’ folk tunes. They may ‘become’ folk tunes in subsequent repertoires. As such, these tunes are also part of the process of folk music tradition and the manuscripts play an interesting and important role: they provide a synchronic capture of the ‘process of tradition’, at work. Roud’s ‘sausage machine’ analogy, whereby any song can enter “and if it is not spat out as unsuitable, it emerges at the other end as a clearly different kind of song”,¹³⁰² is important. Because of their textual nature, the manuscripts preserve an image of the inside of Roud’s sausage machine.

Paradoxically, it is the manuscripts’ historic tunes which are more problematic. As suggested above, on a superficial level they could be taken as representative of already having passed through the selection process. However, the printed sources from which they came have been shown to be contemporary and the selection process dominated by publishers. As such two major issues emerge which were explored in Chapter 4, regarding survival and selection: the notion of ‘skipping’ generations instigating a revival rather than survival and the importance of the ‘folks’ role in the selection process. Although no major social discontinuity was observed, unless the publishers’ motivations can be established as being either commercially led or (akin to the early-twentieth-century folk song collectors), specifically aimed to re-connect with the past, the notion becomes unstable.

This central chapter introduced the vital importance of the interaction between literate and aural/oral practices. Using all three of the literate compilers’ unsigned marriage certificates, I showed that assumptions made regarding literacy levels based on marriage certificate signage were incorrect. In the same way, assumptions cannot

¹³⁰² Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 671.

be made on the reliance of textual inward transmission as the initial source of transmission. It is feasible that both the historic and modern tunes, although sourced directly from contemporary publishers' print, had initially come into the ears, minds and eyes of the folk themselves through earlier print or manuscript sources (in the case of the historic tunes), or by non-textual means. As such, the inward transmission was not necessarily controlled by publishers or showing a hiatus in survival, and at the point they are found in the manuscripts, the tunes could be said to form part of folk music tradition.

The interaction between oral/aural and literate is important with regards outward transmission too. The idea of 'reading' music during a performance lends itself more towards a formal, structured concert and distances itself from informal, sociable, domestic, participatory involvement for personal pleasure and expression. It is this informal, personal and amateur nature of outward transmission, as opposed to a formal 'concert' which shapes the perception of inclusion in folk music tradition. The textual nature of the manuscripts may then distance them from being considered as part of folk music tradition. However, Chapter 5 determined that the performance space or function from the manuscripts tended towards the informal, additionally it could not be determined how dependent the compilers were on the manuscripts at the point of performance. There is little evidence to suggest that outward transmission was via textual means rather than aural means and assumptions should not be made that the manuscripts' existence inevitably results in textual use during performance.

Thus, the combination of all these factors leads me to argue that the manuscripts are important artefacts demonstrating an aspect of Victorian popular music making and which have an important role in showing the formation of English folk music tradition. It is only through modern scholarly models centring on the process of tradition, rather than tradition defined by origin, that the manuscripts can be seen to have this role. There is some irony that the manuscripts have been received into a current folk music 'tradition' and yet the received historical definition with which they come, is largely contrary to the story the manuscripts tell. Unless present-day folk music enthusiasts' (the manuscripts' current custodians), perceptions of what constitutes folk music tradition can be changed, the manuscripts are constantly vulnerable to mediation and the 'burden of expectation'. Given the manuscripts' inconsistency with an inherited

view, the manuscripts could obtain a more receptive and balanced approach within the field of popular music studies. That said, despite popular music covering aspects of the manuscripts' contents such as musichall and minstrel song, the archive as a whole does not, as yet, appear to be fully embraced by scholars from that field. That popular music is currently unaware of, or chooses to disregard the archive or this style of music, as does the wider nineteenth-century musicology discipline, results in the manuscripts, their contents, musicians and source material falling between the cracks of several domains and suffering from an ambiguity of definition.

Further Conclusions

Aside from enabling direct responses to the research questions, the thesis discussed key themes which emerged. One recurring theme was that of the binary value of the manuscripts as historical sources informing both musicological and non-musicological levels. Musicologically, the manuscripts were able to inform as primary resources on a topic which has had little academic attention and which, because of the status of its informants, audience and participants and the informal nature of its content was not often preserved in the historical record. The manuscripts are able to give an insight into nineteenth-century popular musical tastes, technical ability, culture and activities previously reliant on oral narrative and non-musical archival research. They add to the resources available to those studying other aspects of nineteenth-century music such as the sheet-music trade. This wider impact validates the manuscripts beyond their role as a personal repository to a primary and important resource.

Secondly, as historical artefacts, the manuscripts hold vital information regarding non-musical aspects of nineteenth-century culture. This raises the significance of the manuscripts beyond an exclusively musical domain and into wider social and cultural history disciplines. They enable us to observe unwritten cultural and social rules, and their value as important English historical primary sources increases whilst consequently destabilising research on nineteenth-century literacy levels.

Furthermore, evidence of wider social and cultural movements, in the form of religious and autodidactic practices, are visible, strengthening their use as historical artefacts. Accordingly, the manuscripts should be considered as a valuable primary source in the broader field of nineteenth-century history.

Perhaps their most significant role as artefacts is their survival when compared to the printed sources which they replicate, discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. If it were not for these manuscripts, the extent of these musicians' repertoires would be skewed.¹³⁰³ The repertoire of 'ear-playing' nineteenth-century amateur musicians was open to mediation by collectors hunting out and selecting historic tunes from their repertoire and as such may not be wholly representative.¹³⁰⁴ Similarly, many of the contemporary tunes and songs do not exist in modern collections such as TTA, nor are they easily accessible in the original, printed publications and it is only through the manuscripts that we are re-acquainted with this repertoire. Even those which are preserved in BL are not representative of the printed collections in their entirety as my personal collection proves.

There is an element of irony that despite having been published and printed, it is not directly via that seemingly stable medium that the tunes have survived and been passed down to us. Without these manuscripts, our knowledge of a mid-late-nineteenth-century amateur, vernacular, instrumental musical practice, its participants, repertoire and sources, would be lacking. Without these manuscript sources, there is a danger that an entire chapter in the historiography of nineteenth-century English music would be omitted.

Original Contribution to Knowledge

Many areas of my work, such as the content repertoire and transmission method have been beneficial to the field of study in their role to substantiate and strengthen work done by other scholars. In other areas, my work has revealed hypotheses and factual evidence whereby I am able to add an original contribution to a field, whether this field is the domain of folk music, popular music or part of the wider musicological discipline.

Both Partington,¹³⁰⁵ and Russell,¹³⁰⁶ highlight that the mid-late-nineteenth-century monophonic instrumental music is understudied and so my research contributes to

¹³⁰³ Perhaps this should read 'even more skewed when added to our ignorance of the musicians' unwritten repertoire'.

¹³⁰⁴ See discussion in Chapter 1 and Atkinson, 'Revival: Genuine or Spurious?', p. 145.

¹³⁰⁵ "Nevertheless I cannot emphasise enough *it has not been well studied* from our point of view and material such as you describe will be a valuable part of the story in the future". Partington, *Email*.

¹³⁰⁶ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 181.

furthering awareness of the post-1850 manuscripts and their printed sources. By confronting the contentious subject of the manuscripts in relation to folk music tradition and observing them as representative of an autonomous musical practice will hopefully relieve some of the weight of expectation and allow them to be studied more objectively.

Specifically relating to the post-1850 manuscripts, I have identified the narrow range and type of sources used by the compilers and recognised that even the manuscripts' older material was emanating from contemporary sources. My research has also established the demographic of these compilers, highlighting their place in vernacular society especially amongst young men from lower occupation classes. I have dispelled a rural/urban divide with regards to musical styles in the post-1850 manuscripts, but identified a potential religious and environmental impact on the route that skills were acquired, and highlighted a connection between the musical practice and the nineteenth-century auto-didactic movement.

I have argued that the compilers were borrowing their sources and my investigation has led to the awareness of Musical Circulating Libraries, re-introducing them into current musicological discourse. Furthermore, the examination into the marriage certificate signatures has importantly revealed instability in the statistical methods of literary historians in using this method to assess literacy levels. Similarly, this has shown a subtle interaction between literacy and orality/aurality which cannot be easily perceived outside the social and cultural milieu in which it existed. As such, the important role the manuscripts play as a primary resource in wider musicological and non-musicological disciplines has been exposed.

Limitations and Areas for Future Study

I am aware that by looking at only three manuscripts in depth I have been unable to state outright that they are wholly representative of the post-1850 archive, although a superficial examination of other manuscripts suggests that they are indeed representative. Additionally, I have been troubled by elements of subjectivity and limitations regarding classification. Moreover, with regards to the lack of substantiating evidence in the historical record, we have no reassurances that the surviving manuscripts tell us the entire story or if their very existence may skew what

we believe to be true. The survival of these specific sources and the motivation for transcription may be due to their uniqueness rather than the norm, and I would recommend further research on the under-researched manuscript archive as a whole, comparable with the wider survey carried out in Chapter 2.

Limitations of scope were felt with regards to MCLs, which, once they and their potential role within this musical culture was discovered, warranted a research project on them alone, which would have gone beyond the parameters set by this project. Therefore, I strongly propose that MCLs are worthy of future study, alongside building on the work I have started, considering the role that the auto-didactic movement plays on the manuscript archive.

Another major limitation was the difficulty in locating manuscript tune sources both at a higher level in the absence of a collated archive or catalogue of budget instrumental music books aimed at the amateur market; and on a more detailed level. Unlike the individual piano music sheets, which are traceable by title in archival catalogues, the direct sources are part of larger music book collections. The contents of these are not listed, not only in the catalogues, but frequently in the music books themselves, making research into the contents and tunes somewhat haphazard and incredibly time-consuming. Although the piano music sheets share much of the same repertoire as the instrumentalists they exist as a single entity and as such are immeasurably easier to search.¹³⁰⁷

The sheer number of printed tune publications compounds research problems and I would recommend a thorough investigation into these important printed resources, resulting in a comprehensive catalogue.¹³⁰⁸ A digitised, searchable database of mid-late-nineteenth-century 'cheap' instrumental tune publications, analogous to 'The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Archive' would be advantageous.¹³⁰⁹ This would

¹³⁰⁷ In part this is due to the interest in the lithographed covers, generated amongst art historians, resulting in inclusion in some digital visual online archives such as NLA and LOC. Research is also made much easier by Slatter's dedicated interest and passion in the piano music sheets resulting in the valuable online catalogue for MB publications in which he catalogues the entire collection of nearly seven thousand 'Musical Bouquet' series of music sheets, plus further editions of MB compilation books, tutor books, religious collections and albums, including the instrumental collection. Slatter, 'Foreword'.

¹³⁰⁸ The project has commenced as a self-funded project but the enormity of it would benefit from funding and academic credence.

¹³⁰⁹ This would aim to be similar to the digitalisation of those books that influenced previous musicians such as Aird's. VWML offers this as a digitised copy although there are problems with the digitalisation

not only demonstrate the extent of the music publishers' largely unknown prolific output, aimed at these amateur monophonic instrumentalists, but have a massive impact on subsequent researchers.¹³¹⁰

Just like the manuscripts which they fed, the printed music sources fall between disciplines too. An extensive gap in the literature exists regarding the key Victorian composers and music publishers of this vernacular musical practice,¹³¹¹ and 'the music publishing industry still awaits its historian'.¹³¹² Their stories need to be researched and written and a digitised resource would complement these histories.

Directly relating to the manuscript archive, I found that the diverse locations caused logistical problems for research purposes. Further, despite the highly commendable and painstaking work carried out by the volunteers involved with VMP and Folkopedia,¹³¹³ I found cataloguing and classification issues, in part resulting from larger problems with definition but also relating to the scattered archive and fundamentally a lack of proper recognition in the form of serious funding from prominent establishments. A survey and well-maintained catalogue and indexing of both the archive and the individual tunebooks' contents would be highly beneficial for academic researchers and interested enthusiasts alike. In line with this, a comparative analysis of subsequent manuscripts and current repertoire would enable us to see those tunes that did emerge as folk music and by their omission, those which were cast aside, "spat out as unsuitable".¹³¹⁴

It is vital that these important artefacts of national heritage are valued and given the funding and prominence they deserve. By placing the archive under the auspices of an academic or non-voluntary institution would bring awareness of the manuscripts to a wider audience whilst ensuring rigorous, accountable practice. Further, as part of the

process as the page is not working as of 18/05/18. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, 'This Page Isn't Working', *Vaughan Williams Memorial Library* (No date) <<https://www.vwml.org/browse/browse-collections-dance-tune-books/browse-urbani1800>> [accessed 18 May 2018].

¹³¹⁰ On a personal level this would facilitate further research to enable the discovery of more direct sources from within the three case-study manuscripts and the dominance of a handful of key publishers. Ascertaining the publishers' sources would be vital to continue the examination of the continuing process of tradition, as it is represented in the manuscripts.

¹³¹¹ See Chapters 3 and 4.

¹³¹² Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 173.

¹³¹³ In particular, Johnny Adams and Chris Partington who deserve singular and sincere acknowledgement for their dedicated voluntary services to maintain and preserve the archive.

¹³¹⁴ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 671.

global move towards digital humanities it is essential that the archive is brought together in one place, as far as is possible,¹³¹⁵ to preserve and promulgate this valuable historic English archive via an online digitalisation project.

This thesis has justified a place for the manuscripts in the process of folk music tradition, as defined within a modern scholarly framework. By unravelling the received definition and objectively accepting the manuscripts' lack of conformity to this, I aim for the manuscripts to be approached more widely, no longer carrying the 'burden of expectation'. Further, this thesis has shown the manuscripts' importance to the understandings of wider nineteenth-century popular music practice and Victorian cultural and social history. I hope this will result in a wider awareness, acceptance of and interest in these valuable primary sources across the interdisciplinary academic spectrum and amongst their current guardians, amateur 'ordinary' musicians.

¹³¹⁵ Problems are anticipated regarding private ownership and certain record offices and libraries.

Epilogue

**“...here alone I sadly con
your present dumbness, shape your olden story”.¹³¹⁶**

I have spent the last four years on an academic journey, uncovering the story that my great-great grandfather’s manuscript and others like it, have to tell about the musical practice they represent. Not only has folk music process survived and been passed down to me, but I am surrounded by remnant artefacts of his musical practice: a couple of wooden fifes; a collection of printed tunebooks; the red silk handkerchief from his fiddle case; and most importantly his fiddle and manuscript tunebook, shown in Figure 142. As a postscript to the thesis, I am ending with a photograph of Thomas Hampton’s violin, fifes and tunebook followed by the words of the Thomas Hardy, and his poem dedicated to his father’s violin.¹³¹⁷



Figure 142 : Thomas Hampton's fiddle, tunebook and two fifes.

¹³¹⁶ Thomas Hardy, 'To My Father's Violin (1916)', *Public Domain Poetry* (2018) <<http://www.public-domain-poetry.com>> [accessed 22 May 2018].

¹³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

To My Father's Violin

Does he want you down there
In the Nether Glooms where
The hours may be a dragging load upon him,
As he hears the axle grind
Round and round
Of the great world, in the blind
Still profound
Of the night-time? He might liven at the sound
Of your string, revealing you had not forgone him.

In the gallery west the nave,
But a few yards from his grave,
Did you, tucked beneath his chin, to his bowing
Guide the homely harmony
Of the quire
Who for long years strenuously -
Son and sire -
Caught the strains that at his fingering low or higher
From your four thin threads and eff-holes came outflowing.

And, too, what merry tunes
He would bow at nights or noons
That chanced to find him bent to lute a measure,
When he made you speak his heart
As in dream,
Without book or music-chart,
On some theme
Elusive as a jack-o'-lanthorn's gleam,
And the psalm of duty shelved for trill of pleasure.

Well, you can not, alas,
The barrier overpass
That screens him in those Mournful Meads hereunder,
Where no fiddling can be heard
In the glades
Of silentness, no bird
Thrills the shades;
Where no viol is touched for songs or serenades,
No bowing wakes a congregation's wonder.

He must do without you now,
Stir you no more anyhow
To yearning concords taught you in your glory;
While, your strings a tangled wreck,
Once smart drawn,
Ten worm-wounds in your neck,
Purflings wan
With dust-hoar, here alone I sadly con
Your present dumbness, shape your olden story.

1916.

Appendix A - A Facsimile Resource

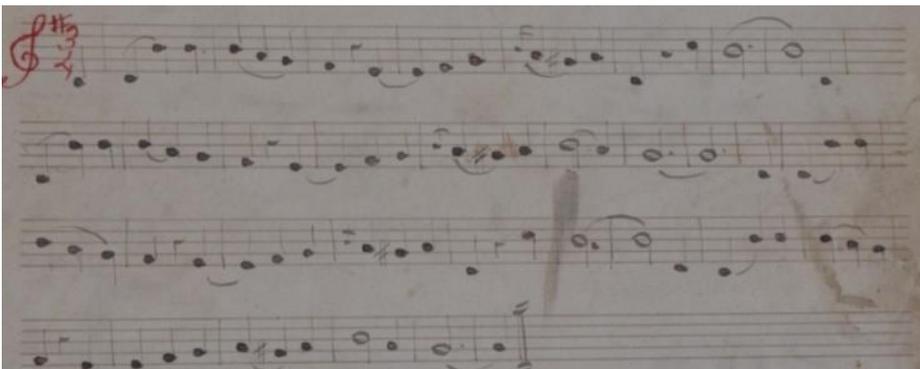
Hampton MS c1870-1880¹³¹⁸

Photographs: R Dellow. Source: Dellow Personal Collection.

Ham.1.1



Ham.1.2



Ham.1.3

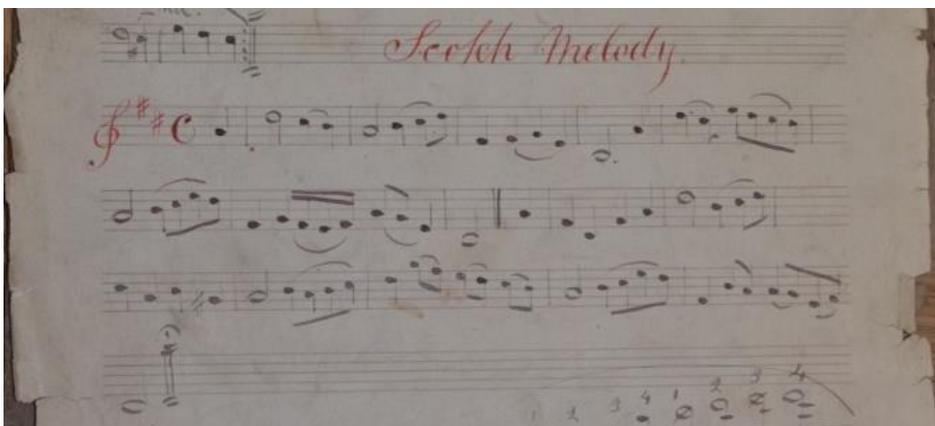


¹³¹⁸ Hampton, *Music Manuscript Book (Dances for Violin)*.

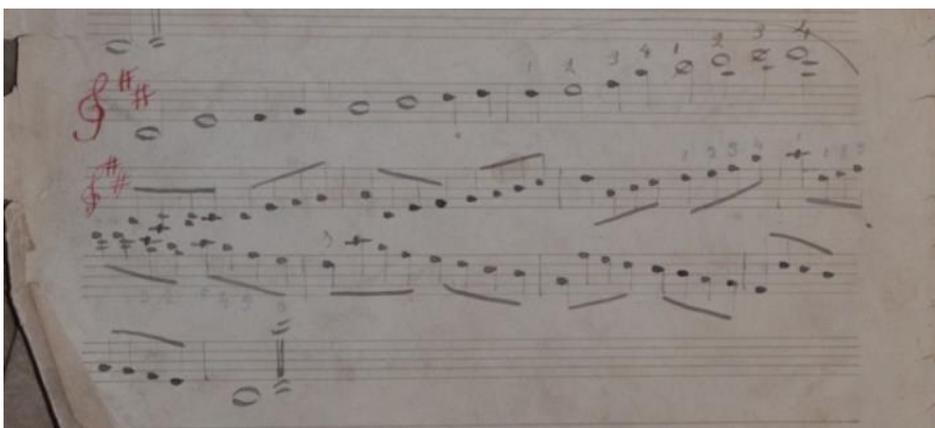
Ham.2.1



Ham.2.2



Ham.2.3 & Ham.2.4



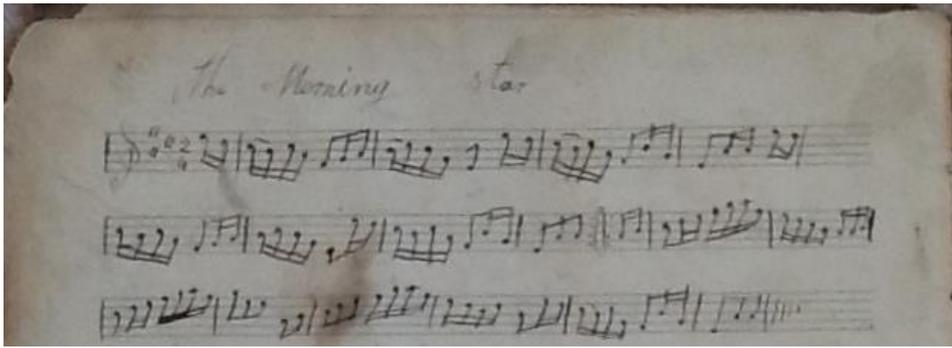
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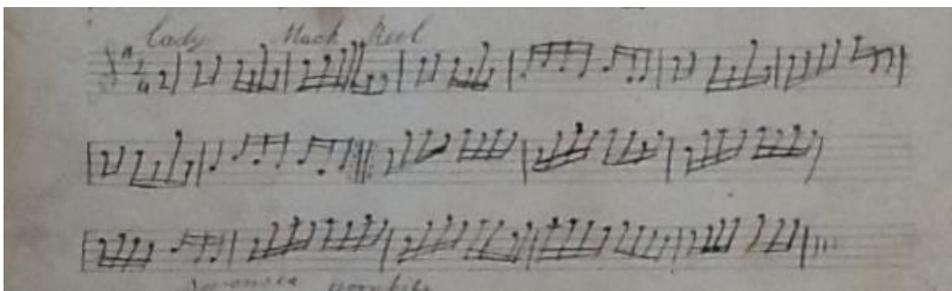
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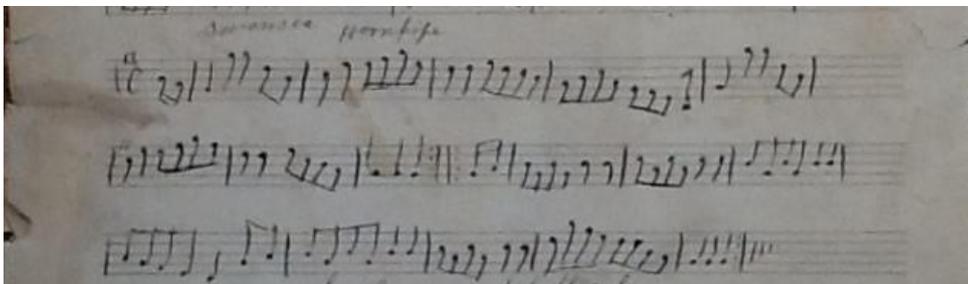
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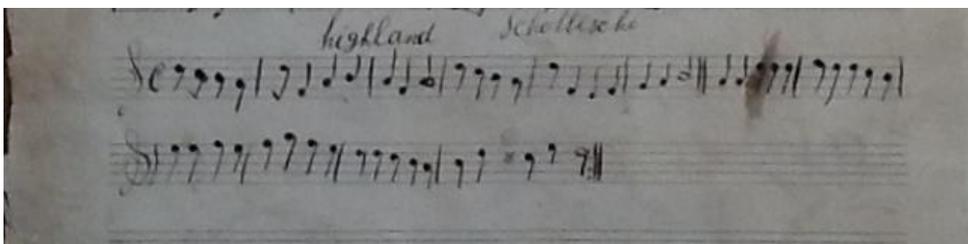
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Ham.4.3



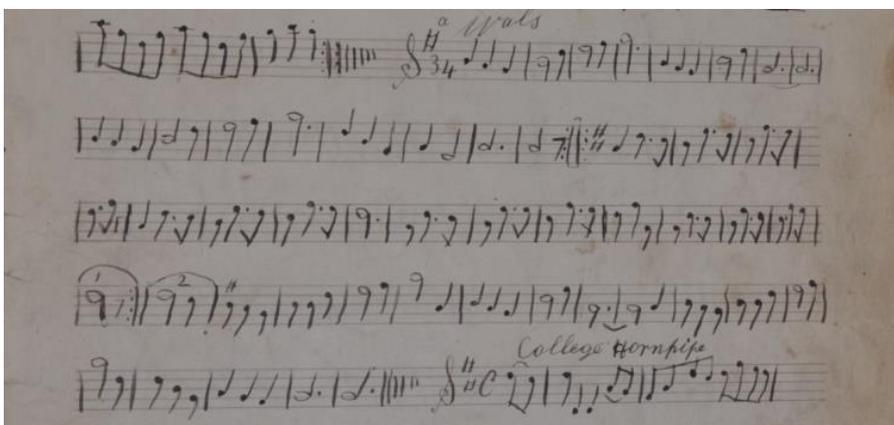
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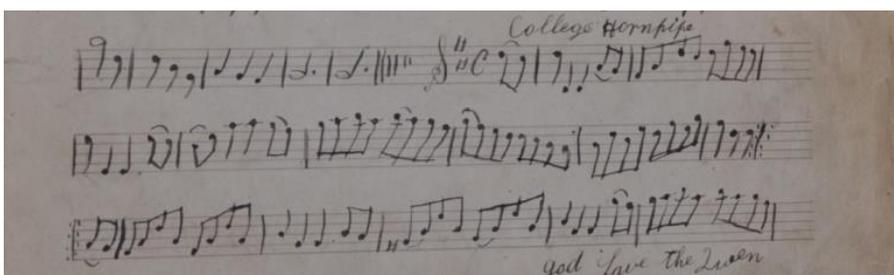
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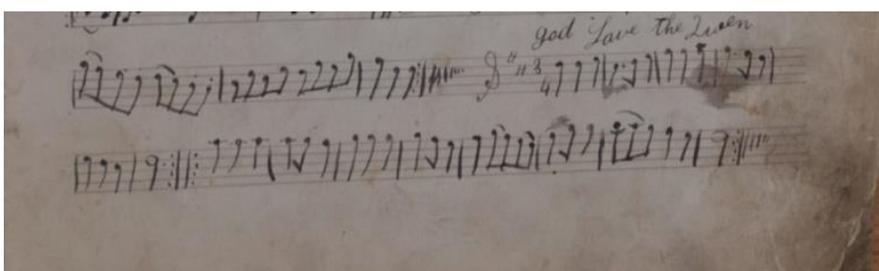
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Ham.5.3



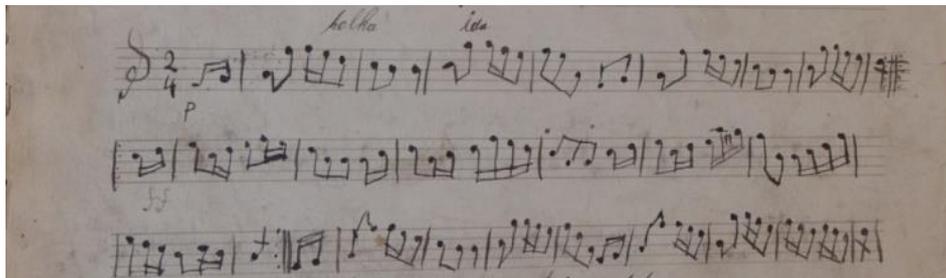
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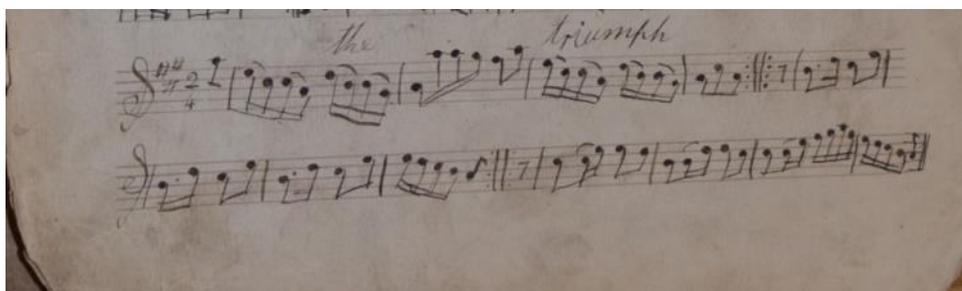
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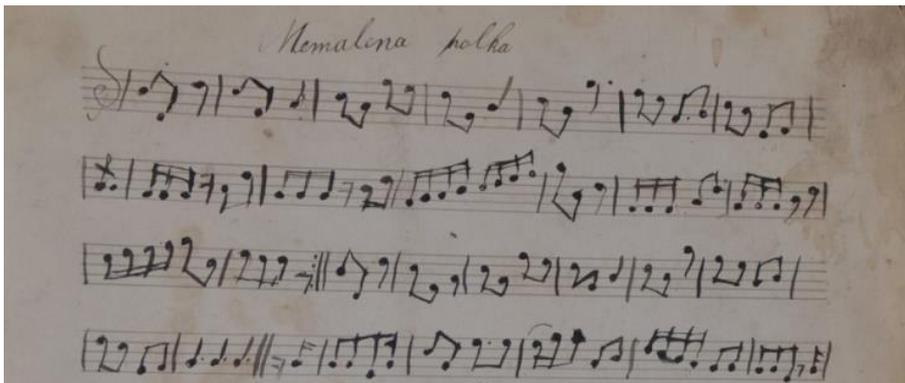
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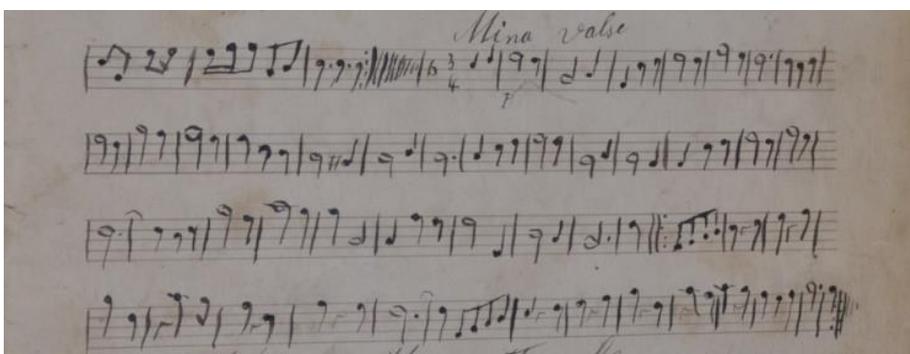
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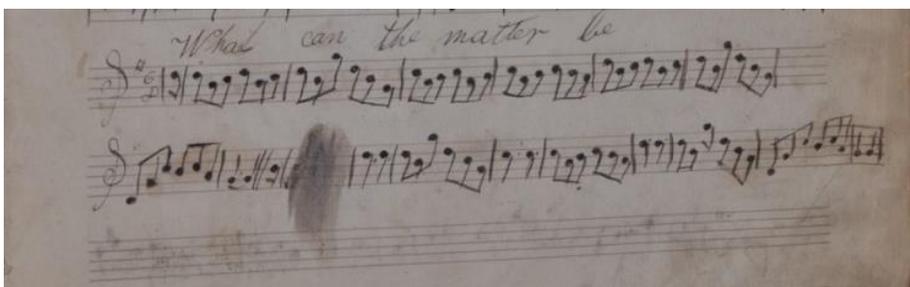
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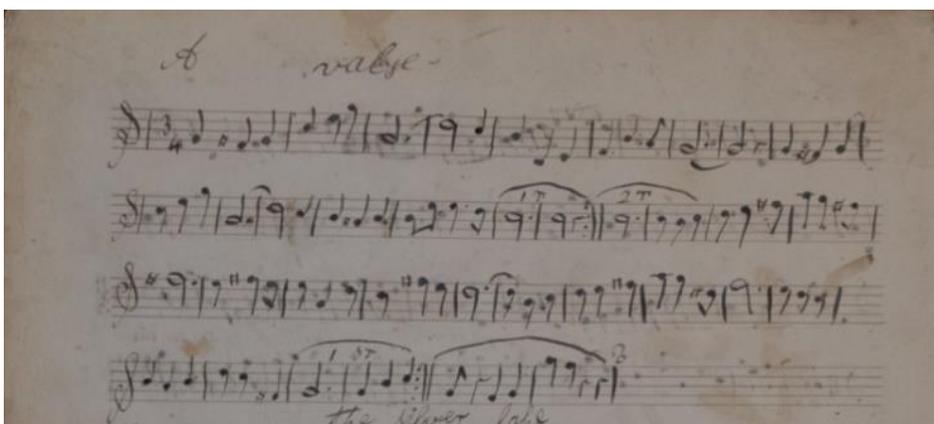
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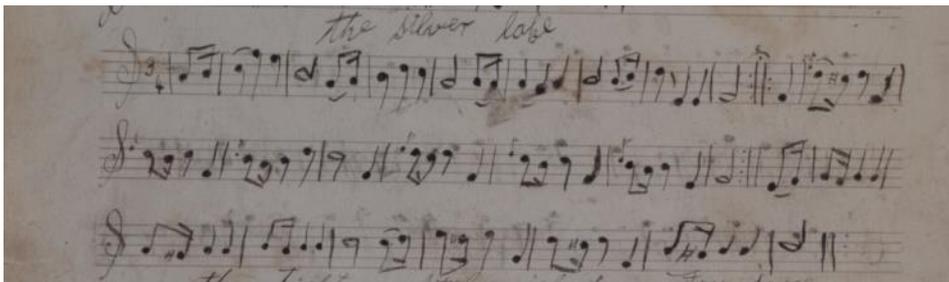
Ham.7.3



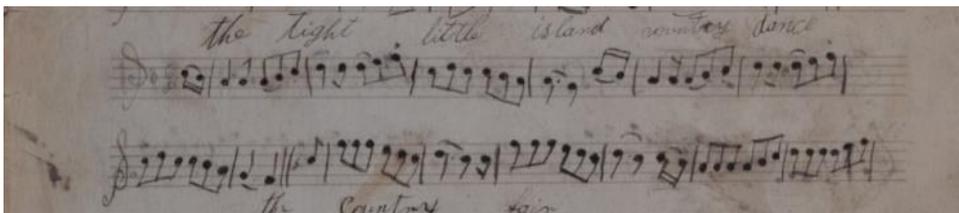
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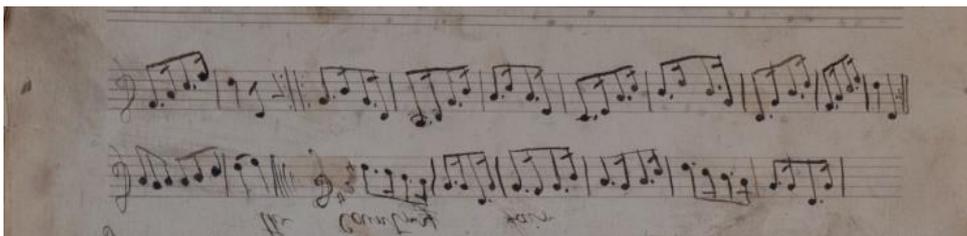
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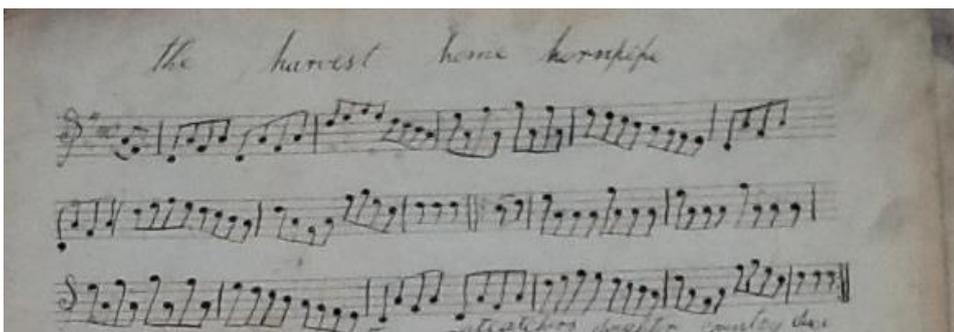
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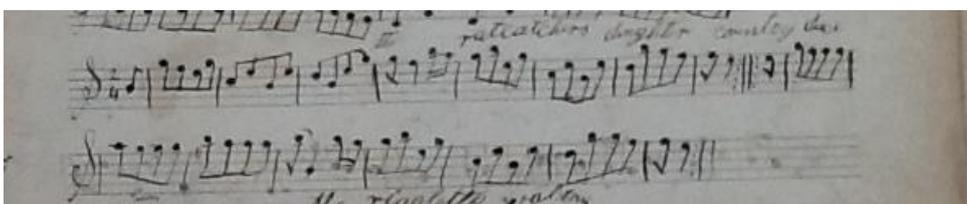
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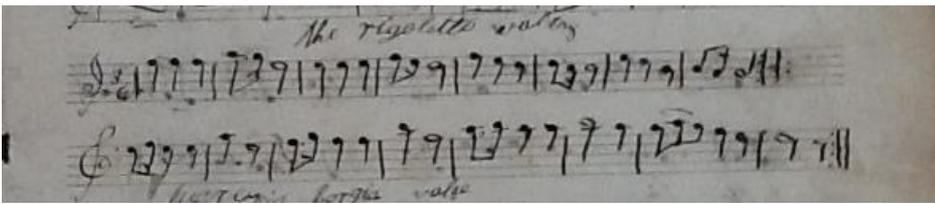
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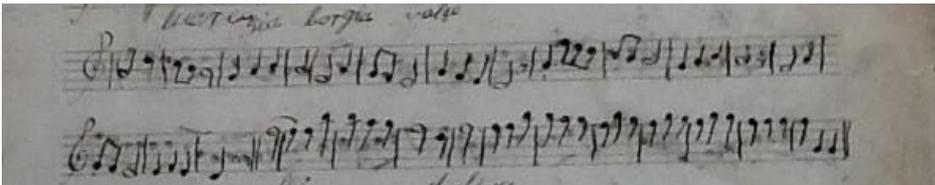
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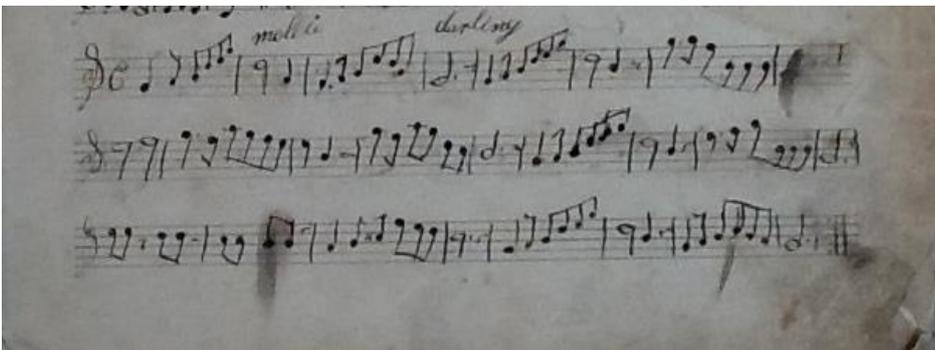
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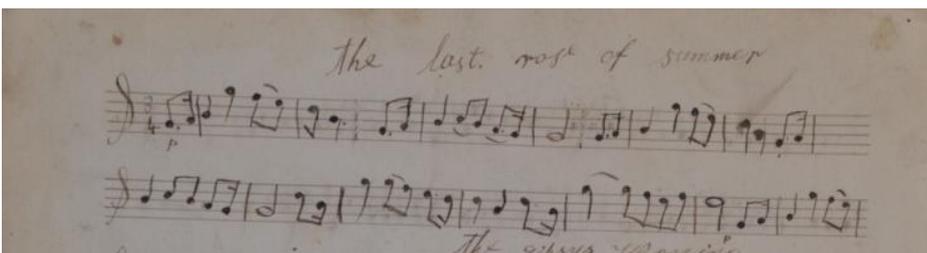
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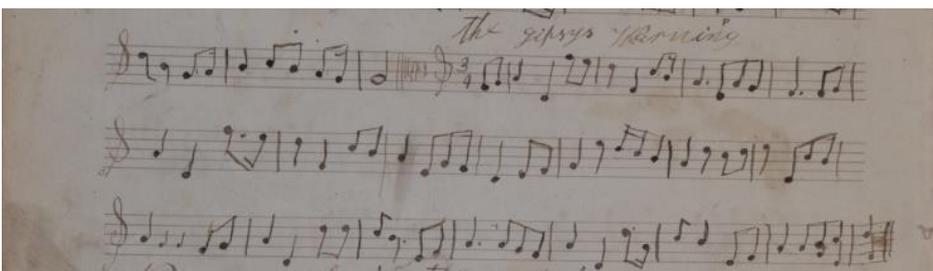
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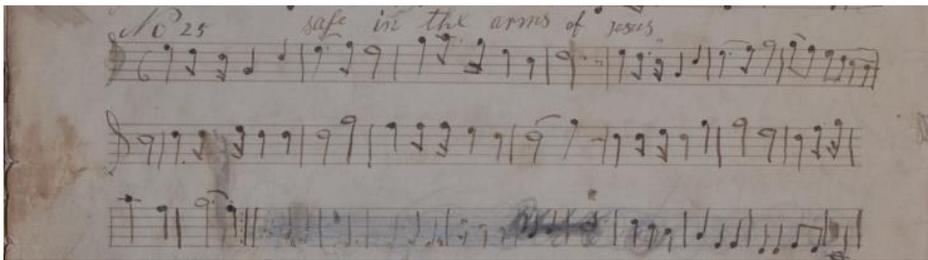
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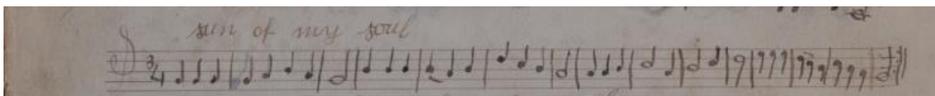
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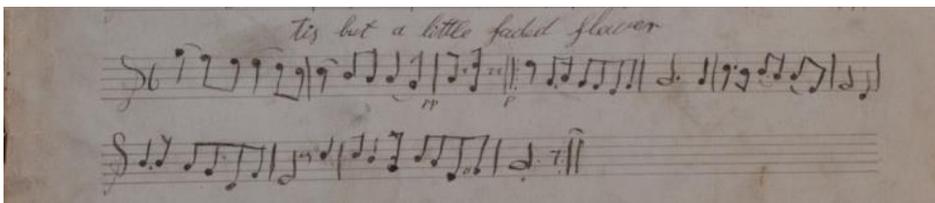
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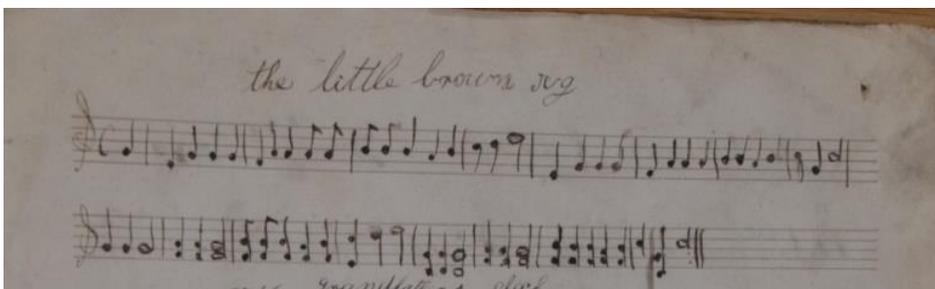
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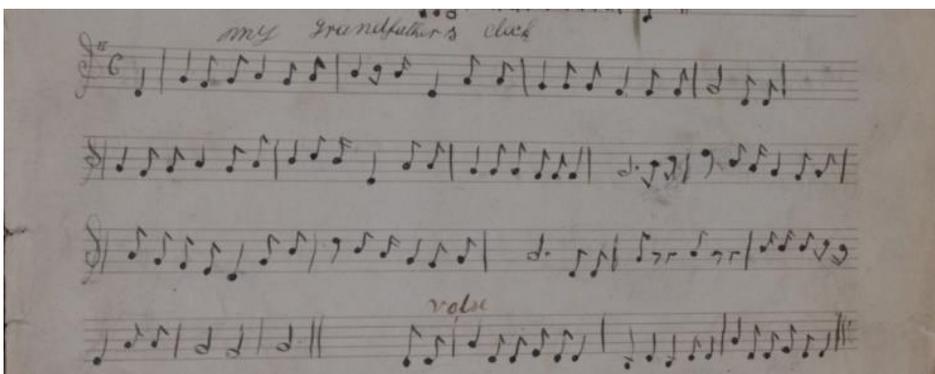
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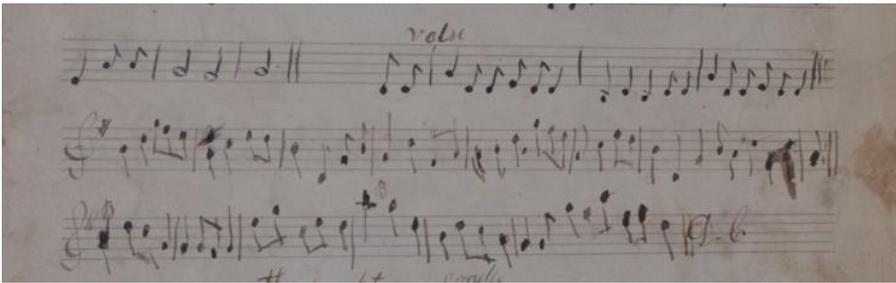
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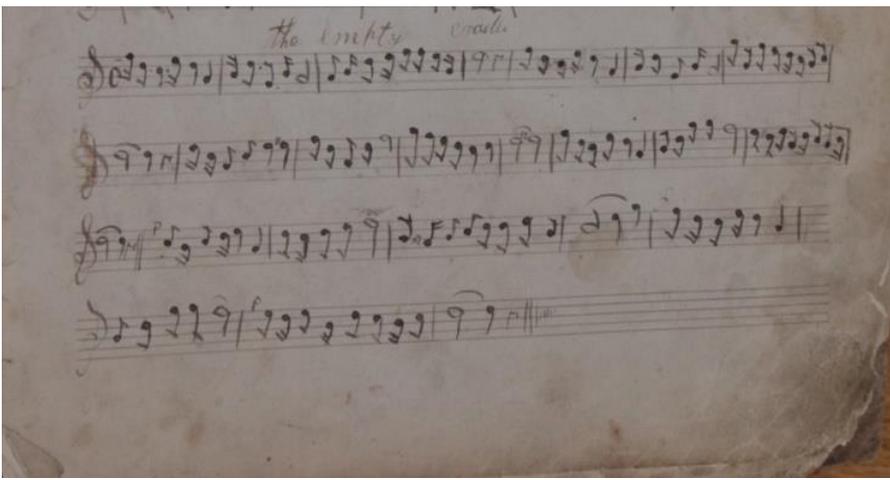
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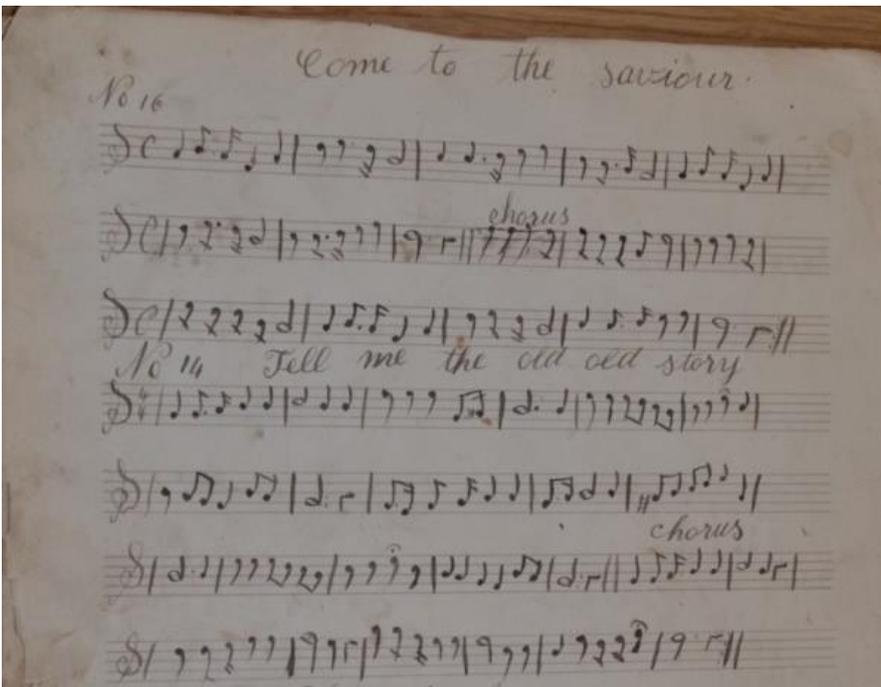
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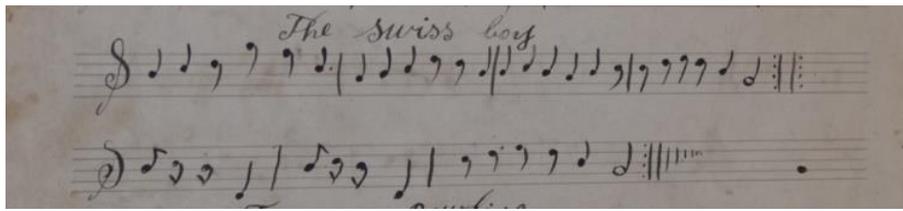
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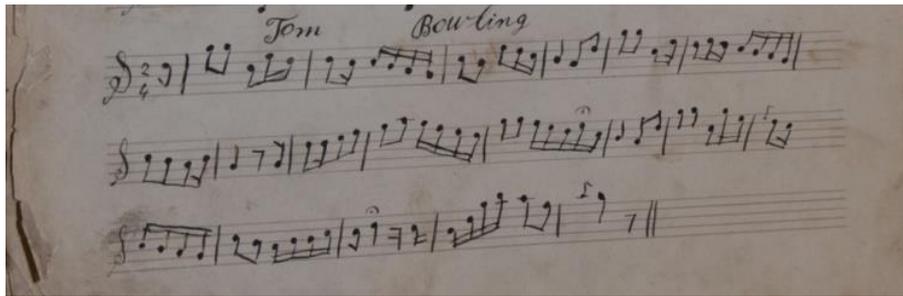
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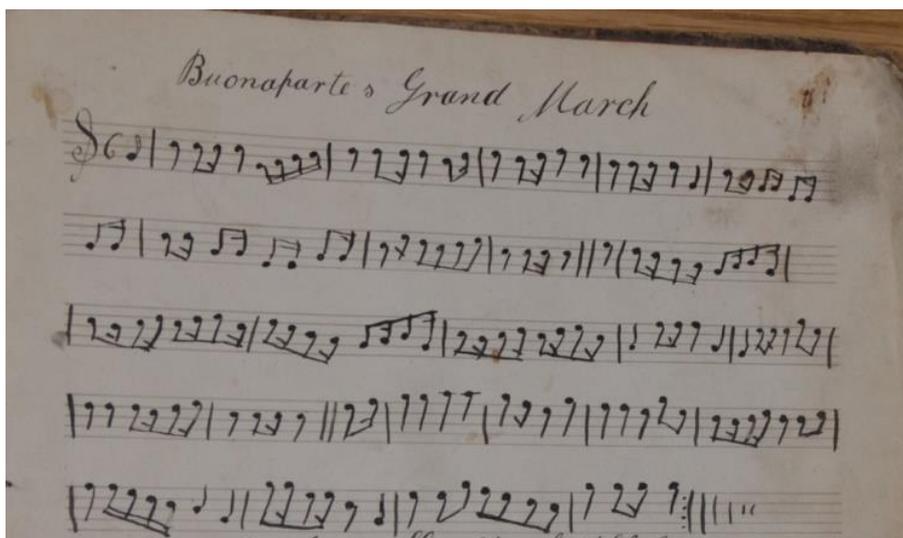
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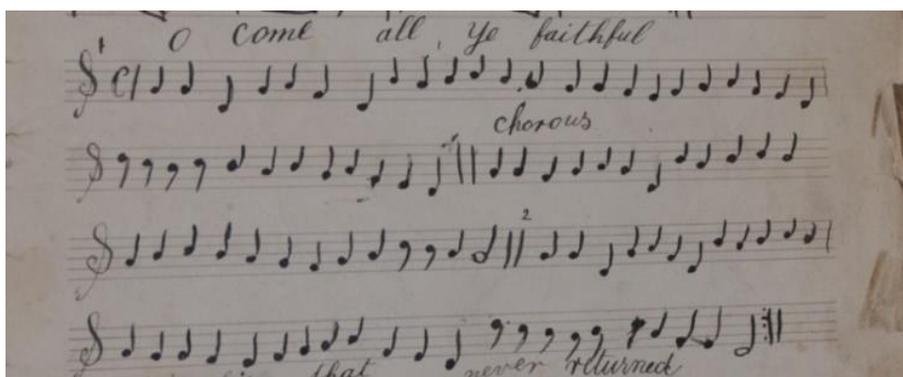
Ham.12.4



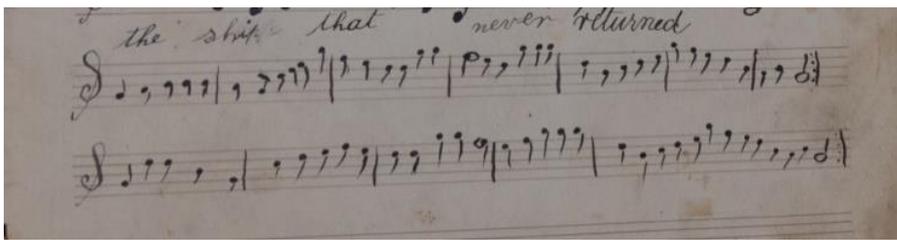
Ham.13.1



Ham.13.2



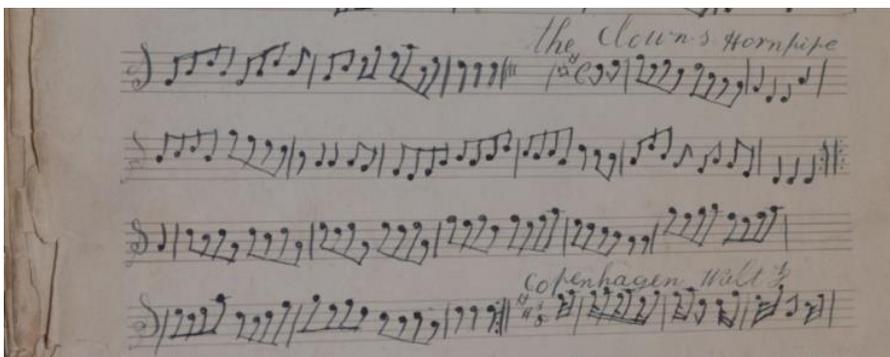
Ham.13.3



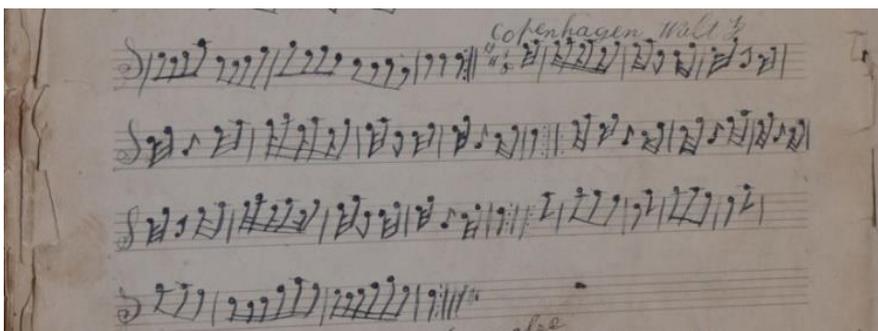
Ham.14.1



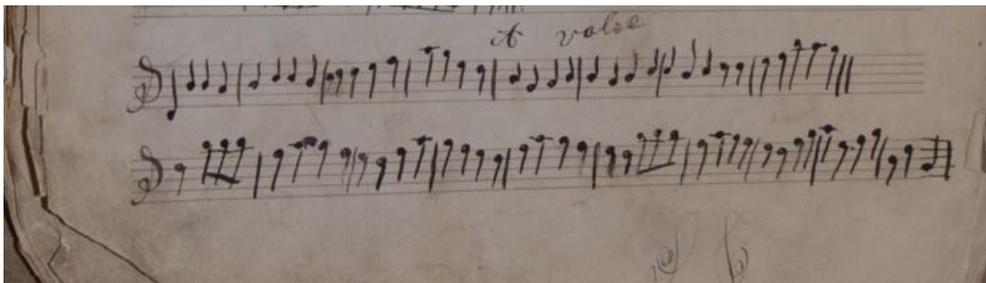
Ham.14.2



Ham.14.3



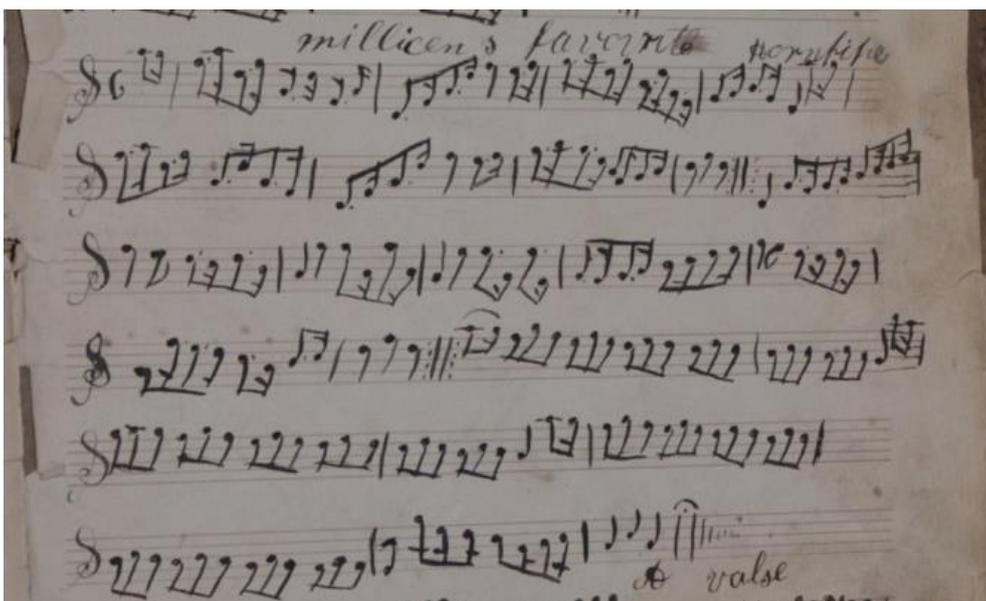
Ham.14.4



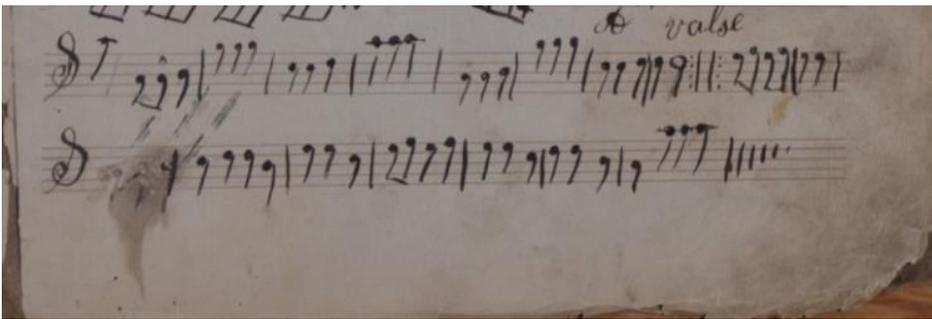
Ham.15.1



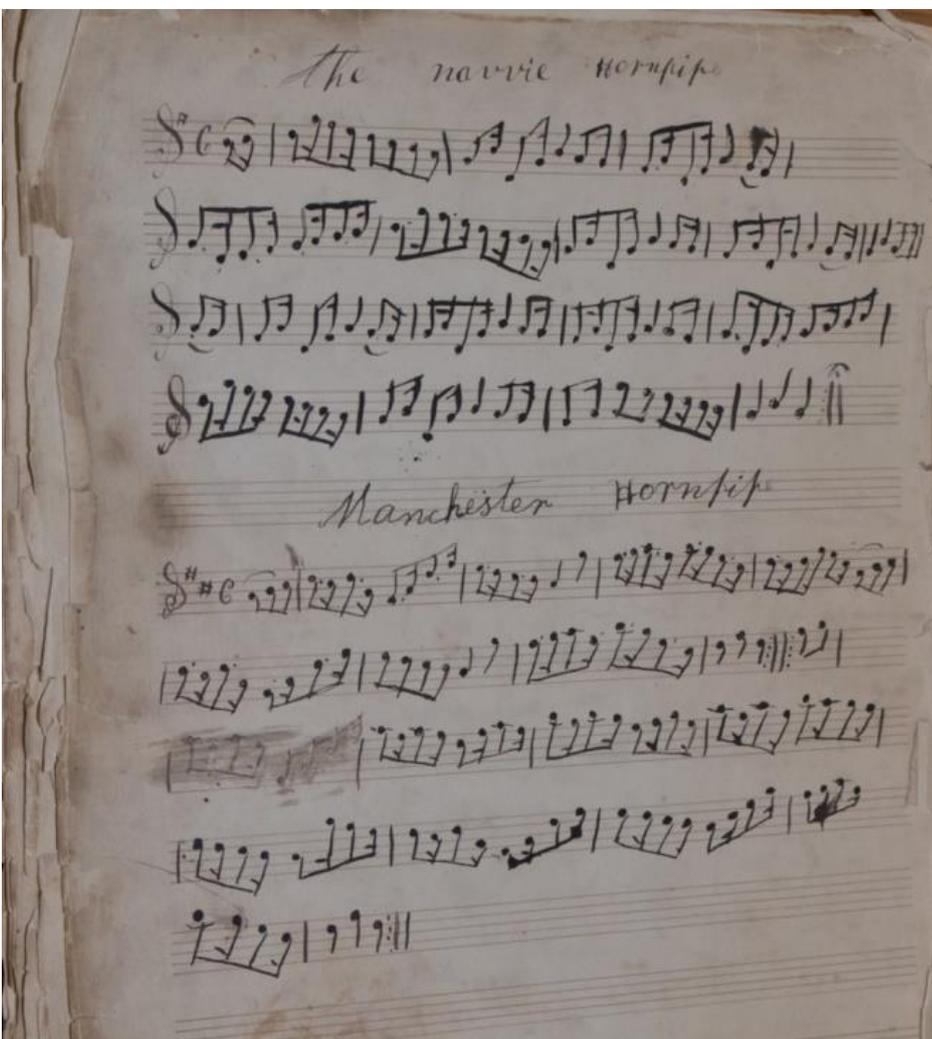
Ham.15.2



Ham.15.3



Ham.16.1 & Ham.16.2



Till/Clutterbuck MS 1866¹³¹⁹

Photographs: R Dellow. Source: Gloucestershire Archives (D4190/30 (D4190\3\4)).
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Til.2.1



Til.3.1



Til.4.1



¹³¹⁹ Clutterbuck/Till, *Music Manuscript Book*.

Til.5.1



Til.6.1



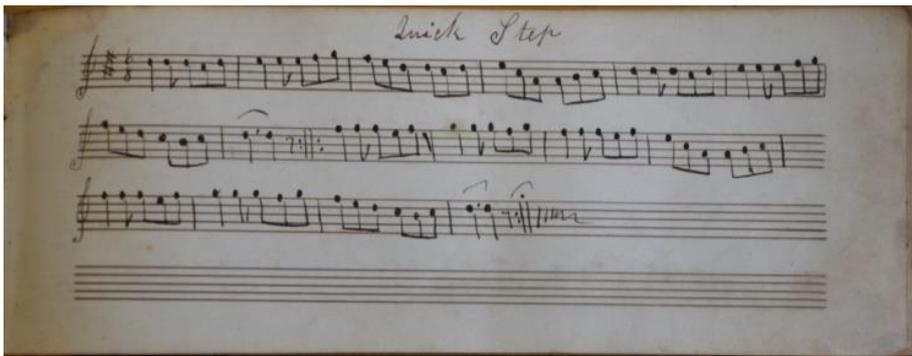
Til.7.1



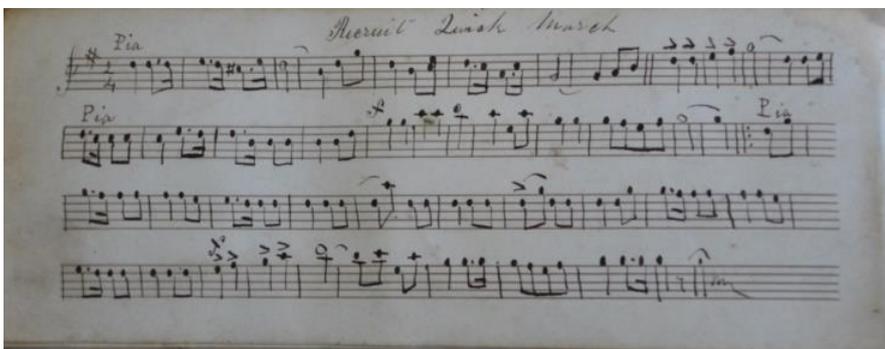
Til.8.1



Til.9.1



Til.10.1



Til.11.1



Til.12.1 and Til.12.2



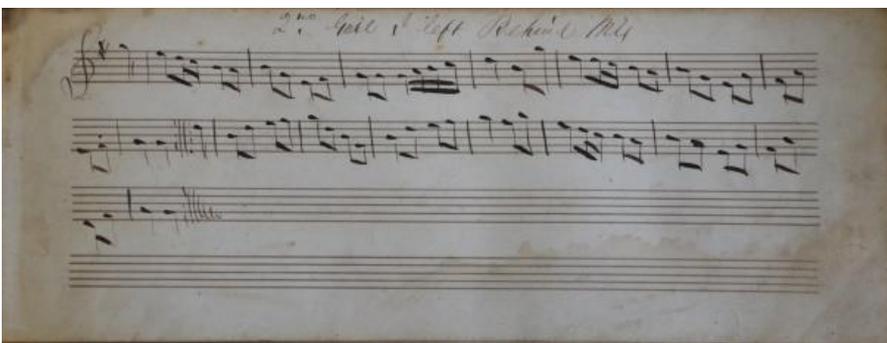
Til.13.1 & Til.13.2



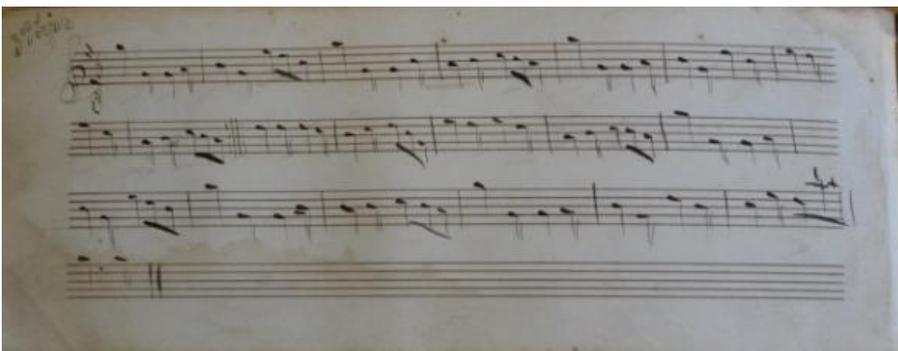
Til.14.1



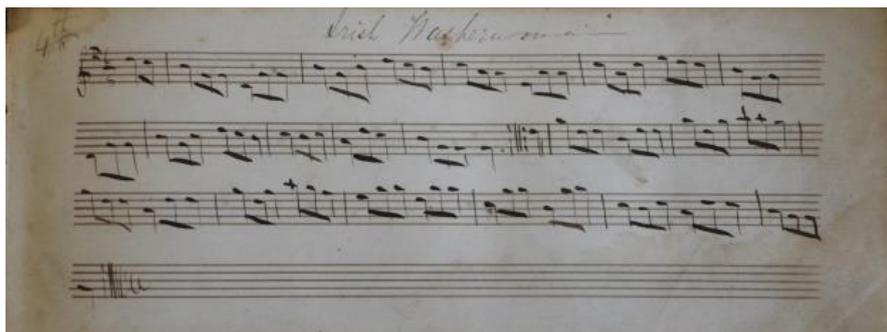
Til.15.1



Til.16.1



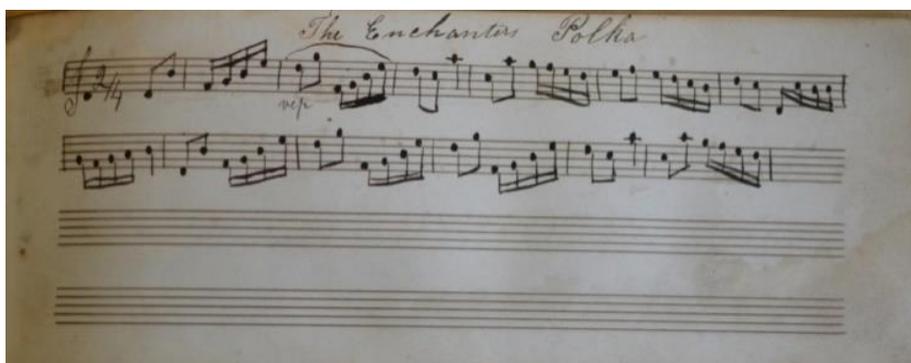
Til.17.1



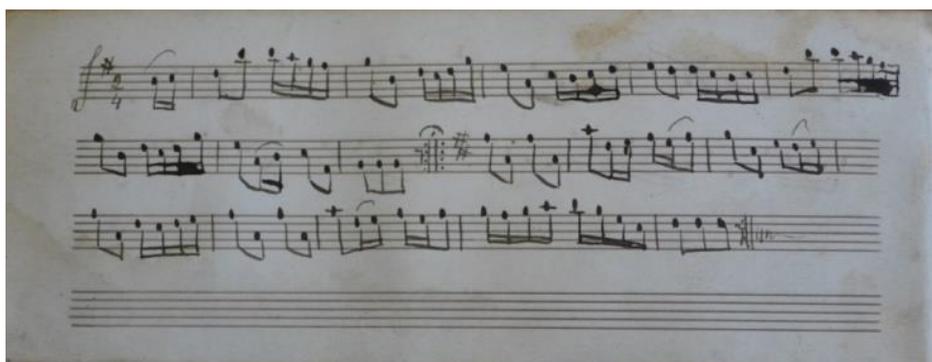
Til.18.1



Til.19.1



Til.20.1



Til.21.1



Til.22.1



Til.23.1



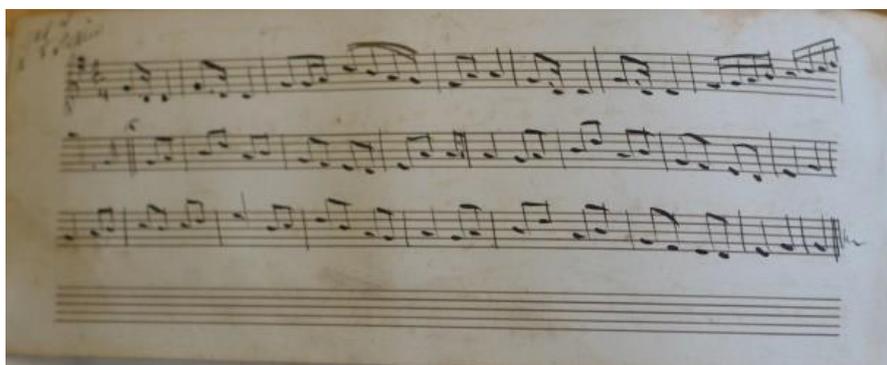
Til.24.1



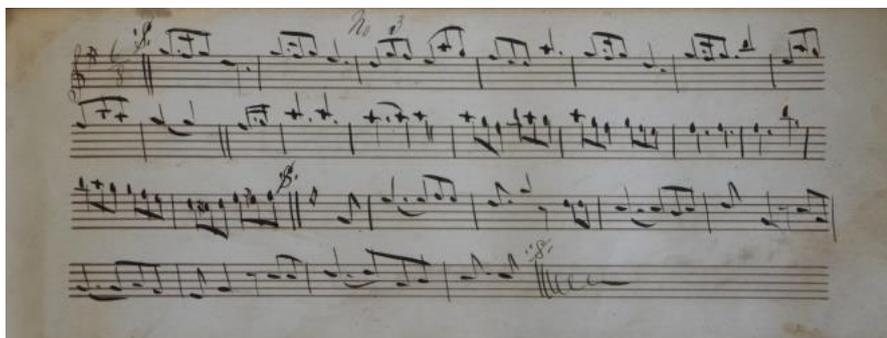
Til.25.1



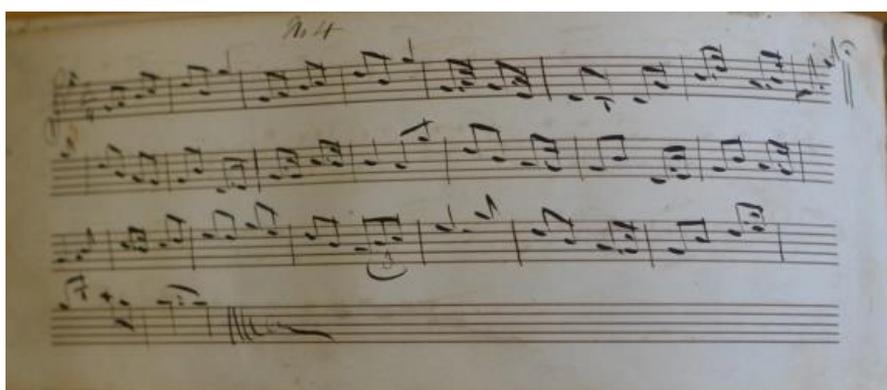
Til.26.1



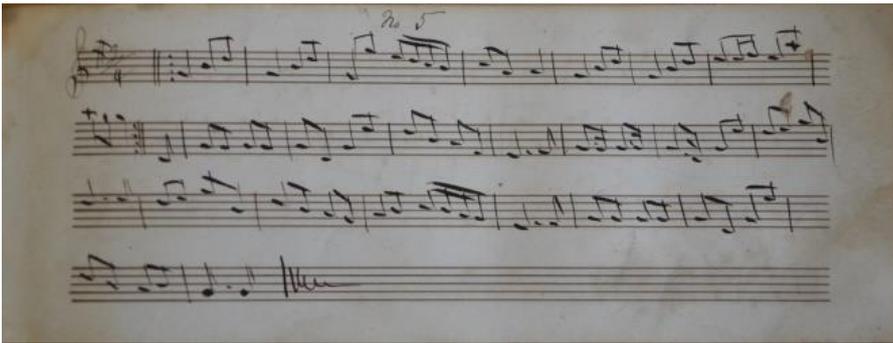
Til.27.1



Til.28.1



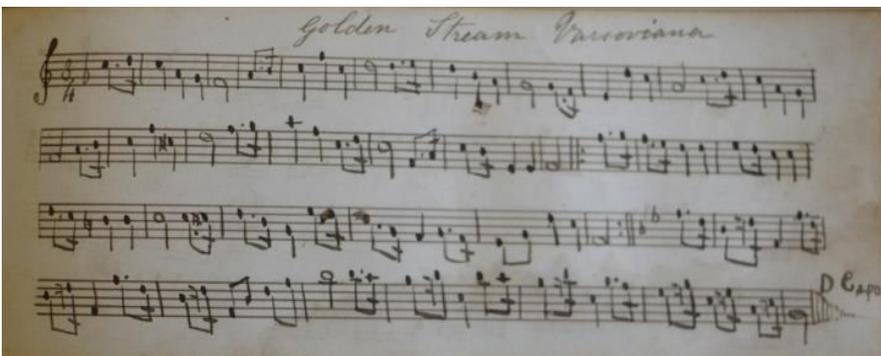
Til.29.1



Til.30.1



Til.31.1



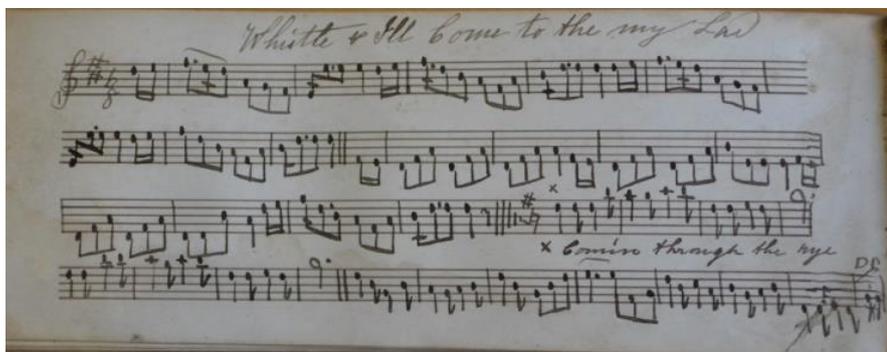
Til.32.1



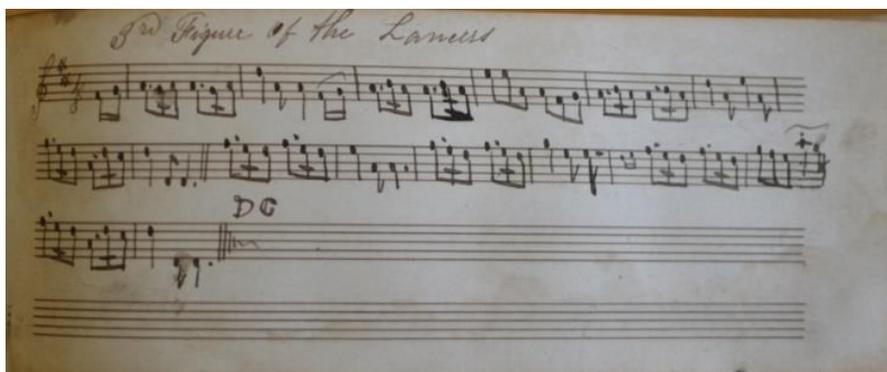
Til.33.1



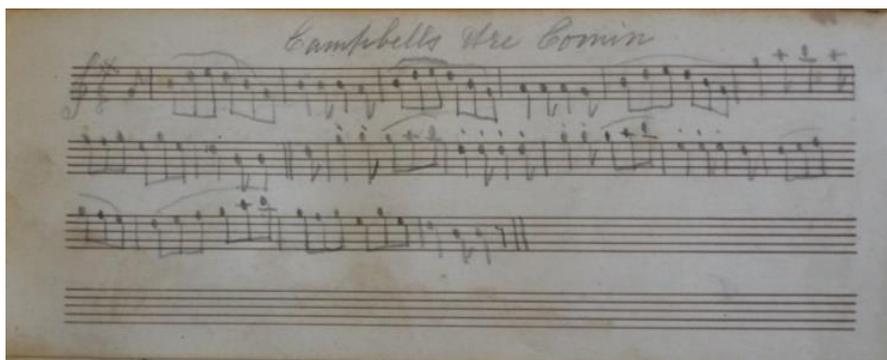
Til.34.1 & Til.34.2



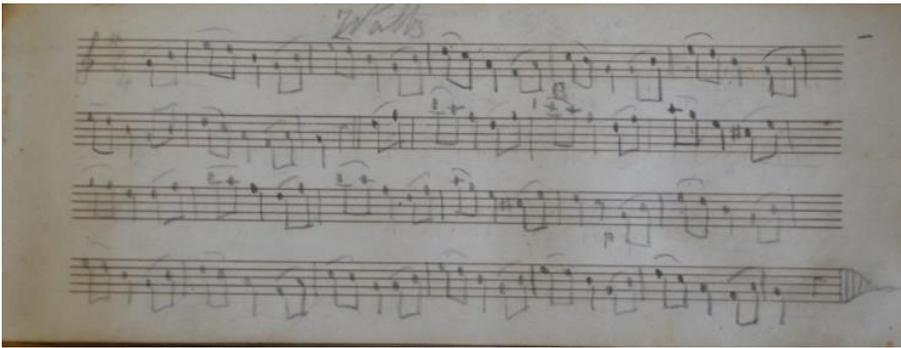
Til.35.1



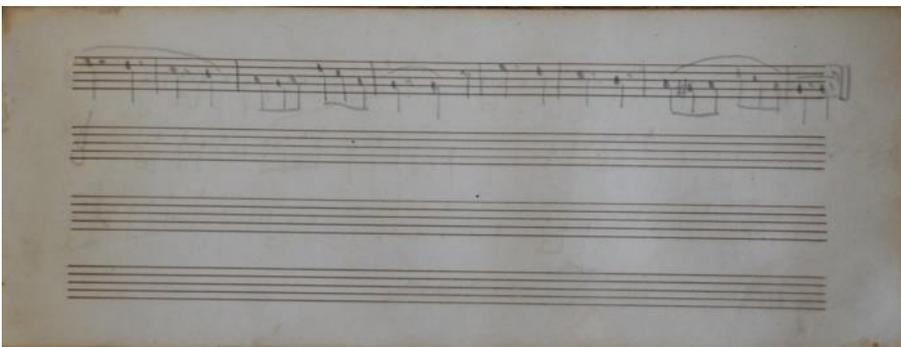
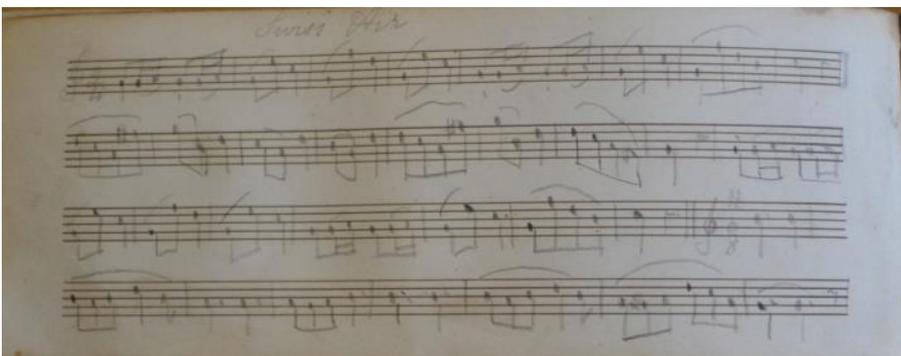
Til.36.1



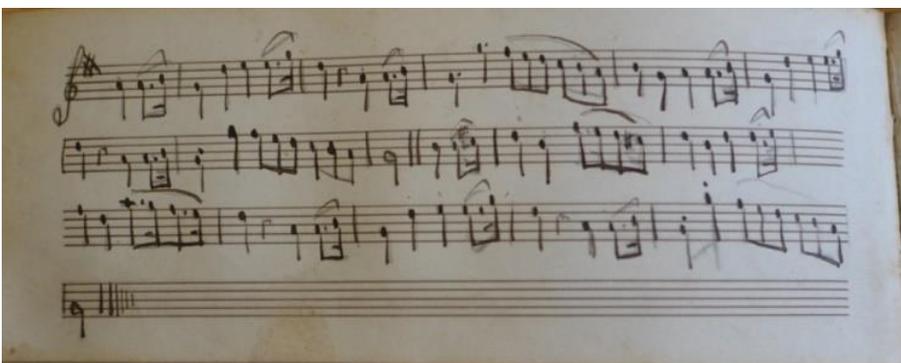
Til.37.1



Til.38.1



Til.40.1



Til.41.1



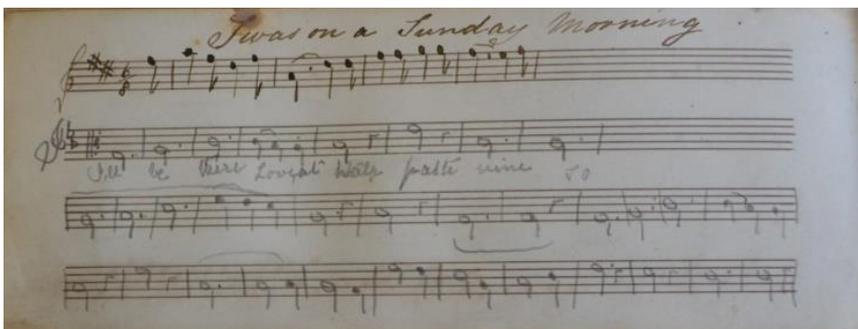
Til.42.1



Til.43.1



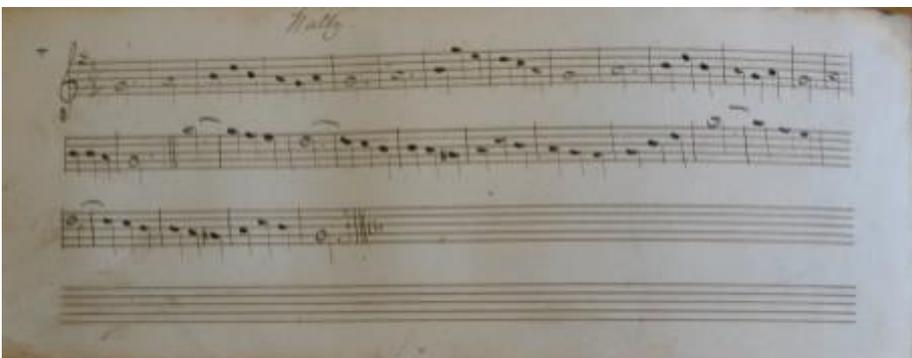
Til.44.1 & Til.44.2



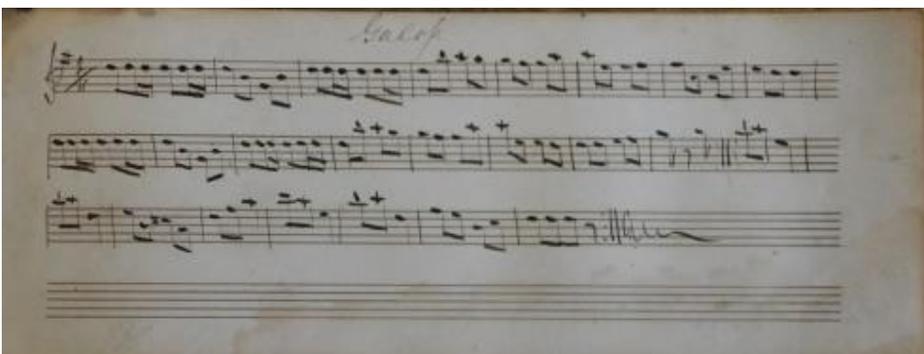
Til.46.1



Til.48.1



Til.49.1



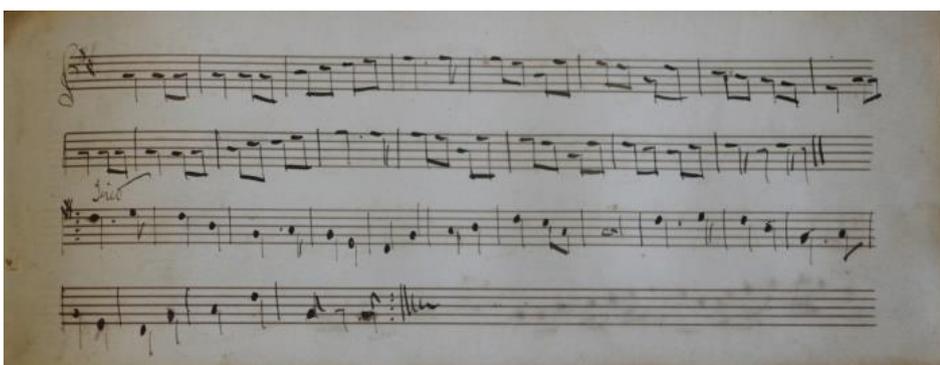
Til.50.1



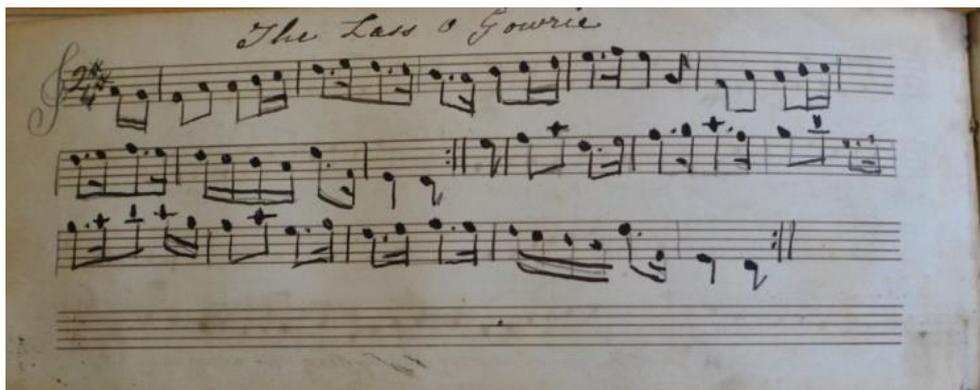
Til.51.1



Til.52.1



Til.58.1



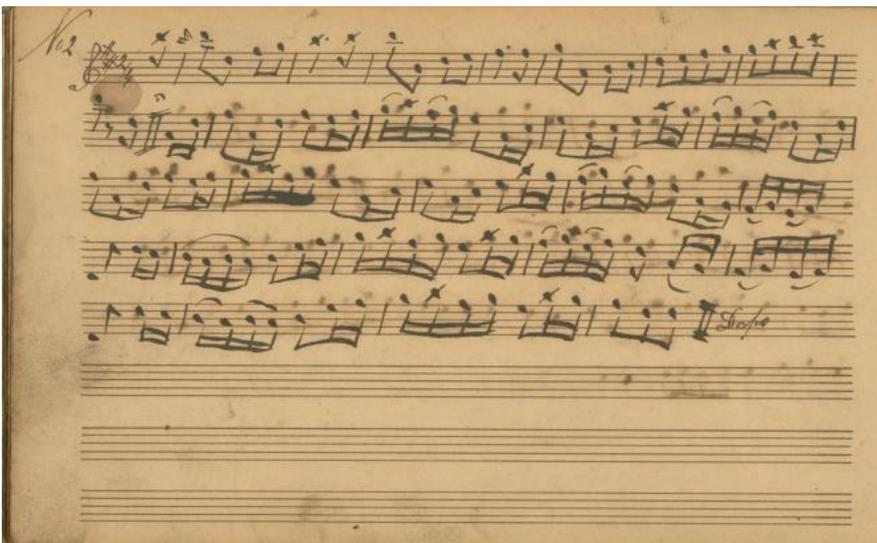
Bennett MS 1860¹³²⁰

Photographs: G Carter. Source: Huronia Museum, Ontario, Canada. Images are reproduced by kind permission of Huronia Museum.

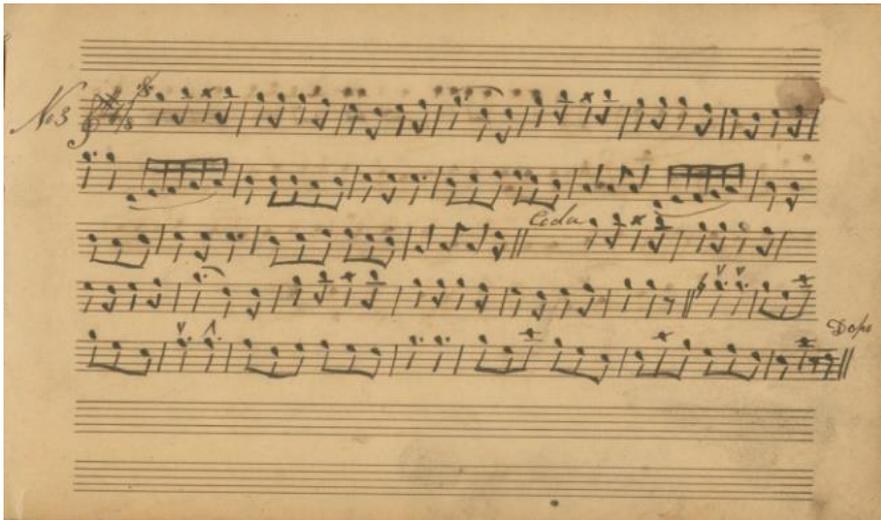
Ben.25.1



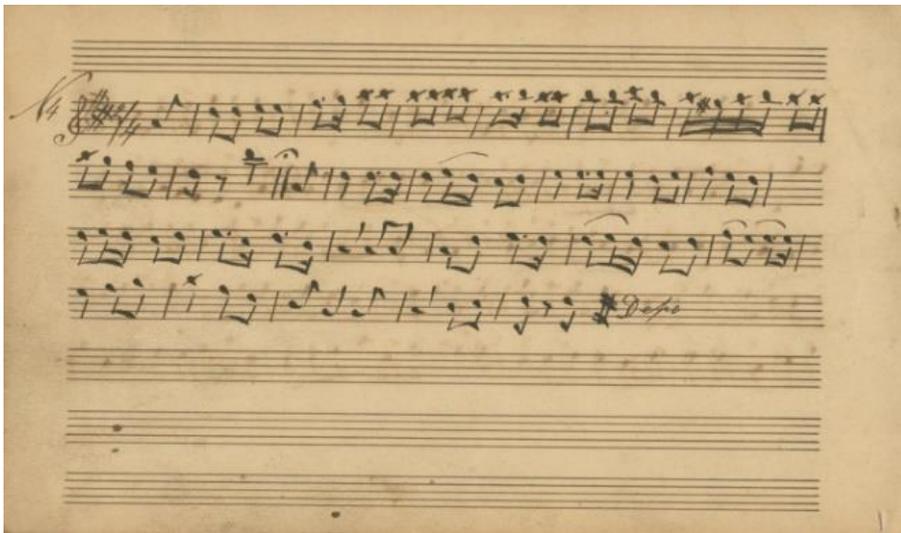
Ben.26.1



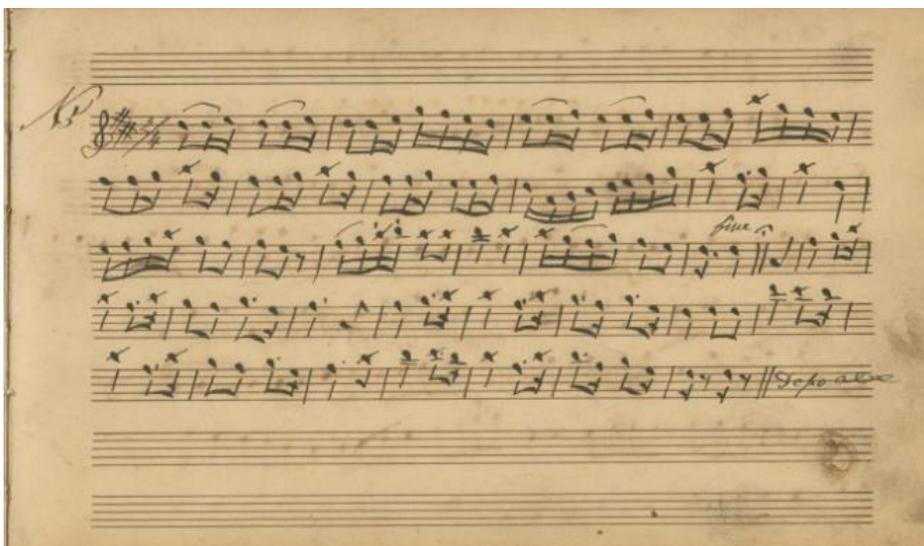
Ben.27.1



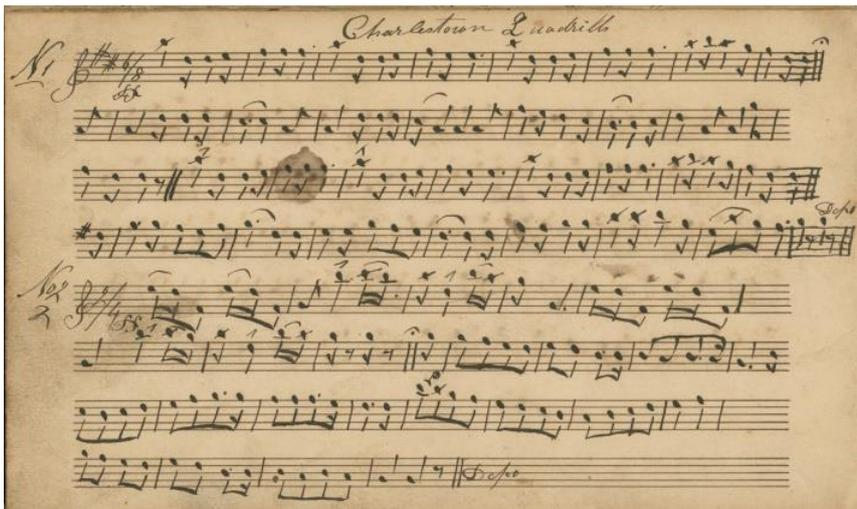
Ben.28.1



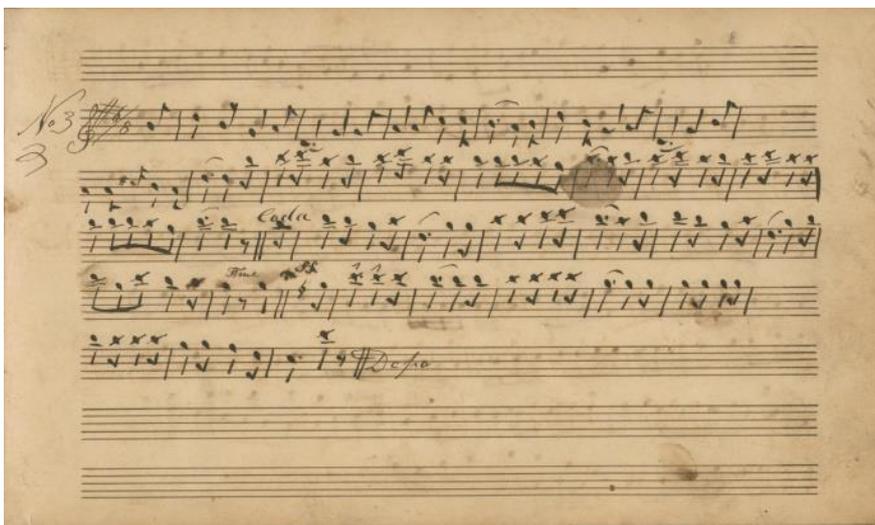
Ben.29.1



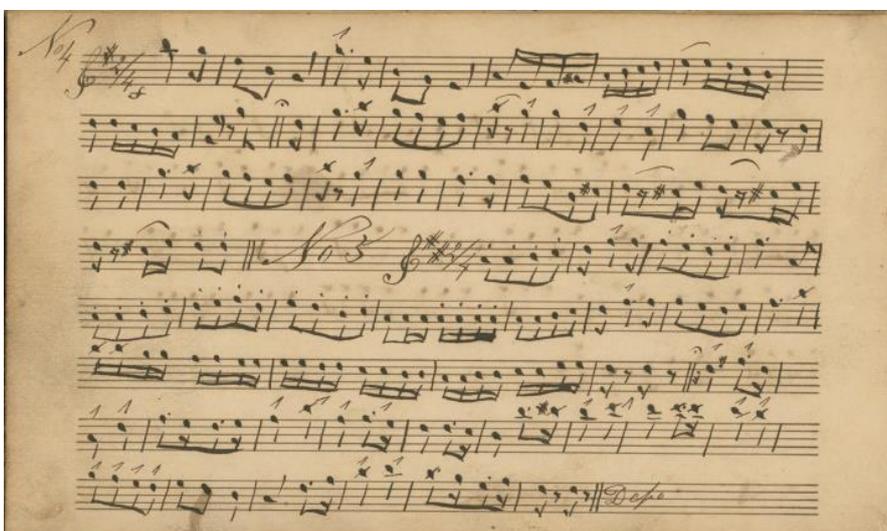
Ben.30.1



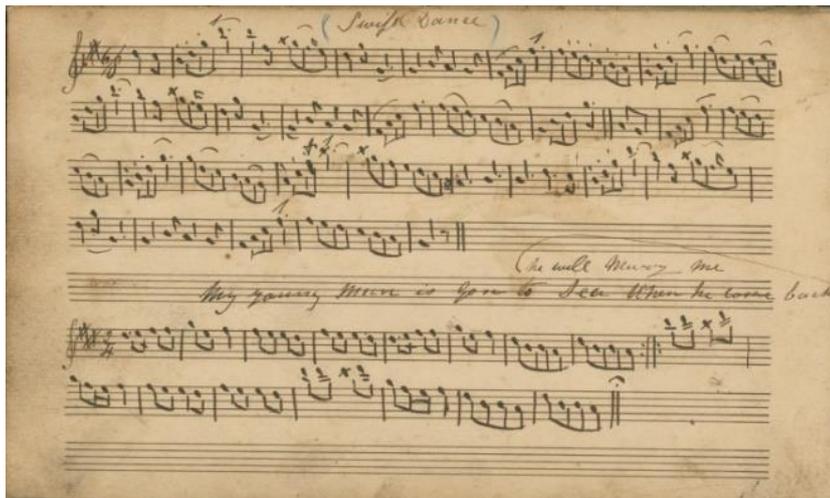
Ben.31.1



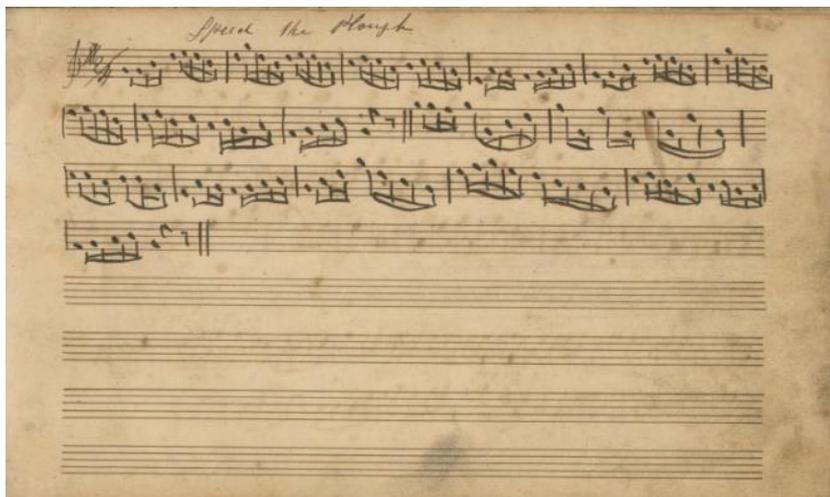
Ben.32.1-Ben.32.2



Ben.34.1 & Ben.34.2



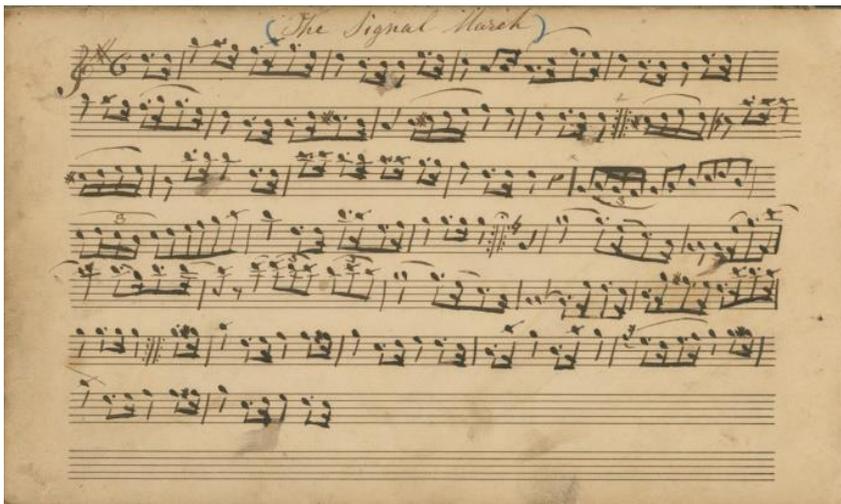
Ben.35.1



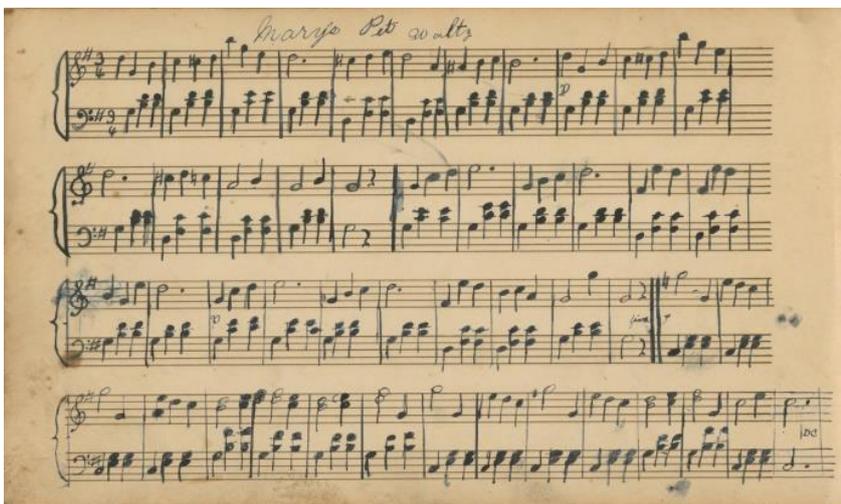
Ben.36.1 & Ben.36.2



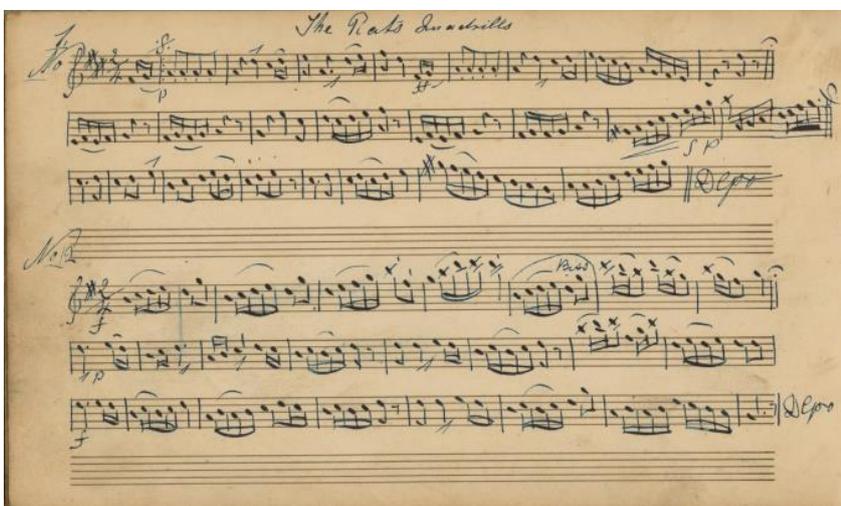
Ben.38.1



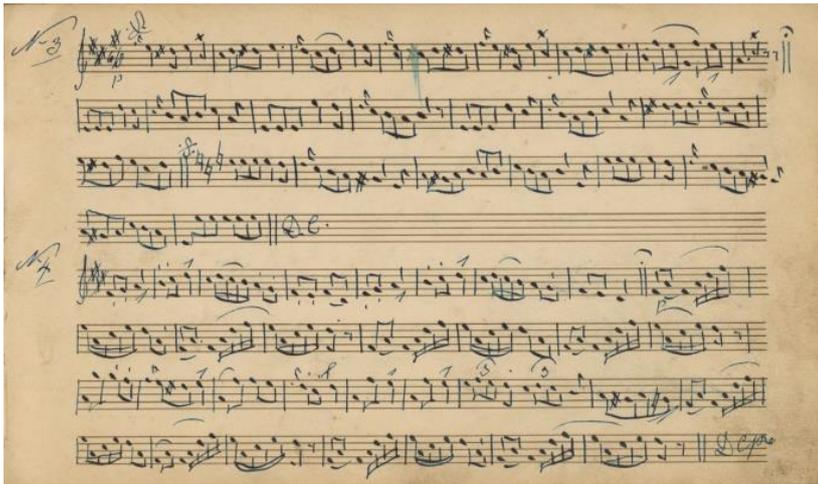
Ben.40.1



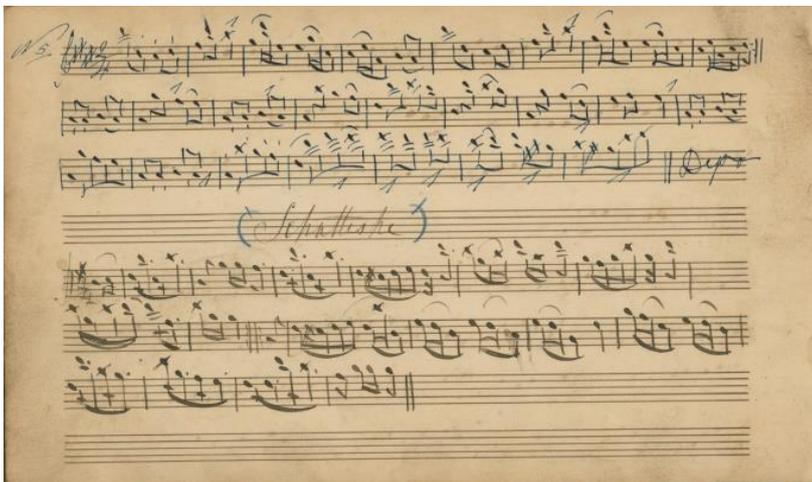
Ben.44.1-Ben.44.2



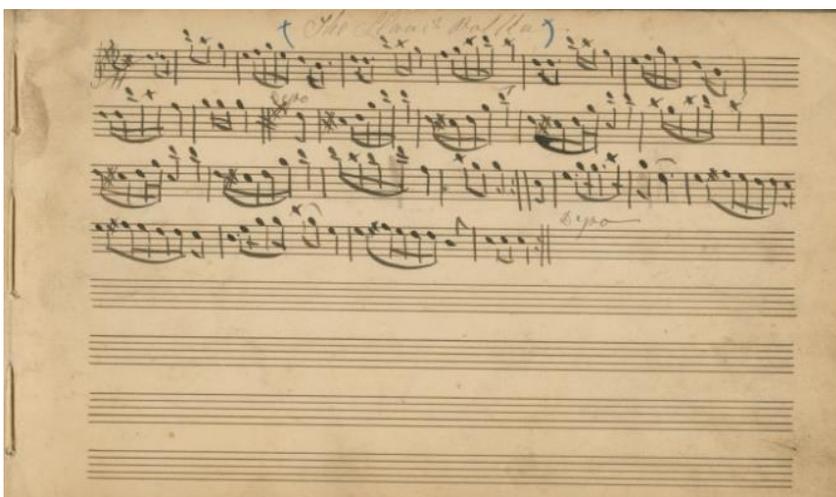
Ben.45.1-Ben.45.2



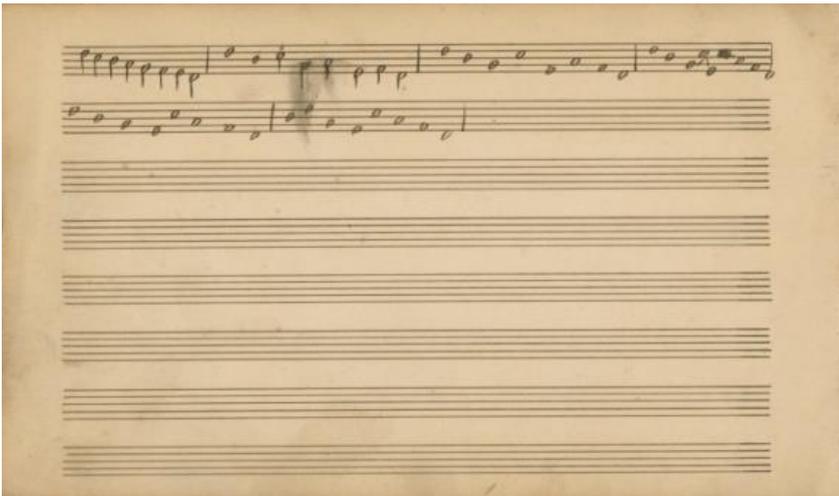
Ben.46.2



Ben.47.1



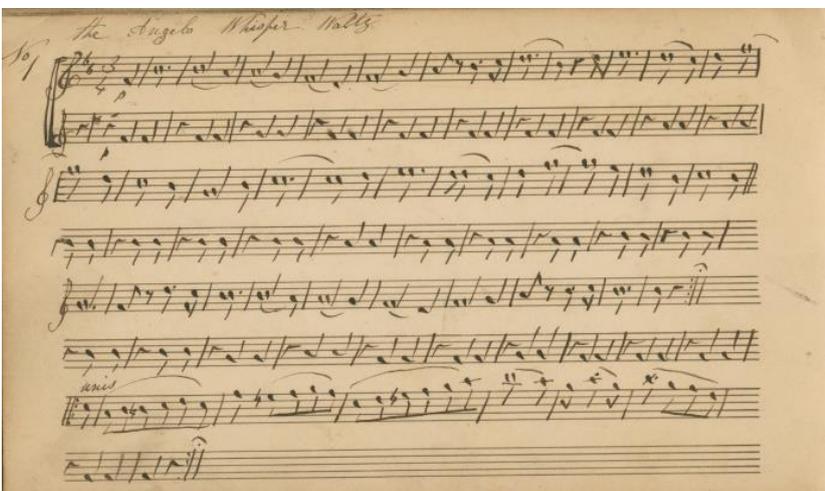
Ben.50.1



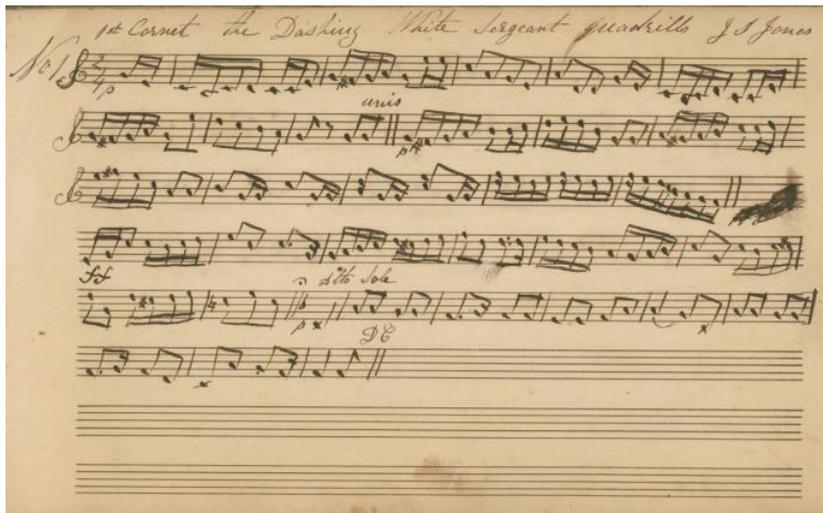
Ben.55.1



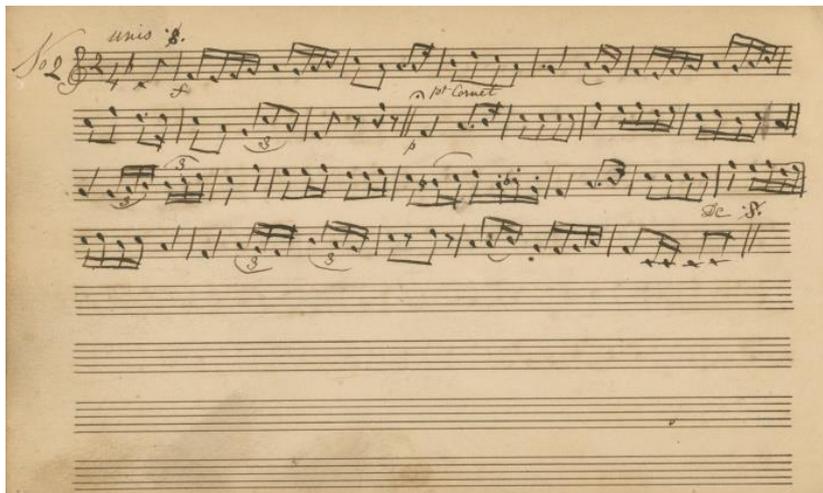
Ben.56.1



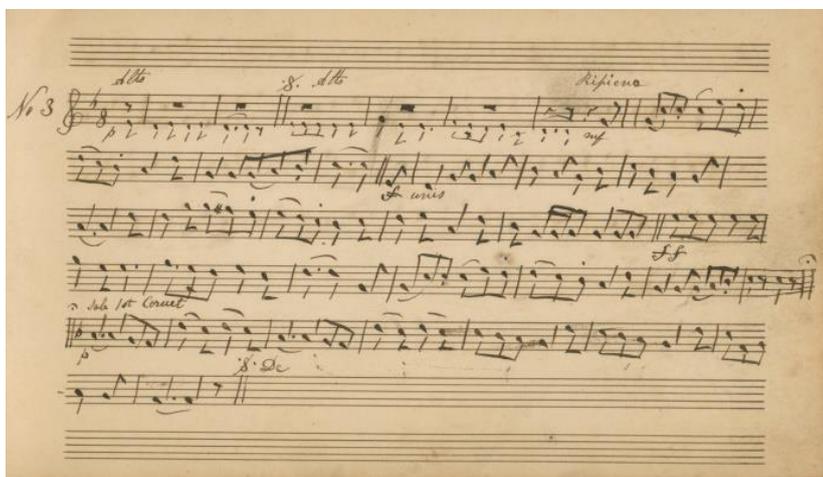
Ben.59.1



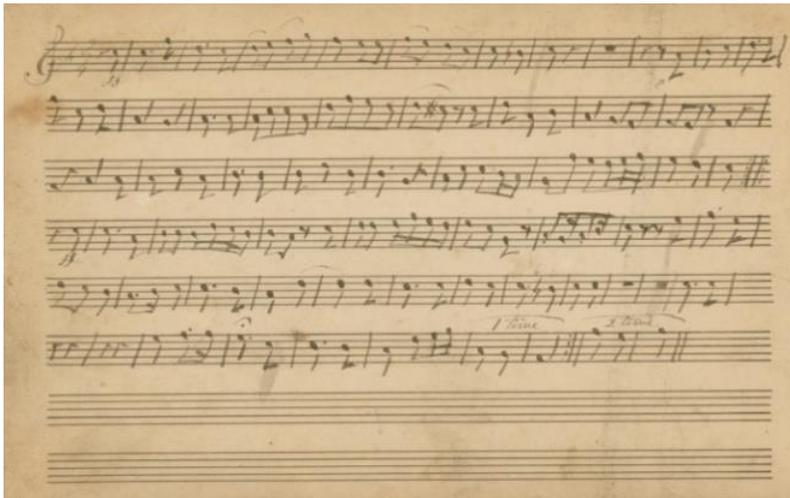
Ben.60.1



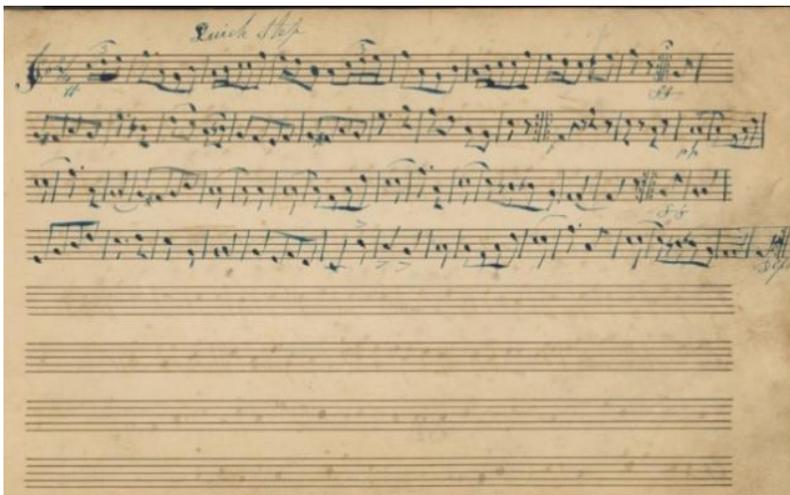
Ben.61.1



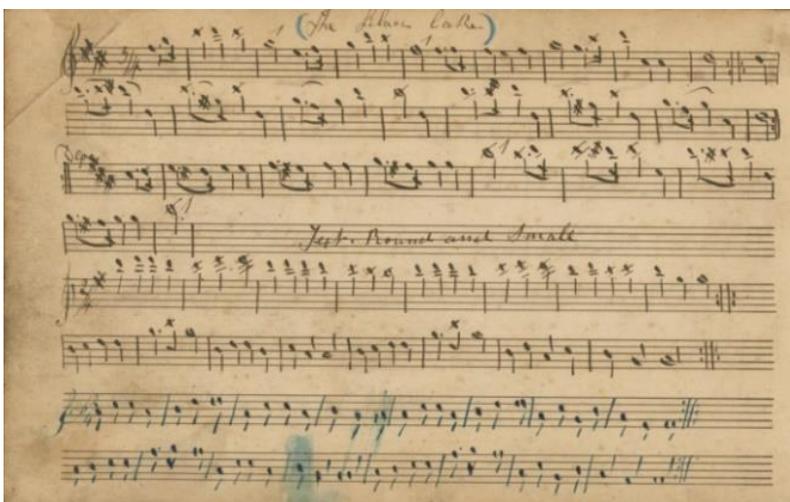
Ben.70.1



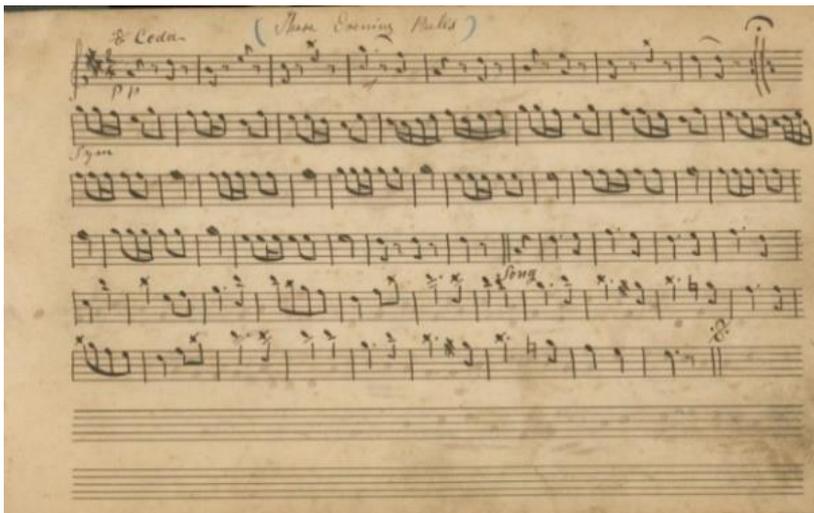
Ben.71.1



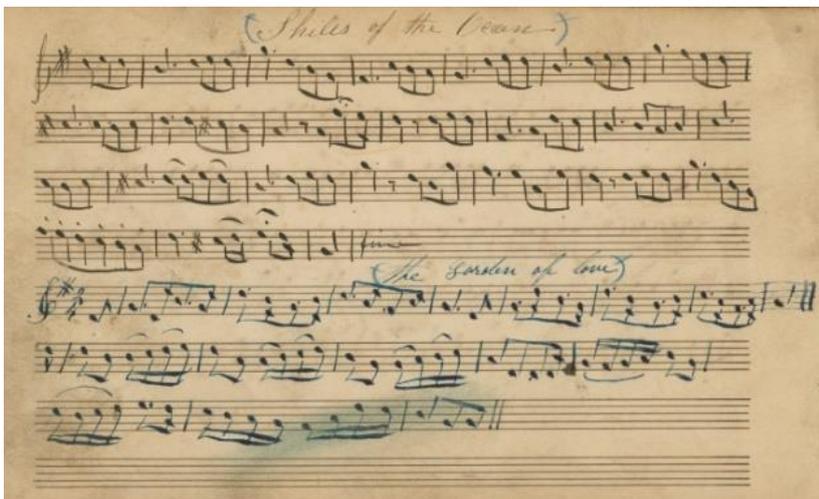
Ben.72.1 & Ben.72.2



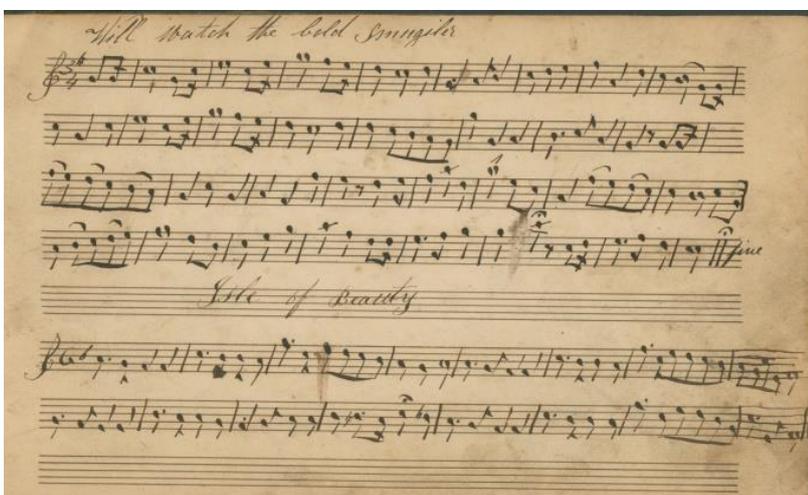
Ben.73.1



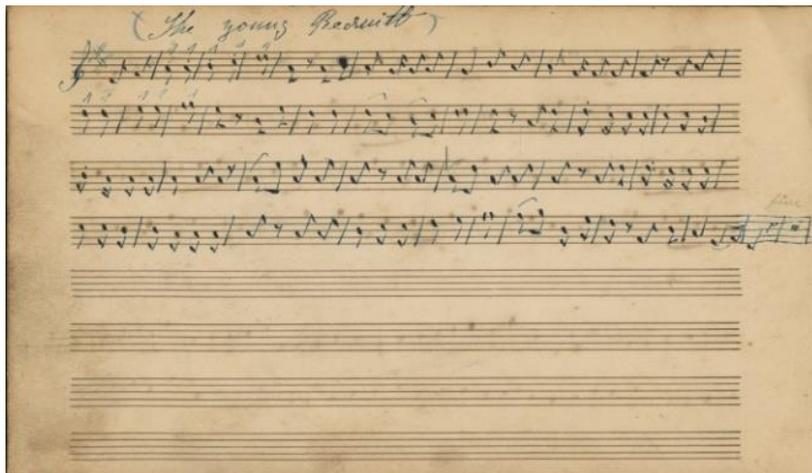
Ben.74.1 & Ben.74.2



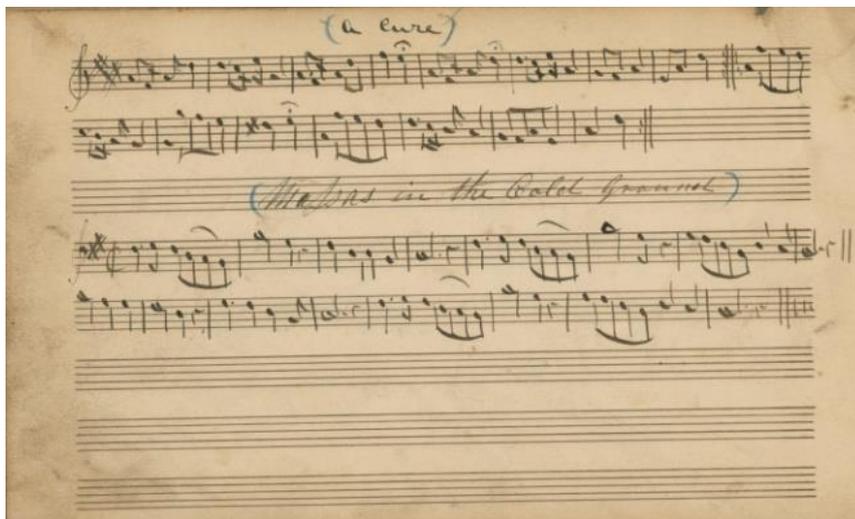
Ben.75.1 & Ben.75.2



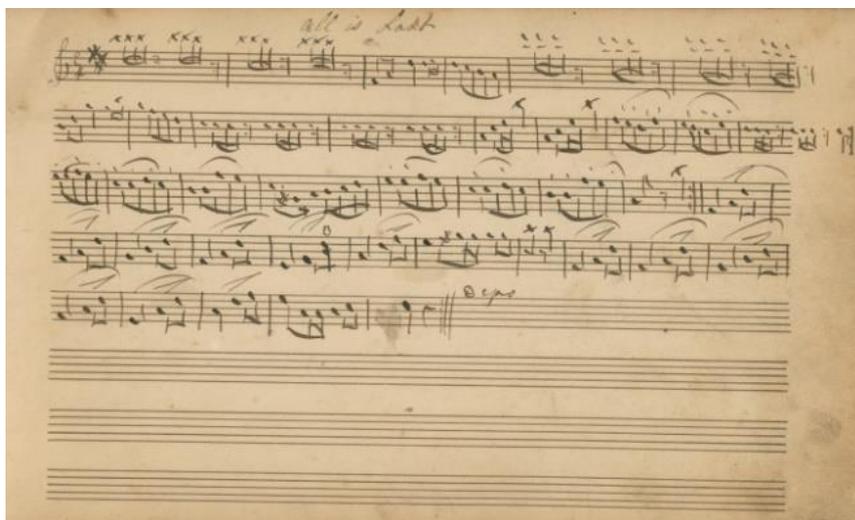
Ben.76.1



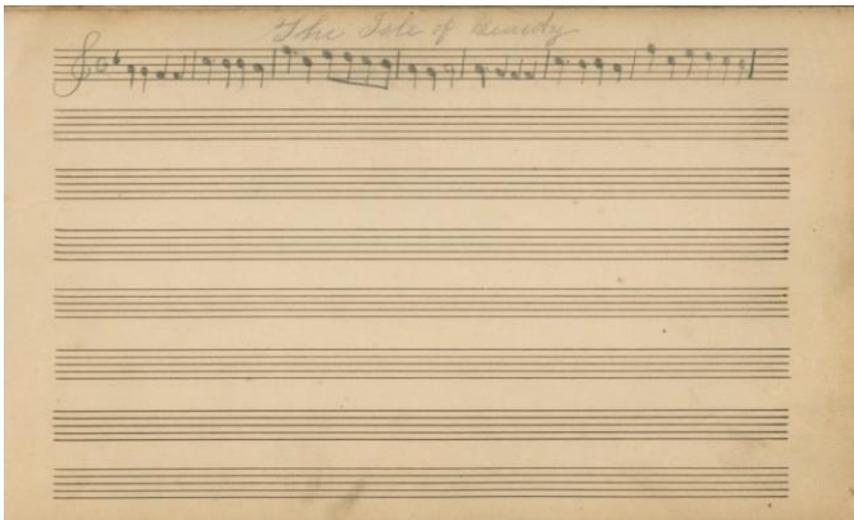
Ben.78.1 & Ben.78.2



Ben.79.1



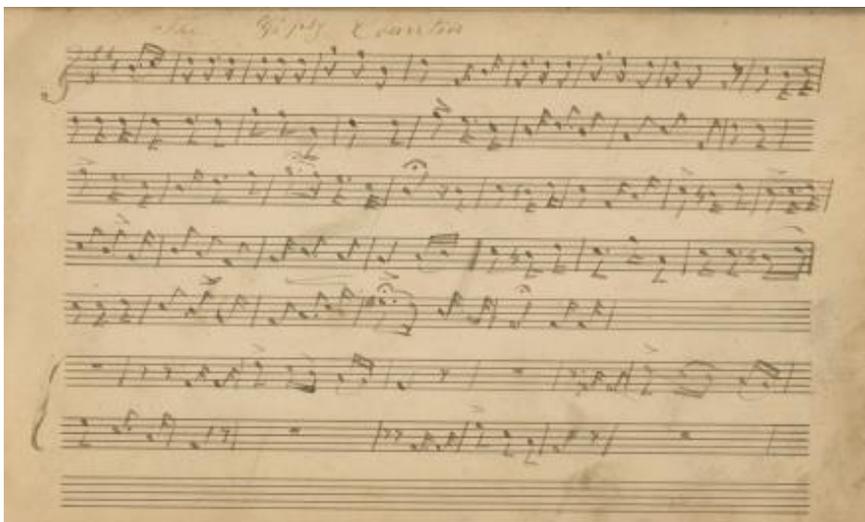
Ben.81.1



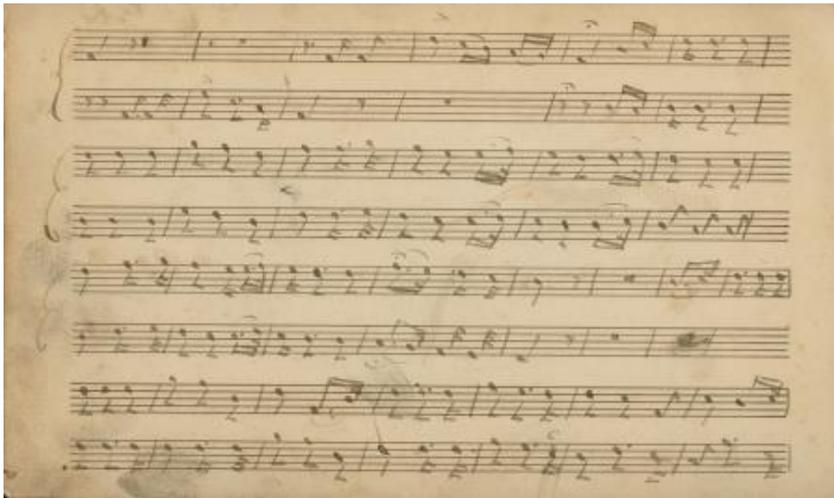
Ben.85.1



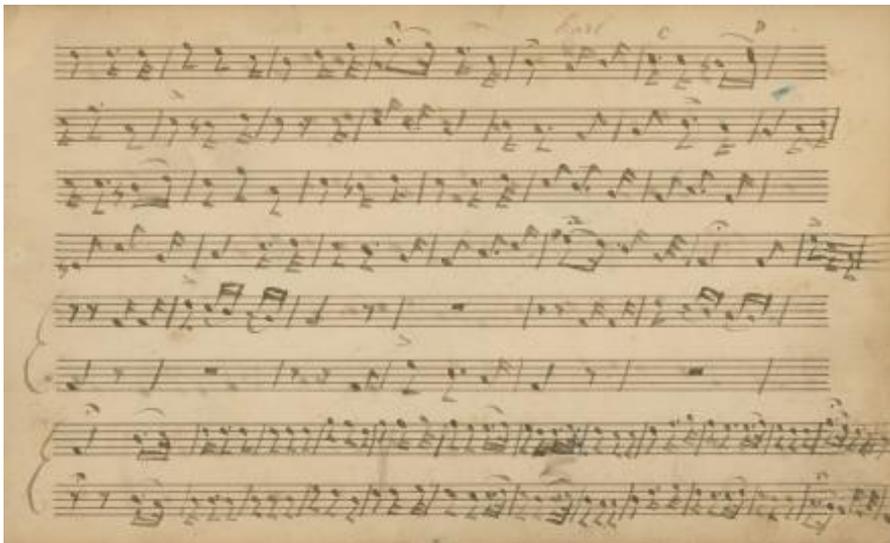
Ben.89.1



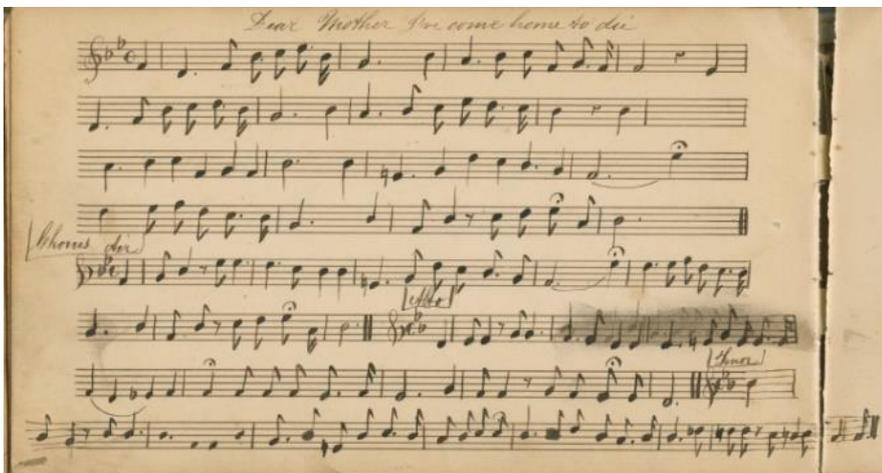
Ben.90.1



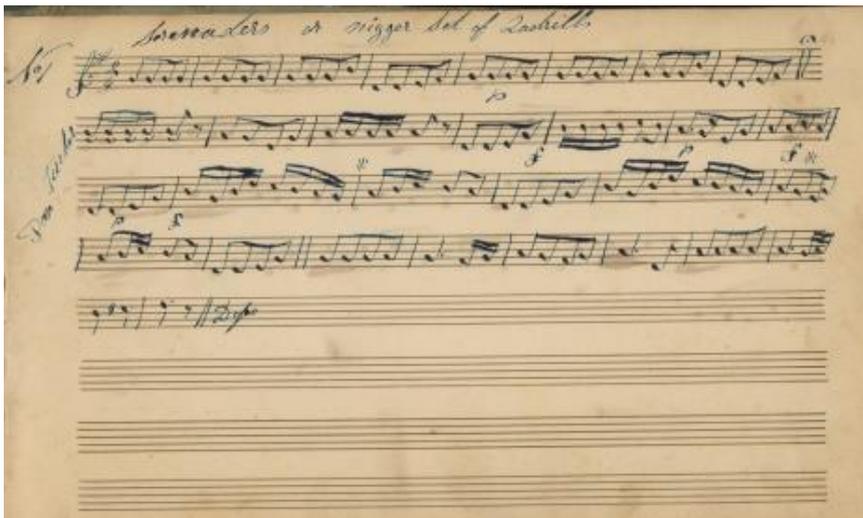
Ben.91.1



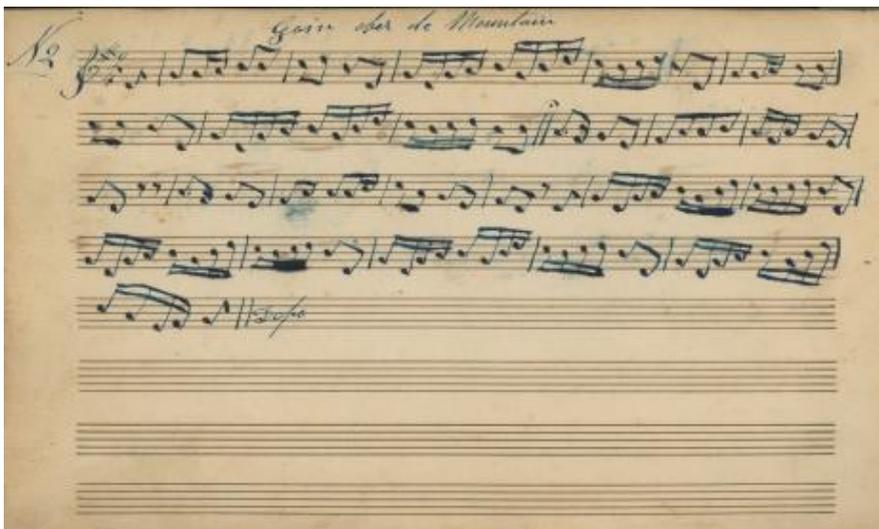
Ben.92.1



Ben.97.1



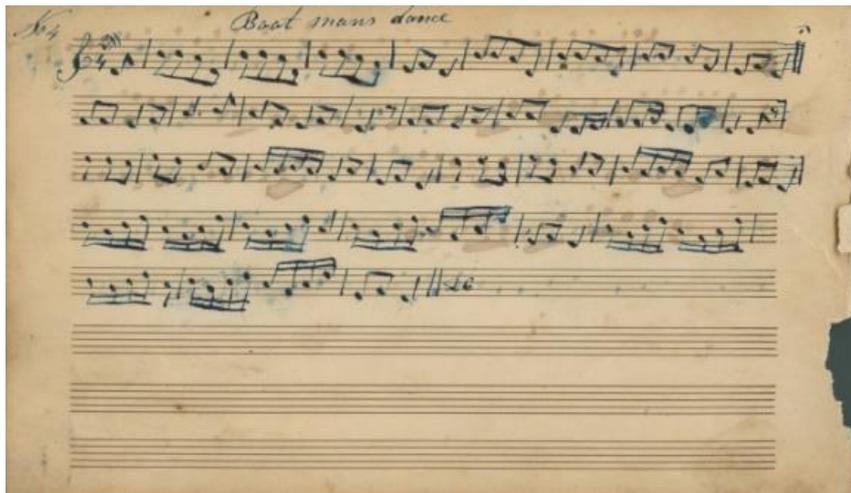
Ben.98.1



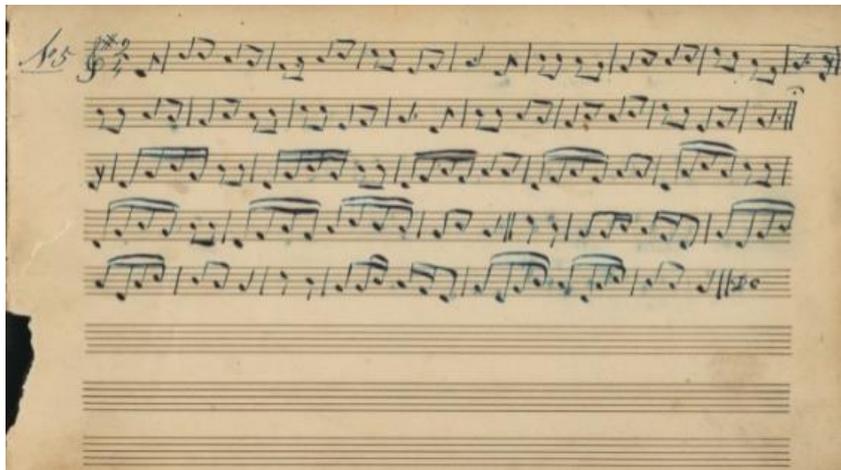
Ben.99.1



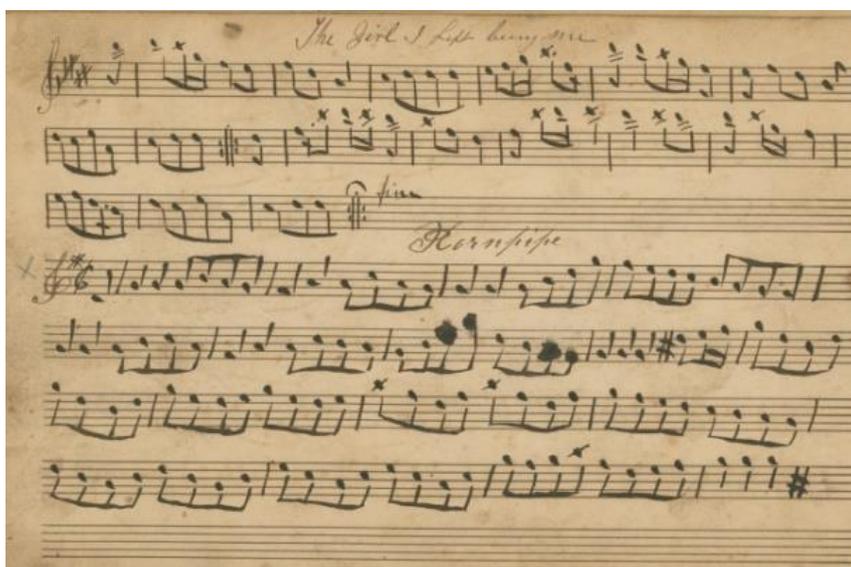
Ben.100.1



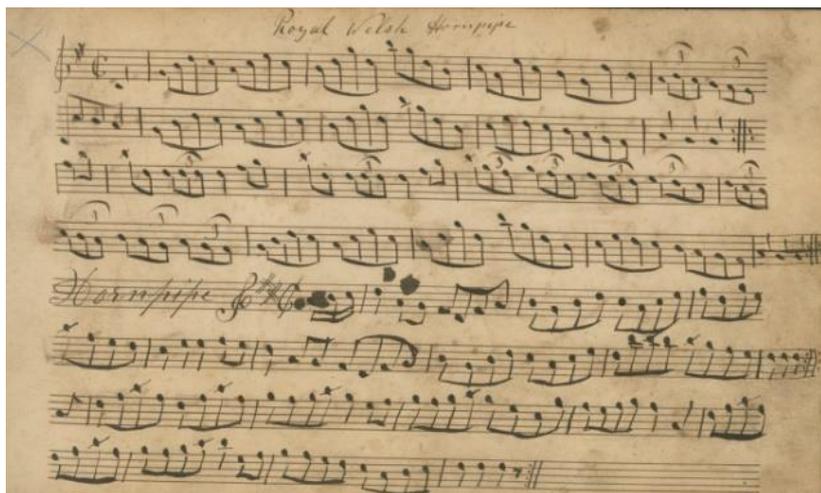
Ben.101.1



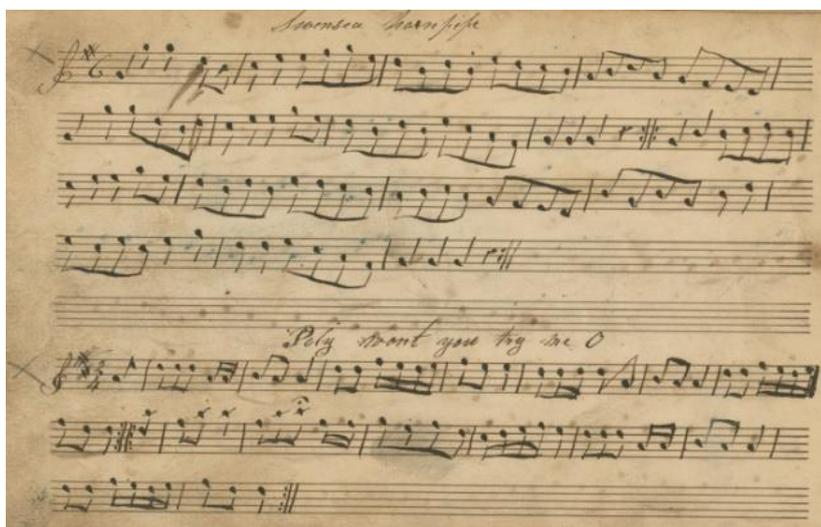
Ben.110.1 & Ben.110.2



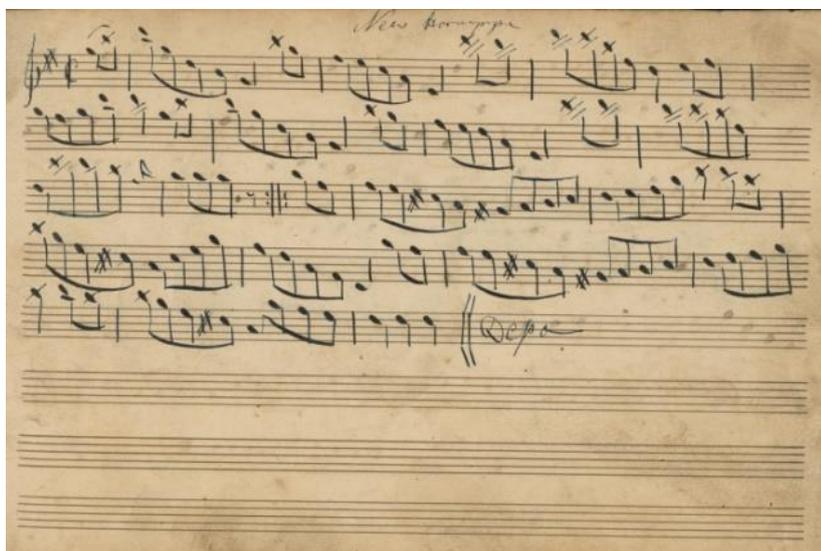
Ben.111.1 & Ben.111.2



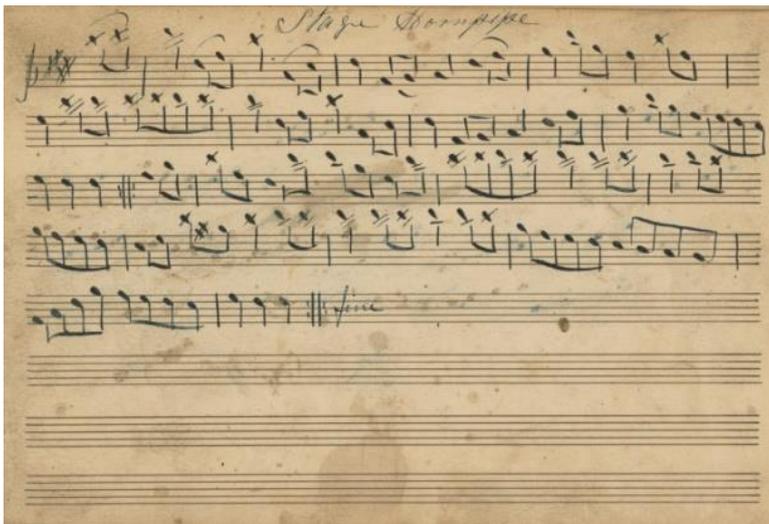
Ben.112.1 & Ben.112.2



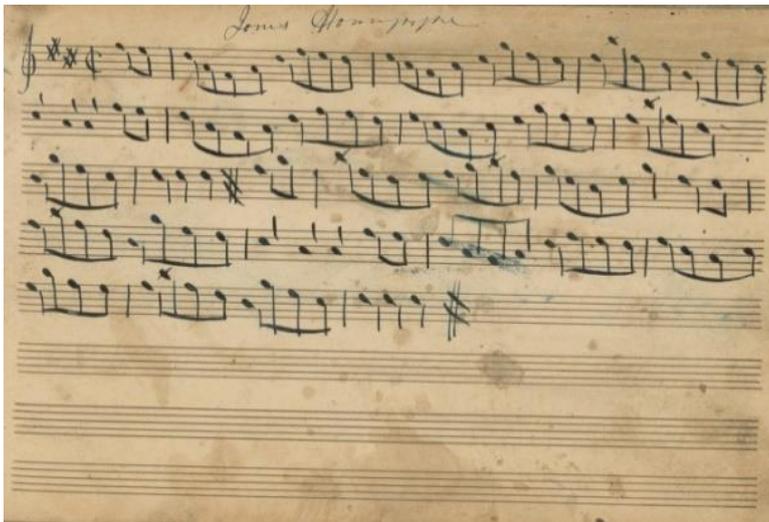
Ben.113.1



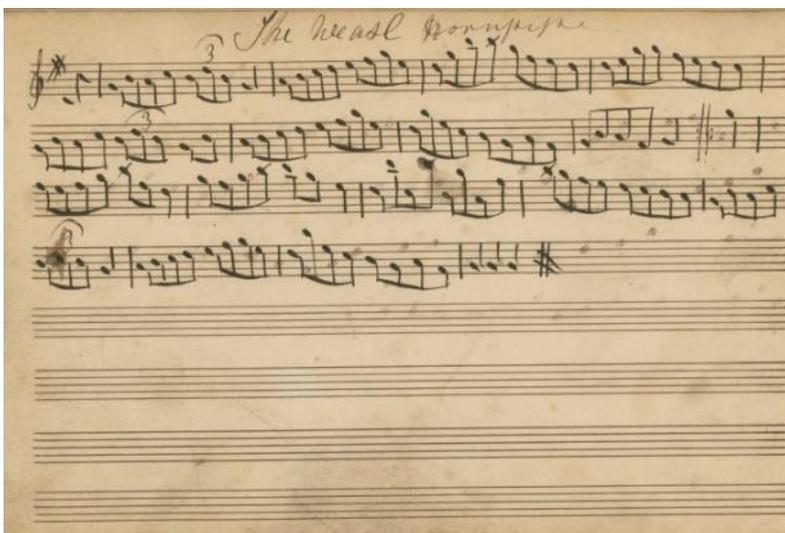
Ben.114.1



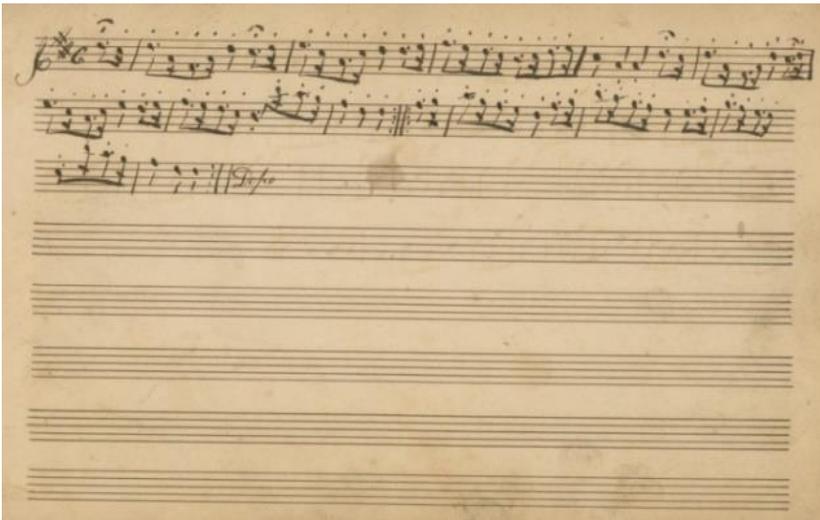
Ben.115.1



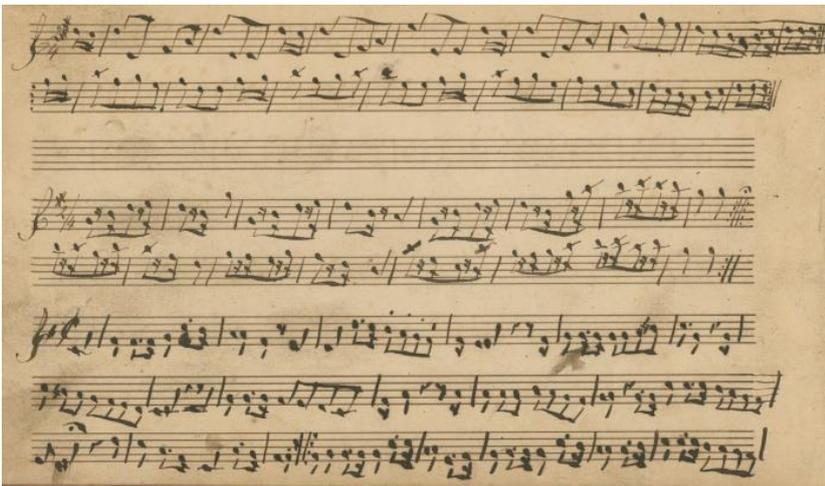
Ben.116.1



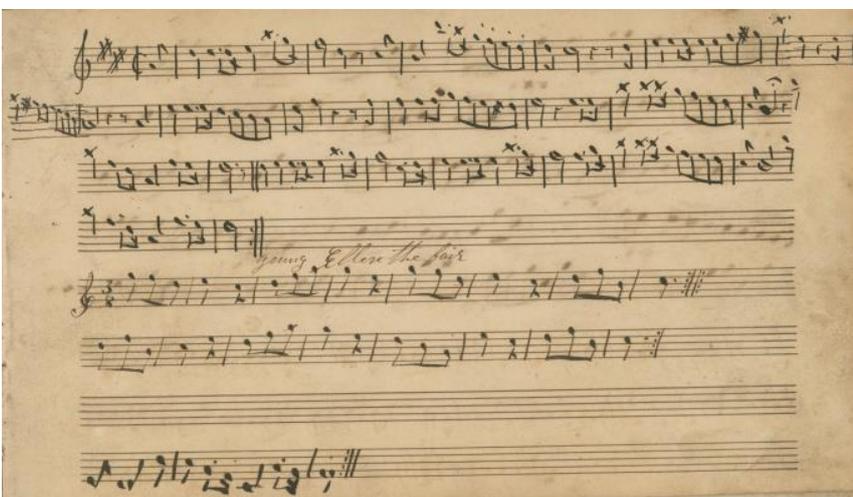
Ben.117.1



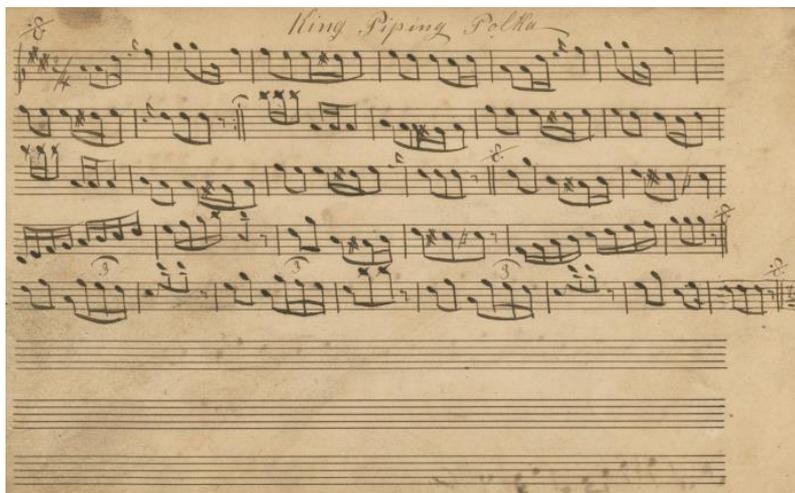
Ben.126.1-126.3



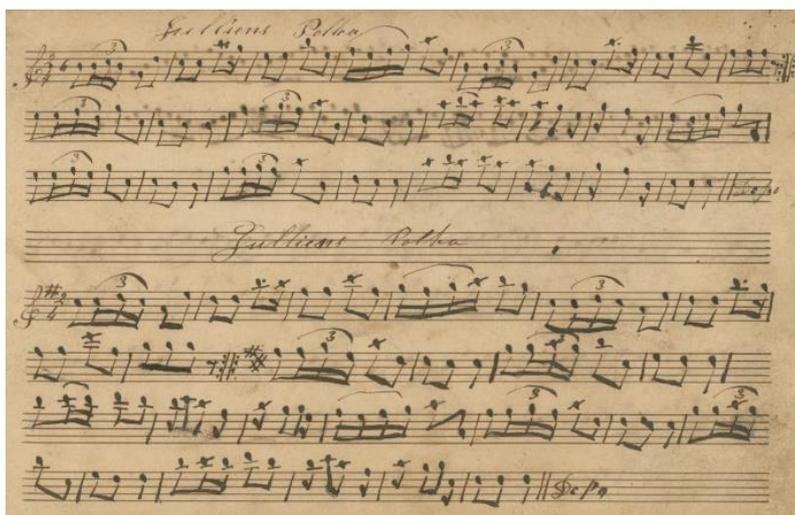
Ben.127.1 & Ben.127.2



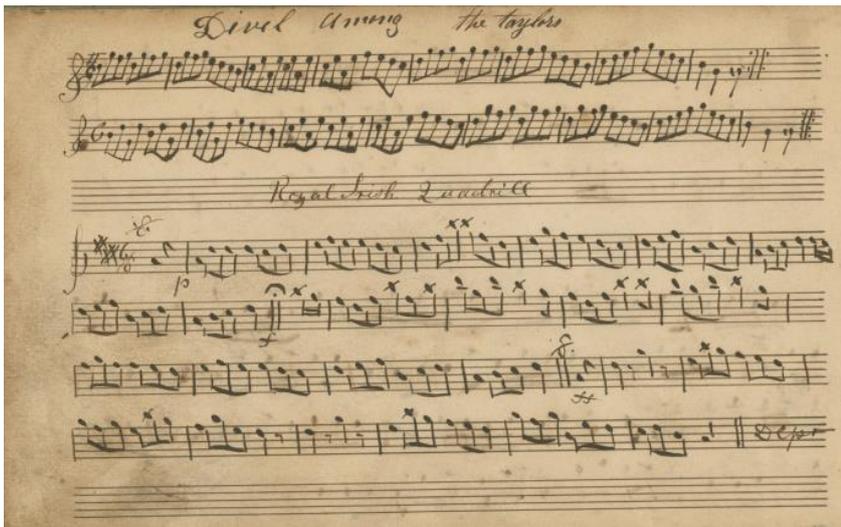
Ben.128.1



Ben.129.1 & 129.2



Ben.130.1 & Ben.130.2



Appendix B – Summary of Findings

Column Identification:

B = Tune ID

C=Title (alternative or Identified title in brackets)

D= Scribe Identity

E = Tune ‘Depth’ (Provenance) Category (See Chapter 3)

F = Tune ‘Width’ (Genre) Category (See Chapter 3)

H = Composer if known

I = Direct Source Found? (Yes, No, M/b (Maybe)) (See Chapter 4)

J = Direct Source Name

K = Publisher Source Found? (See Chapter 4)

L = Publisher Source Name

M = Date of Publication

N = Provenance of Source

O = Transmission Method

B	C	D	E	F	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Tune ID	Title	Srb.	Tune Prov.	Tune Cat.	Comp.	D/S ?	D/S Name	P/S ?	P/S Name	Date	Source Prov.	Transmission
Ham.1.1	Waltz	1	3a	Waltz	Musgrave, Frank	No		No		1850-88	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.1.2	N/T	1	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.1.3	Mama's Little Pet Waltz	1	3a	Waltz	Farmer, Henry	No		M/b	Williams	1845-68	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.2.1	Mama's Little Pet Waltz cont.	1	3a	Waltz	Farmer, Henry	No		M/b	Williams	1845-68	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.2.2	Scotch Melody (Blue Bells of Scotland)	1	2a	National Air		M/b	The Violinist's Portfolio, Reinacle	M/b	D'Almaine	1834-58	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.2.3	N/T Scale of D major	1	7	Pedagogic		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.2.4	N/T 3rd position exercise	1	7	Pedagogic		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.3.1	The Liverpool Hornpipe	1	1b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.3.2	The Weddin Galop	1	3a	Galop	Coote, C	Yes	H&C Selection of Quad. bk 4	Yes	H&C	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.4.1	The Morning Star	2	1b	Reel		Yes	H&C 100 CD for Violin	Yes	H&C	1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.4.2	Lady Mack Reel (Lord MacDonald's Reel)	2	1b	Reel		Yes	H&C 100 CD for Violin	Yes	H&C	1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.4.3	Swansea Hornpipe (Gloucester Hornpipe)	2	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.4.4	Highland Schottische	2	1b	Schottische		No		M/b	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Oral/Memory

	(Cawder Fair)											
Ham.5.1	Runns Hornpipe (Harlequin Hornpipe / The Colosseum / Master Byron's Hornpipe)	2	1a	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.5.2	A Wals	2	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.5.3	College Hornpipe	2	1a	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.5.4	God Save the Queen	2	1a	National Air		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.6.1	Daffodil Schottische	2	3b	Schottische		No		No		1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.6.2	Polka Ida	2	3b	Polka		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.6.3	The Triumph	2	2b	Country Dance		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	c1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.7.1	Memalena Polka	2	3b	Polka		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.7.2	Mina Valse	2	3a	Waltz	Coote, C (jnr)	No		Yes	H&C		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.7.3	What Can The Matter Be	2	2a	Country Dance		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.8.1	A Valse	2	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.8.2	The Silver Lake	2	3a	Varsoviana	Montgomery,	Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard / MB	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.8.3	The Tight Little Island C/D	2	2a	Country Dance		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.8.4	The Country Fair	2	1b	Country Dance		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.9.1	The Harvest Home Hornpipe	2	1b	Hornpipe		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.9.2	The Ratcatcher's Daughter C/D	2	2a	Country Dance		Yes	Westrop 120 CD	Yes	Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.9.3	The Rigoletto Waltz	2	6	Opera	Verdi/Mont	M/b	Mont 120 Dances for Flute	Yes	MB	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.9.4	Lucrezia Borgia Waltz	2	6	Opera	Donizetti/?	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.9.5	Mollie Darling	2	3a	Minstrel Song (Moore & Burg.)	Hays, William S.	M/b		M/b	MB/Sheard/H&C		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.10.1	The Last Rose of Summer	2	1a	National Air		M/b	Westrop 50 Fav. Melodies	Yes	MB/Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.10.2	The Gipsy's Warning	2	3a	Minstrel Song	Goard, Henry	M/b	Westrop 50 Fav. Melodies	Yes	MB/Sheard	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.10.3	Safe In The Arms of Jesus	2	5	Hymn	Doane, W. Howard	M/b	Sacred Songs and Solos			1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Ham.10.4	Sun of My Soul	2	5	Hymn		M/b	Westrop's Gems of Sacred Song	M/b	MB/Sheard	1874	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.10.5	Tis But A Little Faded Flower	2	3a	Minstrel Song	Robert, J. R.	M/b	H&C Popular Songs of the Day	M/b	H&C	1876-87	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.11.1	The Little Brown Jug	2	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)	Winner, J						Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.11.2	My Grandfather's Clock	2	3a	Popular Ballad	Work, Henry C.					1879	Contemp.	Unsure
Ham.11.3	Valse	3	3b	Waltz		No		No				Oral/Memory
Ham.11.4	The Empty Cradle	2	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.12.1	Come To The Saviour	2	5	Hymn	Root, George	M/b	Sacred Songs and Solos	M/b	MB	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.12.2	Tell Me The Old Old Story	2	5	Hymn	Doane, W. Howard	M/b	Sacred Songs and Solos	M/b	MB	1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.12.3	The Swiss Boy	2	3b	National Air		No		No				Oral/Memory
Ham.12.4	Tom Bowling	2	2a	Popular Ballad	Dibdin, C	No		No		1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.13.1	Buonaparte's Grand March	2	3b	March	Westrop, T?	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.13.2	O Come All Ye Faithful	2	4	Carol		No		No				Unsure
Ham.13.3	The Ship That Never Returned	2	3a	Minstrel (Christy)	Work, Henry C.	No		No		1860-70	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.14.1	The Byrne Hornpipe	2	3x	Hornpipe		M/b	Kerr's 2nd / 3rd	M/b	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.14.2	The Clown's Hornpipe (New Clog Hornpipe)	2	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.14.3	Copenhagen Waltz	2	2b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.14.4	A Valse	2	3b	Waltz		No		No				Oral/Memory
Ham.15.1	Bristol Hornpipe	2	3x	Hornpipe		Yes	Kerr's 1st	Yes	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.15.2	Millicen's Hornpipe	2	3x	Hornpipe		Yes	Kerr's 1st	Yes	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.15.3	A Valse	2	3b	Waltz		No		No				Oral/Memory
Ham.16.1	The Navvie Hornpipe	2	3a	Hornpipe		Yes	Kerr's 1st	Yes	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ham.16.2	Manchester Hornpipe	2	3x	Hornpipe		Yes	Kerr's 1st	Yes	Kerrs	c1875	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.2.1	Hornpipe (Manchester)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.3.1	Hornpipe (Hunting The Hare)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.4.1	Hornpipe (White Cockade)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Til.5.1	Hornpipe	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.6.1	Hornpipe (Pibdawns Hewl-y-Fel / Clark's)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.7.1	Hornpipe (Spot Hornpipe)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.8.1	Hornpipe (Soldier's Joy)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.9.1	Quick Step (Gloucester Quick Step / Capuchin)	1	2b	Quick Step		No		No				Copied Unknown
Til.10.1	Recruit Quick March	1	3a	Quick March	Barthmann, C?	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.11.1	Silver Lake Varsoviana	1	3a	Varsoviana	Montgomery,	M/b	Westrop 150 Mel for Violin	M/b	Sheard/MB	c1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.12.1	Schottische	2	3b	Schottische		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.12.2	The Hebe Waltz	1	3b	Waltz	Montgomery,	M/b	Montgomery	M/b	Pearman		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.13.1	Schottische	2	3b	Schottische		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.13.2	The Heather Bloom Waltz	1	3a	Waltz	Haydn Millars	M/b	Montgomery	M/b	Pearman	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.14.1	Set of Quadrilles (Royal Irish)	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jullien	No		No		pre-1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.15.1	Set of Quadrilles (Royal Irish)	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jullien	No		No		pre-1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.16.1	Set of Quadrilles (Royal Irish)	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jullien	No		No		pre-1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.17.1	Set of Quadrilles (Royal Irish)	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jullien	No		No		pre-1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.18.1	Jenny Jones Or The Charming Young Widow	1	1b	Popular Ballad	Parry, J	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.19.1	The Enchanteress Polka	1	3a	Polka	Juliano A.P.	No		M/b	Boosey	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.20.1	N/T (Trecynon Polka)	1	3b	Polka		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.21.1	Great Eastern Polka	2	3a	Polka	Coote, C (snr)	No		M/b	H&C	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.22.1	La Tempete	2	3b	Country Dance		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.23.1	The White Star Polka	2	3a	Polka	Moffat, A M	No		No		1870s	Contemp.	Copied from friend? but contemp.
Til.24.1	The Scotch Polka	2	3a	Polka	D'Albert	M/b	Montgomery	M/b	Chappell or MB	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.25.1	Bonnie Dundee Quadrilles	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Til.26.1	Bonnie Dundee Quadrilles	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.27.1	Bonnie Dundee Quadrilles	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.28.1	Bonnie Dundee Quadrilles	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.29.1	Bonnie Dundee Quadrilles	2	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.30.1	Ask Mamma Polka	1	3a	Polka	Montgomery,	M/b	Westrop150/ Mont 120 Dances for Flute	Yes	MB	c1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.31.1	Golden Stream Varsoviana	1	3a	Varsoviana	Montgomery	M/b	Westrop150/ Mont 120 Dances for Flute	Yes	MB	c1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.32.1	Campaign	1	3b	March		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.33.1	Boulevard Schottische	1	3b	Schottische		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.34.1	Whistle and I'll come to Thee	1	2b	Quadrille/Lancer		No		M/b	MB/Sheard		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.34.2	Comin' Through The Rye	1	2b	Quadrille/Lancer		No		M/b	MB/Sheard		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.35.1	3rd Figure of the Lancers	1	2a	Quadrille/Lancer	Duval	No		M/b	Cocks/Chappell	1857	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.36.1	Campbells Are Coming	1	2b	C/D Tune (Scotch) also Quadrilles		No		M/b	MB (Musical Gem)	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.37.1	A Waltz	1	3b	Waltz / National Air		No		M/b	MB/Sheard		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.38.1	Swiss Air	1	2a	National Air		No		M/b	MB/Sheard		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.40.1	N/T (Ciascun Lo Dice)	1	6	Opera	Donizetti/?	No		M/b	MB		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.42.1	N/T	1	3b	Polka		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.42.1	Rosalie Prarie Flower	1	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)	Wurzel, G F	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.43.1	Champaign Charlie	1	3a	Popular Ballad	Laybourne Lee	No		No		1866	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.44.1	Twos on a Sunday Morning	1	3b/1b	Popular Ballad	Mori, F	No		No		1850s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.44.2	I'll Be There Love At Half Past Three	3	3a	Popular Ballad	Pink & LeBrun	No		No		1893!!	Contemp.	Oral/Memory

Til.46.1	Prince Imperial Galop	2	3b	Galop	Coote, C (jnr)	No		M/b	Williams	1860s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.48.1	Waltz	2	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.49.1	Galop	2	3b	Galop		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.50.1	Waltz	2	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.51.1	Poopagena Waltz	2	6	Opera	Mozart	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.52.1	Invitation Galop	2	3b	Galop	Coote, C (jnr)	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.54.1	Quadrille (Edinburgh Quadrille)	2	3b	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.55.1	Waltz	2	3b	Waltz		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.56.1	Belle Of The Season Waltz	1	3b	Waltz	Milson, G	No		No		1878	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Til.58.1	The Lass Of Gowrie	1	2a	Popular Ballad/Quadrille	Oliphant / Gow	No		No		1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.25.1	England Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell	1858-92	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.26.1	England Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell	1858-92	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.27.1	England Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell	1858-92	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.28.1	England Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell	1858-92	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.29.1	England Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell	1858-92	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.30.1	Charlestown Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.30.2	Charlestown Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.31.1	Charlestown Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.32.1	Charlestown Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.32.2	Charlestown Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.34.1	Swiss Dance	1	3b	National Air		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.34.2	My Young Man is Gone to sea	1	3x	National Air		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.35.1	Speed The Plough	1	2a	Country Dance Tune (or music from play)	Moorhead	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.36.1	Dew Drop Waltz	1	3a	Waltz	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.36.2	Last Rose of Summer	1	1a	National Air		M/b	Westrop	M/b	MB			Possibly 2nds or short-hand but appears copied but unknown
Ben.38.1	The Signal March	1	3a	March	Kleber	No		M/b	MB arr. J S Jones	1874	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Ben.40.1	Mary's Pet Waltz	2	3a	Waltz	Mack, E	No		No		1880	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.44.1	The Rat's Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Redler, G	M/b	Rimbault	M/b	Chappell	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.44.2	The Rat's Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Redler, G	M/b	Rimbault	M/b	Chappell	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.45.1	The Rat's Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Redler, G	M/b	Rimbault	M/b	Chappell	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.45.2	The Rat's Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Redler, G	M/b	Rimbault	M/b	Chappell	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.46.1	The Rat's Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Redler, G	M/b	Rimbault	M/b	Chappell	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.46.2	Schottische	1	3b	Schottische	D'Albert?	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.47.1	The Slave's Polka	1	3b	Polka		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.50.1	N/T	1	7	Pedagogic		No		No				Oral/Memory
Ben.55.1	Tranquility	2	5	Hymn		No		No				Copied Unknown
Ben.56.1	The Angels Whisper Waltz	1	3a	Waltz/Popular Song	Jones, J S	No		M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.59.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J S/Bish. Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.60.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J Sidney / Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.61.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J Sidney / Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.62.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J Sidney / Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.63.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J Sidney / Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.64.1	The Dashing White Sergeant Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jones, J Sidney / Bishop	M/b	J S Jones	M/b	MB	1860s-70s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.66.1	N/T	1	8	Other		No		No				unknown Shorthand, alpha.
Ben.67.1	Cornopean Tutor Doyatonic Scale	1	7	Pedagogic		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.70.1	N/T	1	3b	Quick Step?		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.71.1	Quick Step	1	3b	Quick Step		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.72.1	The Silver Lake	1	3a	Varsoviana	Montgomery,	M/b	Westrop 150 Mel. for Violin	M/b	Sheard/MB	c1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.72.2	Texture Round and Small (Buttered Peas)	1	1b	Country Dance		No		No				Copied Unknown
Ben.73.1	Those Evening Bells	1	2b	National Air	Stevenson / Moore	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Ben.74.1	Shells of the Ocean	1	3a	Popular Ballad	Grube/Cherry	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.74.2	The Garden of Love	3	3b	Popular Ballad		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.75.1	Will Watch The Bold Smuggler	1	2a	Popular Ballad	Davy, J	No		No		1864	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.75.2	Isle of Beauty	1	3a	Popular Ballad	Whitmore/Bayl.	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.76.1	The Young Recruit	1	3a	Quick March	Barthmann, C?	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.78.1	A Cure	1	3a	Popular Ballad / Music-hall	Slovan, C	No		No		1870s	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.78.2	Massas In The Cold Ground	1	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)	Foster, S	M/b	Mont 130 Christy Minstrel Songs	Yes	Chappell / MB / Sheard	1860	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.79.1	All Is Lost	1	6	Opera	Bellini	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.81.1	Isle of Beauty	2	3a	Popular Ballad	Whitmore/Bayl.	No		No				Oral/Memory
Ben.89.1	The Gipsy Countess	1	3a	Popular Ballad	Glover, S	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.92.1	Mother I've Come Home To Die	1/2?	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)	Tucker, H / Grobe, C	Yes	MB 3494	Yes	MB	1874	Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.97.1	Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.98.1	Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.99.1	Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.100.1	Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.101.1	Serenaders or Nigger Set of Quadrills	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.110.1	The Girl I Left Behind Me	1	3x	National Air		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.110.2	Hornpipe (Handsome Ploughboy)	1	1b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.111.1	Royal Welsh Hornpipe	1	3b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.111.2	Hornpipe (Morpeth Rant)	1	1b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.112.1	Swansea Hornpipe	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.112.2	Poly Won't You Try Me O	1	3a	Minstrel Song (Christy)		No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.113.1	New Hornpipe	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Ben.114.1	Stage Hornpipe (Quay Hornpipe)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.115.1	Jones Hornpipe (poll of Wapping)	1	3x	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.116.1	The Weasel Hornpipe	1	3b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.117.1	N/T	1	3b	Hornpipe		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.126.1	N/T (My Love She's But A Lassie Yet)	1	1a	Country Dance		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.126.2	N/T (Harmony to My Love She's But A Lassie Yet)	1	3x	Country Dance		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.126.3	N/T (Britannia the pride of the ocean)	1	3a	Popular Ballad		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.127.1	N/T (Britannia the pride of the ocean in diff key)	1	3a	Popular Ballad		No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.127.2	Young Ellen The Fair	2?	1b	National Air		No		No				Unsure
Ben.128.1	King Piping Polka	1	3a	Polka	D'Albert	No		M/b	Chappell		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.129.1	Jullien's Polka (Jullien's Original Polka)	1	3a	Polka	Jullien	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.129.2	Jullien's Polka (Jullien's Original Polka)	1	3a	Polka	Jullien	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.130.1	Divil Among The Taylors	1	1b	Reel		M/b	Westrop120 CD	M/b	Sheard/MB		Contemp.	Copied Contemp.
Ben.130.2	Royal Irish Quadrill	1	3a	Quadrille/Lancer	Jullien	No		No			Contemp.	Copied Contemp.

Appendix C – Master List

Southern English Post-1849 Manuscripts

MS Name	Origin County	Town	Compiler	Dates
Anon W. Mids	West Midlands	?	?	mid 19
Bennett	Somerset	Chedzoy	C W Bennett	1860
Clarke W	Norfolk	Fetwell	William Clarke	1858
Hampton	Herefordshire	Hereford	Thomas Hampton	1870
Horn	Buckinghamshire	Aylesbury	Francis Horn	1864
Huntlea	Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Henry Huntlea	1884
Julian	Cornwall	?	Arthur Julian	late 19thc
Till	Gloucestershire	Stone	George Till	1866
Turner	Sussex	Wareham	Michael Turner	1842-1852
Watson	Norfolk	Swanton Abbott	George Henry Watson	1850-1880
Winter W	Somerset	West Bagborough	William Winter	1848 - 1850



The following survey is part of my PhD project being carried out at the University of Sheffield's Music Department in which I am analysing the differences in transcription when writing music from memory compared to copying from a printed source. The survey is subject to the University's ethics review process and is anonymous, however to comply with the University's ethics procedures I require you to initial the consent form which I will retain. I request that you retain this top sheet for information and contact details should you have any concerns following completion of the survey.

Please do not feel under any pressure to complete these tasks. If you feel in any way distressed, upset or stressed whilst completing the tasks, please stop and take no further part in the process. I will discard your task sheets accordingly.

If, after having completed the tasks, you no longer wish to participate, please do not return the sheets to me. By returning the sheets to me and initialling the consent form, I will consider that you have given your consent and are happy for your completed sheets to be used in my analysis.

Please do not write your name on any of the sheets as I wish the task to remain anonymous. The only distinguishing feature will be matching numbers written on the reverse sides of both tasks in order to identify tasks from the same participant.

Please be assured that these tasks are not intended to test your memory or your ability to transcribe music. There is no right or wrong answer. This is, in no way a 'test'.

TASK 1

When you are ready, and only if you are happy to do so, please turn to page 2 and write the melody of 'God Save The Queen' in any key, from memory. Please **DO NOT** turn to task 2 (page 3).

TASK 2

When you have completed task 1, please turn to page 3 and follow the instructions.

Thank you,

Rebecca Dellow
redellow1@sheffield.ac.uk 07971 862468

Supervisor: Fay Hield
f.hield@sheffield.ac.uk 0114 222 0497

Appendix D – Examples of Transmission Survey

PAGE 2 (TASK 1)

PAGE 3 (TASK 2)

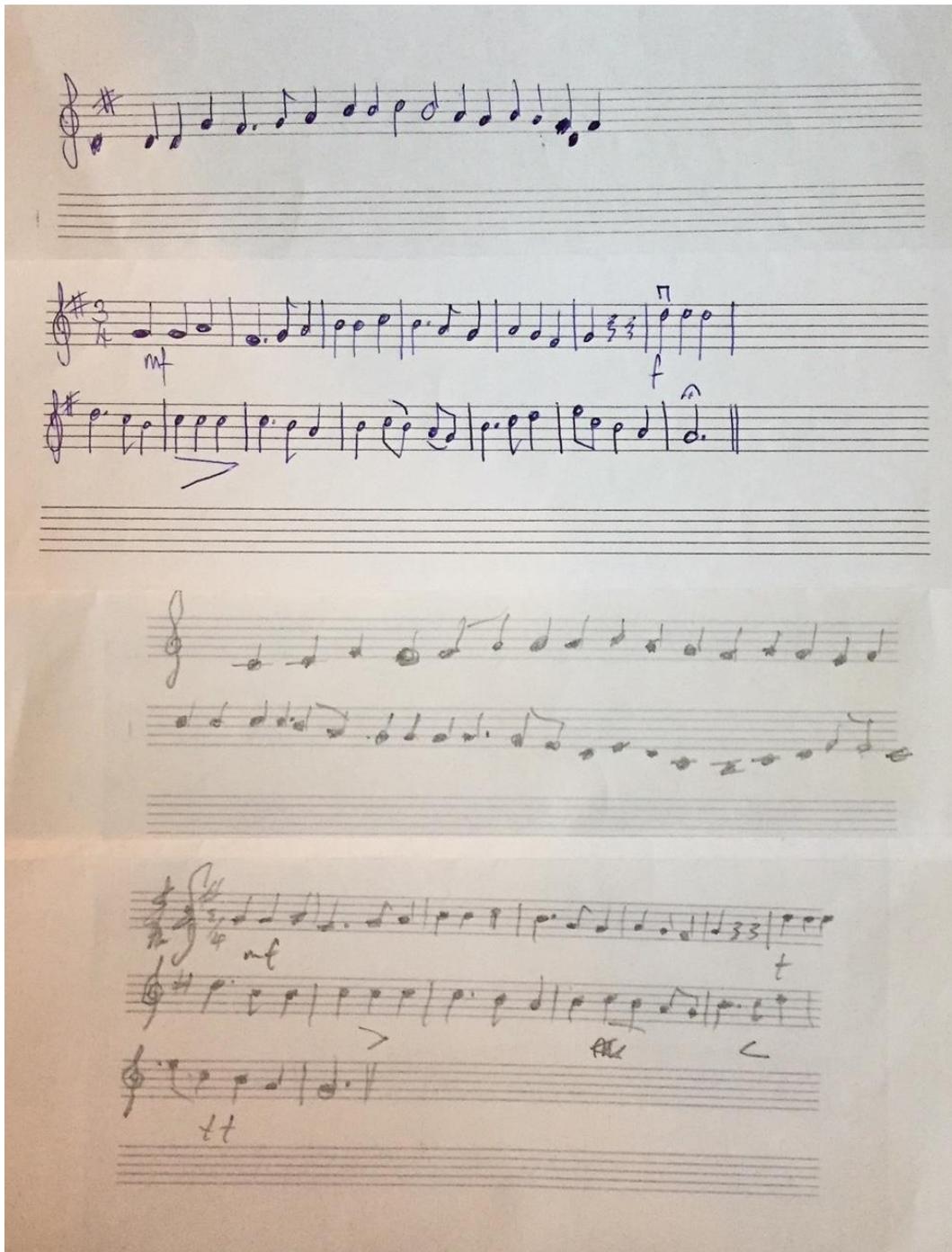
Please copy the following onto the manuscript paper. Please DO NOT return to PAGE 2 to change / add / remove anything!

God Save The Queen

This is NOT a test of your transcription ability and even the printed version of the tune is only one way of writing it, not the "correct" one.

Candidates 1 and 2

'a' represents the memory transcription and 'b' the copied version.



Candidates 3 and 4

The image displays three pages of handwritten musical notation. The first page contains two systems of three staves each, with a 3/4 time signature. The second page also has two systems of three staves, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature; it includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *f*, and *ff*. The third page features a system of three staves in 3/4 time, followed by a system of three staves for the piece titled "God Save The Queen" in 3/4 time, which includes dynamic markings like *mf* and *f*.

Candidates 5 and 6

The image displays four systems of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. Each system consists of two staves, with the top staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *f*. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. The second system continues this with more complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic changes. The third system features a single bass staff with a melodic line. The fourth system returns to a two-staff format, concluding with a double bar line. The handwriting is clear and legible, typical of a student's work.

Candidates 7 and 8

The image displays two systems of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. The first system consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a 4/4 time signature, containing a melodic line with a sharp sign and a double bar line. The second and third staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, featuring a complex rhythmic pattern with a '3f' marking. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#), containing a few notes and a 'ff' marking. The second system also consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, showing a melodic line. The second and third staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, containing a rhythmic accompaniment with 'ff' and 'f' markings. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature, containing a few notes and a 'ff' marking.

Candidates 9 and 10

The image displays four systems of handwritten musical notation on a single page. Each system consists of two staves. The first system is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time, featuring a treble clef and a double bar line at the end. The second system is in G major and 3/4 time, with a treble clef, dynamic markings of *mf*, *f*, and *ff*, and includes slurs and accents. The third system is in G major and 3/4 time, with a treble clef. The fourth system is in G major and 3/4 time, with a treble clef, dynamic markings of *mf*, *f*, and *ff*, and includes slurs and accents. The handwriting is in blue ink on aged paper.

Appendix E – Transcription of Chappell's Cheap Works

CHAPPELL'S CHEAP WORKS

For Various Instruments, Price Eighteen-pence Each.

TUTORS.

CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Violin Tutor.	CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Pianoforte Tutor.
CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Flute Tutor.	CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Clarionet Tutor.
CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Cornet Tutor.	CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Harmonium Tutor.
CHAPPELL'S POPULAR English Concertina Tutor.	CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Singing Tutor.
CHAPPELL'S POPULAR German Concertina Tutor.	CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Harmony Tutor.
CHAPPELL'S POPULAR Guitar Tutor.	

VIOLIN.

CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in the 'Queen Topazo' and in the 'Rose of Castile'.	CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Il Trovatore' and 'La Traviata'.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Sacred Songs, Anthems, Psalms and Hymns.	CHAPPELL'S 100 Dances (principally D'Albert's). Second Violin and Bass Part to Ditto.
CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Robin Hood'.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Dances (Second Series).
CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Lurline and Victorine'.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Operatic Airs.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Irish Airs.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Popular Songs.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Scotch Airs.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Hornpipes, Reels, Jigs, etc.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Christy Minstrel Melodies.	CHAPPELL'S Eighteen Airs with Easy Variations.

FLUTE.

CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in the 'Queen Topazo' and in the 'Rose of Castile'.	CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Robin Hood'.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Sacred Songs, Anthems, Psalms and Hymns.	CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Lurline and Victorine'.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Irish Airs.	CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Il Trovatore' and 'La Traviata'.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Scotch Airs.	CHAPPELL'S 100 Dances (principally D'Albert's).
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Christy Minstrel Melodies.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Operatic Airs. CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Popular Songs.

CLARIONET.

CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Sacred Songs, Anthems, Psalms and Hymns.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Irish Airs.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Scotch Airs.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Christy Minstrel Melodies.

CORNET-A-PISTONS.

CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in the 'Queen Topazo' and in the 'Rose of Castile'.	CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Lurline and Victorine'.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Sacred Songs, Anthems, Psalms and Hymns.	CHAPPELL'S 100 Dances (principally D'Albert's).
CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Robin Hood'.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Irish Airs.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Operatic Airs.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Scotch Airs.
	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Christy Minstrel Melodies.
	CHAPPELL'S Twenty-five Duets for two Cornets.

ENGLISH CONCERTINA.

CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Sacred Songs, Anthems, Psalms and Hymns.	CHAPPELL'S 100 Dances (principally D'Albert's).
CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Robin Hood'.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Irish Airs.
CHAPPELL'S Favourite Airs in 'Lurline and Victorine'.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Scotch Airs.
CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Operatic Airs.	CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Christy Minstrel Melodies.

GERMAN CONCERTINA.

CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Operatic Melodies, Songs, Dances, &c.

GUITAR.

CHAPPELL'S One Hundred Dances.
CHAPPELL'S Popular Songs, Guitar Accomp., 2 Books.

HARMONIUM.

CHAPPELL'S Fifty Sacred Melodies.
CHAPPELL'S Fifty Secular Melodies.

Care should be taken to Order CHAPPELL'S Cheap Works, as they alone contain D'ALBERT'S and other

Popular Copyright Works
50. NEW BOND STREET

Appendix F – Transcription of Newspaper Reports from Chapter 5

Extract from *Western Daily Press*, 14 January 1871.¹³²¹

The Prince of Wales at Berkeley. Ball to the Tenantry. Friday night

The principal event of the day has been the tenants' ball to-night, which was on a most complete scale, invitations being extended to between 300 and 400 persons...The splendid dining hall had been prepared for dancing, and although the walls since the time of the victor of Cressy when the apartment was built have frequently echoed to the sound of revelry, never was a more gay assembly witnessed there than on this occasion, when village swains and rustic damsels footed it in company with their future monarch. The dimensions of the hall are greater than some local guide book state, and instead of it being only 43 feet in length, the room is really 60 feet. At the upper end, over the spacious fireplace, were now arranged the pieces of armour that ordinarily are placed in a recess at the opposite extremity, on each side of these reminiscences of the days of chivalry being stars fashioned of brightly polished bayonets and ramreads, producing a capital effect. Above the warlike symbols was affixed the Royal standard that during the two previous days floated proudly from the summit of Thorpe's tower. Flags of all nations were suspended from the raftered roof, and these, together with the heavy crimson curtains drawn over the "storied windows richly dight", through which so often, as Capern puts it,

"A flood of sunlight, beautiful as dew,
That falls a shatter'd rainbow"

Has been poured, give to the interior considerable warmth and richness. The recess whence the armour was taken for the nonce filled by arms, disposed of in fanciful devices; and at intervals around the walls there were tapers stuck in bayonets...The hall was otherwise lit by means of gas jets that ran along the lower end, and the huge antlered candelabrum depending in the centre. The quaint Minstrels' Gallery, where formerly the lays of "Merrie England" were given by a tuneful crew, was now discarded, and a niche not far from the fireplace appropriated to the band of the South Gloucestershire Militia, who still enlivened the Castle with their strains...Dancing began at half-past 10 o'clock, the programme commencing with a quadrille, in which, amongst others, his Royal Highness, Lady Fitzhardinge...took part. The Prince who opened the ball with Lady Fitzhardinge, was attired in ordinary evening dress...It was truly exhilarating to behold the zest with which lively measures were tripped, the fair sex especially entering heartily into the merry pastime...The hours fled swiftly, and polka, valse, and schottische, varied and repeated, caused time to pass unheeded...It may be taken for granted that on so joyous an occasion the company did not separate till morning, and when the last dance, "Sir Roger de Coverley," had terminated, they were, as Tommy Moore would say, "lit to the door by Aurora."

¹³²¹ 'The Prince of Wales at Berkeley. Ball to the Tenantry', p. 3.

Extract from *Gloucester Journal*, 'Prince of Wales at Berkeley', 21st January 1871.¹³²²

The guests began to arrive at 10 o'clock, and at about a quarter to eleven his Royal Highness...entered the ball-room with Lady Fitzhardinge, his Lordship, and the distinguished party of guests...The band commenced the first quadrille shortly after his Royal Highness entered the hall, and in a double set formed at one end of the hall were the Prince and Lady Fitzhardinge.... The Prince opened the ball with Lady Fitzhardinge, and after the opening quadrille the distinguished guests mixed with the general company. His Royal Highness entered with a zest which was evidently natural and unforced into the mirth and gaiety of the festive gathering. Waltzing seemed to be the Prince's favourite dance, and it was one in which he excelled, but in the country dances he did not fail to take part, together with large numbers of the tenantry. It was not till half-past two o'clock that the Prince intimated his intention to retire, and thereupon from the numerous assemblage, who up to this moment had with the greatest good taste refrained from any demonstration relative to the Prince's presence, there burst forth in honour of his Royal Highness...The band played Brinley Richards's "God bless the Prince of Wales" as his Royal Highness left the room...and the festivities were kept till about four o'clock in the morning'.

Extract from *Somerset County Gazette*, Saturday 03 September 1864.¹³²³

CHEDZOY HARVEST HOME

On Thursday the inhabitants of Chedzoy celebrated their annual Harvest Home. This is the second gathering of the kind in this parish, and, although not conducted on so large a scale as that of east Brent, it was nevertheless a decided success.

Chedzoy is situated in the centre of an extensive corn-growing country, and therefore this celebration of the ingathering of the harvest was especially appropriate, and it was made the occasion of unmixed enjoyment to all classes. Every person who is acquainted with the character of Englishmen and women know how heartily they enjoy a good old English holiday; but unfortunately these seasons are usually associated with much that is objectionable, and hence they are looked upon with disfavour by many who would otherwise willingly co-operate in securing a day of relaxation once in the year, when all the classes might assemble together and, throwing off their exclusiveness, enter into the enjoyments of the occasion with heartiness and good will. It is due to the Rev. G. O. Mullins, rector of this parish, to state that he has eminently succeeded in securing for his parishioners an annual holiday without any of the excesses which usually render these gatherings objectionable...Flags, with various devices, met the eye at every turning of the road, and both 'squire and rustic appeared bent upon a day's enjoyment...The proceedings of the day commenced with Divine service in the church...The singing, which was very good, was under the leadership of Mr. Lucette, of Bridgewater. At the conclusion of the service the people proceeded to a field near the rectory where the festivities were to be held, and where a large tent had been erected, in which about 200 sat down to an excellent dinner...The company then separated and dispersed over the ground, joining in the amusements which had been provided.

¹³²² 'The Prince of Wales at Berkeley Castle', p. 5.

¹³²³ 'Chedzoy Harvest Home', p. 6.

At 5 o'clock tea was plentifully supplied to the women and children, There was a service in the evening at 8 o'clock...The Bridgwater Promenade Band was in attendance and played during the day, whilst the young and old of both sexes availed themselves of the opportunity of having a dance on the green sward'.

Extract from *Hereford Times*, 'Shire Hall : Selling Beer at Illegal Times', 22 May 1852.¹³²⁴

SELLING BEER AT ILLEGAL TIMES - William Clarke, of Marden, again appeared to answer the charge of keeping his beer-house open, after ten o'clock, on the night of the 1st of May...In addition to the evidence previously given, a man named Weaver, who it appeared acted as fiddler upon the occasion, was examined, and from his statement it seems that he left the house about two o'clock on the Sunday morning; there being twenty of five-and twenty people in the house. There was a little "stepping" going on in the course of the evening; he was fiddling until about eleven o'clock, and when he left off to take a little refreshment, - for the fiddle could not go unless the physical strength of the fiddler were supported by an element stronger than water - the fiddle itself was carried away, and with the music, the dancing of course soon terminated; the company consequently adjourned from the "ball-room" to the tap-room and others more prudently to their dwellings. The room thus vacated was soon occupied for a very different purpose, it being converted into a sleeping apartment for the "navvies" and "Young" (the witness examined last week), was soon buried in sleep...Not so the unfortunate musician; who was engaged in searching, hedges and ditches, fields and groves, vainly looking for the lost instrument, until daylight began to make its appearance, and then he wended his disconsolate way homewards lamenting his loss, and reflecting what steps he had better pursue, to recover possession of his very means of subsistence - his fiddle...

Extract from *Ross Gazette*, 'Gymnastic Display', 16 April 1891.¹³²⁵

GYMNASTIC DISPLAY

On Thursday evening last, a grand gymnastic display was given in the Corn Exchange, Ross, by members of the Hereford Gymnastic Club, in conjunction with members of the Ross Gymnasium, when there was a large attendance. The programme of events was an excellent one, and the enjoyment of the evening was much enhanced by the attendance of a string band, under the leadership of Mr. Walter Soobroy, of Hereford, which performed a number of selections, in addition to which Mr. G. E. Innell sang in good style. The following was the programme:-

Extract from *Leamington Spa Courier*, 18 November 1865.¹³²⁶

PENNY CONCERTS

The second of these popular fortnightly entertainments came off on Tuesday evening at the Corn Exchange. The room was pretty well filled. Mr Repton, M.P., occupied the chair, and he was accompanied on the platform by Mr R. Greaves, Mt Nelson, and Mr

¹³²⁴ 'Shire Hall : Selling Beer at Illegal Times', p. 7.

¹³²⁵ 'Gymnastic Display', p. 4.

¹³²⁶ 'Penny Concerts', p. 8.

J. Moore. In opening the proceedings, the Chairman said: - Ladies and gentlemen, - It gives me great pleasure to be called to the chair on this occasion, and still greater pleasure to see so large a number of my friends of Warwick here. I am well aware that in these days of excursion trains most persons have opportunities of going places of amusement at a distance – to such places, for instance, as the Crystal Palace and the Metropolis. Still, there is a large mass of people who earn their bread by their daily labour, and have neither the means nor the time to go to such places, and I believe to such classes these musical entertainments, these penny concerts, are a great boon. I am glad to see so many of them here to-night, and I confess it gives me equal pleasure to see so large a number of those who have the means and the opportunity of coming and participating in the amusement of their less fortunate brethren, for I am quite aware that it is only by accident that we possess and are enabled to enjoy those advantages. I think you have got a most attractive programme this evening, and it is quite unnecessary for me to trouble you with a long speech. I will only say that I most cordially and heartily wish success to these meetings, and I hope that this will not be the last time I may have the pleasure of being present at them. (Applause.)...

Extract from Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser, 17 November 1860.¹³²⁷

SATURDAY PENNY CONCERTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER

Sir, - You very kindly last season reported the progress of the Popular Fortnightly Concerts, and the publicity you gave it by your friendly criticisms rendered good service to the society; in fact your valuable little paper is weekly looked for with interest, as replete with the topics of the day. You are well aware the interest that was taken both in the society, and by the committee of the Total Abstinence Society, to enhance the pleasure and comfort of the working classes for a couple of hours on a Saturday evening. But you are not perhaps aware of the petty jealousy caused by their prosperity, and 'twill be well for you to know it, and through you the public. This season two or three more gentlemen have rallied round the committee's standard amongst them a pianist, Mr J. Righton, who, we understand, has never before presumed to develop those abilities before a public audience. His singing was very good and expressive in that well known song "Ah che la Morte," from "Il Trovatore," accompanying himself on the piano as he did with that delicacy of touch and feeling expression which alone meets the approbation of judges of fine music (a few of whom we are glad to learn were present). His performances elicited for him a hearty applause from the audience, and we hope to have the pleasure of hearing him again this evening.

Our Penny Concerts are getting very popular and bid fair to prosper during the forthcoming season, and we trust that those gentlemen, who so kindly lent their services last year, will again come forward this season, and we may rely upon the concerts being well attended, and will no doubt in the end prove a beneficial interest to the town.

FRIEND OF THE WORKING MEN.

¹³²⁷ 'Saturday Penny Concerts. To the Editor of the Advertiser', p. 4.

Appendix G – Transcription of Newspaper Reports from Chapter 6

Extract from Taunton Courier, and Western Advertiser, 21 February 1844.¹³²⁸

MUSIC SALOON, AND MUSIC CIRCULATING

LIBRARY,

10, East Reach, Taunton

MR. F. NORTON ERITH,

TEACHER OF THE PIANO FORTE AND
SINGING,

RESPECTFULLY informs his Patrons, Pupils and Amateurs of Music, that he has established at his residence, a Saloon for the sale of Music, &c ; and has selected personally from the best Publishers, a collection of Popular and Standard Musical Works, embracing the productions of the most eminent composers.

Mr. F.N.E. begs to draw attention to his "Music Circulating Library," which will be found to contain an assortment of the most fashionable publications, Vocal and Instrumental. "Conditions and Regulations," Terms, &c., will be affixed to each piece of Music.

The advantage of a Music Circulating Library, must be obvious to every person aware of the great variety of Music, constantly emanating from the press.

Mr. F. N. ERITH, in soliciting encouragement in his new undertaking, takes this opportunity of offering his grateful acknowledgements for the generous support he has experienced, and still continues to enjoy as a Teacher of the Piano Forte and Singing, and to express the hope that his fidelity in the discharge of his professional duties, may merit public approval.

The most popular Quadrilles, Waltzes, by Jullien, Lanner, Strauss, Labitzky and others are in the Library, as also the whole of the Music from Burgmuller's beautiful Ballett "La Peri," *arranged by the author* and the Songs, and arrangements from Balfe's new and popular Opera "The BOHEMIAN GIRL."

Piano Fortes Tuned by an experience Person on the most Moderate Terms.

February 5, 1844.

¹³²⁸ 'Music Saloon and Music Circulating Library', p. 1.

Appendix H – Poverty, Prosperity and Earnings – A Wider Perspective

I carried out a survey of wider literature to try and understand the reality of the conditions and wages for the working classes at the time of the manuscripts. Although the subject is not specifically related to music, I used both musicological and non-musicological sources. I was interested to see if the compilers would have had enough disposable income to attend the cheaper concerts (both with regards to entrance tickets and travel), printed music and other related resources.

In his studies of folk musicians, Hall finds awful conditions during this period which he attributes to the economic depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), and oppression created by the New Poor Law (1834).¹³²⁹ Chandler describes the mid-1850s as years of “extensive economic privation” and “dire poverty”,¹³³⁰ with a loaf of bread costing the same as an agricultural labourer’s daily wage. He states that the Crimea War (1853-1856) caused the death of thousands of children through starvation, and Hall blames industrialisation and cheap imported produce causing a slump in farming the 1870s.¹³³¹ A massive rise in population throughout the century further contributed to unemployment in all areas,¹³³² and clearly, returning to the harsh existence in the dwindling rural communities which survived the urban emigration, appealed less to the poor urban dwellers who, effectively voted with their feet by staying put in the crowded, bleak cities and making their lives there.

However, Russell believes that in reality, times were not so hard or at least eased as the century progressed, noting that “from about mid-century, sections of the English working class began to enjoy an improvement in financial status”.¹³³³ He calculates that during the years of the ‘Great Depression’, 1876-1896, “the combined effect of a slight increase in actual wage rates and a 40 per cent decrease in prices resulted in a national rise in real wages of 66 per cent”.¹³³⁴ Whilst he is careful to qualify his

¹³²⁹ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', pp. 9-10. He quotes Reed saying that “to have been a rural worker in the 19th C must have been to have had an existence of appalling toil, privation and precious little joy”; “until quite late in the century rural living was extremely squalid”. Mick Reed, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth-Century England: A Neglected Class?', *History Workshop*, 18, Autumn (1984), 71.

¹³³⁰ Chandler, 'Musicians in 19th Century Southern England'. MT064

¹³³¹ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 10.

¹³³² In Sussex, 1801-1901 there was a 400% increase in population. *Ibid.* p. 9.

¹³³³ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 15.

¹³³⁴ *Ibid.*

statement he clearly observes a rise in disposable income amongst the working classes in the later decades of the century, a trend which is reflected in Bowley's calculations,¹³³⁵ discussed below and argued by Gammon, commenting that "the lot of the rural poor seems to have improved a little after 1850".¹³³⁶

Gammon states that an agricultural labourer was earning "between ten-and-six and eleven-and-six", a week mid-century and notes that a skilled worker was also quite poorly paid, earning a typical wage of "fifteen shillings a week".¹³³⁷ In his spiritual autobiography, rural musician Nye states that in 1845 he earned ten shillings a week, working "with the mill cart".¹³³⁸ Similarly, Burstow's account of his wages as a shoemaker depict him earning as low as two shillings a week as an apprentice, rising to an average of fifteen shillings for a sixty-seventy hour working week when skilled.¹³³⁹ This is corroborated by Gammon, who finds that even master craftsmen, those from the skilled labour class earned a low wage.¹³⁴⁰ As opportunities of earning a supplementary income were greater with a musical skill, it provided a poorly paid worker to earn a "few extra shillings" through playing in a dance band or at weddings and fairs, and many working people relied on multiple sources of income during the nineteenth century, to help combat irregular employment.¹³⁴¹

In 1850, 'A Factory Woman' wrote a letter to The Editor of *The Working Man's Friend* listing the weekly income and expenditure of her household. Both she and her husband were factory workers, with her income totalling seven shillings and six pence and that of her husband, eight shillings and six pence, see Figure 143.¹³⁴² After weekly expenditure of rent, food, childcare, washing, sick club and burial club etc., they had one pence spare a week which she spent on the publication of *The Working Man's Friend*.

¹³³⁵ John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living*, 2nd edn, (Hampshire: Gregg Revivals, 1993), p. 254.

¹³³⁶ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 15.

¹³³⁷ Ibid.

¹³³⁸ Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness', p. 15.

¹³³⁹ Burstow, *Reminiscences of Horsham Being Recollections of Henry Burstow. The Celebrated Bellringer & Songsinger*, p. 23.

¹³⁴⁰ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 33.

¹³⁴¹ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 9; Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914'.³³

¹³⁴² J J A Factory Woman, 'A Factory Woman's Letter', *The Working Man's Friend, and Family Instructor*, 2, No 15 for week ending Sat April 13th 1850 (March 18 1850), 54

<<https://archive.org/stream/workingmansfrien01lond#page/n501/mode/2up/search/factory>>.

spending :—

WAGES.		s. d.	EXPENDITURE.		s. d.
My husband's wages, per week	8	6	Rent	3	0
My wages	7	6	Fire and candles	1	2
			Washing and soap	1	6
			Neighbour for looking after children	0	6
			Sick-club	0	4
			Burial-club	0	1
			Flour and barm	2	8
			Flesh meat	1	3
			Coffee and tea	1	2
			Sugar	1	6
			Potatoes	0	6
			Butter	1	8
			Milk	0	7
			Working Man's Friend	0	1
		16 0			16 0

—I remain, yours,
Near Chorley, March 18, 1850.

J. J.,
A Factory Woman.

Figure 143 : Extract from *A Working Man's Friend*, 1850. Source: <https://archive.org> (Brigham Young University Library).

Compared to Gammon's figures for an agricultural worker, these numbers are on the low side, a trend which appears to have reversed by the beginning of the twentieth-century (see below). I have inserted a simplified version of the incomes given by Bowley in his *Estimated Budget of the Median Family in 1860, 1880 and 1914* (see Figure 144),¹³⁴³ (I have removed calorific value and estimated units). His figures would tally with the *Factory Woman's* actual figures as wages were rising fast between 1850 and 1860.¹³⁴⁴

¹³⁴³ A. L. Bowley, *Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937) <<https://books.google.co.uk>> [Accessed 4 May 2016].

¹³⁴⁴ Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living*, p. 254.

Estimated Budget of the Median Family in 1860, 1880 and 1914

'Family' = man, wife and three schoolchildren, or 3.87 'men'

Date:	1860	1880	1914
Wage:	20s. 6d.	26s. 6d.	35s. 6d.
	s d	s d	s D
Bread	5 3	4 7	5 3
Meat	1 7 ½	2 4	7 1
Bacon	10 ½	11 ½	1 5 ½
Suet, etc.	9	6	7
Butter	7 ½	1 3	1 9 ¾
Margarine			3
Cheese	2	4 ½	6 ¾
Milk, fresh	1 0	1 8	1 9
Potatoes	1 9	1 10	1 3
Vegetables			3
Rice, etc.	2	4	6
Tea	6	1 0 ¾	10 ¾
Sugar	1 0 1/2	1 2	11 ¼
TOTAL FOOD	13 9	16 0 ¾	22 7
Rent	3	3 6	5 0
Fuel, etc.	1	1 6	1 6
Clothing	1 6	2 0	2 6
Sundries	1 3	3 5 ¼	3 11
TOTAL	20 6	26 6	35 6

Figure 144 : 'Estimated Budget of Median Family', Bowley. Source: <https://books.google.co.uk>.

Whilst Bowley's diachronic comparison is interesting, 'The Factory Woman's' figures, despite dating slightly before the time period in question, are the most useful in terms of assessing affordability by low earners. They provide a thorough breakdown to enable disposable income for items such as musical resources, concert admission and travel to be assessed. Bowley's classification of 'sundries' is not specific enough to be able to deduce real disposable income, once other items such as those on 'The Factory Woman's' budget are accounted for (such as childcare, sick club and burial club).

Meanwhile, Burnett gives the following figures (Figure 145),¹³⁴⁵ for wages for a southern agricultural labourer:

Year	Daily Wage	Weekly Wage
1860		11s 7d
1866		13s
1867-71		10s 6d
1872	42d	(19s 3d)
1880	46d	(21s 1d)

Figure 145 : Table based on the figures given by Bowley. Source: Burnett.

¹³⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 250-51.

These figures (those in brackets are calculated based on a five and a half day working week from the daily wage figures given by Bowley), do not include any wages that wives and children may be bringing in to the household which may account for their marked reduction compared to Bowley's estimated budget above.

Although there appears to be a dramatic rise between 1867 and 1872 this is consistent with Bowley's real-time chart (see Figure 146),¹³⁴⁶ which considers the flux of wages with that of prices to arrive at a 'Real Time' wage:

Period	Nominal Wages	Prices	Real Wages
1830-1852	Nearly Stationary	Falling Slowly	Rising Slowly
1852-1870	Rising Fast	Rising	Rising Considerably
1870-1873	Rising Very Fast	Rising Fast	Rising Fast
1873-1879	Falling Fast	Falling Fast	Nearly Stationary
1879-1887	Nearly Stationary	Falling	Rising
1887-1892	Rising	Rising and Falling	Rising
1892-1897	Nearly Stationary	Falling	Rising

Figure 146 : Bowley's 'Real Time Wages'. Source: Burnett.

Whilst these figures might reflect the earnings closer to those of Hampton and Till/Clutterbuck, Burnett states that the semi-skilled and skilled (for example Bennett the blacksmith) would be substantially better off,¹³⁴⁷ on a ratio of 5 : 3.3 : 2.4. It might be fair to say that in 1860, at the time of his manuscript (and before the 1870s rural slump), Bennett was earning approximately one pound, four shillings and four pence. However, this contradicts Gammon's findings who draws attention to the fact that although artisans or skilled workers possessed higher skills, they still were not especially wealthy, earning only a few more shilling per week than an agricultural labourer.¹³⁴⁸

According to Burnett's chart, Till/Clutterbuck, in 1866 would have been earning around thirteen shillings a week and Hampton as a general labourer/skinner, the poorest at about ten shillings a week. That said, Hampton was employed in a city and these figures represent rural earnings. Burnett lists a mid-century semi-skilled urban worker

¹³⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 254.

¹³⁴⁷ It is worth considering that the jobs recorded in the census returns are only snapshots for that moment. Jobs were not secure and the assumption that they held these jobs for the ten-year period between the censuses cannot be assumed.

¹³⁴⁸ Gammon, 'Popular Music in Rural Society : Sussex 1815 - 1914', p. 33.

as earning between fifteen shillings and one pound a week.¹³⁴⁹ Whilst direct comparison figures do not appear to exist, comparative figures from the turn of the century suggest that at that time, urban workers were better paid than their rural counterparts.

Burnett takes his figures from the first ever survey by the Board of Trade, dated 1903-4 which lists the average agricultural labourer's wage as eighteen shillings and six pence (which is considerably lower than the figure given in the above table), and urban workmen earning an average of twenty-nine shillings and ten pence a week. This suggests a substantial difference of eleven shillings and four pence between the two, although the cost of food alone for urban workers was four shillings and nine pence more.

That said, Bowley's real time wages chart suggests that Hampton, as the latest of the compilers had a harder time due to real wages remaining stagnant in 1873-79, yet Burnett contradicts this. He quotes G H Wood's scale and sees an improvement in working-class standards between 1873 and 1896:

...in a period of falling prices which contemporaries designated the 'Great Depression'... on which the G. H. Wood scale (1850 = 100) average retail prices fell from 125 to 83, while money-wages remained almost stationary ...The result was that real wages increased from 128 (1850 = 100) in 1873 to 176 in 1896, easily the biggest gain in the century.¹³⁵⁰

Burnett continues in this positive tone declaring that "the working classes were now taking their first great strides out of that poverty which had been their lot for generations past",¹³⁵¹ perhaps Hampton's fortunes were on the rise.

What conclusions can be drawn from these conflicting figures in terms of affordability of lower classes to access resources? Most of the sources do not give an indication of rent, food and other costs. Individual cases cited in Burnett are so variable with regards to employment status and also not detailed enough to draw substantial conclusions. For example, we know that an urban semi-skilled worker mid-century had

¹³⁴⁹ Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living*, p. 263.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 256.

¹³⁵¹ Ibid.

five-and-a-half pence left for sundries each week,¹³⁵² but apart from food (including household goods such as soap and coal), rent, schooling and sundries he provides no more detail. It is possible that the sundries were required for thread or a cheap newspaper such as *The Working Man's Friend*, rather than indicating disposable income to save towards a copy of music or instrument, or for a night out at a concert or Music Hall.

A fair conclusion might be that despite not being able to ascertain accurate figures, increased leisure time and a potential rise in real-time wages would doubtless result in more time to absorb society's musical culture, acquire skills and resources, practise, participate and copy out tunes. However, the evidence suggests that during the mid-last quarter of the century, regular expenditure of even one shilling to attend a concert,¹³⁵³ would be excessive. Even the cheaper three pence entry into a London Music Hall, which in reality would cost more due to further expenses incurred once inside,¹³⁵⁴ was unaffordable when taking into account travel costs for rural compilers. So too paying the full price of eighteen pence for a copy of *Chappell's 'Cheap Works'*,¹³⁵⁵ would be prohibitive and, even a reduction at a third of the published price at six pence, if attainable at all would have been an extravagant luxury.

¹³⁵² Ibid. p. 263.

¹³⁵³ See Chapter 3.

¹³⁵⁴ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 91.

¹³⁵⁵ See Chapter 4.

Appendix I – Travel – A Wider Perspective

The following section details my research looking at the non-musicological aspect of the compilers' ability to travel. Having established that they had little disposable income, I wanted to see what opportunities were open to them to travel outside their village and "go foreign",¹³⁵⁶ particularly the rural compilers who are considered by some to be isolated.¹³⁵⁷ This would have an impact on whether they could travel to urban areas to attend concerts which could influence their choice of repertoire, buy printed copies of music, and travel to participate and perform.

The affordability of travel is a contentious subject in wider literature. Bearman argues that, "It is mistaken to assume that because railways, or canals, or stage coaches, are available, everyone has equal access to them...Apart from the railways – if you could afford them – and the carrier's cart, there was no public transport in rural Somerset even in the early 1900s. Remoteness, to most people, meant that everyday journeys were limited to the distance they could walk".¹³⁵⁸ On the other hand, Scott argues that travelling by train was a viable option: "the railways gave a boost to the music business: they facilitated touring, they enabled people to travel to events (especially when train travel became cheaper in the 1860s and 1870s)".¹³⁵⁹

New legislation in 1844, proposed by Gladstone forced rail companies to offer a daily weekday service for third class passengers at the cost of one pence per mile.¹³⁶⁰

However, prices relating to later in the century cannot be found in order to confirm Scott's findings. Although seemingly cheap, as laid out in Appendix H, one penny per mile in 1844 would still be prohibitive for lower-class people wishing to travel several miles (i.e. further than they could walk), purely for a leisure trip to a concert or to buy musical materials. However, evidence from newspaper reports suggest that on public holidays special 'excursion trains' were put on to take pleasure-seekers to London and it appears that these were offered at favourable rates for the working classes. An

¹³⁵⁶ Baring-Gould, *Old Country Life*, p. 241.

¹³⁵⁷ Roud, *Folk Song in England*, p. 28.

¹³⁵⁸ Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', p. 772.

¹³⁵⁹ Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 19.

¹³⁶⁰ Dr Mark F. Bailey, "'The 1844 Railway Act : A Violation of Laissez-Faire Political Economy?'" (No date), <http://www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/econpolitics/profiles/mf.bailey/bailey_1844.pdf> [accessed 14 January 2017].

excerpt was shown in Chapter 5 with regards to Penny Concerts, and further examples exist,¹³⁶¹ including this 1858 advert shown in Figure 147,¹³⁶² from *The Cheltenham Chronicle*:

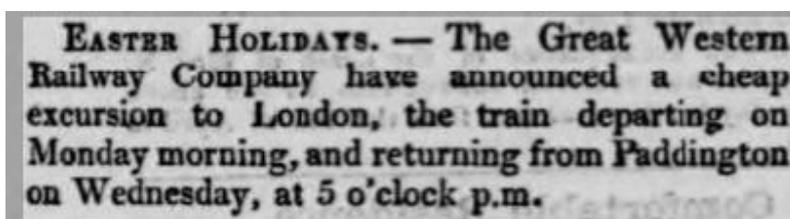


Figure 147 : Excerpt from *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 1851. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

Institutes organised excursions too. This example shown in Figure 148,¹³⁶³ refers to the Shepton Mallet Mechanics' Institute in 1883:

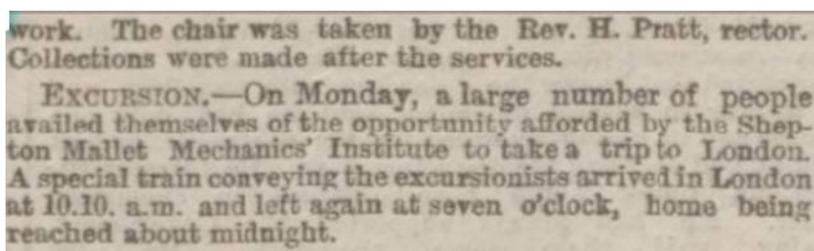


Figure 148 : Excerpt from *Western Gazette*, 1883. Source: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

It is reasonable to assume that middle-class compilers could access larger concert towns relatively easily by train. However, lower-class people, although not excluded from such travel, would likely find their ability was limited to specially arranged excursions. Even with that in mind, it is worth referring to an 1865 newspaper report in which the reporter explicitly states that despite being:

well aware that in these days of excursion trains most persons have opportunities of going places of amusement at a distance – to such places, for instance, as the Crystal Palace and the Metropolis. Still, there is a large mass of people who earn their bread by their daily labour and have neither the means nor the time to go to such places...¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁶¹ 'The Whitsuntide Holiday', *Reading Mercury*, 11 June 1881, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> p. 5.

¹³⁶² 'Easter Holidays', *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 30 March 1858, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 30 March 2017] p. 4.

¹³⁶³ 'Excursion', *Western Gazette*, 27 April 1883, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2016] p. 7.

¹³⁶⁴ 'Penny Concerts'. *Leamington Spa Courier*, 1865, p8.

Bowen and Shepherd, in discussing the movements of musicians and tunes in the earlier nineteenth century say that:

The great improvement in roads in Joshua Jackson's time led to easier and faster travel...A good road surface enabled horses pulling coaches and carts to trot there they had previously walked...Travel by stage coach was also relatively easy and fast...

although they acknowledge that this method is more appropriate for tune dissemination via rich landowners rather than a means for lower classes to travel. That said, they assert that, "Journeys of 12 to 15 miles to attend or play for an evening dance or concert would not have presented a problem for a miller and a farmer",¹³⁶⁵ although they do not specify by what means.

Whilst carrier carts may have been their mode of travel, I am unable to find prices and hence availability to the lower classes. Evidence largely suggests that the chief means of transport to a wider environment amongst the lower occupational classes was by foot. Oral narrative shows that fiddler, Scan Tester walked ten miles both ways to play in a pub every Saturday night, "no matter what the weather was".¹³⁶⁶ Nye walked twelve miles to attend chapel with his wife's aunt,¹³⁶⁷ Hardy walked the three miles to Dorchester to play,¹³⁶⁸ and Russell states that "in 1850 three members of a Keighley band walked the twenty-mile round trip to Bradford in order to attend a Jullien concert".¹³⁶⁹ So too, Ainsworth notes that the gap between rural and urban was narrowing with rural inhabitants regularly travelling to a semi-urban workplace, and that, "a traditional way of life co-existed with the partial domination of the new mode of production".¹³⁷⁰ Therefore, even if travel was limited due to financial constraints, it appears that a differing cultural norm existed from today and lower occupational classes were able to travel substantial distances even if this was by foot.

¹³⁶⁵ Bowen and others *Tunes, Songs & Dances from the 1798 Manuscript of Joshua Jackson North Yorkshire Corn Miller and Musician, Volume One*, p. 9.

¹³⁶⁶ Hall, 'Scan Tester "I Never Played to Many Posh Dances" Mt215', p. 35.

¹³⁶⁷ He does admit that after some time, he "began to lose my comforts. And when I was in chapel I was so sleepy that I heard little or nothing about the sermon". Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness', p. 18.

¹³⁶⁸ Trim and others *The Musical Heritage of Thomas Hardy*.

¹³⁶⁹ Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840 - 1914. A Social History*, p. 78.

¹³⁷⁰ Ainsworth, 'Religion in the Working Class Community, and the Evolution of Socialism in Late Nineteenth Century Lancashire: A Case of Working Class Consciousness', p. 360.

Appendix J – Illiteracy – A Wider Perspective

The problems of establishing literacy levels amongst nineteenth-century working classes have been introduced in the main body of the thesis. The following discussion surveys wider literature to investigate illiteracy further. Problems evaluating nineteenth-century literacy levels amongst the working classes not only lie in different statistical interpretations but result partly from the group under consideration not having a significant presence in the historical record. This in turn possibly accounts for the lack of enquiry amongst literary historians. Rose notes neglect in the field since Altick's 1957 seminal book *The English Common Reader*.¹³⁷¹ Notwithstanding Vincent's collection of oral narratives and working-class autobiographies,¹³⁷² Rose feels that there is still "an unwritten critical chapter in the history of what were once called 'the inarticulate masses'- who, it turns out, had a great deal to say".¹³⁷³ Lemire believes a period of research did exist albeit brief. Writing specifically about nineteenth-century literacy she notes that "most of the research on literacy rates appears to have been done in a thirty-year period roughly between 1960 and 1990".¹³⁷⁴ Research was carried out during this time, principally by Vincent and Stephens, although being based largely on the statistics of marriage registers, the reliability of their data is somewhat unstable and was revealed in Chapter 4.¹³⁷⁵

However, with little else to refer to, it is worth quoting Stephen's figures. He finds that, based on marriage certificate signatures, literacy levels were 58% in 1840, rising to 61% (69% male) in 1850, 76% (80% male) in 1870, 88% (89% male) in 1885, rising to nearly 100% by the end of the century.¹³⁷⁶ His figures relate relatively well to Altick's who finds that male literacy levels were 69.3% in 1851.¹³⁷⁷ This is interesting as it suggests that over the approximate period of manuscript compilation, despite being before compulsory education, literacy levels were growing dramatically (from 61% to

¹³⁷¹ Jonathan Rose, 'Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53. 1 (1992), 47-70 (p. 48).

¹³⁷² David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography*, (London: Methuen, 1982).

¹³⁷³ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 3.

¹³⁷⁴ Lemire, 'A Historiographical Survey of Literacy in Britain between 1780 and 1830', p. 249.

¹³⁷⁵ Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture : England 1750-1914*; W. B. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', *History of Education Quarterly*, 30. 4 (1990), 545-71; W. B. Stephens, *Educations, Literacy and Society 1830-70*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

¹³⁷⁶ Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900', p. 555.

¹³⁷⁷ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 171.

89%). This would suggest a discernible source for the skill exists. It also suggests that if the trend noted in the compilers' marriage certificates is a reflection of wider practice then in reality these figures could be even higher.

In the field of musicology rather than literary history, Sykes quotes an 1841 report by *The Journal of the Statistical Society of London* stating that 21% of people aged fourteen and over, from three rural parishes in Essex could both read and write, 24% could read and only 22% could do neither.¹³⁷⁸ He quotes Webb's estimate that in the 1840s, "about two-thirds to three-quarters of the working classes, perhaps nearer the former than the latter', were literate",¹³⁷⁹ presenting a much wider capability than is generally accepted. Atkinson proposes that the rate of literacy had, "by the turn of the nineteenth century...reached levels of around the ninety per cent mark".¹³⁸⁰ Looking for evidence amongst contemporary literature reveals magazines published and priced for the lower-class mass market such as Cassell's *Working Man's Friend*, and Dickens' *Household World*, suggesting a capable readership amongst this demographic. Flora Thompson also asserts that literacy was more widespread than might be supposed.¹³⁸¹

Amongst autobiographical sources we learn that rural, working-class musician, Nye, born 1822 went to school for one year "and learnt but very little, so that I was almost without learning. But by self practise I learnt to read and write a little",¹³⁸² although it is not clear whether he taught himself as a boy or an adult. Gammon notes that Nye signed the marriage register.¹³⁸³ The marriage was in 1845, so at the very least he was capable of writing his name at the age of twenty-three. Singer, James Copper, also rural and working-class was born in 1845. Despite being one of nine children, whose father was on low wages as a farm carter, he briefly attended a Dame school and learnt to "say his book".¹³⁸⁴ His experiences are recorded in the main body of the thesis.

¹³⁷⁸ Sykes, 'The Evolution of Englishness in the English Folksong Revival, 1890-1914', p. 455.

¹³⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁰ Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition', p. 466.

¹³⁸¹ Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford*.

¹³⁸² Nye, 'A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness'.

¹³⁸³ Vic Gammon, 'Notes', in *A Small Account of My Travels through the Wilderness James Nye*, ed. by Vic Gammon (Brighton: QueenSparks, 1860-1888), pp. 49-51 (p. 49).

¹³⁸⁴ Copper, *A Song for Every Season*, pp. 5-8.

This research has shown that literacy levels appear to be widespread even amongst the lower occupational classes. This would be even more so when potential higher results are being hidden by the skewed marriage certificate statistics.

Appendix K – Biographies of Key Composers

Frank Musgrave

Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) Worldcat Identities give Musgrave's birth and death dates as 1834-1888,¹³⁸⁵ which differ from that suggested by the 1871 census implying he was born in 1839 in Middlesex, London. He is listed as working as *Musical Composer*, lodging in Southampton Row, Bloomsbury, and by 1881, aged forty-five,¹³⁸⁶ Musgrave elevated to the status of *Professor of Music*, lodging in Fulham Road. The large number of contemporary newspaper advertisements indicates he was a prolific composer throughout the latter half of the nineteenth-century, with many magazines and tune books containing new compositions by him. He was Musical Director of the Strand Theatre in 1865 and by 1873 held the lease of the Theatre Royal, Nottingham. During the 1870s he toured with self-composed operettas, and prior to his appointment at The Strand Theatre he wrote, "mostly dance music (quadrilles, vales and polkas...), arrangements and 'nigger songs'".¹³⁸⁷

W H Montgomery

Baptised in 1810,¹³⁸⁸ he was the son of a comedian,¹³⁸⁹ and although he cannot be found in early census records, in 1843, at the time of his marriage to Maria Iazard, he was listed as a musician, aged 33. The 1861 census lists him as Professor of Music living in Islington, with his wife and thirteen-year-old daughter.¹³⁹⁰ In 1881, although still working as a Professor of Music,¹³⁹¹ he was lodging at 189 Oxford Street, London, his

¹³⁸⁵ OCLC Worldcat Identities, 'Musgrave, Frank 1834-1888', *OCLC Online Computer Library Center, Inc.* (2010) <<http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n82227810/>> [accessed 10 December 2015].

¹³⁸⁶ Thus suggesting a further birth date of 1836.

¹³⁸⁷ Philip L Scowcroft, 'A Forty-Eighth Garland of British Music Composers', *MusicWeb International* <<http://www.musicweb-international.com/garlands/48.htm>> [accessed 1st September 2015].

¹³⁸⁸ 'William Henry Montgomery', *Baptism Record Record for William Henry Montgomery, 1810* (London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Church of England Parish Registers, 1538-1812; P92/Geo/147) <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed

¹³⁸⁹ 'William Henry Montgomery', *Marriage Record for William Henry Montgomery, 1843* (London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Church of England Parish Registers, 1754-1931; P92/Geo/190) <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed

¹³⁹⁰ 'William Henry Montgomery', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 125; Folio: 3; Page: 2; GSU roll: 542578)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

¹³⁹¹ 'William Henry Montgomery', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 143; Folio: 84; Page: 10; GSU roll: 1341032)*, <<https://www.ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 3 March 2018].

wife in a cancer hospital in St Pancras.¹³⁹² Montgomery died in 1886 and is buried in Norwood cemetery.¹³⁹³

Haydn Millars

Haydn Millars was baptised on 6th February 1837 in Worksop, Nottinghamshire,¹³⁹⁴ remaining there as a surveyor's clerk and writer, living with his father John, a master joiner and mother Mary.¹³⁹⁵ By 1861 he had moved to Bloomsbury, London, living with his two sisters and mother, who ran a boarding house,¹³⁹⁶ where he is listed as 'Prof. music'. Newspaper articles show he was the conductor of the St George's Rifle Regiment Band, selecting his own compositions for the programmes.¹³⁹⁷ One example comes from an enthusiastic review of a concert given in St James' Hall, 1863,¹³⁹⁸ which also included a composition by celebrity composer and conductor Jullien and celebrity singer, Mr Sims Reeves, performing, suggesting Haydn Millars was becoming part of the established popular music scene in London. In 1872 he married Isabella Jemima Lucas in Tendring, Essex,¹³⁹⁹ and in 1881, was working as a Director and Composer of Music, living in Regents Park, London with his wife, three young children and a servant.¹⁴⁰⁰ Ten years later, aged 54, they had moved to Holborn and he was listed as a

¹³⁹² His wife was in a cancer hospital in St Pancras. 'Maria Montgomery', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 181; Folio: 14; Page: 3; GSU roll: 1341039)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 3 March 2018].

¹³⁹³ 'William Henry Montgomery', *Burial Record for William Henry Montgomery, 1886* (London Metropolitan Archives; London, England; Board of Guardian Records, 1834-1906/Church of England Parish Registers, 1813-1906; Dw/T/0943) <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 2 March 2018].

¹³⁹⁴ 'Francis Joseph Mellars', *Baptism Record for Francis Joseph Mellars*, (England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538-1975. Fhl Film Number: 504068, 504070, 504543) <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 18 March 2018].

¹³⁹⁵ 'Joseph Mellars', *1851 England Census Return (Class: HO107; Piece: 2122; Folio: 52; Page: 18; GSU roll: 87752)*, <<https://search.ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 17 March 2018].

¹³⁹⁶ 'Frances J Millar', *1861 England Census Return (Class: RG 9; Piece: 165; Folio: 18; Page: 36; GSU roll: 542584)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 17 March 2018].

¹³⁹⁷ 'St James Hall', *London Evening Standard*, 16 January 1863, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018]; 'St George's Rifles', *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch*, 21 March 1863, <<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 17 March 2018].

¹³⁹⁸ St James Hall was home of the 'Monday "Pops"', precursor to the 'Saturday afternoon "Pops"' [which] began there in 1865'. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis : The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, p. 18.

¹³⁹⁹ 'Francis Joseph H Millars', *Marriage Record for Francis Joseph H Millars*, (England & Wales, Civil Registration Marriage Index, 1837-1915.) <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 17 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰⁰ 'Hayton Millars', *1881 England Census Return (Class: RG11; Piece: 179; Folio: 60; Page: 42; GSU roll: 1341038)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>>[accessed 7 March 2018].

Musical Director.¹⁴⁰¹ Corroborating evidence is found in newspaper articles, for example in 1888, directing the Military Band at Alexandra Palace, London,¹⁴⁰² and in 1889, at Hasting's Exhibition with his own orchestra.¹⁴⁰³ He cannot be found in the 1901 census, although Isabella and their son, Francis (who is listed as a pianist and flautist), are living in Lancashire. Isabella was 'living on own means' and was still married, indicating her husband was working away.¹⁴⁰⁴ Newspaper articles show that he travelled widely throughout his career, and in 1898 he was appointed as conductor of the Oystermouth Choral Society in Swansea.¹⁴⁰⁵ By 1911, Isabella had returned to London as a widow.¹⁴⁰⁶ A date of death cannot be found although research shows that his music remained in play long after his death, at least until 1923.¹⁴⁰⁷

¹⁴⁰¹ 'Francis J H Millars', *1891 England Census Return (The National Archives of the UK (TNA); Kew, Surrey, England; Class: RG12; Piece: 218; Folio: 119; Page: 21)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰² 'Alexandra Palace - This Day', *St James's Gazette*, 18 May 1888, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰³ 'The Exhibition', *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 18 May 1889, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>>.

¹⁴⁰⁴ 'Isabella Millars', *1901 England Census Return (Class: RG13; Piece: 3487; Folio: 151; Page: 18)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰⁵ 'Oystermouth Choral Society', *South Wales Daily News*, 10 September 1898, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰⁶ 'Isabella Millars', *1911 England Census Return (Class: RG14; Piece: 2343)*, <<https://ancestry.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

¹⁴⁰⁷ 'Jamming in Dundee and District', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 16 March 1923, <<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>> [accessed 18 March 2018].

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