# The Hunting Songs and Singing Tradition of the Cumbrian Lakeland Fell Packs

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## Abstract

Sometimes referred to as 'The anthem of Cumbria,' 'John Peel' is a folk song known the world over. Following its inclusion in *The National Song Book* of 1906 (and subsequent volumes in 1938 and 1958), 'John Peel' was sung in schools and homes across England and became, in particular, the most famous Lakeland Hunting Song. Yet there appears never to have been any academic enquiry conducted into this singing tradition, attached in specific to the Lakeland Fell Packs. This thesis, therefore, seeks to address this gap in folk music and ethnomusicological scholarship by revealing the sociocultural importance of this tradition through a study of Lakeland Hunting Songs: their history, texts, and tunes.

Lakeland Hunting remains a very much 'living tradition,' and over the course of around six years I have compiled 313 Lakeland Hunting Songs from a variety of sources, including multiple live recordings made at so-called 'sing-songs.' The songs themselves, though they are cited and sometimes quoted, do not make up the body of this thesis, however. Part 1 begins by outlining my role, attending specifically to my status as a partial insider, as well as summarising the methodology and techniques used in the course of this study. Part 2 charts an initial history of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition: how it started; how it has changed over time; and how it might continue. Part 3 looks at the texts by way of comparisons first with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hunting songs and then with Bothy Ballads, before considering the tunes of the songs in my collection; it aspires to understand what might be meant by the term 'Lakeland Hunting Song.'

Overall, it is my hope that this study will act as a catalyst for further research into this regional singing tradition—one which is seemingly of great sociocultural importance for the people still inhabiting these Lakeland communities today.

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The members of the Lakeland Fell Packs for inviting me to song nights, taking part in my interviews, and trusting me to accurately represent a tradition of great meaning to them.

Many others have kindly shared their knowledge, time and expertise in assisting with the completion of this work for which I am extremely grateful.

I also wish to acknowledge those who sadly were unable to see this thesis completed: Granny, Ron Black & Terence Wright – thank you.

## Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

## Part 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Background

#### My home, my family

I grew up on a farm in a hamlet called Masongill on the Yorkshire/Cumbria/Lancashire border and am able to trace my family back to the 1400s to within 20 miles of where my parents still live. Even if someone moved to the area 50 years ago, they would not necessarily be considered 'local' and, as an outsider, might still be viewed with some suspicion.

My wariness about outsiders conducting research probably stems mainly from my grandfather. As a famer living in a particularly remote area of the Yorkshire/Lancashire border (in what is now the Forest of Bowland Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty), he was viewed as prime 'ordinary folk' for the interviews of W. R. (Bill) Mitchell, a journalist, author and editor of *The Dalesman* magazine for over 30 years. Despite having no formal qualifications and having worked since the age of 13, my grandfather had learnt Italian (from Italian prisoners of war in the Second World War), loved poetry and knew a huge amount about the natural world—he was not an unintelligent man and, I think, was perhaps a little bit miffed at being considered a research subject by a 'townie.' As such, he told all sorts of tall tales to Bill Mitchell. Some of my grandfather's silly stories went on to appear in print and presumably still exist in Mitchell's audio cassette tape archives. The W.R. Mitchell Archive Pilot Project digitised, catalogued, and archived a small sample of Mitchell's taped interviews in 2012. Funds are still being raised to work on the rest of the collection, which I hope may contain the interviews with my grandfather, as I would love to hear them. The website created as part of the pilot project describes the content of the archive in the following way:

> These stories captured on tape range from the local gentry, such as the Dawsons of the Folly in Settle and the Yorkes of Halton Place, to ordinary folk scraping a living against the odds in remote Dales communities.[1]

My grandparents essentially lived in poverty at various points in their lives, but I can imagine my grandmother, in particular, being furious at being described as 'ordinary folk'! It is well known locally that people coming in to take down 'oral histories' may well be somewhat 'misinformed,' for fun. Of course, these outsiders do not know any better, but the stories they take down as gospel would be obviously ridiculous to local people. The people who tell the stories are not trying to be malicious. The best analogy

[1] "W.R. Mitchell", *W.R. Mitchell Archive*, accessed 30 November 2020, https://www.wrmitchellarchive.org.uk/wrmitchell.

I can use is the new lad on a building site being sent to fetch a left-handed screwdriver, or a tin of tartan paint. It is partly a test of someone's naïvety, but also, I suspect, partly a desire to preserve a community's knowledge within its own environment.

I explain all of this not to belittle the work of Mitchell—no-one local took down these histories, and I will always wish I had written down my grandfather's stories before he passed away—but to point out that inaccuracies are most likely rife in many oral history archives. I am fully aware that it is possible that my own leg may have been well and truly pulled at some points within my own research—though perhaps a little less, I hope, than if I had been a 'townie.'

**The Lakeland Fell Packs**

From the outset I believe it is important to be clear on what is meant in this thesis by 'Lakeland Fell Packs.' It is quite difficult to define the 'Lakeland' part of this phrase, as there does not seem to be any consensus on exactly what it means. The Lakeland referred to here can generally be said to be located in the English county of Cumbria, as can be seen in Map 1, and this county is now split into five local authority areas: Allerdale, Carlisle, Copeland, Eden, and South Lakeland. A Fell[2] Pack is (usually) a subscription hunt with its own pack of foxhounds; it will employ some hunt servants (most often a huntsman and whipper-in) to care for the hounds and lead the hunts planned for the Pack each season.

The 'Lakeland Fell Packs,' then, are the hunts that have been and still are active in the five districts of Cumbria, as well as sometimes crossing its borders into North Yorkshire and County Durham. In addition to this, many readers will be familiar with the Lake District National Park, as highlighted in Map 2; however, the 'Lake District' is not necessarily synonymous with 'Lakeland.'[3] Maps 2, 3 and 4 also include Ingleton and Kirkby Lonsdale (in the bottom right-hand corners), between which is located my family's farm, thus showing that where I spent the first 19 years of my life is proximate to the area of my recent research.

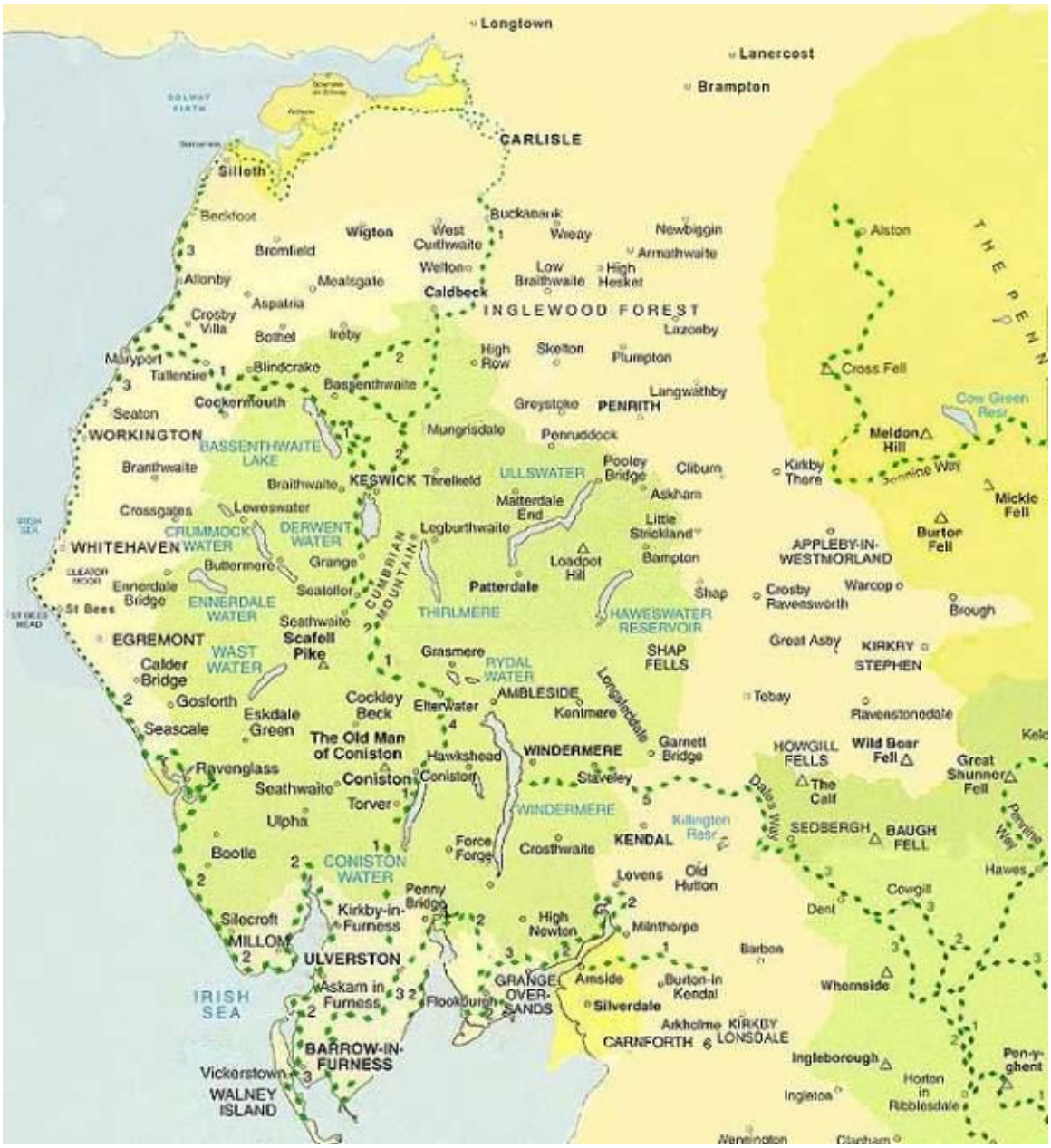
However, neither the formal boundaries of the county of Cumbria nor those of the Lake District National Park are particularly helpful in circumscribing the activities of these groups, since this region was, until relatively recently, made up of four administrative counties, as seen in Map 3. In 1974 Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire North of the Sands (or the Furness peninsular) and a small portion of the West Riding of Yorkshire were amalgamated to become what is now known as Cumbria.

[2] A hill or other area of high land, especially in northwest England - https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/fell.
[3] Collins Dictionary, however, would argue otherwise; see https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/lakeland

**<u>Map 1:</u> Cumbria's location in the UK (district names added by author)[4]**

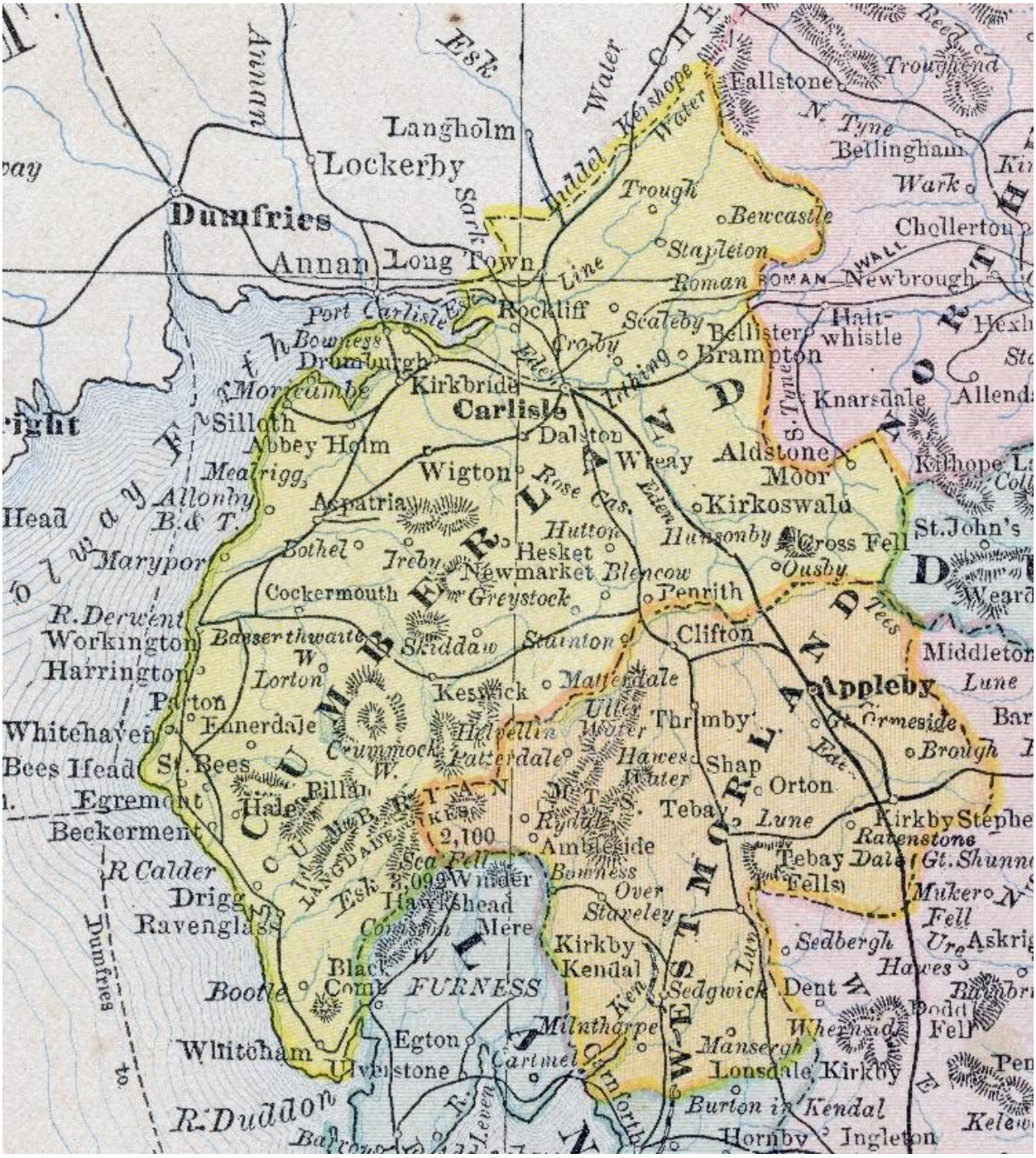

[4] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cumbria_outline_map_with_UK.png

**<u>Map 2:</u> Lake District National Park (highlighted green)[5]**




[5] https://www.visitcumbria.com/map-of-cumbria/

**<u>Map 3:</u> Historic counties of Cumberland and Westmorland[6]**

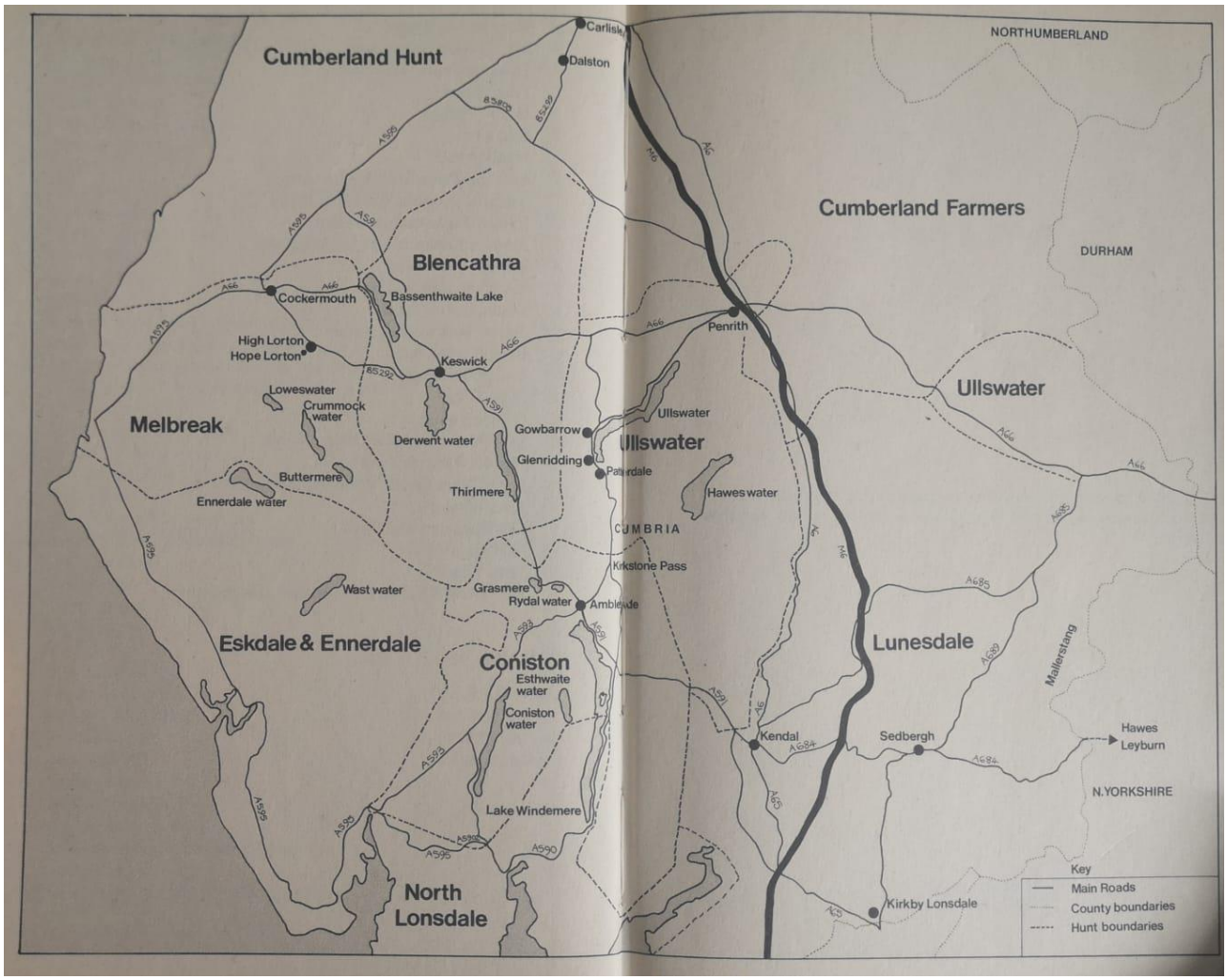



[6] Alamy: Original old map of Cumberland and Westmorland from 1884 geography textbook

**<u>Map 4:</u> Locations of Lakeland Fell Packs with detailed place names[7]**


[7] Jill Mason. *Away, My Lads, Away: The History of Hunting in and around the Lakeland Fells* (Self-published, 2011), 8.

**<u>Map 5:</u> Fell Pack territories with drawn borders**[8]




[8] D. Brian Plummer, *The Fell Terrier* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1983), 10-11.

There is, however, consensus about which of the local hunts are considered to constitute the Lakeland Fell Packs. In the order I have collected materials from them, these are:

- The Lunesdale Foxhounds;
- The Blencathra Foxhounds;
- The Ullswater Foxhounds;
- The Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds;
- The Coniston Foxhounds, and
- The Melbreak Foxhounds

The locations and territories covered by these packs can be found on Maps 3 and 4. These 'six central fell packs [are] associated to (but not members of) the Masters of Foxhounds Association through the Central Committee of Fell Packs.'[9]

It would appear, then, that there are three things these packs have in common and make them *Lakeland* Fell Packs: the terrain they cover, the hounds with which they hunt (considered to be lighter and more agile—bred to cope with the more difficult terrain—than hounds associated with mounted packs)[10] and their collective singing tradition. Indeed, it seems to me that what makes these packs 'of Lakeland' is that very particular terrain over which they travel during the course of a hunt. Lakeland hunting is considerably different from most people's perceptions of fox hunting and is often described as 'hunting the hard way.' The landscape is extremely mountainous and craggy, peppered with steep screes, thick forestry, and bogs. And then there is the water: if it is not raining one will at least be within a stone's throw of a water source, whether it be a lake, tarn, mere, waterfall, river or beck.[11] As will be seen in following chapters, the Lakeland landscape has shaped the singing tradition in a number of ways and, as David Hillery writes: 'The realities of landscape have had as profound an influence in shaping human cultures as those cultures have had in shaping them. The cultural catalyst is the landscape itself; its remoteness or its accessibility may merely serve to modify its rate of cultural change.'[12]

It is because of the difficult terrain that the Lakeland Fell Packs are not 'mounted' and people who follow the hunts must do so on foot (or attempt to follow as best they can in a car). Lakeland hunting is also not considered to be an elitist activity; in general, the people involved with the hunts are not

[9] "Lakeland Fell Packs", *The Blencathra Foxhounds*, accessed 2 December 2020, http://blencathrafoxhounds.co.uk/Packs2.htm.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Beck is a northern English term for a stream.
[12] David Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm: Culture, Contexts and Comparisons,' (PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, 2005), 6.

particularly wealthy—they are most likely to be forestry workers, builders, farmers, etc.—and the 'sport' is not conducted on horseback.[13]

Despite its difficult terrain, Cumbria, including the Lake District, has been subject to outside influence for centuries. Industry brought some of the first outsiders after copper was found in the hills during Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603); German miners were brought over to extract it, and some of their descendants still live in the county.[14] The fells are rich with other minerals too, notably lead, coal, gypsum, and iron;[15] these have all been exploited over the years, bringing new people to the region.

Tourism is one of the main employers in the region nowadays, but again this is nothing new. Father Thomas West published *A Guide to the Lakes* in 1778, which is often cited as the first publication to encourage people to visit the Lake District. The writings of the 'Lake Poets' (Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey) were attracting people to the region from the early 1800s, which was when hotels and guest houses started to become more permanent features of the landscape.

Farming remains a major industry, too, and it is believed that the Lakeland Fell Packs first came into existence as a means of pest control on local farms.[16] Beginning in the 1700s, it seems that tenant farmers started to keep a hound or two (and maybe a terrier[17]), and these 'trencher fed'[18] packs would be gathered together by an appointed huntsman should problems with a particular predator arise. This was not a particularly efficient method of hunting, though; over time, hunting became more organised, with the first official Lakeland Pack being recorded as kennelled at Troutbeck in 1776.[19] There are earlier records of hunting in Cumbria, extending as far back as 1666, when the First Viscount Lonsdale would take hounds from Westmorland to Leicestershire to hunt,[20] but this would appear to be separate from the Fell Packs. The first Fell Pack that might be recognised as such today was the Coniston Foxhounds, in 1825.[21]

Hunting on farms was how the huntsmen traditionally made their living, and, at the weekend, the hunt would gather with local followers to hunt for sport. By the hunt's very nature, huntsmen, dogs and followers often became separated over the vast landscapes; when meeting in the pub after a long day on

[13] Ian Russell, 'The Singer's the Thing: The Individual and Group Identity in a Pennine Singing Tradition,' *Folk Music Journal*, 8, No. 3 (2003): 267.
[14] Ian Tyler, 'Digging deep beneath those golden daffodils.' *Whitehaven News*, 28 October 2009, https://www.whitehavennews.co.uk/news/17145988.digging-deep-beneath-those-golden-daffodils/.
[15] Ian Tyler, *Cumbrian Mining* (Cleckheaton: The Amadeus Press, 2001), 219-221.
[16] Mason. *Away, My Lads, Away*, 12.
[17] Terriers were used to flush out foxes that had gone to ground.
[18] Hounds which are looked after by individuals, rather than being kept centrally in kennels by the huntsman.
[19] Mason, *Away, My Lads, Away*, 26-27.
[20] Neil Salisbury, *The History of the Coniston Foxhounds, 1825-1925* (Ambleside: Ryelands, 2008), 6.
[21] Ron Black, *Hunting Songs Volume Two: Lakeland Songs* (Self-published, 2013), 2.

the fells, sharing stories and singing songs could help to fill in the gaps of what had happened that day. The songs made up an important element of the social side of hunting, which also helped to raise revenue for the often poorly funded hunts (hunt servants would often be made redundant during the summer months).[22]

There are typically three sorts of occasion at which singing associated with the Lakeland Fell Packs is likely to occur: impromptu sing-songs (where a few singers get going in the pub straight after a hunt); organised sing-songs (these typically happen later in the evening after people have had time to go home for a bath and get changed into something smarter for an evening out, and they often employ a chairman to keep the evening flowing), and singing competitions. As will be discussed in Part 2 of this thesis, impromptu sing-songs rarely happen nowadays, and the only singing events I have attended have been organised sing-songs or singing competitions.

Organised sing-songs and competitions are fairly similar in their structure, and the competitions (at least the ones I have attended) are not particularly formalised. Tickets are usually sold for both events, costing around £5 per person. Typically, the evening begins in a pub or village hall starting at around 8pm; the singing then gets going between 8.30pm and 9pm, once the singers have had a chance to have a chat and a few pints. Some chairmen will go around taking names of those who want to sing that evening, but this depends on the number of attendees and the venue. If there are only a handful of singers, it is easier for the chairman to remember who he (it is typically a man) might call next to sing; and if the venue is a single room, it is easier to see everyone (i.e. singers are less likely to wander off into another bar area). In such cases, a physical list may not be needed.

Once it has been established that enough singers are ready to sing, the chairman usually calls order and welcomes everyone to the evening before, most often, taking the first spot in the singing. Thereafter the chairman will call singers up in turn, though singers do sometimes call up a reluctant friend to follow them, and some singers will start their 'turn' with some jokes or silly (often quite rude!) tales. This then continues until everyone who wanted to sing (or could be coerced into doing so) has performed. Often there will then be a break at which supper might be served (usually a tatie pot, or pie and peas, and is included in the entry price), and people can get more drinks, have a cigarette or have some more time for a chat. Once this is concluded there will then usually be another round of singing, after which it will often be getting round to the time for last orders at the bar. The latest I have been out at a sing-song is

[22] Ibid, 3.

around midnight, but I have heard plenty of tales about lock-ins where the singing and drinking carried on all night!

In the case of the competitions I have attended, the winner is usually determined only by the chairman, who will pick his favourite. The winner is then often presented with a cup to keep until the following year. I am aware, though, that some competitions might have different categories of winners such as 'Best New Song' or 'Best Young Singer' in addition to the best singer that night, but this has not been the case at any evenings I have witnessed.

Since these evenings typically serve as fundraising events, as well as social gatherings, there is often also a raffle with prizes brought by attendees such as bottles of whisky and wine, tins of biscuits, etc. I once won a brace of pheasants at a raffle! There will also often be an auction where a high value item, such as a carved walking stick, will be offered up for bids.

Following the 2005 Hunting with Dogs Act, which banned fox hunting, the Fell Packs now engage in 'trail hunting,' where dogs follow an aniseed trail laid by either a runner or by driving around on a quad bike (where terrain allows). This has meant that, in general, the Packs go out less frequently, and this has had an effect on the number of opportunities for singing to occur, especially the impromptu sing-songs. Meets also tend not to be publicised widely anymore, or locations are changed at the last minute, due to fears about attracting hunt saboteurs; this can sometimes lead to lower attendance levels.

At first glance, and particularly when travelling by road, the Lakes appear to be a series of isolated communities. But on foot and using the traditional passes, these communities really are not that far away from each other. This accessibility, along with outsider influences that date back to at least the seventeenth century (and beyond, if one counts the influence of the Vikings), means the Hunting Songs of the Lakeland Fell Packs were always likely to be somewhat eclectic.

**My task, my approach**

The idea of collecting and recording Lakeland Hunting Songs first came about as part of my undergraduate dissertation. I am the first person in my family to move away from home and go to university; by my third year, I had started to feel detached from home and my heritage. For my dissertation I decided that I wanted to research songs that came from where I grew up. But when I first looked into music from home, all I really knew was that Vaughan Williams had collected songs nearby, the

most famous of them arguably being 'Tarry Woo'' (Roud 1472) from Dent, a village just over the hill from my parents' farm.[23]

I perhaps should have realised sooner that I was not going to find my romanticised idea of 'songs from home.' No-one in my family sang traditional songs, nor did I know anyone who was actually local and sang those sorts of songs. I knew a few members of ceilidh bands who sang songs said to be of the region, but they were not 'properly' local people, and I am fairly certain they had found the songs in books rather than them having been passed down orally/aurally.

Steve Gardham of the Yorkshire Garland Society soon confirmed my suspicions. He has collected songs from all around Yorkshire since the 1960s[24] and told me that he had never found anything in the Craven area (the region where my parents live) in all his years of collecting. He told me that my best chance was to look through the books in Cecil Sharp House (i.e. the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London), but having to go to London to find songs about where I grew up somehow felt wrong—too detached.

I decided that a better track to take would be to collect songs that I could identify with. I ended up producing a song catalogue that did include songs I found in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library but also songs that I collected from singers who had written about the landscape in which I grew up, farming practices with which I was familiar, or local traditions. As I had not grown up with any song tradition myself, it felt more authentic to me to present a programme that *represented* home and to which I felt some connection.

The idea of recording Lakeland Hunting Songs initially came from Sue Allan and John Greaves, two contacts I made through researching my undergraduate dissertation. Both were aware of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition, but Greaves had heard that the people involved could be cagey and felt I would struggle to get to hear anything from them. Allan advised that if I wanted to collect anything vaguely 'traditional' for my undergraduate work, my best bet would be with the Fell Packs, but she was not sure how much singing they did anymore or, indeed, how I might go about making contact with them.

The Lunesdale Pack has permission from my father to go over our farmland if they are ever in the area. Because of this, every year we were sent the meet card (while these were still being distributed), which lists the dates of that season's hunts and the hunt secretary's details. At some point, my father suggested I get in touch with the Lunesdale Pack to see if they still did any singing, and, luckily for me, it

[23] Vaughan Williams collected 'Tarry Woo'' from John Mason, of Dent, in 1904 (https://www.vwml.org/search?q=tarry%20wool&is=1).
[24] The Steve Gardham English Folk Music Collection can be found online: https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/Steve-Gardham-Collection.

turned out that they did. Like the other Fell Packs, they occasionally met after their hunt events in local pubs to enjoy an evening of singing and drinking.

After talking to the Lunesdale's secretary, 'getting in' to the Pack took a bit of time. I assume checks went on to ensure I was who I said I was, and I am positive that, given the nature of my local community, I was only allowed to go along and record these songs because of my family and local connections. Time and again I allayed any suspicions of me being an outsider at song nights by quickly explaining where I grew up, who my family are, and stating the main intentions of my research: that I was there to record songs so that they could later be transcribed—partly for posterity, but also for further analysis as part of my PhD research.

I have met a number of people based in the folk world who warned me that 'getting in' to the Fell Packs would be hard and that everyone involved was cagey and difficult. I have not found this to be the case at all, but none of the people who had issued these warnings are actually from the local area. The additional problem faced by 'folk world' people is that they tend to be perceived as being left-wing and of a 'vegetarian' persuasion, views that are not aligned with the majority of those involved in hunting. There is also usually an assumption made amongst the Fell Pack community that 'folk people' are anti-hunting. I am neither pro- nor anti-fox hunting,[25] but I do not think my stance is actually relevant to this project, in any case. In fact, I do not remember that anyone from any of the Fell Packs ever asked my personal views on hunting; it was enough that I grew up in the area and that I understand that hunting, the songs and the people's way of life are all inextricably linked.

The one time I faced any sort of questioning at all was when I took my now-husband along to a song night in November 2012. I do not know whether it was because he is relatively well-spoken and speaks with a southern accent or more to do with my digital recorder and the notebook that I take along, but we faced some rather stiff questioning and enquiries about whether we were journalists. This was fairly easily abated, though, by explaining what I was actually doing (which they were really pleased to hear about, and glad that someone was documenting the songs for posterity) and telling them about where I was from and my family name. It really does show what a tight community I grew up in and the importance we place on knowing our roots. (As an aside, I do not remember ever being questioned about my intentions when attending with my father; he just looks and sounds like he belongs to these

[25] More information on the arguments for and against hunting with dogs can be found in reports produced by the Countryside Alliance (a pro-hunting organisation): https://www.countryside-alliance.org/getattachment/Our-Work/Campaign-for-Hunting/Resources/CASE-FOR-HUNTING2012.pdf and The League Against Cruel Sports (an anti-hunting organization): https://www.league.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=716b42c4-d0f9-4688-af35-76338e37b5f0.

communities and so, by association I assume, I did too.) I strongly believe, therefore, that a complete outsider would struggle to gain the same initial access that I was granted or to attend song nights without causing some degree of unease amongst those in attendance. The differences experienced by insiders and outsiders who conduct research will be discussed further shorlty.

**Method**

After I finished my undergraduate degree,[26] I felt that I had to do some more work with Lakeland Hunting Songs. I had attended one song night in November 2011, organised by the Lunesdale Foxhounds, but I knew there were five other Fell Packs to collect from and a whole wealth of songs that I felt needed to be brought to more people's attention. At that point I decided to embark on an MA by Research degree, focusing on Lakeland Hunting Songs, with the intention of producing a song catalogue with a commentary for each.

One of the first (and, as it turned out, most important) contacts I made was with Ron Black in February 2012, just as I was deciding to turn this work into an MA thesis. I found Ron after Googling 'Lakeland Hunting Songs' and finding his website;[27] we first met in July 2012. Ron was from the Ambleside area and came from a hunting family, first attending hunts with his father from around age five. Most of his own memories—shared on his website—date from around 1950 to 1974, when he was forced to move away from his beloved Cumbria due to lack of work, eventually settling near Southport.

Ron stated on the homepage of his website: 'It is NOT my intention for [the material on this website] to glorify or be used as propaganda for or against hunting, but simply to record associations with a 'sport' traditional to Lakeland for over 300 years.'[28] I think it was this similarity in our motivations in studying the Lakeland Fell Packs that drew me to Ron initially, and we continued to keep up a fairly regular correspondence, with Ron reading several draft chapters of this thesis, until he passed away in September 2017.

With the initial help of Ron, in October 2012 I started to make contact with all the other Fell Packs and essentially invited myself to all of their upcoming song nights (see Appendix 2). That autumn I attended three song nights (associated with the Lunesdale, Ullswater and Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds). I also visited Kenny Stuart (of the Blencathra Foxhounds), who kindly sang me some of his songs, since the Blencathra were not holding organised song nights at that point. I also visited Elli Logan

[26] Mary Hartley, 'Folk's Alreet!,' (Undergraduate dissertation, University of York, 2012).
[27] http://lakelandhuntingmemories.com/
[28] Ron Black. "Home Page," *Lakeland Hunting Memories*, accessed 29 November 2014, http://www.lakelandhuntingmemories.com/index.htm.

of the Country Voices project[29] and came away with all the project's tapes and lyric booklets, as well as copies of some tapes that Elli told me were recordings of famed huntsman Johnny Richardson.

At this point in my studies I think my main motivation was to preserve the songs I was recording for posterity by creating a set of transcribed tunes and lyrics. I also started to write commentaries on each song by noting:

- Dialect words (if any), with an explanation of their meaning;
- Song genre (as I perceived it) and a brief description of the performance and its reception;
- Date, venue, and singer of the performance;
- Songwriter or anything about the source of the song (lyrics or tune), and
- Details of my transcriptions, if needed.

All the recordings I made were done with permission given by either the person chairing the evening or the Master/Huntsman of the pack organising it. It was not practical to ask for permission from every person singing, as this would have severely disrupted the running of the evening. I made sure, though, to sit somewhere in sight of the performance area with my digital recording device (Yamaha Pocketrack C24) clearly visible, so that it was obvious to performers that I was 'up to something.' At these evenings everyone knows everyone else—therefore, as an outsider in this context, it was clear that I was attending for a purpose. Very few people questioned me, as I assume the chair had likely had a word with most performers, but those that did ask questions were very friendly about it and generally interested to hear about my work. I also made sure to give my contact details to those organising the evenings so that I could be reached should there be any objections at a later date. Since then, a singer has asked me not to include one song, so I am confident this was a practical mechanism for receiving objections or complaints when necessary.

This ethical approach was, at this juncture, more instinctive rather than being informed by reading about the best practice in field work situations, as I had not been required to apply to my university's ethics committee to conduct this part of my research. To me it just seemed like the 'right' thing to be doing, having thought about how I would hope a researcher would behave towards me (should I find myself in the opposite position). Fortunately, my approach does align with codes of ethics as outlined by various professional organisations, such as the American Folklore Society.[30]

[29] Elli Logan and her sister, Jan Kerr, set up the Country Voices project to raise money for the pro-hunting lobby by making and selling recordings of (mainly Lakeland) hunting songs.

[30] AFS Statement on Ethics: Principles of Professional Responsibility https://americanfolkloresociety.org/our-work/position-statement-ethics/.

It is perhaps worth noting here that, while I am from the area where the Fell Packs hunt and I am from an old, local, farming family, we have never (to the best of my knowledge) been part of the local hunting community. Therefore I would class myself as a 'partial insider' in relation to the Fell Pack community as I 'share a single identity with a degree of distance or detachment.'[31] I might be considered an insider for several reasons: my deep understanding of the realities of living in a relatively isolated, rural community (including rural economics); my family connections to the Lunesdale Pack through giving permission for the use of our land; and being able to 'speak the language' (i.e. strong Cumbrian accents and dialect), having attended a Cumbrian secondary school. As Christina Chavez notes, 'an insider's familiarity with the community can provide facile and economic access and movement in the field ... These advantages more than likely come from the unique position of an insider as subject-object, as community members perceive the researcher as friend and not foe.'[32] I would say this has almost certainly been the case for me, especially when attending song nights with my father, who arguably lends me greater 'credibility.'

On the other hand, there are many more ways in which I would identify as an outsider: I have never been hunting; until I started my research, I had never been to a song night; indeed, I had only been vaguely aware of the existence of the Fell Packs; and I also self-identify neither as Cumbrian nor as a Lakelander. There have been advantages of being something of an outsider too, as also observed by Thomas McKean (quoting Mantle Hood): 'Because of his training and perspective, the outsider "is capable of insights and evaluations which no [native], even with training abroad ... could ever duplicate."'[33] In my case, I had no preconceptions of the sorts of songs I would be recording or, indeed, the breadth of the tradition I was about to uncover. I also had no idea which songs would be sung on a particular occasion; there is never a programme of songs and the order in which people perform is rarely predetermined. In this way I may have been afforded some immunity to what Chavez terms 'blindness to the ordinary,'[34] as I was completely new to this singing tradition. However, I am aware that there are probably areas in which I have interpreted information that a total outsider may have viewed in a different light. In sum, there are clearly both advantages and disadvantages to my unique position in relation to this tradition, as there are for anyone conducting ethnographic research. It seems that the most responsible approach we can take

[31] Christina Chavez, 'Conceptualizing from the inside: Advantages, complications, and demands on insider positionality,' *The qualitative report* 13, no. 3 (2008): 475.
[32] Ibid, 480.
[33] Thomas McKean, 'The life and songs of Iain 'an Sgiobair' MacNeacail and the Role of a Song-Maker in a Hebridean Community,' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1993), xv. Quoting Mantle Hood, *The Ethnomusicologist* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), 374.
[34] Chavez, 'Conceptualizing from the inside,' 475.

as researchers is to 'constantly aim for a critical awareness of our assumptions and those of our informants, to trace the parameters, the limits and the possibilities of our located understandings.'[35]

After my first round of collecting, I set about transcribing the songs; there were already over 150, and I had yet to do any recording with the Melbreak or Coniston Foxhounds. By the following summer it started to become clear that this was a much bigger project than first anticipated, and discussions about upgrading the work to a PhD started; it seemed like a waste not to study this seemingly unexplored tradition more fully.

Once the decision to upgrade had been made and finalised, there emerged three main areas that I felt would make up the bulk of my thesis:

1. The history of the singing tradition;
2. The texts of the songs, and
3. The tunes of the songs.

Autumn and Winter 2014/15 involved some more song collecting, this time with a little more methodology and consideration given to the ethics behind my work; however, my collection techniques actually remained largely unchanged. I feel that I am probably the opposite of Edward D. Ives, who wrote: 'I am an academic by instinct and a folklorist by training'[36]; thus I think I was probably especially aware of the effect my presence might be having on the evening (having read books such as *Shadows in the Field*[37] and Helen Myers' chapter on Fieldwork in *Ethnomusicology: an introduction*[38]) and that events might not be progressing quite as they would if someone were not there making a recording.

By Spring 2015, then, I had made recordings with members from all the Fell Packs apart from the Melbreak Foxhounds; I was beginning to think that I would never be able to make any contact there. With over 200 songs in my collection at that point, I felt it was a good time to start considering the texts. I was interested to see if there was anything in them that made them specifically 'Lakeland Hunting Songs,' even if the lyrical content may not directly relate to 'Lakeland' or 'Hunting.'

Up to this point I had also been asked several times if Lakeland Hunting Songs were similar to Bothy Ballads, since it seemed as if the two traditions had a lot in common: both are associated with relatively isolated rural communities, and the songs reinforce those communities' identities. I was not at

[35] D.K. Kondo, 'Dissolution and reconstitution of self: Implications for anthropological epistemology,' *Cultural Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (1986): 86, quoted in Chavez, 'Conceptualizing from the inside,' 490.
[36] Edward D. Ives, *Larry Gorman. The Man Who Made the Songs* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1993), 1.
[37] *Shadows in the Field. New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[38] *Ethnomusicology: an introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London: Macmillan 1992).

all familiar with the Bothy Ballad tradition, so this was an area I also investigated further at this stage in my work.

As well as comparing Lakeland Hunting Songs to Bothy Ballads, I was additionally aware of a long tradition of national hunting songs,[39] some of which had been popular in the pleasure gardens. Since some of the songs I had collected as part of my research were originally composed for the stage, I thought a comparison with hunting songs in an older style might shed some light on the textual composition of some of my Lakeland Hunting Songs. All of these more textual considerations can be found in Part 3 of this thesis.

It was around this time that I started to try to ascertain the provenance of the tunes used by the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. Upon starting my research, I was quite excited by the idea of unearthing some 'new' tunes, indigenous to Cumbria. But after playing recordings of my tunes to the likes of collectors Peter Wood and Steve Gardham, it started to become clear that this was unlikely to be the case, as the majority of the tunes that could be identified came from popular culture or national hunting songs.

I had made a good start on tune research at this point, but with another hunting season approaching I decided to shift my focus onto charting the history of Lakeland Hunting Songs. This would involve conducting a series of interviews and, I hoped, gaining a new batch of contacts, with the eventual aim of speaking with singers from the Melbreak pack.

I interviewed 18 people over the course of 16 months, from July 2015 to November 2016. All of those I talked to are current or former participants in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition, whether as singers or audience members. Their collective experience spans from the 1940s right up to the present day, and their ages range from 20-something to 90-something. I also tried to speak to a range of people from the six different Fell Packs and from all across Cumbria.

My first interview was with Edmund and Linda Porter of the Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds, and they very kindly put me in touch with some members of the Melbreak Foxhounds. Meeting people face-to-face really helped to build up my network of contacts as those with whom I had already spoken put out the word that I was worth speaking to.

It was at this point, more than five years after attending my first song night, that I started to be invited to song nights that had never even been mentioned to me previously. It was my hope that the community was starting to trust me and my intentions; it is interesting to note that, should I have only studied the tradition over the three years a PhD usually takes to complete, a huge amount of relevant

[39] 'Dido Bendigo' is thought to date to c.1650 and Thomas Arne's 'A-Hunting We Will Go' was composed in the eighteenth century.

information would likely be missing from my thesis. Indeed, McKean found he was still collecting new material just from one singer (Iain MacNeacail) after five and a half years of study.[40] It is alarming to think of how much material might be missed by researchers being bound by such time constraints, especially in cases (like the Lakeland Hunting Songs) for which no previous academic study or collecting has taken place.

[40] McKean, 'The life and songs of Iain 'an Sgiobair' MacNeacail,' 348.

## 1.2 Structure and Context

### Structure

I will start this chapter with a note on writing style in this thesis. Readers have commented, at the draft stage, that the thesis is very 'readable.' This arises in part from a very conscious decision made early in the writing process for two main reasons: I thought it only polite in some ways to write about a community in a way which would be accessible to anyone within it; and I strongly believe that academic texts should strive to be accessible to all wherever possible. I realise that, especially in Part 3 of this thesis, there are sections on musical elements which use some technical language, but it is my hope that most readers of this work will be able to understand most of what they encounter.

In Part 2 of this thesis I have sought to make a start in charting a history of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. To the best of my knowledge, there is no academic text in existence that deals specifically with these songs and it is my hope that my work here can be further developed in future years.

I am very aware of the responsibility which comes with taking on such a task and so I am extremely grateful for the help I received from those I interviewed in order to construct this part of the thesis.

My research questions were fairly broad, and in most cases my interviews took more the form of a conversation rather than a prescribed series of questions. The three overarching topics I was looking to explore were:

1. How did the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition come into existence?;
2. In what ways has the tradition changed over time, and why?, and
3. What might the future hold for this tradition?

The perceived reasons for the changes in the tradition, particularly over the last 30 years or so, seem to mirror broader social and economic changes or problems associated with living in rural communities over that time. These are issues which are pertinent to both me and my family. In many respects I believe this to be a positive thing, as I have been well placed to really understand the perspectives of those I have interviewed. However, I am aware that some of my analysis, and the conclusions reached, may be coloured by my 'partial insider' position. As much as possible, though, I have endeavoured to remain objective in my work.

Everyone I interviewed was asked to complete a consent form, which was approved by the University's ethics committee (my earlier song collecting did not require this level of approval). This included my contact details, which proved to be really useful, since several of my respondents contacted me after our conversations with further points they wished to make, having considered parts of our discussion further. After completing a draft of this work, I sent copies of quotes I had included to those I

had interviewed for comment and approval; where possible, these have been included in the resultant work in Part 2.

Attending one of these 'extra' song nights during the 2015-16 hunting season, I was introduced to Tom Sanderson, who then agreed to be interviewed. When we met at his home later that year, we talked quite a bit about tunes, as well as discussing the history of the tradition. This led to Tom lending me a cassette tape of Lakeland Hunting Songs that he said was recorded at a song night at the Mill Inn, Mungrisedale, in the 1950s, which I believe he had found in a local charity shop. Tom and others involved in the tradition were so impressed by this recording (though I seem to recall that Tom's wife, Kathleen, hated it!) that he had made copies for interested friends.

This really felt like a huge breakthrough for me, because these recordings gave me an insight into how tunes might have evolved over the past 60 or 70 years. It was also fascinating to hear the really broad Cumbrian dialect used by the performers; it was like stepping back in time. There were also some songs on the recording that I had never heard before, so these could be added to my catalogue.

It was while researching these new-to-me songs that my bubble of excitement was somewhat burst. Struggling slightly with transcribing some of the lyrics, I tried Googling excerpts to see if anything came up that might help me; I came across the 'Mainly Norfolk' website, which contains all sorts of information about English folk music. While looking up 'The Birds Upon the Tree' (Roud 1863)[41] I found a reference to a recording of the song made at Wreay, Cumberland, on an album called 'Pass The Jug Round.'[42] I clicked through to the information about the album—and it turned out that this hallowed cassette recording I had been so excited to uncover was just a bootleg of this album, which had been released in 1982.

The album was remastered as a CD in 2001, and Sue Allan had written the liner notes. Allan has already covered the history of this recording in her thesis, which I was able to read about a year after realising what my 'tape from the 1950s' actually was. But, in summary, the original recordings were made by Jack Little at the Crown and Thistle, Rockcliffe, and the Plough Inn, Wreay, in 1953.[43] The songs 'may appear to be recorded informally … but were in fact staged performances. Of necessity the recordings had to be quite disciplined, as the recording method—recording directly on to acetate 78rpm discs—did not

[41] "The Birds Upon the Tree", *Mainly Norfolk: English Folk and Other Good Music,* accessed July 2016, https://mainlynorfolk.info/folk/songs/thebirdsuponthetree.html.
[42] *Pass the Jug Round: Traditional Music & Songs from Cumberland, recorded in the 1950s*. (Stowmarket: Veteran, 2001), CD.
[43] "Pass the Jug Round", *Mainly Norfolk: English Folk and Other Good Music,* accessed July 2016, https://mainlynorfolk.info/folk/records/passthejuground.html.

allow for any editing so each singer stood and introduced himself and his song, some in a rather stilted way.'[44] Robert Forrester and Norman Alford were both founding members of the Lakeland Dialect Society and organised the recording with the aim of preserving these songs of Cumberland; it was not a Lakeland Hunting Song night at all. Even the broad dialect and accents heard were, at best, 'put on' a little bit, as revealed by Allan when discussing an interview Forrester had given in 1982: '[This was] a remarkably revealing interview, less for the content of what he said but for the way that he said it—not in the rich north Cumbrian dialect he used in 1953, but in Standard English.'[45]

The use of dialect, or of a Northern English accent, in folk song is a fascinating topic, one which I can only discuss briefly here, as an aside, but one to which I would certainly like to return, in relation to Lakeland Hunting Songs, in the future. The majority of people performing the songs in my collection speak with fairly strong Cumbrian accents and freely use Cumbrian dialect, but do not necessarily sing in that same voice. That is not to say, though, that the singing is completely in Standard English; most of the singing (to my ear, at least) seems to carry a Northern English accent, but one that is arguably not as broad as it might be when spoken. Some younger singers, though, perform with a slightly mid-Atlantic accent; but even these do seem still to have a Cumbrian accent that is mixed with the American one.

These findings contrast with those of Hillery and Russell, who looked at singing traditions in North Yorkshire[46] and West Sheffield[47] but found that (generally) the dialectal speech forms did not carry into sung performance. However, Roud notes that Cumbria is one of three areas of England (other than Lancashire and Tyneside) where dialect has 'made a significant impression on what and how people sang.'[48] Although there are very few songs in my collection that would be classed as 'dialect songs,' I think it can be said, nevertheless, that performances of Lakeland Hunting Songs tend to be inflected with a Cumbrian, or at least Northern English, accent.

Returning now to the 'Pass the Jug Round' album: Having found out the 'truth' about this recording, it was difficult at first not to feel disappointed that this was not, after all, a new, great discovery of a 1950s hunt song night. However, my subsequent conversation with Tom Sanderson about his tape led to a huge shift in my thinking towards the songs I had collected and the singing tradition as a whole. After posting back his tape, I spoke to Tom on the telephone to give him the 'bad news' that his tape was

[44] Susan Margaret Allan, 'Folk Song in Cumbria: A Distinctive Regional Repertoire?,' (PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 2016), 212.
[45] Ibid, 222.
[46] David Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 68.
[47] Ian Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield, 1970-2,' (PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1977), 200.
[48] Steve Roud, *Folk Song in England* (London: Faber & Faber, 2017), 567.

not really what he had thought it was. He patiently listened to all my information and replied along the lines of, 'Well that's all very interesting, but I still like it.'

Until this point, there were many, varied songs about which I had been uncertain: since I could not determine their validity as Lakeland Hunting Songs, should I include them in my final databases or not? But this interaction with Tom made me realise that it was not really up to me to decide whether any of the songs that had made their way into my collection were Lakeland Hunting Songs. It also helped me to better understand the attitudes of the singers I had interviewed towards the tunes and music used by the tradition.

I had been putting off writing about the tunes used by the tradition because there were still so many that I had been unable to trace. I knew that the tunes almost certainly came from somewhere—they were not being composed by the singers—but no-one that I asked from within the tradition seemed to have any idea what the tunes were unless it was 'their' song, and even then the information was not always reliable. I had been finding it so frustrating, as a trained musician (who had, since the age of five, spent a lot of time worrying about accuracy when playing or singing the 'dots on the page'), that no-one seemed to 'care' about the music or what tunes they were using. How could I complete my work if no-one knew this information? But this shift in attitude I had experienced made it easier for me to move past this stumbling block; I had to accept that the music was seemingly not a major concern of this community (as has similarly been found by many preceding collectors including Cecil Sharp[49] and Percy Grainger, and more recently by Ian Russell and Ginette Dunn), so I too should probably spend less time worrying about it. As Julia Bishop notes: 'musical discussions of folk song reflect the viewpoints of literate musicians more than singers';[50] thus, in my case, the more 'outsider' part of the position I occupy (i.e., my training in classical music) made it difficult to 'let go' of my desire for completeness and accuracy.

All of this meant that I could get on with finalising my tune databases, as well as writing about the tunes used within the tradition, all of which can be found in Part 3 of this thesis. There I discuss some of the tunes used in the tradition, as well as why certain tunes are used, before considering the most common tunes employed. This then leads into an examination of the 'malleability' of some tunes, and I make some suggestions about what makes a tune 'useful' for a Lakeland Hunting Song. During this discussion, I use one of the tunes from the 'Pass the Jug Round' recording as part of a case study, and this perhaps exemplifies how I have gone full circle with my feelings towards 'that' recording. It no longer feels like 'just a bootleg'; it is a relevant and useful resource of Lakeland Hunting Songs, no matter its origins.

[49] Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions* (London: Simpkin & Co. Ltd, 1907), 18.
[50] Julia Bishop 'The Mechanics of the Music' in *Folk Song in England*, 648.

Defining a Lakeland Hunting Song has been problematic at various stages of my work; for a long time, I wrestled with ideas of authenticity in relation to the singing tradition. However, I have come to follow the reasoning that Alfred Williams applied when settling on the songs to include in his 'Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames': although Williams acknowledged that 'hardly any of them [were] local,'[51] what made these songs be of that place was the sure knowledge that they were sung there.[52] Thus, I settled on including every song I was given, pointed to, or recorded as part of my research, no matter its provenance. In this thesis, therefore, I have taken the decision (in the absence of any other scholarly definition) to define Lakeland Hunting Songs to include any song that I have heard sung by members of the Lakeland Fell Packs or has been passed to me as songs of their community by members of the Packs.

This aligns well with Steve Roud's discussion of 'folk song by destination'; I posit that 'folk' can be replaced with 'hunting song' in the first sentence of the following quote: It is not the origin of a song that makes it folk but the transmission within the folk tradition which makes it so. It is not where it comes from that matters, but what the folk do with it.'[53] Indeed, Edward D. Ives poses a similar hypothesis from which, I believe, parallels can be drawn with the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition:

> Folk tradition can be thought of as having three aspects: the creative, the prescriptive, and the conservative. For the first, the question is, was there a tradition of making up songs? For the second, once a man decided to make up a song, did his culture provide him with a stock of formulae upon which he was not only able but expected to draw? For the third, once a song had been created, how far might it spread and how long might it last in oral tradition?[54]

More thoughts on defining Lakeland Hunting Songs in relation to their texts and tunes can be found in Part 3 of this thesis.

**Contextual studies**

One of the primary motivations for embarking on my research of Lakeland Hunting Songs is that there is currently barely any academic material available on the subject.

The only peer-reviewed work I have been able to find which even partly pertains to Lakeland Hunting Songs is an article published in 2002 by Ian Russell: 'The Hunt's Up? Rural Community, Song, and Politics.' Russell conducted some fieldwork with foot packs in the Pennine hills around Holmfirth (West

[51] Alfred Williams, *Folk-Songs of the Upper Thames* (Wakefield: S. R. Publishers Limited, 1970), 11.
[52] Ibid, 13.
[53] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 24.
[54] Ives, *Larry Gorman,* 168.

Yorkshire) and considered the effect the then-recent hunting ban seemed to be having on their hunting song tradition: 'The threat of a ban on hunting has engendered a strong revival of the tradition of singing such songs.'[55]

The Lakeland Packs appear to have a good relationship with the Pennine packs (Holme Valley Beagles, Colne Valley Beagles, and the Pennine Fox Hounds) and song repertoire is passed between Cumbria and West Yorkshire through visiting hunters and sometimes invited singers.

Russell discusses the importance of the song 'John Peel' (which the Lakeland Fell Packs would likely claim as their most famous song) during the hunting ban protests as a unifying, national anthem seemingly known by followers of field sports across the UK. The song was special because it was 'archetypal, harking back to a different way of life and yet connecting with the present.'[56]

Other than some passing mentions in another article by Russell ('The Singer's the Thing: The Individual and Group Identity in a Pennine Singing Tradition'), the only other two sources of scholarly information on Lakeland Hunting Songs are Sue Allan's PhD thesis and Lyn Murfin's book, *Popular leisure in the Lake Counties*.[57] Allan notes the lack of systematic regional folk song study in the United Kingdom, and her thesis sets out to address this gap through a study of Cumbrian folk song.[58] The Allan Cumbrian Folk Song Corpus (hereafter ACFC) contains 515 songs from 1010 sources and has certain predominating genres: 'notably hunting songs and songs in dialect—songs which, like "D'Ye Ken John Peel", have been mobilised to reinforce ideas of regional identity and pride over many years.'[59]

Allan's thesis is not 'about' Lakeland Hunting Songs as such, but her work does give credence to the popularity and importance of hunting songs in the county, noting that 'of the ten most frequently found songs [in the ACFC], six are hunting songs.'[60] 'D'Ye Ken John Peel' and 'The Horn of the Hunter' (a song also about John Peel) turn out to be the two most popular songs, which is a striking finding when one might well have assumed hunting to be a marginal activity. Allan writes:

> I personally would always choose to sing a hunting song at a hunt sing-song, but would probably avoid performing one in a folk club, to avoid upsetting those members of the audience who held strong anti-hunt views – an increasing number over the past forty years. There are also questions of ownership: certain songs might always be performed by particular singers: I can remember hearing at a Blencathra hunt and shepherds' meet

[55] Ian Russell, 'The Hunt's Up? Rural Community, Song, And Politics,' *Acta ethnographica Hungarica* 47 (2002): 127.
[56] Ibid, 138.
[57] Lyn Murfin, *Popular leisure in the Lake Counties* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).
[58] Allan, 'Folk Song in Cumbria,' i.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid, 133.

> I attended in the 1980s someone calling out, 'Let's have Esme with 'Horn of the Hunter'!,' as it was 'his' song, just as at the Ireby sessions in the 1970s if no one would have dared sing 'Sally Gray' if Angie Marchant was present as it was 'her' song.[61]

Writing in 1990, Murfin notes that 'little of nothing has been written about these [Lakeland] packs, and the gleanings of the local press provide only a few clues'[62], which I have continued to find to be the case. It is interesting to see, though, that much of Murfin's writing on Lakeland Hunting is taken up with Hunting Songs, which perhaps demonstrates their pervasiveness in this community: 'the sport became firmly attached to the public house. The hunt often met there and it was usual to return to the hostelry for refreshment afterwards. A great deal of singing went on on these occasions, and hunting songs became the most typical of Cumbrian 'folk-songs'.'[63]

There do exist several general publications about Lakeland Hunting, many of which mention the singing tradition. *Foxhunting on the Lakeland Fells* by Richard Clapham (originally published in 1920) was one of the first books that Ron Black recommended when I was first starting my research. This is a wonderful book which gives an excellent (if somewhat romanticised) impression of what Lakeland Hunting was—and is—all about, with some really characterful accompanying photographs. It is striking to note how many similarities there are in the tradition, community, and landscape (one can still clearly recognise locations in the photographs) that Clapham writes about compared with now, a century on.

Jill Mason's self-published book *Away, My Lads, Away – The History of Hunting in and around the Lakeland Fells* was very kindly gifted to me by Mary Logan. Published in 2011, this is probably the most comprehensive history of the Lakeland Fell Packs currently in existence, and it has been invaluable to me as a reference book. It includes a few references to the songs, but its main aim is to chart the history of the Fell Packs, something it does very well, though in an unapologetically pro-hunting style.

Beyond these, there are many more (mainly self-published) books specific to Lakeland Hunting.[64] These mainly consist of biographies of famous huntsmen, but also include general histories and even life stories of noted hunting dogs.

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[61] Ibid, 219.
[62] Lyn Murfin, *Popular leisure in the Lake Counties*, 97
[63] Ibid, 99.
[64] *Bowman* by Ron Black and Wendy Fraser; *Hunting Songs Volume Two: Lakeland Songs* by Ron Black and Wendy Fraser, *The Mardale Hunt. A History* by Ron Black; *Hark For'ard! The Life of a Lakeland Huntsman: Anthony Chapman* by Anne Bonney; *Lakeland Gray* by Richard Clapham; *Willie Irving. Terrierman, Huntsman and Lakelander* by Seán Frain; *La'al Barker and his Pride* by Betty Jackson; *A Westmorland Shepherd. His life, poems and songs* by Fred Nevinson (compiled by Anne Bonney); *The Fell Terrier* by Brian D. Plummer, and *The History of the Coniston Foxhounds, 1825-1925. "In the Steps of Mighty Men"* by Neil Salisbury.

I have already indicated how important Ron Black was throughout my research and especially in the early stages. Black's motivations were, I believe, rather similar to my own. On the homepage of his website, he included a full explanation, part of which I quoted earlier:

> Recently I was told that 95 percent of Lakeland was unexplored in an Archaeological sense. With the abolition of Fox Hunting in 2005 there was a slight chance that places and structure(s) associated with fox hunting would in the fullness of time join them, lost in time and memory.
>
> It was with this in mind that I began to compile material for this site. It is NOT my intention for it to glorify or be used as propaganda for or against hunting, but simply to record associations with a 'sport' traditional to Lakeland for over 300 years.
>
> I am a native Lakelander with roots going back to 1700, the 4th generation to follow hounds, with ancestors who stood on the cold tops at dawn, moved the heavy Lakeland stone to free trapped terriers and also 'carried the horn' on occasions. I hope this site is of interest to you. Hunting will not come back in the foreseeable future, perhaps not at all, but for three hundred years hunting and the church were the central thread to many communities. This is a part of the story.[65]

Black pointed me towards many of the books specific to Lakeland Hunting used in this project and acted as a mediator and reference when I first started contacting Fell Pack members to enquire about attending song nights.

Elli Logan and Jan Kerr, under the guise of 'Country Voices,' put together four books of words, accompanied by cassette recordings but with no musical transcriptions. These books were put together in the 1990s 'in order to raise money to support the Countryside Alliance and prevent Michael Foster's Bill [to ban hunting with dogs] from being passed.'[66] These books have been an invaluable resource for cross referencing words from recordings I have made. However, as Logan and Kerr live in the Wigton area, the songs in these books may not be classed by some as Lakeland Hunting Songs; they certainly include songs from other Cumbrian and Border packs. However, many of these 'other' songs are now sung at Lakeland song nights due to popularity of the Country Voices tapes, so I took the decision to include all of these songs in my collection.

Discussing the arrangements, Logan and Kerr write: 'In deciding the musical arrangements, we have sought to respect the traditions associated with Hunting Songs but at the same time have wanted to

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[65] Ron Black, "Home Page," *Lakeland Hunting Memories*, accessed 29 November 2014, http://www.lakelandhuntingmemories.com/index.htm.

[66] Elli Logan and Jan Kerr, *Hunting Songs from Country Voices* (Wigton: Country Voices, 1998), 1.

make music which you can sing to.'[67] I find this a curious way of describing the music produced for these recordings and I am not sure what they mean by 'music which you can sing to,' but perhaps they feel musical accompaniment makes it easier to join in with a song. All the songs on these tapes were recorded in a studio and are accompanied by instruments, something which one would not expect to hear at a regular song night nowadays.

My other main resource in checking my song transcriptions has been *Songs of the Fell Packs*, which was produced by the Hunt Show Committee of the Melbreak Hunt and is thought to have been published in the early 1970s. This book is, again, mainly words, but there are four pages of musical transcription included. I have not heard all these transcribed tunes sung live, so these too have proved to be a valuable resource.

There seems to be very little literature available on hunting songs more generally. All the publications I came across seem to predate the 1930s. I am not entirely sure why interest in the subject seemingly declined after that date; one could speculate about the effect of the Second World War in spreading mass culture, with hunting songs just not making the cut.

Reproductions of many of these hunting song books are now available, such as R. E Egerton-Warburton's *Hunting Songs* of the Tarporley Hunt in Cheshire[68] and *Book of Hunting Songs and Sport* as collected by Mrs. Chaworth Musters, first published in 1884.[69] These books were of use to me when considering the texts of the songs because, although not Lakeland in origin, turns of phrase that have been used for several centuries in songs from all over the United Kingdom would likely be strangely familiar to anyone versed with contemporary Lakeland Hunting Songs. The same is found in the way hunts were reported, as can be found in local newspaper reports well into the twentieth century.

Collectors from the first folk song revival (including Cecil Sharp, Frank Kidson, Ralph Vaugh Williams, Anne Gilchrist and Percy Grainger) all gathered material from Cumbria, with blacksmith John Collinson of Casterton (a village close to where I went to secondary school) being one their main informants. However, these collectors do not seem to have really delved into the hunting song tradition. In her PhD thesis, Sue Allan notes that, given the Edwardian collectors' drive to preserve 'the nation's folk song heritage … it is ironic, then, to find that those early collectors gathered so few hunting songs, as they failed to venture outside their charmed circle of middle-class musical friends when they visited the

[67] Ibid.
[68] R. E. Egerton-Warburton, *Hunting Songs and Miscellaneous Verses* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859).
[69] Mrs Lina Chaworth Musters, *Book of Hunting Songs and Sport* (Nottingham: R Allen and Sons, 1884).

county.'[70] It could well be that Lakeland Hunting Songs were too 'local' in their nature to be accessible to these outsider collectors,[71] but some further reasons for these collectors' seeming lack of interest in Lakeland Hunting Songs are explored in Part 3 of this thesis.

Expanding beyond Lakeland and Hunting-specific writing, other publications that have been influential in my work include descriptions of living or recent vernacular singing traditions and also research into local song-making. These proved useful because there were many parallels, but also contrasts, to be drawn between these and the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition.

One book that particularly stood out to me was Ginette Dunn's *The Fellowship of Song*,[72] which explores a popular singing tradition in East Suffolk during the 1970s. In Dunn's writing I was struck by how she let the singers describe the tradition themselves as much as possible[73] (as do Russell[74] and McKean[75]), and this became something I tried to emulate in charting the history of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition in Part 2 of this thesis. Points of similarity or contrast between these two traditions, as well as those explored by David Hillery,[76] Ian Russell,[77] Edward D. Ives,[78] and Thomas McKean,[79] are noted throughout this thesis. Above all, these writers helped to inspire a more contextual approach to my research; as Russell writes: 'Contextual study must surely be the prime area in which traditional singing should be researched.'[80] There seems to be little use in studying a singing tradition without trying to understand the sociocultural context from which it arises.

Among even more general publications, Steve Roud's *Folk Song in England* is probably the source I have cited most frequently in this thesis. Roud's volume includes a brief discussion specifically about Lakeland (but also Pennine) Hunting Songs;[81] but, more importantly, as a comprehensive study of folk song in England, it seems that this book is unrivalled, and I have made generous use of it throughout my research. By adopting Roud's definition of 'folk tradition,' I believe there is a good argument to be made in placing my research within the folk canon (rather than ethnomusicology at large) on the basis of the

[70] Allan, 'Folk Song in Cumbria,' 226.
[71] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 612.
[72] Ginette Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song. Popular Singing Traditions in East Suffolk* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1980).
[73] Ibid, 16.
[74] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' iv.
[75] McKean, 'The life and songs of Iain 'an Sgiobair' MacNeacail,' 2.
[76] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' (PhD thesis, University of Newcastle, 2005).
[77] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' (PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1977).
[78] Ives, *Larry Gorman*, 1964 (new edition 1993).
[79] McKean, 'The life and songs of Iain 'an Sgiobair' MacNeacail,' (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1993).
[80] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 206.
[81] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 404-405.

process of transmission at work: 'songs are passed on informally from person to person in non-commercial, untrained, face-to-face situations.'[82]

I argued in the previous chapter that one reason Lakeland Hunting songs have not previously been collected and studied is, in part, because those researching folk music (from the Second Folk Revival onwards) tend to be left-leaning in their politics. I am not so naïve as to believe that it is ever really possible to produce ethnographic work without being influenced by one's own preconceptions or personal beliefs, but I personally do not think academic work should be so coloured by politics, in particular, as it seems has so often been the case in this field.

Much has been written now on the so-called Harker-Boyes thesis, and the subsequent 'bourgeois bashing'[83] engendered by those of a similar leftist leaning. However, as Roud fairly points out: 'Nearly all the people who wrote books about old songs, or who collected folk songs, were middle class, educated, literate, bourgeois. But the same is true of every other subject under the sun. As sensible historians we acknowledge the fact, keep it in mind when assessing evidence, and get on with the job.'[84]

I found James Porter's chapter 'Muddying the Crystal Spring: From Idealism and Realism to Marxism in the Study of English and American Folk Song' in *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music* to be quite measured in its analysis of Cecil Sharp's legacy in relation to the likes of Harker and Boyes. Although I do not find Cecil Sharp's motivations and collection techniques to be exemplary, I did find myself nodding along while reading Porter's analysis:

> …while Harker and other socialist commentators have rightly criticized Cecil Sharp for this ideology and selectivity, they have been guilty of the same faults, and the truth about Sharp doubtless lies somewhere between the adulation of his peers in the Folk-Song Society and the denigration of the Marxists. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, nevertheless, that Sharp's idealism prevented his developing a relatively objective (read "realistic") method of folk-song analysis.[85]

Being 'guilty of the same faults' is something I felt quite strongly while reading Harker's *Fakesong* and Boyes' *The Imagined Village*. Though both are enlightening texts that bring to light a multitude of questionable practices inherent among Victorian and Edwardian collectors, the authors' absolute belief in left-wing politics—particularly Marxism—was something I found quite incongruous at times. However,

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[82] Ibid, 34-34.
[83] Ibid, 177.
[84] Ibid, 45.
[85] James Porter, 'Muddying the Crystal Spring: From Idealism and Realism to Marxism in the Study of English and American Folk Song,' in *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, ed. Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 120.

I first read *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* quite early in my research, and I found it eye-opening; at the time, I was so little informed about folk song collecting that I had been under the impression that the likes of Sharp had truly gone around collecting songs from 'the folk.' This, I am the first to admit, was somewhat naïve on my part, and Boyes soon put me right!

David Gregory's paper 'Fakesong in an Imagined Village? A Critique of the Harker-Boyes Thesis' seems to sum up many of my own thoughts on the subject: 'Collectors of the [Victorian and Edwardian era] were not modern ethnomusicologists, and it is anachronistic to criticise them as if they were. Nor is it reasonable to blame them for what they did not do, when nobody else did it either.'[86] He goes on to conclude: 'The fundamental problem with the work of each of the two authors under discussion was that they knew what they wanted to prove before they actually went and looked at the evidence.'[87] It might be that this conclusion is a little harsh, but it does perhaps typify what I found frustrating when reading Harker and Boyes myself.

It is my hope that readers of my thesis will not have any real idea of my own political leanings. In this, I am perhaps echoing James Porter's observation that the study of 'traditional music and song seems to be abandoning its often blinkered and amateurish past and to be moving closer to the intellectual mainstream of ethnomusicology.'[88] Hence, I have tried to present all the information I have uncovered in as unbiased a way as possible and to relay information as I have received it, without making judgements about it.

I do, however, accept the truth of Helen Myers' summary in *Ethnomusicology: an introduction*: 'There is no purely objective research in ethnomusicology (or any subject). Cultural assumptions and personal idiosyncracies guide our observations and colour our findings. The scholar who accepts these biases, deals with them as part of methodology and acknowledges their influence produces fine research.'[89] My own assumptions have, at times, led me to misunderstand some of the information I have received (which is why it was so important for me to share drafts of my work with my informants so that any misunderstandings might be rectified), but I have endeavoured to be transparent in recognising these errors, as I hope can be seen throughout this thesis.

One cannot really present a piece of ethnomusicological work without having read 'The Red Book,' otherwise known as Nettl's *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts*. But despite

[86] David Gregory, 'Fakesong in an Imagined Village? A Critique of the Harker-Boyes Thesis,' *Musique folklorique Canadienne* 43, no. 3 (2009): 20.
[87] Ibid, 25.
[88] Porter, 'From Idealism and Realism to Marxism,' 126.
[89] Helen Myers, 'Fieldwork,' in *Ethnomusicology: an introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London: Macmillan, 1992), 32.

it having been recommended by several scholars, I actually found it to be of quite limited use. His writings on ethics and generally about studying music in the field I did find informative, but the problem I have found with this, and with many ethnomusicology texts, is that they seem to assume that researchers will be outsiders to the cultures they study.

I personally found *Shadows in the Field* to be more informative, particularly in gaining awareness of the effect my very presence at hunt song evenings might be having, but it also introduced me to the idea of reflexive ethnography.[90] This appears to be an area covered much more by anthropologists than ethnomusicologists, and I really struggled to find any sort of 'how to' guide for ethnomusicologists wishing to study their own cultures, particularly in relation to methodology. I read an interesting chapter by R. S. Khare where he suggests the term 'native anthropologist'[91] to describe someone studying their own culture, but only found one musical equivalent, in Pian's article: 'Return of the Native Ethnomusicologist.' I found it striking how Pian writes 'The terms "native" and "ethnomusicologist" imply two conflicting ideas.'[92] There is inherent conflict in studying one's own culture, as Khare notes when cautioning that it is important to 'realize that the hidden and the unfamiliar exist in the midst of the familiar.'[93] It reminded me that it can be easy to make assumptions about things we *think* we know or understand, but that good fieldwork comes about from becoming aware of what we do not yet understand.

**Limitations and opportunities**

The collecting already done by Ron Black, the Melbreak Hunt, and Country Voices might be considered limited in some respects, due primarily to the lack of musical notation in their publications. There is not much evidence to suggest that the songs have ever been passed on orally; it would appear that the lyrics are often written down and shared that way. However, the tunes used by the tradition are generally fairly simple and, because they are performed in a communal setting, there is always a crowd of people, many of whom know the tune and will supply it if the performers lose their way. As song nights are becoming less frequent, though, there seems to be an awareness that having the tunes notated for posterity might now be worthwhile.

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[90] Timothy J. Cooley 'Casting Shadows in the Field: An Introduction,' in *Shadows in the Field. New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 16-17.

[91] R. S. Khare, 'Between Being Near and Distant: Reflections on Initial Approaches and Experiences of an Indian Anthropologist,' in *Fieldwork. The Human Experience,* ed. Robert Lawless, Vinson H. Sutlive, and Mario D. Zamora (New York: Gordon and Breach, Science Publishers, Inc., 1983), 91.

[92] Rulan Chao Pian, 'Return of the Native Ethnomusicologist,' *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 2.

[93] Khare, 'Between Being Near and Distant,' 98.

Contributing to the lack of notation is another factor: the performers in the tradition are rarely trained musicians. I do not know how many people involved in the Fell Packs are able to read music, but I am under the impression that the numbers are low. I went to a secondary school which had 'Arts College' status and studying music was encouraged, but being from an old local family and receiving the encouragement to study music to a level where one is able to read and transcribe it is quite rare in our region. In essence, through the coupling of my partial insider status with my 'outsider' training in classical music, I believe I am fairly uniquely placed to be able to undertake this project.

All that being said, as the content of this thesis has evolved over time, it may be the case that musical notation is somewhat neglected in this thesis. Ron Black always told me that he did not provide notation for his songs (despite being regularly asked for it by visitors to his website) because, firstly, he could not read it and, secondly, because he was of the opinion that it did not matter that much which tune was used—as long as it was sung.[94] This was something Ron said back in 2012; to be honest, I dismissed that opinion at the time, since my focus was then on creating a song catalogue with commentaries. However, as will become clear in Part 3 of this thesis, my opinion on this matter has shifted over time.

A final reason for my belief that the original research I have conducted was sorely needed arises from the assumption that these songs had already died out. When I first started to look into contacting the Fell Packs, both local people and those interested in song collecting were often surprised that I was able still to collect any songs. They often assumed that the songs had died out with the generation that might have sung for earlier song collectors, like Ralph Vaughan Williams and Percy Grainger, in the early twentieth century. However, neither Vaughan Williams nor Grainger collected any Lakeland Hunting Songs (as I have defined them), and only one song in my entire corpus (Cartmel Hunting Song, Circa 1840) appears to have been collected by one of the Edwardian collectors (Anne Geddes Gilchrist). Indeed, since taking this project on, I have been met with great surprise several times that Lakeland Hunting Songs still exist as a living and evolving tradition.

[94] Ron Black, conversation with author, 20 July 2012.

## Part 2: The Tradition

### 2.1 The Beginnings

In Chapter 1.1 I outlined the following three topics through which I hoped to chart a history of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition:

1. How did the performance tradition of Lakeland Hunting Songs come into existence?;
2. In what ways has the tradition changed over time, and why?, and
3. What might the future hold for this tradition?

This chapter and those that follow consider each of these questions in turn as I analyse responses from participants of this tradition in order to construct a better understanding of the tradition as a whole.

**How did the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition come about? What is the purpose of the songs and singing?**

The short answer is that no-one is entirely sure how the tradition came about. As Linda Porter, one of my interviewees, put it: 'It'd be quite interesting [to know what people think] because, like I said, until you started asking questions, you don't think about it, because it just goes hand-in-hand with whatever we do. It's like wearing your clothes—it's an automatic thing—so you don't think anything of it.'[95]

Nearly everyone I spoke to started off by saying that they were not sure, or did not know, how the singing tradition might have started. However, there seem to be some common themes among many of their responses.

On a most basic level, the interviewees thought the singing tradition came about as a means of entertainment. Barry Todhunter, huntsman of the Blencathra Foxhounds, described how, from the early 1800s (as Lakeland Hunting was coming into existence) until at least the First World War, recreation had to be created by individuals. You would hardly leave your vale or village unless you could get to your destination on a horse or a bike. Entertainment was limited to events or gatherings in the pub or the village hall, and such evenings nearly always ended with songs (not just about hunting).[96] Jacko agreed: 'It was a way to entertain yourselves at nights really … I think a lot of it stems from there.'[97]

[95] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[96] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[97] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

Alcohol seems to have played a part as far back as anyone can remember: 'They would all get together and talk and "oh we'll go for a drink" and then … they'd all sing away.'[98] And as Neil Blenkinship pondered: 'But I don't know where the singing would … how would that start? It'd just be started with a drink wouldn't it?'[99] The social life of these communities has likely always centred around the village pub—it would be the only venue (other than perhaps the church or chapel) to meet up with people in many places, as Neil Salisbury told me: 'Even going back to the early 1800s, the big occasion was the hunts followed by gathering in the pub. And it grew from there I think.'[100]

Most of those I interviewed thought that the hunting song tradition had evolved naturally from singing at the Shepherds' Meets.[101] I thought Tommy Coulthard explained this theory particularly well:

> Well they say it started from the Shepherds' Meets and then they would have their hotpot, tatie pot—tatie pot as we prefer to call it—and some drink. You see, the summertime Shepherds' Meets were held up on the fells—back of Skiddaw and up on High Street—and that's where they started. And they would take a barrel or two of beer up and had wrestling and that sort of thing. And horse racing as well. There's a place called Race Course Hill on High Street, there. And they would finish their little bit of business, as I say, as far as sorting all the stray sheep out and have their tatie pot, and then they would just be in the mood for a right good harvel,[102] as they used to call them. And you'd have a chairman and you'd have some order and … So that would be how it started, I think.[103]

Kenny Stuart and Ted Relph went further to tell me how these evenings were known as 'merry meets' or 'merry nights.' Indeed, in a reply to a draft of this thesis, Tommy Coulthard had additional comments about how the 'merry meets' may have come into being:

> [They] would start originally as a celebration after a clipping day or a harvest supper after the last corn had been brought in and of course after Shepherds' Meets. I should

[98] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[99] Interview with Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[100] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[101] Shepherds' Meets were occasions when the shepherds in an area would gather together at different times of the year to sort the sheep, who had been grazing on the fells, for shearing, lambing, tupping (mating), etc. Though the first motivations were practical, these Meets were also important social occasions. Many Shepherds' Meets ceased after the 2001 foot-and-mouth crisis, but there are still Meets in Wasdale and Buttermere in the autumn. For more information see Deborah Kermode's unpublished MA dissertation, 'The Shepherd's Voice: Song and upland shepherds of 19th and early 20th century Lakeland' (Lancaster, 2003).
[102] A celebration (See Richard Clapham, *Foxhunting on the Lakeland Fells* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920), 19.).
[103] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

> possibly say a celebration of thanks because the local parson would often be invited or come along anyway as in those days long gone they were much more a part of the [hunting] scene, having glebe land and sometimes stock of their own, something which is more or less forgotten.'[104]

Another interesting theory about the origins of the hunting song tradition was posited by Barry Todhunter. He told me that the Fell Packs were all trencher-fed originally, and each farm would have a hound or two that would go and join the hunt when the huntsman blew his horn. Barry thought that the singing probably started from the competition between people who reared hounds, as they always liked to follow their own hounds. There was a rivalry between the individual people and their hounds; Barry wondered if the songs were a chance to boast about their dogs and for them to be immortalised.[105]

A couple of people thought that, in particular, the organised side of singing (i.e., organised sing-songs and singing competitions, as outlined in the Chapter 1.1), would have started as a means of raising funds for the Fell Packs. As Ted Potter told me: 'Why they'd have social evenings was to make revenue for the hunt—to keep the hounds going.'[106] And Paul Edgar said: 'It's one way of making money for us. We have a few sing-songs over the year at different pubs, like, of a night-time, just to raise money.'[107] However, Jacko thought that perhaps the tradition emerged more hand-in-hand with the development of the village pub:

> You went hunting on somebody's ground and you fetched a bit of trade into the local pub. Because years and years ago what you would have is—you'd maybe have a farm house and that might be the boozer… for 3 or 4 spots—you know—like a wayside inn. They'd have a few beers on … and you'd just have a bit of a sing-song in there. That's how it all set off. And then they started getting … I suppose it got too dear to have a do in your houses I would think. Or maybe got too big because they're just little houses. So they started using pubs, and then they got venues going. You know, it's marvellous what they've done.[108]

As to when the singing tradition started, opinions differed quite a bit, ranging from the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. Tom Sanderson thought that 'things more or less started in the eighteenth century, some a little bit later';[109] Neil Salisbury held that 'a lot of the songs that've been sung

[104] Tommy Coulthard, letter to the author, dated 30 March 2017.
[105] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[106] Interview with Ted Potter, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[107] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.
[108] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[109] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.

date back to the 1800s, and the early 1800s, and some of them are still being sung.'[110] Conversely, Edmund Porter thought that things really got going in his grandfather's time—towards the end of the 1800s—but could not be certain.[111]

Ted Relph, who was 90 when I spoke to him, said: 'I mean hunting songs don't go back *that* far, really. I don't think. You could date them by some of the people mentioned in them, most of them, and they're not that far back. Not a long way back, like.'[112] I appreciated this response because it really made me think about people's perception of time. Ted was singing hunting songs in the 1940s which, to me (born in 1989) actually does seem like quite a long time ago. To consider it from Ted's point of view, though, the tradition will seem much younger; John Peel, the subject of arguably the most well-known Lakeland Hunting Song, only died around 70 years before Ted was born.[113]

Another common theme to come out my interviews was the idea that the singing—and the social side of hunting—was just as important (if not more so) than the actual act of hunting. As Neil Salisbury said: 'It started off as… I mean the hunting was certainly a social, as much social as utilitarian [activity].'[114] Anne Pool elaborated, telling me that 'The gatherings in the pubs for the singing—well, that was part of the day, wasn't it?'[115]

In areas that are still relatively isolated, it seems that 'the hunt' provides a sense of community. I have used quotation marks here because 'the hunt' is not just about hunting. Indeed, Tommy Coulthard was not alone in telling me things like: 'I always said I didn't go to hunt to see a fox killed.'[116] It seems that 'the hunt' can refer to three things: the people involved in the Fell Packs (not necessarily just those who go out regularly on the fells); the social life and activities created by those people, and the act of following the hunting hounds. Edward Liddle explained:

> We have quite a good following for coffee mornings, like, we have people come to coffee mornings down in Lorton that'll never hunt, but they'll always come and support the coffee mornings. See people they maybe haven't seen for a fortnight, just for a bit of a catch-up. I think that side of it's quite good—that's probably more popular than going

[110] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[111] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[112] Interview with Ted Relph, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[113] John Peel, 1776?-1854. Buried in St Kentigern's Churchyard, Caldbeck.
[114] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[115] Interview with Anne Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[116] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

> back to the pub at any of our meets at the minute. A lot of older people in the villages …[117]

The idea that 'the hunt' was a particularly good thing for the older people in these rural communities was echoed through several of my interviews. For example:

> But the hunt … It is … It's a good thing. It gets people out—old people. Like a lot of the old fellas, that's all they do. Sit around—mope around the house, and then on a Saturday or a Wednesday—off they go. A couple of quid for fuel, get together in a car …[118]

Everyone that I spoke to used words or phrases such as 'gathering' or 'bringing together' when they talked about the social side of hunting. Special song nights could bring people together from all across the county—'from up Gilsland way, down to the coast, and down to Kendal'[119]—and these gatherings are viewed in a really positive way: 'Things like that keep folks coming together and mixing … Do far more good than politicians!'[120]

A further example of how important the social side of hunting can be was given by Jacko. He told me about how he used to have a little fan club—two older ladies who used to go along to the evening dos, just to hear the singing. A few years ago, one of the ladies died and, although Jacko hardly knew her personally, he was asked to go and sing at her funeral as his singing had given her so much pleasure in her lifetime.[121]

We have seen that the singing tradition has been, and continues to be, an important part of many people's social lives and is considered by some to be a vital part of bringing people together. It was also, historically, one of the main forms of entertainment in the area. But I have heard several other thoughts about the purpose of these songs and the act of singing them.

Colin Armstrong and Edward Liddle both explained that, as Edward put it, 'the hunting songs especially—they always seem to be a story about an event or a particular good day. Or a particular set of actions or … day out with the hounds, or something like that. There always seems to be a tale behind them.'[122] He continued by telling me that he jokes with his wife sometimes 'that when somebody writes a song about us I'll pack in then. You know you've done something good if somebody writes a song about you.'[123]

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[117] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[118] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[119] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[122] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[123] Ibid.

Ted Potter and Neil Blenkinship had already achieved Edward Liddle's ambition of being immortalised in song, but perhaps not for the reasons they had hoped: they went to the wrong meet and were in Orton when everyone else was on the Howgills, and someone wrote a song about it all.[124] Unfortunately I have never heard this song being performed at any song night I have attended, but I would be intrigued to hear it.

This idea—that the songs act as a form of oral history, commemorating particular events, people and places—was a common response: 'It's like a history in song, isn't it, virtually?'[125] Tom Sanderson thought that, particularly when it came to remembering famous huntsmen, it was likely the Masters who would put their heads together to come up with a song: '"Well, he's been such a good huntsman … a real genuine chap … done his best all these years … 20, 30, 40 years, in some cases … we really need to have him recognised in years to come, by writing a song … of his exploits …"—and I think that's more or less where it would start from.'[126]

Several of the people I talked to have written songs themselves and explained some of their inspiration. Tommy Coulthard had written a song in a traditional style and described it to me:

> I wrote one for Dockray [Shepherds' Meet]. It sets off from The Royal at Dockray and comes along Gowbarrow Park and then up Kirksty Ghyll which goes up from Dobbin Wood Lodge, and back through New Plantin' and all the spots are mentioned … and it ends over back in Matterdale—something like that.[127]

This perhaps illustrates how these songs can be appreciated on different levels. If you heard this song performed and were not from that area or community, you would probably enjoy the tune, you might join in the chorus, and you could probably Google some of the place names to find out more. If you were from Cumbria you might well know where Dockray and Matterdale are, and so could place these particular events on the shores of Ullswater. But probably only members of the Ullswater Foxhounds would get the full enjoyment from this song, appreciating the terrain involved, the distance covered and knowing who lives or farms at the places mentioned along the way. I, for example, know this area fairly well but I could only guess which plantation (or plantin' as they would say in Cumbria) is being referred to here. In this way we can see how these songs are intended for, or best appreciated by, a certain audience.

As will be discussed further in Chapters 2.2 and 2.3, the songs do not always just describe a day out hunting. Tom Sanderson told me about his friend Fred Nevinson, who was a shepherd in Borrowdale

[124] Interview with Ted Potter & Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[125] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[126] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[127] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

and who enjoyed writing the odd hunting song: 'The first song he ever wrote was his favourite. It was about the valley that he lived in and how he never wanted to go anywhere else, or do anything else … he was completely happy in Borrowdale.'[128] Nowadays, this would perhaps be a fairly unusual sentiment; I will discuss how developments in transport and entertainment have affected the tradition in Chapters 2.3 and 2.4.

Jacko, on the other hand, enjoys writing songs about local characters, and told me all about one of them:

> Well, Eddie Pool used to work on the steamer. It's one of the verses … there's a verse about each person. There's a verse about 'his name is Long John and you can't hold him back.' It's about the new huntsman that come—John Harrison. And there was Edgar … there was Paul Robbo, who was whipper-in … and there's Edgar and Milburn … there was Lady Jane and John Lothian, 'who were drunk for the do' and went to bed at 6 o'clock … and there was me and Wesy … then there was Eddie Pool, taking 'the steamer by day and by night, but usually, Old Pool, he's just talking shite'… and so that's how the song goes on. Then the last verse is about the lad … somebody told me that Pat O'Malley was on the fell, and he took a shot, but it wasn't a pheasant—it was a peacock he clipped.[129]

But even a silly song can have quite a powerful effect when sung by the right person. Linda Porter recounted hearing her godson sing a comic song (written a number of years ago) about his uncle: 'It was really nice that—the family connection—and he was singing about his uncle and, you know, him carrying it on. It was really, really nice.'[130] That 'family connection' appears to be very important to some people and is something I have witnessed myself. In 2012, I saw Joan Barker perform 'The Placefel Hunt'—a song written about her late father—which I (even as a relative outsider) found to be quite a moving experience. But it would be interesting to see if an outsider without that level of information would have experienced that performance in the same way that I did. These 'insider' levels of appreciation are similar to those noted by Dunn in the East Norfolk pub singing tradition:

> The evocative power of the song, its association with a particular person, is important in the present [i.e. song ownership] … and also in the past (the powerful associative feeling in which the past emotion is made present). Such

[128] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[129] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[130] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

> evocative power and association is unavailable to strangers in the audience and to young uninformed local inhabitants.[131]

Another way in which the community's identity is reinforced is through the practice of changing a song's lyrics according to the day's venue, events or people in attendance. Tommy Coulthard gave me an example of this, talking about one of his favourite songs to perform:

> It's a song you can bring anybody into. Because another verse towards the end goes … well I'll say, there was this chap called John Allen who—he used to farm up at Patterdale, Hartsop Hall—and I used to sometimes bring him:
>
> John Allen took all my money
> And he fleeced me night and day
> And if I hadn't had my shirt on
> He'd have stolen my heart away[132]

This and Jacko's song about Eddie Pool may bring moniker songs[133] to mind for some readers. Larry Gorman's song 'The Union River Drivers'[134] does feel remarkably similar in style to some Lakeland Hunting Songs (particularly those relating to a day's hunting on the Cumbrian fells). However, the contrast here lies in the story-telling. Gorman was not a ballad writer and had no interest in actually telling a story; he was 'a songmaker and, more specifically, a satirist.'[135] Satire does not, on the whole, seem to play much of a part in the hunting song tradition, whereas story-telling and keeping a record of what happened (and who was there) is arguably the whole *raison d'être* for Lakeland Hunting Songs.

Altogether, my interviewees contributed many interesting thoughts and theories about how the singing tradition came about and what it was for. The strongest consensus was that the hunting song tradition developed out of the singing tradition of the Shepherds' Meets as a form of entertainment: 'it was just country folks enjoying social life.'[136] A second common thread was that the social side of hunting—including the singing—was viewed with as much importance as the actual hunt itself. Thirdly, most remarked that the songs play a part in preserving this community's history. As Jacko said: 'And that's what it's all about I think—it's a community thing. But are there any communities left anymore?'[137]

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[131] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song*, 222.
[132] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[133] Songs which are structured around the names of individuals and locations familiar to an occupying group. (See John Ashton, '"The Badger Drive": Song, Historicity and Occupational Stereotyping,' *Western Folklore* 53, no. 3 (1994), 225.)
[134] Ives, *Larry Gorman*, 90.
[135] Ibid, 161.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

He raises a challenging thought here (one to which I will return in Chapter 2.3), but he was not alone: many people tended to talk about the tradition in the past tense, or reminisce about how the singing *used* to be, rather than referring to the tradition in the present, let alone future, tense. These responses motivated my second research question.

## 2.2 Transformations

**What did 'sing-songs' used to be like? How have they changed, and why?**

All of my interview respondents told me that, in the past, the social side of hunting was a major part of most people's social lives in the Lakes. Remarking on declining attendance, Tom Sanderson compared the numbers at the Mardale Hunt: 'I think the last hunt up at Mardale was in 1935, and I think there was over 300 people attended … Now you maybe get 30 or 40 people … 50 on a good day.'[138] He and Kathleen went on to tell me about times when there would be even more than 300 people in attendance, particularly at fundraising social evenings and the hunt balls, which could attract as many as 500 or 600.[139]

The popularity of these social evenings seems to have continued well into the 1980s, as Jacko recounted: 'When I first started going—just take like a normal hunt, for instance … you might have … 100 to 150 people there.'[140] He continued by comparing the usual attendance when he first started going to now: then, one was hardly able to get through the pub door, whereas numbers now are much lower 'unless it's a big do like the Mardale Hunt—you might get 30 or 40 people there.'[141] At the time of writing, in my own experience, apart from the larger dos such as the Mardale Hunt or the Cumbrian Hunt Song Competition, it is quite unusual to have more than 30 people in attendance, and under half of those would be likely to sing.

The Mardale Hunt was also a big draw from outside of the region and several respondents told me stories about people who would use their annual holiday to go hunting and socialising at Mardale every year. Ted Potter recalled one year when a new landlord took over: 'And we were there, and he did [nothing] all day bar change barrels—I think he even run out of beer. And he said, "I've heard of this Mardale Hunt, but I never thought it'd be owt like this!"'[142]

It was not just the Mardale Hunt that was particularly popular. Colin Armstrong told me how things used to be after the New Year Day's hunt at the Kirkstile Inn: 'You couldn't get in. If you weren't sharpish down into the pub you were sort of stood at the door, or stuck in somewhere.'[143] And Edmund Porter told me about the hunt suppers at the Bridge Inn at Santon Bridge back in the 1970s and 1980s,

[138] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Interview with Ted Potter, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[143] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

where 100 or 120 people would meet for a meal and a sing-song.[144] Considering the small size of the venue, that is quite impressive.

Returning to the Mardale Hunt for a moment, Tom Sanderson recalled what the singing nights would be like when they were still held at the Haweswater Hotel:

> Well, there was the main bar which'll hold probably 50 or 60. Then there was the reception area, quite a big area, and that's where we used to hold the sing-song part because it was a little bit quieter. Because people … you're meeting people you haven't met for probably months at a do like this, and so you're having a good chat. So it's just a little bit too noisy to have it in the main bar, the singing. So you'd have it through the other end, but we'd be talking upwards of 80 to 100 people there.[145]

Sanderson went on to remark that the number of attendees changed dramatically after the sing-songs moved to St Patrick's Well and Askham, which are much smaller venues. Capacity, changes in pubs, and the hunts' relationships with them will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.3.

Song nights were not only held at pubs, though. Jacko and Tommy Coulthard told me about an evening regularly held at Winder Hall at which, it seems, people were invited by the owners to attend an evening of singing. There appear to have been a few of these more private occasions in the past, and they reportedly had a very special atmosphere, but I am not aware that these take place anymore. As Jacko told me: 'Just banter and crack[146] like. Brilliant—you couldn't buy it. But [they] have gone now, [those] dos. Because the older people have … I won't say they've backed away from it, but they don't … Well, you imagine putting food on for about 40, 50 people.'[147]

Opportunities for singing also seem to have changed, with Neil Salisbury telling me that, when he was young:

> We would have a sing-song every week. So the hounds would meet in an area, or in a district, for the week … and then some time in the week there'd be a hunt supper and, usually on the Friday night, there'd be a hunt ball in the local village hall. And then on the Saturday they'd often … well, any day, they'd go back to the pub after the hunt and a sing-song would get going.[148]

The tradition of staying in a certain area for a week appears to have subsided by the 1960s, but even by the 1980s it was still commonplace for there to be singing events most weekends during the hunting

[144] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[145] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[146] Cumbrian dialect – equivalent of the Irish 'craic.'
[147] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[148] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.

season: 'In the '80s it got to where it was every single weekend, whereas now we might do one in four… one in five maybe.'[149] In Chapter 2.3, I will look at the reasons why this tradition—the hounds travelling around and staying in certain areas for a week—has waned.

Indeed, really keen singers seem to have taken quite an organised approach to attending as many social evenings as possible. Neil Blenkinship told me that he used to travel all over the county to attend song nights,[150] while Jacko and Kenny Stuart recalled that they would arrange a minibus with a group of friends to take them to song nights.[151] This, again, is something that appears to have subsided.

More points of comparison with song nights of the past concern the structure and content of the evenings. When describing Mardale[152] Shepherds' Meet, Tommy Coulthard told me that singing could be going on in multiple rooms at the same time: '[Eventually], Sarge Nobel—who was the chairman of the Shepherds' Meet—got quite a lot of folks to go through in the kitchen and they had a more controlled sing-song there … And there was singing what carried on in the bar as well.'[153] He also explained that traditionally there were two ways of deciding who would sing next. Either the chairman would choose someone, or it would be 'singer's call,' in which, Tommy continued, 'one singer called on the next singer, which used to be the case, because possibly the chairman wouldn't know all the singers anyway. And it just carried on with hunting songs and comic songs and all sorts.'[154]

This mixing of song genres is something which continues to some extent, as is also the case with the Pennine Packs, as noted by Ian Russell: 'The singing itself is not devoted exclusively to the performance of hunting songs, nor ever has been the case.'[155] However, some features that seem to have been commonplace in the past appear to have fallen into disuse. For example, Kenny Stuart described having often heard poetry, spoken word performances, and even hymns at these evenings.[156] And Jacko told me about some tapes of old song nights in his possession where 'one fella didn't sing—just whistled. He whistled this tune—it was marvellous. It was like birds singing to you. But you don't hear them now.'[157] The declining variety was perhaps best expressed by Edmund Porter, who told me: 'The same people came every year and the same people sang the same songs. If you say "so-and-so's going to sing", you know

[149] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[150] Interview with Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[151] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith & interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.
[152] Corrected from Dockray Shepherd's Meet; Tommy Coulthard, in letter to the author, 30 March 2017.
[153] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Russell, 'The Hunt's Up?,' 134.
[156] Interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.
[157] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

what he's going to sing every time!'[158] Again, I will return below to the perceived stagnation in the variety of repertoire.

**How has the tradition changed over time and why?**

I thought it would be interesting to start this section by recording the initial responses of those I talked to when I asked how, and in what way, the tradition has changed over time, before going into further detail and analysis of their thoughts.

Everyone that I spoke to agreed that the singing tradition has experienced drops in the number of singing evenings that take place and in the number of people singing at them. People's initial explanations for this change vary, but Kenny Stuart's response seems to summarise several people's thoughts: 'It [the singing tradition] was quite a big thing up until around the late 1970s or early 1980s and it started to dwindle a bit then. I don't know why, it's just one of those things; young people didn't come through to sing.'[159]

There seems to be a consensus that this decline was first noted around the early 1980s, initially because there were not the same number of singers attending the singing evenings. In many cases, in the interviews I conducted, my respondents were fairly quick at first to place the blame on a lack of interest amongst 'young people.' But when questioned further, everyone supplied additional reasons, and some even changed their minds about the problem beginning with 'young people.' Conversely, some thought the problem arose because those involved in the tradition were getting old, and the older people would usually have been the ones to organise singing occasions. It was interesting to note that, in some cases, this perspective seemed to be affected by the age of the respondent: some of the older people I spoke to initially said that it was a problem with 'young people,' while some of the younger people I spoke to said the issue was that the 'old people' have passed on and taken the tradition with them. And some respondents grouped the two explanations together, 'because that is one of the problems with the hunting job. Everybody … all the followers are getting older, [and] there's no young'uns coming on now.'[160]

Another common initial response was a feeling that people's interests have changed: while formerly hunt dos were people's only choice for evening entertainment, there are now many more things to do with your time and improved transport to enable such activities. Eddie Pool summarised these

[158] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[159] Interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.
[160] Interview with Ted Potter, 29 February 2016, Orton.

thoughts quite nicely: 'Well, there was no transport much, and money was just liveable. ... They could come and, well, they had to do something so, as I say, maybe cricket or football or fishing or hunting. But now, as I say, they just pop away to some big football team.'[161]

Some of those I spoke to were quite philosophical or, perhaps, resigned in their attitudes about this sense of change. Barry Todhunter's initial explanation for why the tradition has started to decline was that times and attitudes change, and that modern life is just very different to when the singing tradition started.[162] Tommy Coulthard also seemed to have a similar outlook: 'Everything changes, doesn't it? And certainly it has changed in the 60 … or 70 years that I've been going to sing-songs.'[163] Indeed, life is markedly different now from what it was in the 1940s when Tommy first started singing these songs.

It is also worth pursuing what Eddie Pool meant when he described money as just 'liveable' when he was young. Several of the people I spoke to alluded to money being a factor in the changes that have happened to the singing tradition.

Jacko, in particular, had really thought about how money has affected the tradition. He told me about how, in the past, farmers and everyone who lived in the countryside had to be self-sufficient; the hunt essentially ran on whatever people had to spare, be it some food for the hounds or some lamb to go in a hotpot supper. As people have moved away from this lifestyle, though, money—in his opinion—has become a greater and greater issue. If one attends a day's hunting nowadays and then goes along to an evening do, the costs include: the hunt subscription; a return taxi or minibus to the evening's venue (because one can no longer drink and drive); an evening meal, typically at least £5; drinks for oneself and maybe others; and raffle tickets. There is also often an auction, in which attendees are expected to bid.[164] Clearly the hunt needs to raise money in order to continue (to feed the hounds and to pay a salary to the hunt staff), but it must be difficult for many people involved in Lakeland Hunting to afford such an evening out on a regular basis. No-one else I spoke to really brought up this idea, but it does seem to be a well-considered and convincing explanation as to why singing nights have become less frequent.

As noted above, many singing nights served as fundraising events, but several of my interview respondents commented that, by the 1980s, selling tickets for these evenings became increasingly difficult. Tom Sanderson told me about the fate of the Shap Hunt Balls: 'They gradually died a death. There were less and less attending them until, in [the] end, they just stopped. We weren't making any money at

[161] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[162] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[163] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[164] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

all.'[165] It was both interesting and disheartening to hear how, once these evenings stopped being profitable, people saw no point in continuing them. Although turning a profit was understandably a high priority at the time, one cannot help wondering whether those involved would have preferred to continue the evenings if they could have known how much the tradition itself would subsequently dwindle.

It seems that, by around the mid-1980s, the tradition had started to experience a period of stagnation. Barry Todhunter told me that with fewer people singing at the competition evenings, you always heard the same songs, and that that, in turn, made it difficult to sell tickets.[166] Mary Logan agreed: 'It does become very boring when you've gone to a lot in the same area, because they keep coming up with the same songs.'[167] Such repeated repertoire echoes the findings of Ginette Dunn, who writes (of the East Norfolk pub singing tradition) that 'repertoires of all the singers are known and an evening's entertainment can therefore be approximately predicted once the singers are assembled.'[168] Ian Russell, however, offers a more positive interpretation of this phenomenon in the West Sheffield tradition, suggesting that the repetition of songs by the same singer 'is the essence of a well-established tradition for it is only by regular repetition that a common repertoire can become established and one with which all singers in the pub are completely familiar.'[169]

Lakeland singers, though, appear to have rather unfavourable views of the constant repetition of repertoire. However, it should be noted that these feelings emerged at a later date than the aforementioned studies in Norfolk and West Sheffield. Since, by the 1980s, people had a much greater range of options in choosing how to spend their spare time, it is perhaps not surprising that repetitiveness would have seemed 'boring' and caused attendance at such evenings to decline.

Edmund Porter and Paul Edgar both immediately identified the drink-driving ban as a major cause for the tradition's decline: 'It's gone downhill fast, the singing dos. Big style ... They just don't happen now. I think the drink-driving's done a lot of damage to it.'[170] I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 2.3, since everyone I spoke to seemed to have an opinion about the effect of this ban on the singing tradition.

One further explanation was offered by Edmund Porter: shorter hunting seasons. As he recounted: 'We used to have longer seasons … from September to the middle of May. Now it's much

[165] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[166] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[167] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[168] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song*, 199.
[169] Russell, Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' v.
[170] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.

shorter—we start the second week of September and go on until the middle of March now.'[171] This does seem to be typical of all the Lakeland Packs and, as singing nights only really take place during the hunting season, the shorter the season becomes, the less opportunity there will be for singing. The curtailment of the hunting season is very much linked to the change in relationship between the hunting and farming communities, which many of my respondents brought up later in our conversations; this, too, is something I will examine more closely in Chapter 2.3.

Just by looking at these initial responses, it is clear that the reasons for this perceived decline in the singing tradition are both quite complex and often interrelated. As those involved in the tradition have aged, there have not been new singers coming through to take their place. This, on the surface, seems to be because of a change in people's interests, facilitated by improvements to transport and an expansion in the range of other leisure activities available to people. Also related to this, though, are the increased costs in attending a singing evening, the drink-driving ban, and perhaps stagnation in the tradition (that the same people were just singing the same songs all the time). I have also touched on some other initial thoughts, such as the relationship between hunting and farming, which is itself related to overall socio-economic changes experienced by those living in rural Cumbria over the past 50 years or so.

Clearly there is a lot to unpick here. As my conversations continued with my interviewees, many more reasons and thoughts emerged about why and how the tradition was transformed from a flourishing practice to one in which those involved are worried about whether it will continue.

I have endeavoured to construct a logical exploration of some of these responses in the next few chapters of this thesis and have used subheadings for the sake of clarity. Following their initial answers, many of those I talked to further considered the effect of the 1967 ban on drink-driving, which is where I shall start the next chapter, since this was arguably a watershed moment in the singing tradition.

[171] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

## 2.3 The Recent Past

### The drink-driving ban

On 8 October 1967, new drink-driving laws came into force in the UK, setting a limit of 80mg of alcohol per 100ml of blood,[172] which roughly equated to drinking two pints of 'normal strength' beer. For anyone who has ever attended a Lakeland Hunt sing-song, it quickly becomes clear why this limit might have proved problematic. Of course, drink-driving should never be condoned, and everyone I interviewed was clear that being under the influence of alcohol while at the wheel of a car is highly irresponsible. However, as Linda Porter put it, '[the] drink-driving [ban] has changed things dramatically in the countryside.'[173]

The ban arguably had a much greater effect on rural communities than those living in urban areas. In the Lakes, many people live miles away from their nearest pub; indeed, song nights probably happen more often at a more distant place than one's local, anyway. In most cases, then, just walking home from the pub is not an option; but, for many, singing without having had several pints is also not an option. At every singing event I have attended, before any singing starts, there will be several calls to start that are answered by: 'I need another pint first!.'

Not everyone has the same relationship with alcohol, and two of my interview respondents—Mary Logan and Tommy Coulthard—were slightly more sceptical about the effect that the ban has had on the tradition. When I asked Mary Logan about the drink-driving ban, she replied: 'That might come into it a little bit, but then they would get someone to pick them up and go in cars—if they really wanted.'[174] Tommy Coulthard thought similarly: 'Well I don't know why it should, because if folk would just use their common sense and get somebody to drive but … everybody doesn't think that way.'[175] They both make a valid point: with a little forethought, attending the song nights should still be possible if one books a taxi or arranges to be picked up by someone else. And, considering that song nights were still flourishing until the early 1980s, people had been managing to cope with this change in the law for at least a decade.

However, recalling Jacko's thoughts about the influence of money on the tradition, to book a taxi is to incur another expense. Also, in the countryside, one has to actually book a taxi—one cannot just leave the pub and hail one down, as Tom Sanderson explained:

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[172] "History of road safety, The Highway Code and the driving test", Driver & Vehicle Standards Agency, accessed 27 January 2016, https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/history-of-road-safety-and-the-driving-test/history-of-road-safety-the-highway-code-and-the-driving-test.
[173] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[174] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[175] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

> You've got to get organised. Like I went last Saturday night, we had a taxi booked to take us there and then the taxi picks us up at half 12, something like that, 1 o'clock. You just can't take your own car. Well, if you take your own car you can't have a drink, so … So, no, it's made it much more difficult.[176]

It seems that the drink-driving ban most affected the more impromptu sing-songs, or the socials that would happen straight after coming in from the fell. Tom continued:

> … and that [the ban] finished the dos on a Saturday afternoon. Because for me, and for a lot of people, those were the best dos. Yeah … you came back off the fell, you'd had a good hike out for four or five hours, you came in, had a pint and then you had a big plate of hotpot which you really looked forward to.[177]

Despite being more than 40 years Tom's junior, Edward Liddle also reported a similar experience:

> The drink-driving, everybody says, made a big difference, because everybody would go to … Well I'm the same, if we've been hunting all day and you're cold and wet through, you come home, you do your hounds, you have a bath … Last thing I want to do is turn and go back out and sit in a pub all night.[178]

The custom of coming straight off the fell and into the pub does appear to have ended, and more impromptu sing-songs do seem to be something of a rarity nowadays. If drink is going to be consumed, most people will now go home after hunting and return to the pub via car or taxi, and this requires organisation and a willing friend or relative, or money for a taxi. The drink-driving ban has not made it impossible to continue the tradition, but it could perhaps be viewed as the first real hurdle to be introduced—it just made everything a little more difficult.

**Impromptu versus organised sing-songs**

We have seen the effect that the drink-driving ban appears to have had on the practice of going straight to the pub after a day out on the fells, so it might be worth considering at this point my respondents' comments on the differences between impromptu and organised singing dos.

Before starting these interviews, I think I probably had the over-romanticised idea that, in the past, the 'best' or 'most authentic' singing would take place very much off the cuff, when hunters came straight from the fell, into the pub and—if the mood was right—just started singing. What seems more

[176] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

likely, though, is that there was traditionally always a mixture of organised and impromptu singing, as singing has long-since been associated with money-raising activities.

Possibly, in hindsight, I was not at first asking the right questions, since I did not really understand these two distinct sides of the tradition. In my earlier interviews, when I asked about how often people meet up to sing, a standard answer might be something like Paul Edgar's reply: 'People just don't go back so much now. Only on special occasions. [The] Mardale Shepherds' Meet's the main one.'[179] I originally thought that what Paul and the others were telling me was that people do not meet for impromptu singing very much anymore, only for the more organised events, and that there are now only a handful of these. It took me a while to realise that things were a little more complex than this.

Historically, the hunt would stay in a certain valley or village for a week, before moving on to the next one. While they were there, they would spend time in the local pub(s) every night and there would be special social occasions, such as a hunt ball, on the Friday or Saturday nights. I will explore the latter in more detail shortly, but it is useful to mention them here to make the point that on weekend evenings the norm has long been a more 'organised' occasion, rather than a completely impromptu sing-song.

When those I have interviewed lament the supposed demise of the tradition, they appear to be referring actually to both sides of the singing practice. Barry Todhunter told me about the Blencathra Foxhounds' experience of this: that they do not have many organised sing-songs or competitions anymore, but also that those organised dos would never have had the same atmosphere as an impromptu sing-song after a really good day out hunting.[180] Barry actually felt that the hunting ban had had quite an effect on the occurrence of these more impromptu sing-songs. The effect of the hunting ban is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.4.

There is also a distinction to be drawn between an 'organised sing-song' and a 'competition.' From what I understand, from around the 1960s to the early 1980s, most Saturdays would end with either an organised sing-song or a competition—although, if neither was planned, there might be a more impromptu do if people were in the mood for it. It seems that when people say 'there's no singing now,'[181] they are actually saying that there used to be a plan to meet in the pub after every hunt on a Saturday with the intention of singing but that this doesn't happen any longer. However, nowadays people still do meet for special events like the Mardale Shepherds' Meet, New Year's Day hunts, or the Opening Meet, or there might be a little impromptu sing-song if a few people meet in the pub after a good day out,

[179] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.
[180] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[181] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green

though this is much less likely. As Edmund Porter explained: 'Sometimes some of the local lads will have a bit of an impromptu sing-song if they have a few drinks after hunting, just amongst themselves. As for large sing-songs, there aren't any, really.'[182]

Jacko told me about how he believed singing competitions, as an event, came into existence: '[They] set about when people—the old fellows passed away. And somebody'd say "Ah—let's remember Bill Crisp—we'll put a cup on for him." So they put a cup on—in his local pub—and you'd come and sing for the cup.' This could be viewed as a way of formalising the tradition; but, to judge from Tom Sanderson's description, some of the organised sing-songs also seem to have done the same thing:

> Well the organised dos … a lot of the old singers didn't like the organised dos because you were standing up in a village hall probably and it was all the best of order, and a lot of people don't like that. They're a bit nervous to … they prefer the atmosphere in a pub. Not real noisy, but a little bit of background …[183]

Perhaps this quasi-formalisation of the tradition, like the repetition of the same songs and singers every week, also contributed to the waning of sing-songs over the years; could they possibly have reached the point of saturation? Not every great sportsman can be remembered by 'putting on a cup.'

My respondents outlined several reasons that they thought caused sing-songs to happen less and less regularly. The first of these was the change that happened to village pubs.

**The change in village pubs and the rise of tourism**

Arguably, a pub is traditionally understood to be a meeting place where one could buy and consume alcoholic drinks—the perfect place to hold a sing-song. Most of the people I spoke to in the course of my research commented on how pubs have changed from a venue for local people to meet for a drink to places that are intended more to feed and accommodate tourists. Neil Salisbury described the Coniston Foxhounds' experience of this phenomenon:

> In the old days, at The Queen's Head, they had the mayor's parlour upstairs—which was like a social meeting room—and we were up there and that was great. And then they decided to put bedrooms up there, so it was then part of the pub, so you were mixed in with diners, you were mixed in with people that were drinking so there was a lot of noise—background noise—and then in the end they … Yeah it affects their business, I

[182] Ibid.
[183] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.

> suppose, so we now go up to the Institute there [at Troutbeck], which doesn't have the atmosphere.[184]

These physical alterations to pubs (such as opening up separate bar and lounge areas into one communal space) bring to mind similar changes witnessed by Ian Russell in West Sheffield. Russell noted how people continued to sing but, for the most part, 'they [had] lost the most important single platform for their songs.'[185] He quotes Frank Hinchliffe, who explained: '"they're alterin' all the public houses now and they're doin' away with singin.' When you get a big room there's some want to sing, there's some don't. There's many a time they can cry you out like."'[186]

Those who related similar experiences to me were sympathetic to the pub's owners and understood that they needed to make a living, but, as Kenny Stuart commented, 'Obviously you can't just stage up and start to sing while you've got families in from all over, eating and maybe paying 20 quid a head, so it's not just as free and easy as that.'[187] He raises an interesting point here: there is not the same opportunity for singing to occur as there once was. If people were in the mood for an impromptu sing-song after a day's hunting, this just could not happen unless they were in a pub that was not busy serving food to lots of people.

As Tom Sanderson told me, many of the 'local' pubs are closing or have already closed; hunters and/or their singing are just not welcome in some places.[188] But in more recent times, some pubs have started to actively try and support the hunts and the singing: 'We've got more pubs now wanting us to meet at the pubs, and we always go back and, you know, support them after a meet. But the singing, unless there's a few singers there—it doesn't get going really.'[189]

Tourism is Cumbria's greatest employment sector, estimated to make up 'around 20 percent of the county's total employment'[190] in 2016. That same year it was estimated that just over 45 million people visited Cumbria and the Lake District as tourists,[191] with the greatest revenue sectors being Accommodation, followed by Food and Drink.[192] This perhaps demonstrates the impact tourism has likely had on pubs in the area; they have had to cater more and more to tourists over locals.

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[184] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[185] Russell, 'Traditional Singin in West Sheffield,' 85.
[186] Ibid
[187] Interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.
[188] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[189] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[190] Cumbria Tourism, *Tourism in Cumbria 2016: Key Facts and Trends* (Kendal: Cumbria Tourism, 2017), 5.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid, 7.

Some parts of Cumbria are more 'touristy' than others. Over on the west coast, the Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds do not seem to experience the same problems with pubs as those in the central Lakes area, as Linda Porter told me:

> Our landlords are pretty good in this valley that they say, you know, "Well the hunt's on today and this is what happens here", you know. But I can understand when … It's almost like us, if we went out for a meal and there's a rugby crowd come in, you know, we wouldn't like it, would we?[193]

Some people I spoke to were also sensitive to who they might be sharing the pub with in an evening. Barry Todhunter told me about how he sometimes feels uncomfortable singing songs about hunting—especially ones in which an animal is killed—in front of just anyone, particularly since the activity in the song is now illegal (even if it was not when the song was written). He does not want to risk a confrontation or offend anyone.[194] There was once a time in this area when the singers would have known everyone in the pub, but now, with so many tourists around, Barry is probably wise to be cautious about what reaction certain songs might invoke.

Many of my interviewees also spoke about just how busy the Lake District is nowadays. Eddie Pool told me that, in the past, 'you could go on a fell in the dark and see absolutely nobody. You could go in the daylight and maybe see one, or two. Well now you can see 100!'[195] Again, however, this experience depends slightly on the area of the Lakes in question. For example, over in the eastern fells, the Lunesdale Foxhounds feel fairly 'lucky': 'You know, you get on the Howgills in a way and you can be in one of them valleys and you're gone—you know—it's grand.'[196]

The change in village pubs and the increased number of tourists in the area mainly seems to have reduced the 'space' available—both literally and figuratively—for sing-songs to take place. Many pubs are now not set out for large social occasions; function rooms have often been turned into bedrooms, and most communal spaces are arranged for dining rather than drinking. Some landlords also do not want people involved in hunting to frequent their premises. Because of this, singing nearly always has to be planned—function rooms or village halls have to be booked—unless a hunt happens to end at a sympathetic pub and several keen singers are in attendance. The pubs are often filled with tourists now who might not understand the background and cultural significance of the songs, so some singers are reluctant to perform for fear of confrontation.

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[193] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[194] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[195] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[196] Interview with Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.

**The hunt stays at home**

Traditionally the hunts would travel around throughout the season, staying in different villages or valleys a week at a time. When I asked Neil Salisbury why he thought that sing-songs stopped being a weekly occurrence, he replied:

> Because the hounds aren't part of the village for that week anymore, you know. They're not based in the local communities and I think that's probably got a lot to do with it … the huntsman takes the hounds away, so they're not in the village to go down to the pub for these things to happen.[197]

The point that Neil makes here is part of a larger issue—the change in local communities and the hunts' relationship with them—that warrants some further discussion.

By all accounts, people in the Lakes really looked forward to the hunt coming to stay in one's valley. Barry Todhunter told me that, in the past, the huntsman and hunt staff would stay on a farm for a week and kennel the hounds there; the whole village would take the week off to go hunting. There would be at least one social in the middle of the week, and on Friday there would be a hunt ball and sometimes even a beauty competition.[198] Edmund Porter told me more about these contests:

> They'd choose a Hunt Queen from every [hunt ball] so you'd have 20 hunt queens at the end of [the season]. You'd have a final hunt ball and pick Miss Eskdale & Ennerdale out of the 20 hunt queens. But we don't have them now—same as sing-songs have died out.[199]

Because the hunt staff were staying away from home all week, they could usually be found in one of the local pubs every night. Tom Sanderson recounted how, even if a social occasion was not planned, there could be 'sing-songs after each day's hunting—not just the Saturday.'[200] Indeed, Neil Blenkinship had been told that, in the past:

> They would just go into the pub at night—and then just have a few beers—and then when they got tired they would just sleep on the floor. And they'd get up the next morning for another hunt. And they spent a full week in that valley. Just hunting and singing and eating.

From what I understand, this practice of the hunt moving around and staying in a certain place for a week at a time had, for the most part, ended by the 1960s. The main reason for this seems to be

[197] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[198] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[199] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2016, Eskdale Green.
[200] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.

improvements in and increased affordability of transport. But not having a regular and extended presence in different villages throughout the year seems to have marked the start of three things: a reduction in opportunities for singing to occur; a change in the relationship between farming and the hunt; and a loss of the link between the hunt and local (non-hunting) communities. With improved transport, developments in technology, and increased leisure time all becoming more commonplace during the 1960s, it would have been highly improbable that the hunting song tradition would continue in the same way.

**Improvements to, and availability of, transport**

It can be easy to forget that, not too long ago, a car was a real luxury item; it was not expected that most people would own one. Eddie Pool told me that everyone in his family now owns a car each, and his neighbour even owns four; but back then, 'Well that was unheard of. There were two cars in this village when I was a kid. The doctor had one and a richer lady up there, Miss Little, had one.'[201]

50 years ago, too, it was not unusual for people to spend their whole lives in the same valley and village; for the most part they had little reason to go anywhere else. To illustrate this point, Tommy Coulthard, who grew up near Loweswater, told me that, until he moved over towards Penrith for farm work in 1950, he had never been further east than Threlkeld[202] (near Keswick). Threlkeld is less than 15 miles from Loweswater; and, for many people of my generation, it is almost impossible to believe that one might never venture further away from home than that, especially if you live in the countryside. When I was growing up, we used to travel at least that far every week in order to do a supermarket shop.

When I asked Neil Salisbury about why the hunts had stopped staying in different villages for a week at a time, he told me:

> Well you know, there's transport—it's actually easier to [take the hounds back to the kennels]. I mean, in the old days, our huntsman … Anthony Chapman, he would set off on a Sunday, he would walk to a particular village … he'd hunt there all week, then on the following Sunday he would [move on to the next village] … and after about a month they'd go back to the kennels. And in those days the farmers, where they were staying, would have all the feed, they'd have all the equipment—the bedding and everything. But it's much easier now obviously with transport: Land Rovers, vehicles, trailers—you

[201] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[202] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

> just take them back and, you know, it's so much easier to get them back to the kennels.[203]

From this we can infer two things: that, in the past, people thought less about walking longer distances than we might today, and that farms and farmers were an integral part of supporting the hunt's activities.

Supporting the first of these inferences are stories from nearly everyone I interviewed. For example, Colin Armstrong described how, when he first started going hunting, they 'would walk two or three miles to a meet before [they] even started.'[204] Tom Sanderson had heard about Joe Bowman (a famed Master of the Ullswater Foxhounds) hunting regularly over on the Eastern Fells: 'He'd walk his hounds to Brough from Patterdale … It must be about 30-something miles, and that was before he started hunting. Then he had to walk them back again.'[205]

This idea—that walking longer distances was actually the norm—was confirmed, again, by Tom Sanderson: 'As I say … people would walk. They walked from Ambleside to Mardale, this type of walking, and think nothing of it. Aye … Grasmere to Ullswater to a hunt and a sing-song. But that was just the sort of thing that you did, it wasn't exceptional.'[206] Eddie Pool agreed: 'We never gave it a thought. And everybody could do it, you know. Some faster than others obviously, but it was done.'[207]

Considering Cumbrian geography, if you were to walk from Ambleside to Mardale (which is now below Haweswater Reservoir) using the old mountain passes and packhorse trails, you would travel a distance of around ten miles. If you wanted to drive between them, you would be looking at a 35 mile journey. And similarly for Grasmere to Patterdale: on foot this is about eight miles, but by road it is nearer to 20. Nowadays, clearly, one probably would not set about walking eight or ten miles only to then embark on a day out on the fells; but in the past, such a feat was not seen as 'exceptional.' It seems likely that the road network has skewed people's ideas of the relative distances between places in the Lakes.

It is also worth considering how this mental shift—from walking everywhere to relying on motorised transport—has affected the singing tradition. As Edmund Porter told me: '[It was] the same with the sing-songs in that case—we used to walk because there wasn't the transport.'[208] It is interesting that most people I spoke to would blame the drink-driving ban for having a negative impact on the singing tradition, and yet they would also tell me how normal it once was to walk many miles before a day's

[203] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[204] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[205] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[208] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

hunting, stay to meet in the pub afterwards, and then walk home again. I am not suggesting that people should go back to walking home long distances from the pub—particularly in the dark and in the middle of winter—but it is curious to note how people's reliance on motor vehicles has so altered their willingness to travel by foot, and within a relatively short amount of time.

**The relationship between farming and hunting**

I have alluded several times now to the relationship between farmers, farms, and hunting, and how this may have affected the hunting song tradition. In the first instance, the hunting season has been made much shorter (see Edmund Porter's explanation of this in Chapter 2.2). This is mainly because farmers are now lambing much sooner than they used to. Traditionally, lambing did not start until around Easter; but, as Edward Liddle mentioned, there are some farms near him that 'start lambing now on the 17th of January.'[209] Indeed, my father knows some people who have started lambing in December, in response to the public's increasing demand for spring lamb. With lambs starting to appear on the fells earlier and earlier in the year, farmers have become more reluctant to allow access onto their land in case the hounds worry the sheep and lambs.[210] By curtailing the hunting season, the opportunity for singing to take place is also reduced.

Another way in which farms and farming have been traditionally related to hunting is through the hosting of the hounds and hunt staff when they were moving from village to village. Previously I stated that it could be inferred that farms and farmers were an integral part of supporting the hunt's activities, which appears to be true; but the hunt once also provided what was considered a vital service for farmers: vermin control. Most people I spoke to as part of my interviews agreed that, as Edward Liddle put it: 'It's just moved on. Farming and hunting have parted company.'[211]

This 'parting of company' most likely started when the hunt stopped its more nomadic ways, but if the hunt ever wanted to go back to such a system—even if just occasionally—it would be difficult because, as Neil Salisbury explained:

> The farms have disappeared. You know, the farms where they traditionally stopped have gone or they've… A lot of the farmers—the old farmers—have died, that were part of that social scene, you know. And nowadays, the youngsters or whoever's taken over,

[209] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[210] The idea that hounds might worry sheep and lambs was something that Mary Logan felt strongly was not actually the case writing in a note to me from March 2017: '[this] isn't true – disturbing the sheep, yes, but nothing more.'
[211] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

> aren't that involved, you know. The number of farmers that we see following the hounds has diminished quite a lot. Although we still have a lot of support from the farms by allowing us to go on their land, a lot of them are not active like they used to be.[212]

Tommy Coulthard supported the idea that farms were starting to disappear. He told me that when he moved to Watermillock in 1950, 'there were 31 holdings in the parish boundary—small farms … [but] now there's one working farm.'[213] Colin Armstrong partly explained why this has been happening: 'But times are changing. Out of necessity with a lot of it. Because a lot of farmers are hardly making a living out of the farms now. The sons can't say "Well I'll work for you, dad, for a bit".'[214] This certainly tallies with my own experience regarding changes in farming. My younger brother farms and still lives at home, but he has to go to another farm to work, since the family farm cannot really afford to employ him.

The hours that farmers have to work in order to make a living have also vastly increased. Mary Logan remarked sympathetically: 'You take lambing time, and they're lambing … I have a great-nephew who's just over in the Borders and, you know, it's a day and night job. By the time they've done that and looked after the farm they haven't time for anything else, really.'[215] And Edward Liddle agreed that 'there seems to be more pressure on farmers, or they take more pressure upon themselves.'[216] Because farmers are under this pressure, 'they don't come hunting and they don't get involved as much with the social side of it'[217]—including, of course, being involved with singing.

This has not always been the case, though. Colin Armstrong could remember that 'at one time you wouldn't be able to get near the bar after the hunt for the farmers.'[218] Even as recently as, perhaps, ten years ago, farmers would be much more involved with the singing tradition than they are now. Edward Liddle recalled how the Keswick Tup Fair—which happens at the end of May, after lambing time—would be a big social occasion for farmers, and 'they used to get singing in there, but now it isn't anything [like] what it was.'[219]

Farmers always used to be involved with walking the hounds for the hunt, too. But, as Edward Liddle explained: 'People who always walked the hounds … their sons will farm—or their grandsons—and

[212] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[213] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[214] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[215] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[216] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[217] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[218] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[219] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

they don't know anything about hunting; they've never seen hounds.'[220] Again, this goes back to Jacko's point about everything being related to money. Hill farmers have a very difficult time trying to make a living, and they have to prioritise their business. They do not have the time or resources now to walk the hounds, or provide accommodation or food for a traveling hunt, and they are too exhausted after work to attend social occasions organised by the hunt.

The hunt does still have good relationships with some farmers, though, since they need the landowners' permission to go hunting in the first place. Barry Todhunter told me that having his children involved in farming makes it much easier to communicate with local farmers. They can tell his son, for example, that it would be better if the hunt came a week or two later—which is never a problem for Barry—and this helps to maintain good relationships.[221]

The other change that has really happened in hill farming is the cessation, for the most part, of hiring farm lads. This is a change that has taken place noticeably even within my own lifetime. When I was little my family farm would employ at least a couple of young men throughout most of the year to help with jobs around the farm, particularly during times like lambing or siloing. By the time I was at primary school, though, due to changes in the economy, we were no longer taking on such help. Further back than my lifetime—and particularly before increased mechanisation—farms would hire in lads and would usually provide them with accommodation too, especially on the more isolated farms. Many of these men would spend a lifetime moving from farm to farm in this way, while some would view it as an apprenticeship before getting married and setting up their own farm, as was the case with my maternal grandfather.

As Eddie Pool mentioned: 'Every farm would have at least two lads working for them, well now they don't have anybody.'[222] The main result of this is a decreasing population living and working in the Lakes, and in rural communities throughout the United Kingdom more generally. Mary Logan explained the impact of this change on the hunting song tradition: 'Well, there aren't a lot of farm lads who are looking for somewhere to go at night—because they probably lodged in the farm houses, they didn't go home—it was an escape from the every day. But you see there's none of that really now.'[223]

Clearly the changes in farms and farming, through increased mechanisation and the deteriorating economic situation, have had a significant impact on hunting in the Lakes and, subsequently, the singing

[220] Ibid.
[221] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[222] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[223] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.

tradition. Reflecting on similar changes across England, Roud wrote: 'With the mechanisation of agriculture and the depopulation of country villages, harvest suppers and other rural gatherings dwindled, and singing to your tractor was not the same as singing to your horse.'[224] Perhaps the two most noteworthy effects of these changes are a resultant decrease in population and some overarching changes in the countryside and its way of life.

**A changing population and way of life**

Everyone that I spoke to during the course of my interviews commented on the changes they have seen in the population of the Lake District. It could be argued that increased mechanisation of farming was a catalyst for these changes, but there also appear to have been several other contributing factors.

It might be useful to start by first outlining the changes experienced by those I spoke to. Anne and Eddie Pool provide a particularly clear example, as they discussed how things have changed in Glenridding during their lifetimes:

> Anne Pool: You'd go down into Glenridding and walk up the village [and] you would know people in every single house. That's gone.
>
> Eddie Pool: Well, take when I was a kid—there's two Pitchfords, old Ken, Ken Brown, so that's three. And myself. [They're] the only real local people there [are] left. Out of what? 150, probably, at one time. And some of those houses—well, traditionally you were there for years and years.
>
> Anne Pool: I mean, everybody used to know everybody, and if you were coming down the road and knock[ed] on somebody's door, and you'd be in and out. And you could do it all the way down the road …
>
> Eddie Pool: Well, you just banged on the door and shouted "Somebody's wanting you," whereas now you don't even know who lives in them.[225]

Anne and Eddie's experience is arguably typical of that of many older people who have remained living in the same place throughout their lives, whether in a village or a city. Recall what Jacko said (see Chapter 2.1) about the purpose of the singing tradition: 'That's what it's all about I think—it's a community thing. But are there any communities left anymore?'[226] This is a wider social problem that I cannot fully explore within the limitations of this thesis, but the question of community does appear to be pertinent to the hunting song tradition.

[224] Roud, *Folk Song in England,* 388.
[225] Interview with Anne and Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[226] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

Jacko went on to give some examples of how his community has changed and told me that, when he was a child, 'you never locked your [front] door.'[227] His examples included coming home to find that your neighbour had brought your washing in for you because it had started raining, or that the milkman would notice that an older person might be ill if the milk from the day before had not been taken in: 'Well he wouldn't be found now would he? He'd be dead—it could be three or four days before anybody found him. And that's what it is—looking after your neighbour, I think.'[228] Again, similar stories are reported in urban areas too, but this does typify the more general changes that have occurred.

Tommy Coulthard told me that he feels that real Cumbrians are 'becoming a rare breed,'[229] while also being aware that 'I suppose we're totally different to the population 1000 years ago, because people have always moved around. Although not as much as they do nowadays.'[230] This, of course, links back to the improvements in transport I have discussed above; but who is living in these communities now if they are not 'real Cumbrians'?

I believe that the demise of the mining industry has also had an effect on the singing tradition, though no-one I spoke to explicitly cited this as a factor. Miners were mentioned in passing by several of my respondents; Tommy Coulthard, for example told me that there was a greater variety of songs and singing when the miners were involved, since different nationalities would be present—Irish, Scots and Italians, for example.[231] And Anne Pool mentioned that a lot of the houses in Glenridding used to be miner's cottages, whereas 'the majority now are holiday cottages.'[232]

The mining industry has employed a range of people in Cumbria—both locals and those from further afield—on and off for several centuries. One of the most prolific mines was the Greenside Mine near Glenridding, which eventually closed in 1961. This resulted in many redundancies and coincided with the period when mechanisation was starting to change farming practices. Many of the cottages in Glenridding and Glencoyne that had been built for the miners and their families have since been abandoned. Before 1960, though, the mining families were very much a part of the local community.

A pervasive set of changes in the Lakes can be linked to a changing demographic. The average age of residents, for example, has changed significantly. Anne and Eddie Pool have experienced this personally, and they told me anecdotally that the villages are now full of 'just old people, retired people

[227] Ibid
[228] Ibid.
[229] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Interview with Anne Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.

and there's just very few young'uns about.'[233] They verified this comment by referring to the change in numbers at their local school; as Anne told me: 'We have a school down the road there with between 30 and 40 children. Whereas when [Eddie] was at school there'd be over 100.'[234]

This is confirmed in a report produced by the Cumbria Intelligence Observatory (CIO) which compares 'the Mid-2005 to Mid-2015 Population Estimates produced by the Office for National Statistics.'[235] The report found that, between these times, the districts of 'Allerdale, Eden and South Lakeland experienced negative natural change.'[236] These are the three areas most often associated with tourism. Glenridding, for example, lies within the Eden district. The report also shows that, in Mid-2015, Cumbria had a much older age profile than the average in England and Wales, with approximately 23 percent of residents aged 45-59, and approximately 19 percent aged 60-74.[237] In addition to this, the report found that 'of the 348 local authority districts in England & Wales, South Lakeland and Eden have the 5th and 11th lowest proportions of residents aged 0-15 years respectively, while South Lakeland also has the 12th highest proportion of residents aged 65+.'[238] Finally, the report includes data about births in Cumbria from 1974 to 2015. Overall, there was a slight rise in the number of births from the late 1970s to the early 1990s (to just over 6,200), before a significant decrease by 2002 to just under 4,500, with an average of around 5,000 births per year since then.[239]

With an ageing population, and with village schools closing due to diminishing numbers, it is perhaps not surprising that Lakeland Hunting and its singing tradition has been affected. As Eddie Pool explained: 'Simply there's nobody to do it. See there'd be 100 people involved in [the past].[240] And Paul Edgar agreed: 'There just aren't [as many] people wanting to sing anymore.'[241]

There are still villages which seem to be thriving, though. Barry Todhunter was pleased to be able to tell me that Threlkeld still seems to be very much a 'locals'' village with a lot of community spirit. He

[233] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[234] Interview with Anne Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[235] Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, *Cumbria & Districts Ten Year Population Trends, Incorporating Mid-2005 to Mid-2015 Estimates* (Carlisle: Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, 2016), 1, accessed 2 February 2017. http://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Population_PopulationEstimates_Briefing_LongTermPopulationTrends_Cumbria_2015.pdf.
[236] Ibid, 4.
[237] Ibid, 5.
[238] Ibid, 6.
[239] Ibid, 8.
[240] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[241] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.

classed a community as somewhere with a thriving pub and school, and Threlkeld has both. There are around 80 children at the school currently, which, he told me, is quite impressive for a rural school.[242] But he acknowledged that, in most villages, increasing house prices mean that local people cannot afford to live there anymore. If those moving into the villages are older, as acknowledged in the CIO's report, then schools will continue to close. As Barry concluded, 'The singing can't continue without local people or the local pub—but these are shutting, too.'[243] Once more, this correlates with the changes seen in pubs in the Lakes. Pubs in villages which do not benefit from regular visits from tourists, or have not diversified into serving food, have been gradually closing over the years. The reduction in younger people in the Lakes and the ageing population are topics I will consider in more detail in Chapter 2.4.

The CIO has compiled some data about the numbers and impact of second homes on the county using, in particular, information from the 2011 census. In 2011 there were 240,149 household spaces in Cumbria and 18,107 (7.5 percent) of those contained no usual residents, whereas the average for England and Wales was 4.4 percent.[244] Looking at Cumbria's individual districts, it was found that 8.9 percent of households in Eden had no usual residents, with South Lakeland topping the list at 12.9 percent.[245] The report writers inferred from this data that 'it is likely that many of the household spaces with no usual residents were second addresses.'[246]

A further report by the CIO, using 2011 census data, on 'Second Address Estimates' found that 'South Lakeland and Eden ranked 3rd and 8th highest Local Authorities nationally for the rate of people with a second address located within the area for holiday purposes,' and 21,868 people from England & Wales had a second address located in Cumbria.[247] The conclusions of this second report make for particularly interesting reading:

> Cumbria's size, rural nature, relatively small population, and high visitor population (including those with second homes) present challenges in respect of pressures on

[242] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, *2011 Census Key & Quick Statistics, Housing Data, Cumbria & Districts* (Carlisle: Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, 2016), 2, accessed 2 February 2017. http://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Housing_CensusData_Briefing_CensusHousingCharacteristics_Cumbria_2011.pdf.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, *Briefing - 2011 Census - Second Address Estimates. Cumbria and Districts* (Carlisle: Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, 2011), 1, accessed 2 February 2017. http://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Housing_CensusData_Briefing_CensusSecondAddresses_Cumbria_2011.pdf.

> services and infrastructure, the cost of service delivery in rural areas, and attracting public investment. The county is disadvantaged by funding mechanisms for public services based on population which don't take into account visitors, including those in second homes.[248]

The report goes on to discuss the implications of second homes on local housing markets, stating that the 'affordability of housing [is] a particular issue in communities with high numbers of second homes.'[249]

From this we can infer that the hunting song tradition has probably been negatively affected by the non-resident or transient population. Tommy Coulthard, in particular, thought that 'one of the main reasons [for the decline in the singing tradition] is the change of country people that are occupying the countryside now.'[250] Even in communities which are deemed to be thriving, the number of holiday homes can be staggering, with Barry Todhunter informing me that in the last census there were 80 empty properties in Threlkeld,[251] a village with a population of just 423 at the time.

With increased numbers of tourists in the area, rather than permanent residents, the number of people available to take part in the hunting song tradition is greatly diminished. Jacko described how very few 'outsiders' try to get involved in hunting or its associated singing tradition, but he told me that he has also noticed that 'the people that do come in from the outside … do enjoy the night.'[252] He acknowledged that holidaymakers, in particular, might feel intimidated when 40 hunters walk into the pub, but he explained that they try to make tourists feel welcome. He told me that, by the end of the evening, the tourists 'don't want to go to bed … They're looking for the next person who's going to sing. And we've had one or two people that've got up and sung.'[253] This encouragement of 'outsiders' seems like a positive step towards creating an inclusive atmosphere, as well as a partial acceptance of how these communities have changed.

Among the interviewees, in general, there did seem to be a feeling of nostalgia for 'how things used to be.' Even Edward Liddle, who is a similar age to me, commented on how 'people aren't as involved with the countryside as they used to be' due to 'the expansion of towns.'[254] He also remarked that the

[248] Ibid, 12.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[251] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld
[252] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

area available for them to hunt on has diminished even during his lifetime 'because of urbanisation, traffic on the roads, and the change in farming.'[255]

This glorification of the past, especially in relation to changes in people's way of life in the countryside, is a topic that particularly resonates with me. Coming from a family with a strong connection to a particular place, it is easy for me to strongly identify with these ideas of how things 'used to be—that everything was better in the past—as these are stories I have heard throughout my upbringing. Communities were arguably more close-knit out of necessity; there were often not enough resources for everyone, so people *had* to share with their neighbours. There was no transport or choice of evening entertainment, so everyone *had* to go the hunt evenings. Furthermore, it is frustrating, as a local, to be crowded off the fells and out of the pubs by tourists, and yet they provide 20 percent of people in Cumbria with employment. It may be that these elements would be better analysed by someone with more of an 'outsider' perspective; someone with less nostalgia for how things 'used to be' in the countryside.

Overall, though, the changes in farming, increased numbers of tourists, an ageing population, and the increasing number of second homes in the area have all significantly affected the hunting song tradition, mainly because all contribute to a reduction in the number of 'local' people available to take part and carry on the tradition. However, these changes have not happened particularly suddenly, and it follows that there might be an argument for trying to make the social side of hunting more inclusive in the future. How this might be achieved is something I will consider in the conclusion of this thesis.

[255] Ibid.

## 2.4 To the Present

In the previous chapter we considered several changes seen in the Lakes' communities over the past 60 years or so. This chapter concerns more recent developments: changes in employment and culture among young people; the 2004 hunting ban, and other factors that emerged over the course of my interviews.

**Employment and housing for young people**

The traditional industries that once employed young people in Cumbria—such as farming and mining—have become less pervasive; and because of this, there is much less work available overall. The opportunities that remain are different in nature and differently located: many of the larger employers are based around the edges of the county (such as BAE Systems in Barrow-in-Furness, the Sellafield reprocessing plant on the west coast, and the Cumberland Infirmary and city-centre businesses in Carlisle), and much of the work available in the National Park is more likely to be seasonal and based around the tourist trade.

The CIO's September 2016 Employment Briefing shows that, after tourism, 'the biggest employment sectors in Cumbria in 2015 were manufacturing with 38,500 employees (16.3 percent of the total), health & social work with 31,700 (13.5 percent) and accommodation & food services with 28,400 (12.1 percent).'[256] This is compared with 2,300 employees (1.0 percent) in mining, quarrying & utilities, and just 1,100 (0.5 percent) in agriculture (exc. farms), forestry & fishing.[257] Slightly frustratingly, because farm data was not available for individual districts in Cumbria, those figures were removed from the CIO's report, for consistency. I have been able to estimate that, in 2018, there were around 7,900 people working on farms in Cumbria (based on 3,035 farms[258] and there being, on average, 2.6 people per farm[259]), so the numbers involved are still significant for the county (around 3 percent of total employment). This is, however, a much lower figure than around 20 years earlier: in 1995 there were

[256] Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, *Employment Briefing September 2016* (Carlisle: Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, 2016), 5, accessed 3 February 2017. http://www.cumbriaobservatory.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/EconomyEmployment_Briefing_EmploymentBRES_Cumbria_September2016.pdf.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Farm Business Survey, *Number of Farms: by Region and Farm Type. England: 2018/19* (DEFRA, 2019), accessed 26 January 2021.
http://www.farmbusinesssurvey.co.uk/DataBuilder/Default.aspx?Menu=Menu&Module=Results&rqREF=018013.
[259] Farming Statistics, *Agricultural facts - commercial holdings at June 2018: North West* (York: Farming Statistics, 2020), 1, accessed 26 January 2021.
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/866810/regionalstatistics_northwest_20feb20.pdf.

6,270 farms in Cumbria[260], more than double the amount recorded in 2018. This would certainly seem to correspond with some of changes noted in relation to farming in Chapter 2.3.

The CIO's data also shows that the industry that employs the most part-time workers was accommodation and food services, and that the districts with the highest proportion of part-time workers were Eden (37.9 percent of the employees), South Lakeland (36.8 percent) and Allerdale (36.4 percent),[261] the three areas most usually associated with tourism. Overall, these figures tell us that, though there are still plenty of employment opportunities in Cumbria, many of those are located around the perimeter of the county, and those that are available more centrally are more likely to be part-time.

This creates problems for young people, in particular, due to the cost of housing, especially in those central districts. The increasing number of second homes (noted in the previous chapter) has made existing properties less affordable. According to The RightMove website, the average price of a house in 2017 in the Lake District was £237,839 (up 4 percent since 2015);[262] in Cumbria as a whole the average price was £180,929 (up 3 percent on the previous year).[263] In comparison, in July 2016, the House Price Index reported the average price for a house in England to be £232,885.[264] From this it is clear that living in the Lake District is almost impossible for people of average means, particularly young people. Since a good deal of the available work is only part-time, actually living within the national park is just not an option for most.

Rental figures were much more difficult to find, but in 2017, it would appear that the average cost of renting a home in Cumbria was around £550 per calendar month.[265] But as Barry Todhunter put it, 'when holiday lets can make £500 to £700 a week, why would anyone opt for providing cheap private rentals?'[266]

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[260] Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs, Structure of the agricultural industry in England and the UK at June, Key results at 10 year intervals: 1900 to 2010. Published January 2010, accessed 26 January 2021. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/structure-of-the-agricultural-industry-in-england-and-the-uk-at-june.

[261] Cumbrian Intelligence Observatory, *Employment Briefing September 2016*, 9.

[262] "House Prices in Lake District", *rightmove*, accessed 3 February 2017, http://www.rightmove.co.uk/house-prices/Lake-District.html.

[263] "House Prices in Cumbria", *rightmove*, accessed 3 February 2017, http://www.rightmove.co.uk/house-prices-in-Cumbria.html.

[264] HM Land Regsitry, *UK House Price Index (HPI) for July 2016* (Croydon: HM Land Registry, 2016), accessed 3 February 2017. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-house-price-index-hpi-for-july-2016.

[265] "Current Rents: Cumbria", *Home.co.uk,* accessed 3 February 2017, http://www.home.co.uk/for_rent/cumbria/current_rents?county=cumbria.

[266] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.

From this data it seems likely that, due to the cost of housing and availability of work, many local people are having to move to the perimeters of Cumbria, or even out of the county altogether. This correlates with the anecdotal evidence collected from those I spoke to in my interviews.

Talking again about Glenridding (in the Eden district and the national park), Eddie Pool spoke of his family's experience and the effect that employment has had on the hunting and singing tradition:

> You see the advantage that [the Eskdale have]—there's lot of people employed. Whereas here there's nobody employed. Anybody that's leaving school they've got to go away. Well, I've got one lad working for British Airways now and the other lad's working for Pirelli in Carlisle. Well, they don't go hunting—they have nothing at all to do with it. Whereas once they'd all go in the bloody mines or on the farms and that was it.[267]

And Anne Pool continued: 'Well, you see, if our kids had stayed here they wouldn't have been able to afford to buy a house. There's just no way.'[268]

Those I spoke to, especially within the national park, were very aware of the prohibitive cost of housing, particularly for younger people. Barry Todhunter told me about some 'affordable' homes that were recently built in Threlkeld with prices starting at £375,000,[269] and Mary Logan's neighbours in Ambleside had their two-bedroom bungalow on the market for £575,000 when I spoke to her.[270] In addition to this, Ted Potter and Neil Blenkinship discussed how 'local folk' have to move out into the towns, but then 'they never come back—because they can't afford to.'[271]

Concerns about work and affordable housing once again link back to Jacko's thoughts about the effect of money on the singing tradition. He related to me his own experience as a young person in that region, contrasting that with the present day:

> It's all about money. When I first worked on a farm it was about £22 a week—my wages. And so I went on to the pipeline—£100 a week … You know, you do [it] for the money, don't you? And whereas the farm lads work on a farm at home … there's no money in it. And so they're like "I don't want to take over [the farm]—I don't want that off him. I'll make my own way in life." … So they get a little flat or rent somewhere … And they move out of the village. And they very rarely go back.[272]

[267] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[268] Interview with Anne Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[269] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[270] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[271] Interview with Ted Potter and Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[272] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

Some young people do still work in the Lakes but, as Barry Todhunter explained, 'they have to move out of the area to afford to live,' and then 'it's a long way to drive in for a singing or social do. And someone has to drive from Penrith or Workington or wherever.'[273] Again, this links back to the consequences of the drink-driving ban, discussed in Chapter 2.3. Because full-time employment is largely confined to the perimeters, there has emerged a noticeable geographical divide between the Packs that are based in more 'touristy' areas and those that are nearer to young people's places of work. The Eskdale & Ennerdale Pack in particular, have a burgeoning group of youngsters who are starting to regularly attend singing occasions. This surely results in part from the many more employment opportunities that exist on the west coast—and housing is much more affordable, too.

The Ullswater Pack, often considered one of the main singing Packs, is also still managing to retain a few younger singers. Despite, as Paul Edgar told me, many young people 'leav[ing] the village … there's one or two around here still that still sing.'[274] It could be the case that there are still some younger people living in the Ullswater's area because housing *is* so expensive; to purchase their own home may well be impossible, and so they may be choosing to remain at home with their parents into adulthood.

With more young people moving to the peripheries of Cumbria or away from the county altogether, due to increased housing prices and the need to find work, the hunting song tradition seems to have been adversely affected. Once young people move away, some lose any connection they once had with the tradition, while those who do wish to continue their association face long journeys and expensive taxi fares in order to take part.

**Changing interests**

The reduction in the number of young people coming along to carry on the singing tradition appears to have been happening for a number of years, if not decades. The people I spoke to in my interviews thought that, in addition to the changing demographics and the availability of work, a major factor was a broader cultural change in people's interests.

In many ways, this change has been very much linked to improvements in transport. As more people gained access to their own cars and shifted from mainly working on the land to a salaried (and even sometimes disposable) income, many more leisure options became available. Gone were the days

[273] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[274] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.

when attending hunting socials was the only form of entertainment available. As a result, nowadays, as Edward Liddle put it: 'The songs, [those] sort of dos—they're out of fashion now.'[275]

This shift from 'everyone' being involved in the social side of hunting to how things are today seems to have been triggered by a variety of things. Because the hunt no longer stays in different areas for a week at a time, fewer people now have regular access to the tradition. Edward Liddle told me about the difference this has made for his generation, compared to his parents':

> Lads my age would all be playing darts on a Friday night, but their parents … at our age they hunted. Because the hounds used to go and stay … they would stay at Borrowdale for a week and … there were different people there that week so they would all go down to the pub. It was more of a social occasion—to get together.

As discussed previously, this practice ceased in part because of improved transport, which in turn provided those who had once been actively involved in hunting with greater opportunities to pursue different interests.

In addition to cars, more people have also come to own televisions. According to the Broadcasters' Audience Research Board, in 1956 (when my father was born), 36.5 percent of British homes had a television, but in just ten years this figure had risen to 86.5 percent. By 1989, the year of my birth, this had risen to 97.2 percent.[276] Increased television ownership brought to the region greater access to, and knowledge of, things taking place both regionally, nationally and internationally. When I asked Tommy Coulthard why he thought singing nights were not as popular as they had once been, he replied: 'Television, possibly, as well. Somebody wants to go home and see the football match that's on or whatever.'[277] The generation that followed Tommy Coulthard (who, remember, had never been further east than Threlkeld until 1950—see Chapter 2.3) thus not only had more opportunities available to them through cars and improved transport, but also a greater knowledge of those opportunities and the wider world in general, in part due to increased reliance on television.

Colin Armstrong made an interesting remark in relation to this, too, when talking to me: 'You've just got to take yourself as an example—and I'm not being funny in any way. How many farmers' daughters would ever have thought—one or two generations back—of doing what you are doing? How many of them went to university or college or anything?'[278] And indeed, all sorts of people from rural

[275] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[276] "TV Ownership", *Broadcasters' Audience Research Board*, accessed 3 February 2017, http://www.barb.co.uk/resources/tv-ownership/.
[277] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[278] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

communities have been able to access higher education over the past few decades—people for whom, in the past, it was simply not an option. This is particularly true for people who would have been expected to leave school as soon as possible to join—and eventually take over—the family farm or business. Away from home to pursue their education, these young people were more likely to develop different interests from those they had grown up with. Barry Todhunter summarised all this succinctly: 'Times and attitudes change—modern life has changed.'[279]

It seems that this change really started to happen during my parents' generation, with people born in the 1950s-1970s. As Edward Liddle told me, 'Maybe not my generation or younger, because they've never been brought up with it. It's the generation—their parents—that hunted a bit. They were the ones that made the change. To stop going or didn't really bother starting.'[280] Looking a little further back, Edmund Porter told me that when he was young, 'there wasn't the same entertainment. Nowadays going to Whitehaven or wherever the young'uns can have a night out, but the older people, we used to have hunt balls every Friday night.'[281]

In general, a disconnect seems to have occurred between local people and the hunting and singing tradition. A whole generation was given access to new things and more opportunities, and the social side of hunting seems to have particularly suffered because of this. People who are now in their twenties or thirties, perhaps, have not grown up within the tradition, so singing hunting songs is no longer viewed as a 'normal' thing in which everyone participates.

Another change noted by several of my respondents is the development of technology. As Colin Armstrong observed: 'A lot of the young ones now that would've been coming out hunting, even on the farms … they're strapped to the computer.'[282] Barry Todhunter and Neil Salisbury both felt that social media had negatively impacted the singing tradition. Barry talked to me about today's society, in which everything needs to be instantaneous, so people might not feel like they have time to listen to a hunting song with 25 verses.[283]

Despite this, Barry also felt that, even though young people might be talking to each other all day online, this is not the same as people meeting face to face—and people are starting to become aware of this. He went on to comment that there are arguably too many things available for us all to do nowadays,

[279] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[280] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[281] Interview with Edmund Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[282] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[283] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.

that everyone leads such a fast-paced life. He felt that, in time, people may well come back to the singing tradition: 'things can only go so far before people want to go back to a slower pace [of life].'[284]

In summary, it seems that over the past 60 years or so, people's interests have changed because of improved transport, access to the wider world through media and education, and developments in technology. All these have contributed to a generational disconnect in the Lakes; it appears that at least one generation has now grown up without the access to or interest in the social side of hunting as was typical in the past. Mary Logan felt that it was actually in my generation (those in their twenties and thirties) that the big change had taken place, but she added that 'you could see it slowly creeping down to that, you know. It was always the ones that were a bit older that did the [singing].'[285] Similar feelings were noted by Dunn, who concluded: 'The incursion of the mass media into rural life has undoubtedly removed the need for people to provide their own entertainment.'[286]

**The loss of the old 'characters'**

Everyone I spoke to seemed to hold some kind of nostalgia for the old 'characters' or 'gentlemen' who were once a major part of the tradition. I do not really find this nostalgia to be misplaced; I know exactly what they mean through growing up in a similar community. I miss seeing, at least with the same frequency, the older gentlemen who would wear a suit and hat whenever they left the house, would always stop to pass the time of day with you, and would have a cheeky sparkle in their eye—a love for a little bit of mischief. It seems there was often a sense of respect granted to that sort of person, but the next generation does not seem to have 'graduated' to fill their place.

Much like the song 'strikers' in the West Sheffield tradition,[287] in the hunting song tradition, the main role played by these old 'characters' was as chair of a singing evening. As Jacko explained, 'the trouble is the chairmans [sic] now, have sort of like … they've passed on.'[288] He continued by describing to me the impact of this:

> I mean we're 56 year old – we're getting to be the old ones now. But we still class ourselves as the young'uns. And they've said for years: "Well, you lot should be chairing, them." You know, like Tom O'Malley, he's chaired a few. He's joint master at the Ullswater, is Tom, now. He's chaired a few … But they can't get order like the old fellas

[284] Ibid.
[285] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[286] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song*, 156.
[287] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 126.
[288] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

> could. You know, like Arthur Wells'd just get up and say … tap his stick on the table, and that was it—quiet. And if you didn't want to sing, you didn't have to sing. But he'd just ask you—gentlemanly.

Neil Salisbury reported a similar situation with the Coniston Foxhounds, telling me:

> I think a lot of it … the older ones, the older people have died off. The ones that are old now, their voices have gone so they don't particularly like singing as much and, as I say, the youngsters haven't had that kind of grounding that we had, by having something on every week.[289]

Neil articulates well here how—both because today's younger people have not grown up with the tradition in the same way their parents or grandparents might have done and because of the passing of those who were really the tradition's life-blood—the tradition now finds itself in a state of decline, without anyone to really carry it on.

It is also interesting to note how many of the people I spoke to did not feel that they were able to take on the role of chairman, despite presumably being of a similar age now to those who chaired singing dos when they first started singing.

Neil Blenkinship, who has chaired several of the evenings I have attended, spoke about the effect that a lack of order at singing evenings has had on the tradition:

> [The sing-songs] are slowly dying out because once when you were at a hunt do, they always used to get really quiet didn't they? The whole pub used to go quiet—when order was shouted that was it. But now … you've just got to make the best of it haven't you?[290]

It seems to me that this problem is all to do with respect. I have been to one evening with Neil chairing where some good order was kept but, as he told me when we discussed this, this was largely accomplished because the pub was fairly empty; those who wanted to chat were able to go round to another bar area. Nevertheless, in general it could be argued that those now trying to chair the evenings perhaps do not feel that they deserve the same level of respect as those who used to chair. If they do not believe in themselves or their ability to do the job, those in attendance are less likely to respond when order is called.

This could, again, result in part from changes in these communities over recent years. In the past, when everyone knew everybody else, those who would chair such evenings were most likely viewed as community leaders. But nowadays it seems that the structure of these communities has changed; there just does not seem to be the same hierarchy in operation. Jacko told me about one of the notable

[289] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[290] Interview with Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.

consequences of the loss of hierarchical authority. When he first started singing, he said, the old men would 'push you on to get you up. Because they wanted to hear something different. They sang their bits, [then] "Get some young'uns up—that's what you need"—and that's how we got started.'[291] I have not myself witnessed a similar encouragement of new or younger singers, and I infer that it does not tend to happen anymore. This could spring from a reduced self-confidence on the part of those now chairing the evenings; or, because the chairs are not as likely to know everyone anymore, they may not know who would or would not be interested in having a go at singing.

I had initially thought that this change could also be connected to changes in people's relationships with alcohol over the years—that people of my parents' generation and younger tend to drink more than those from previous generations. However, stories such as this from Edward Liddle helped to change my mind:

> Well Gordon Stagg who used to farm up the valley, and Harry Hardisty who was the huntsman here? Gordon had a van and they parked it outside the Packhorse pub in Lorton and came out absolutely wrecked, and somebody was in his van—was pinching it—and they push started it for him—they didn't know it was their van—and then it'd gone. It was somebody who'd got in it and was pinching it and they'd push started it for them! You know, that was after a hunting do, and that's just the sort of things that happened like.[292]

Tales such as this really were, for me, one of the highlights of conducting these research interviews. There are many that I could choose from, but one story that perhaps typifies how the old 'characters' ran these evenings (where there was always a lot of fun to be had) came from Colin Armstrong:

> I think the drink was stronger then, but … Oh we had some fantastic nights in the pub. I was going to the Kirkstile [Inn] just down the road there, and there was always characters. We used to just go around the room—round and round and round—and I remember Harry Hardisty, when he always chaired he'd come back, do the hounds … and we'd be in there … In those days it was nothing like it was now—there'd be an old log fire on and you couldn't see for the smoke and all the windows were open, even in the middle of winter! Smoke going out of the windows—everybody coughing, puffing away on Woodbines, and they just went round and did something. Harry's favourite was "I don't care if you sing, tap dance on a table or do party tricks with cards, but you do

[291] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[292] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

> something." And he came round one day to Stan Elwood. Stan was sat with [his] feet on the bottom of the bench, and his backside on the back of the bench we were sat on, and the window was open behind him, just to let the smoke out. And he'd come round and Harry would say "Right, Stan—it's up to you—I don't care what you do, but you're doing summat." "I can do nowt—I can't sing, I can't dance, and I can't…" "Well, you're no good!" and Harry knocked him clean through the window. Clean out, shut the window and was "Right, it's you" [to the next person]. Stan flat on his back, couldn't get up—full of drink … Aye, the characters aren't there anymore. [293]

This kind of event is great material for song writing, but stories like this do not seem to happen, at least in the same way, anymore. My own grandparents told me similar stories (though curiously without alcohol being involved!) about things that happened when they were younger. It seems likely that these sorts of events—and an interest in narrating them—happened more often when people had to make their own entertainment. There is also a 'harmlessness' that comes with this sort of tale—it is that twinkle in the eye of those older gentlemen that seems to have disappeared now. Unfortunately, one can imagine that pushing someone out of a window nowadays would likely result in a fight, especially if alcohol was involved.

Among these old 'characters,' a couple who were often cited as particularly good singers or songwriters were Arthur Wells and Bill Crisp. Bill Crisp was a prolific songwriter, and a booklet of some of his favourite songs was made after his death, with many still being performed today. Arthur Wells[294] was another old gentleman who was highly regarded; as Tommy Coulthard recounted, 'he was the instigator of the Dacre committee having a yearly singing competition. And that brought a lot of songs out you see. And so that was a good thing.'

But as these old 'characters' have died, then so have many of the hunting songs. Linda Porter told me about how she had missed one older gentleman at a singing night just recently because his dementia had progressed so much that he could not remember his songs anymore: 'When you grow up with these guys you think they're going to last forever, don't you? And it didn't enter my head that that's the reason he wasn't there, you know, because he's always been there. He's like the fixtures and fittings.'[295] Neil Blenkinship regretfully explained that 'as the old ones are dying out, some of the songs that they sing are

[293] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[294] In his letter to me about the draft of this work, Tommy Coulthard was keen to point out that it was actually Arthur Wells, Pat O'Malley, and a committee that started the Dacre Hunt Committee Song Contests. He went on to write that this was one of the first ever hunting song contests and one of the most popular.
[295] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

going with them and all because nobody knows them apart from them, you see … You know, even if a song's wrote down, you don't know what tune it's to.'[296]

Clearly the loss of songs that have only been sung by one person is problematic for the continuation of the singing tradition. The idea that songs almost 'belong' to certain people was fairly prevalent amongst those I spoke to. As Tommy Coulthard put it: 'Each chap would have his particular song.'[297] Jacko told me about one of his friends, who only knows one song, so if somebody else uses a songbook to sing it, for example, then his friend will not be able to get up and sing that evening.[298]

As older people die, 'their' songs, which are then likely to be lost forever, go with them. This is, though, arguably part of what constitutes a living tradition. It is sad if a particularly good song is never heard again because it was only known by one person, but perhaps what made it so special was that it was that particular person's song. New songs are still being written and performed, so maybe one should not be so concerned about this phenomenon.

An additional factor arose when several of my respondents attributed the declining attendance of older people to tensions created by the hunting ban. I will discuss below some more general effects of that ban on the singing tradition, but two aspects of the ban appear to have particularly affected older people's participation in the hunting and singing tradition.

Jacko told me about how many older people, in particular, will still go out for a day's hunting but will not stay for social occasions because 'they don't want the hassle of … "Oh if the antis come in the pub, what do we do, like?" You know, they're not like us. We would just say "Get out." And that would be it.'[299] This seems to be similar to Barry Todhunter's concern about causing a confrontation if someone in the pub took offence at the topic or language of a song.

The other consequence that seems to have affected older people is the reluctance now to produce hunt cards. In the past, each Fell Pack would produce a hunt card (like a fixtures card in sport) that would list all of a season's meets and would be available to anyone who wanted a copy. Indeed, it is because my parents received the Lunesdale Foxhounds' hunt card that I was able to start this research in the first place. But since around 2012, the hunt cards have started to be phased out; it was felt that their existence made it too easy for hunt saboteurs to know where the hunt was likely to be going that day. Instead of the hunt card, most meets are now organised by text or email, so that last-minute changes of

[296] Interview with Neil Blenkinship, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[297] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[298] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[299] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

location can be made more easily. But this, as Tom Sanderson told me, has made it 'hard for the older folk to know where to go each week'[300] because many of them do not own a computer or mobile phone. Without knowing where meets are likely to take place, older people in particular are attending less and less; and since they are often the main instigators of a sing-song, this is negatively affecting the singing tradition.

**The effect of the hunting ban**

The Hunting Act 2004 banned the hunting of wild animals with dogs in England and Wales and came into force on 18 February 2005. We have seen that many of the changes experienced by the hunting song tradition started to come about in the mid-to-late twentieth century. Many people, however, learning about my PhD research, have asked me if the tradition was negatively impacted by the hunting ban—which, of course, is decades later than most of the factors I have so far identified. What has been really interesting, though, is the split in the responses I received throughout the course of my interviews. There is a fairly even divide between those who believe the hunting ban has had no effect on the singing tradition and those who believe it has indeed made a difference.

Though there are exceptions, it is perhaps worth noting here that most Lakeland Hunting Songs do not usually serve as protest songs, nor are they performed to defy the ban overtly. As Edward D. Ives surmised when studying the satirical song-making tradition of Northeast America, this could be because 'we are working with a song tradition among groups which have been notoriously unorganized: farmers, fishermen, and woodsmen.'[301] There is certainly an aspect of my own upbringing which rings true here; my parents drilled into me from an early age the ethos that 'life isn't fair.' It seems that this attitude–one of self-determination–certainly comes from the realities of working a hill farm: there is no time to complain or unionise because no-one else is going to get up and feed your sheep for you at 5 o'clock every morning.

Of those who thought the ban had not really been detrimental, responses ranged from Paul Edgar, who said, '[The hunting ban] hasn't helped, but we still carry on,'[302] to Tommy Coulthard, who told me that, in fact, the hunting ban had actually encouraged more people to go and support the Fell Packs.[303]

[300] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[301] Ives, *Larry Gorman*, 180.
[302] Interview with Paul Edgar, 17 January 2016, Glenridding.
[303] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

Neil Salisbury seemed to concur with this opinion when he responded: 'I don't think the ban's had any effect on the singing. I mean we still … we're still here and our support's grown.'[304]

Similarly, when I asked this question of Linda Porter and Edward Liddle, they both replied that they did not think the ban had impacted the social side of hunting—that it was rather the drink-driving ban and the changes in communities that had had the greatest effect: 'Not to the social side, I don't think. I think it's the drink-driving and the people have changed—their lifestyles have changed.'[305]

To all these people, then, it appears that, after a period of uncertainty when the ban first came in, either nothing has changed for them, or they feel that, if anything, continuing the singing tradition can be viewed almost as an act of defiance.

Sue Allan noted something similar in her thesis. There she wrote: 'Hunting songs were held up as an example of rural Cumbrian heritage under threat, in much the same way that Victorian and Edwardian collectors warned that the nation's folk song heritage was disappearing.'[306] Indeed, many new songs were written around this time, protesting the ban, and several Lakeland Hunting Songs became 'anthems' in resistance to it, including 'D'ye ken John Peel.' I once performed 'The Sedbergh Hunt' at a song night and got an enthusiastic reception—which was unexpected, since I did not feel I sang particularly well. After I sat down, another singer told me that that song had been sung at the 2002 'Liberty and Livelihood' march to London and so had become synonymous with resistance to the hunting ban. Apparently this unintentionally ingratiated me with some of the singing community.

However, the other half of my interviewees viewed the effect of the hunting ban quite differently. Barry Todhunter told me that 'the ban killed impromptu singing in this area' and Ted Relph agreed that '[singing] flourished alright when there was no law against hunting.'[307] Kenny Stuart also thought that the hunting ban had really compounded the issue, making fewer people willing to sing in more recent years.[308]

Barry Todhunter's comment—that impromptu singing has declined following the hunting ban—may also exemplify a more general concern about who might be listening if singing were to start. A similar occurrence in the West Sheffield tradition was noted by Russell, who wrote that 'the presence of strangers noticeably delayed the start. The conditions necessary to create the right atmosphere for singing are finely poised'[309]—and Sheffield singers had far fewer concerns about a potentially violent or hostile reaction to

[304] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[305] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[306] Allan, 'Folk Song in Cumbria,' 226.
[307] Interview with Ted Relph, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[308] Interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.
[309] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 186.

the singing. If those active in the Lakeland tradition do not know others in attendance, they are likely to assume that those others are in favour of the hunting ban, or even actively anti-hunting, which could lead to unwanted friction. As Mary Logan commented: 'It's how they can keep going really, without causing offence, isn't it?'[310] Perhaps there is an argument to be made for greater education or a broader awareness of the singing tradition, so that it can continue without singers fearing confrontation from people who happen to be listening.

A further point made by Mary Logan was that, since the hunting ban, the hounds can only go out on trails: 'So there wouldn't be much that they could write about now. Just the trails or if inadvertently they got off a trail and onto a live animal, you know. So it's destroyed all that sort of media of making these songs up now, in these last few years.'[311] This is a very interesting observation and one that I had not considered until speaking with Mary. Of course, not all of the songs in my collection are about hunting per se; but the traditional songs that *are* about hunting, in which a particularly epic chase is remembered, can no longer be written if they are not occurring. People can still write songs about their dogs or famous huntsmen, but there is a whole genre of song that may soon become endangered because of the hunting ban.

**Further causes and consequences**

In several of my conversations there emerged other factors that were linked to the decline in the singing tradition, either as causes or as consequences.

The first of these, though mentioned by only two of my respondents, is the 2001 foot-and-mouth disease outbreak. Jacko felt strongly that the outbreak had had a significant effect on the singing tradition: 'I think that was the thing that spoilt it like. Was the foot-and-mouth year.'[312] He told me that the hunts were restricted in their movement during this time, since farmers were concerned about footfall across their land, and for a whole year people in the countryside simply avoided meeting up.

This is something I can confirm from my own experiences. Until 2001 my family would spend most weekends out walking or doing other outdoor activities; but during the outbreak, especially with our farm in mind, we stayed at home much more to avoid contamination. As a result, we just got out of the habit of going out as much as we once did, and we found new activities to occupy us in the interim. It seems

[310] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.

that a similar response may well have characterised those involved with Lakeland Hunting (particularly those from farming families) and that consequently interest in the singing tradition waned.

Tommy Coulthard also mentioned foot-and-mouth twice during our conversation. The first time was in relation to the Winder Hall singing competition, which took place for many years up until the outbreak. Tommy told me that the family who farmed there stopped farming after foot-and-mouth in 2001, and the singing event also ceased at that time.[313] At a second time, Tommy observed that, because of 'the Foot & Mouth, that folks weren't getting together as they used to' and so 'the sing-songs were dying out.'[314] Because of this he initiated an annual singing do at the Hired Lad in Penrith, which he thinks has helped with keeping some regular singing going.

In a telephone conversation, after having read a draft of this work, Colin Armstrong also told me that one of the additional aims of the Country Voices project was to raise money for the Fell Packs during the foot-and-mouth outbreak. Until this time the Packs would often use fallen stock as food for the hounds, but this was prohibited during the outbreak. Because of this, the Packs had to buy in a great deal of additional food, which had its own cost implications; so this was yet another considerable effect the outbreak had on the Fell Packs.[315]

Since conducting my interviews, and having given this idea some more thought, I believe there is a strong case to be made that the 2001 foot-and-mouth outbreak had a significant impact on the singing tradition. It might be interesting, in the future, for someone to conduct a discrete study of the cultural consequences of this disease; I understand, for example, that many of the traditional Shepherds' Meets also stopped after the outbreak.

Another area of interest is the performance of really long songs, particularly those with quite complicated narratives. I have encountered some strong feelings about whether it is acceptable to use written aids while performing; and this is linked both to ideas about ownership of songs—a song 'belongs to' a particular singer—and to notions about what the tradition really *is*.

Particularly keen singers might sing up to six different songs in a night. Tom Sanderson recounted an especially memorable evening with Anthony Barker (a war-time huntsman of the Ullswater Foxhounds and one of these old 'characters'): 'But he sang about six songs that night and I said "I don't know how

[313] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Colin Armstrong, telephone conversation with the author, April 2017.

you can remember all these," and there'd be maybe ten or 12 or 14 verses in each song. And he said "I could sing all night … I know so many songs."'[316]

Different people have adapted different strategies for remembering such songs themselves. Edward Liddle told me that when he was supposed to be studying for his GCSEs, he would 'just write hunting songs out,'[317] over and over, until they stayed in his memory. Neil Salisbury's father worked in an engineering factory and would compose songs (and presumably practise or memorise them) while sitting at his machine.[318] Linda Porter told me about a lad she knows who sings a particularly complicated song with lots of verses; when she asked him how he had remembered it:

> he said "it's when I'm milking … I get fed up [at work] … so I thought I might as well learn a song." "Well, I'm fine, I was fine with it, but," he says, "my cows are gay[319] pissed off!" He said, "my cows kept looking at me as if to say, oh shut up!"[320]

From these examples one might infer that manual or repetitive work was conducive to the continuation of the singing tradition. If one has to spend several hours every single day milking cows, then a great way to pass the time might be through learning a hunting song. Russell, too, writes about how singing at work could help to alleviate the tedium of manual jobs.[321] One might conclude that, as people have moved away from these traditional industries, they have less and less time in their everyday lives available for memorising a variety of songs.

However, using words that have been written down as a prompt during a singing night does seem to be frowned upon. As Jacko told me: 'You get a lot of people now open the song book up … To be honest, if you're reading something off a page, you could sing every song in the book, couldn't you?'[322] He went on to connect this to the friend mentioned earlier: because he only knows one song, if someone else sings 'his' song using words from the book, he will be particularly upset at not being able to perform that evening—especially since he could have sung it from memory. Linda Porter appeared to express a similar opinion when she gave the following example: 'She used to open a book, and it wasn't the same, I have to admit, because, I don't know, there's just something about doing it … letting it flow … [rather] than reading it. It seems [that] anybody can just read it.'[323]

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[316] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[317] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[318] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.
[319] Cumbrian dialect for 'really' or 'very.'
[320] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[321] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 205.
[322] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[323] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

These unwritten yet ubiquitous rules about song ownership appear to be shared across England; they are found not only in the Lakes, but also in the vernacular singing traditions of East Norfolk, West Sheffield,[324] and North Yorkshire.[325] Dunn covers this subject in great detail and would likely sympathise with Jacko's friend: 'If a singer has a small repertoire, he cannot afford to have his songs taken from him in his lifetime, as this leaves him with very little to perform and thus undermines or even destroys his position as a singer in the local community.'[326] However, in the hunting song tradition (since singing occasions have become less frequent), memories for song words may not be flexed as much as they once were. Since there has been a gradual move towards fewer, but predominantly organised sing-songs, at which the singers may be somewhat unfamiliar with each other's repertoires, there is arguably a greater chance of inadvertently 'stealing' someone else's song.

Hence Jacko and Linda's unease at the use of written song words is certainly something I share indirectly: there *is* something a bit more special about these songs when they are performed from memory. However, considering that people perhaps have less time available to memorise such songs, and that the singing tradition is often perceived as struggling to continue, an argument could be made for accepting the use of written words as a prompt. This would, after all, ensure that at least some singing does take place. Nevertheless, I have been at some song nights where tensions have risen somewhat when a singer has performed using written words—a response that might well discourage would-be new singers. Conversely, one could argue that this is simply a matter of priorities: learning even a very long song is certainly still possible if one chooses to devote the necessary time to it.

It is perhaps worth clarifying here some ideas about song 'ownership.' Because there are much fewer people writing new songs today, there has arisen a difference between a song that 'belongs' to a singer because they wrote it and a song that 'belongs' to someone because it is one they always perform. I was led to believe by Kenny Stuart that often, in the past, songwriters did not want their songs sung by other people;[327] but, on the other hand, both Kenny and Denis Westmorland (as songwriters) have told me how they are both delighted when they hear other people singing 'their' songs.

Kenny Stuart clarified the nature of song writing in a very interesting conversation in which we discussed some of my working drafts. He observed that the hunting song tradition had started while we lived in a more 'parochial world' and that most people's superstars nowadays are no longer their local huntsmen, unlike in the past: 'You can't write a hunting song about David Beckham or Justin Bieber, can

[324] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 8.
[325] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 48.
[326] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song,* 197.
[327] Kenny Stuart, telephone conversation with the author, April 2017.

you?' Kenny felt that from the time of 'Johnny Richardson [huntsman of the Blencathra, 1949-1988] onwards, there hasn't been the same type of songs written.'[328] This, coupled with Mary Logan's thoughts about the effect the hunting ban had on available material for song writing (discussed above), perhaps displays the potential difficulties faced by song writers looking for contemporary source material.

Further research is needed, specifically about songwriters and song-writing (or song-making). I would like to see if the various influences that have effected change on the singing tradition as a whole have perhaps also led to a decline in song writing. There are comparisons to be made: between the number of 'active' songwriters today with a few decades ago; between the length of songs then and now; and so forth. What is clear, though, is that the 'song-making' process is relatively similar to that seen in north-eastern America (in the cases of song-makers such as Larry Gorman, Joe Scott, and Paul E. Hall), as well as the Scottish Highlands (with Iain MacNeacail). Setting new words to borrowed tunes allows 'the text and its story-telling qualities [to take the] dominant [role] in the song performance.'[329] However, it does not seem to be the case that Lakeland song-makers are seen as being eccentric or 'held somewhat apart from the community around [them].'[330]

'Ownership' of songs has a further consequence regarding their performance and the use of written aids. Colin Armstrong offered the following story:

> Well, I was down entertaining for the Bleasdale Beagles a couple of weeks ago—down below Kendal—and that song of Bill Crisp's—I sing it all the time—and I got half-way through and I just blanked. And I've never ever done that before. And I couldn't remember it, and it's a song—I think you'll probably find the same thing—if somebody sings a particular song regularly or all the time, it then becomes their song so nobody else sings it. Well, there wasn't anybody that could put me right![331]

It appears that, in the past, if one 'blanked' on a particular verse, someone in the audience would try to help by mouthing the words at you. This still does take place, but only when the song is quite well-known and regarded as common property. But as long as songs continue to be viewed as 'belonging' to a particular person, it seems that the kind of problem that Armstrong described will likely persist.

Edward Liddle and Jacko both spoke to me about the frustration and confusion they have felt when blanking on a song that they have maybe known their whole lives, comparing it to writers' block.

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[328] Ibid.
[329] J. F. Szwed, 'Paul E. Hall: a Newfoundland song-maker and community of song,' in *Folksongs and Their Makers*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1979), 155.
[330] Ibid, 157.
[331] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

Edward told me about how, once you have sat back down again, 'all of a sudden you start singing it in your head again and it's there. Now, how you ever got it wrong you wouldn't know, but it just happens.'[332] Jacko proposed that the reason that people are starting to struggle with remembering songs is a consequence of the reduced frequency of singing occasions. He told me that often he has to try and remember how his own songs go, 'whereas [if] you're singing it every week, it's just second nature.'[333] Because song nights no longer occur every week, singers are expected to perform from memory, and many songs are only sung by one person, occurrences of 'blanking' are likely to continue. The fact that song nights take place much less frequently than they once did could also be viewed as an argument towards 'permitting' the occasional use of written words.

A final change that was noted during my interviews was that people involved in the singing tradition no longer seem to view themselves as being 'musical.' I have heard the majority of my interviewees sing, and I am of the opinion that they are indeed musical and certainly able to hold a tune—even after several pints! I find this lack of confidence slightly curious as, from my understanding of the tradition, the quality of the performance or someone's singing voice is of secondary importance, compared with the act of actually joining in. This is as much the case here as it was in the East Norfolk pub singing tradition: 'By far the clearest point voiced by singers and audience was simply that the act of performing was what mattered—playing your part in the conviviality of the proceedings. Less-than-perfect performances were not just tolerated but accepted as valid contributions.'[334]

During my interviews there were several times when people claimed that past generations had been more musical. This perceived loss of musicality arguably links back to the loss of the old 'characters.' It seems that, as a result, those remaining lack the confidence in their abilities to sing as well as those great singers from the past, and to chair an evening in the way that it used to be done. For example, as Eddie Pool told me: 'Well, as I say, the youngsters—I don't know why it is—but they can't sing. Everybody had a piano in their house once over. And everybody could play a piano. Well … it's all gone.'[335] Ted Relph mentioned that, in the past, singing was just something that everyone did and that travelling fiddlers in the area would often 'come round and play and sing.'[336] Tommy Coulthard could also remember the fiddlers and added that there would also often be melodeons accompanying sing-songs.[337]

[332] Interview with Edward Liddle, 18 January 2016, Lorton.
[333] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[334] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 591.
[335] Interview with Eddie Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[336] Interview with Ted Relph, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[337] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

Tom Sanderson was also quite dismissive of his own abilities: 'I'm from a musical family but I don't play anything, I just sing a few hunting songs in my own way. My dad used to play the accordion, he used to play the piano … Grandfather Dixon played the drums … But people did in them days, didn't they? They did something musical.'[338] But, as Kathleen Sanderson then added: 'Well it [musical instruments] was all in the house then wasn't it?'[339] The only person who seemed vaguely confident as a singer was Jacko, but his family background was a little different to everyone else that I spoke to. He told me that he has always sung—it was a normal thing for him to do—as his mother was from a family of travellers.[340] There seems to be a case to make here that if music and singing in general were seen as being more quotidian in the homes of those involved in the singing tradition, there may be a positive impact on the tradition in the future.

Such everyday singing may have been more common in the past, when more people were likely to sing regularly either at church (or chapel), or in choral societies. As Roud writes:

> These societies were another means by which tens of thousands of ordinary people encountered and performed music from a 'higher' social status than they would otherwise have done, and again they also taught many to read music and to sing in styles far removed from local traditional models.[341]

Choral societies were a national phenomenon, so it seems unlikely that Fell Packs members would have been immune from this experience. There are choral societies still in existence across Cumbria, many dating back at least until the 1950s, and the K Shoes Male Voice Choir was first established in 1929.[342] Even my father, who claims no musical ability at all, sang in the local church choir as a child and gathered enough musical knowledge to think of himself as a 'choir boy' until his voice broke. It therefore seems probable that, with much more amateur and functional singing taking place in the past, there is a good case to be argued that people were generally 'more musical' then than they might be now.

As Eddie Pool and Kathleen both pointed out, in the past there do seem to have been more musical instruments, used more widely, than is the case now. Though a rural area, Cumbria seems unlikely to have been immune from the Victorian-era presupposition that homes should contain a piano. It is the convention now for hunting songs to be unaccompanied, but some of my informants remember songs being accompanied by fiddles and melodeons in the past.

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[338] Interview with Tom Sanderson, 8 April 2016, Shap.
[339] Interview with Kathleen Sanderson, 8 April 2016.
[340] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[341] Roud, *Folk Song in England,* 379.
[342] 'About Us,' *K Shoes Male Voice Choir*, accessed 5 December 2020, http://www.kshoesmvc.org/about.html.

I have never seen a piano in a pub that was hosting a sing-song. I do not know if it was ever common for Lakeland pubs to have a piano; but if they did, it would be surprising if they were never played on song nights. In a letter to me, commenting on a draft of this work, Tommy Coulthard wrote: 'Dennis Dent was the landlord at Dockray [at The Royal], and he played the accordion so we had many a good sing-song.'[343] This gives credence to my theory that sing songs were once sometimes accompanied, and it would be interesting to investigate in the future what accompaniment was supplied previously in renditions of hunting songs, as well as how and why this changed over time.

The reduced presence of instruments in the tradition probably contributes to the perceived shift from 'everyone being musical' to 'no-one being musical.' It also probably has a negative effect on people's confidence as performers. Possibly this is a gendered issue, as well; but that is not one I intend to pursue in this thesis.

[343] Tommy Coulthard, letter to the author, 30 March 2017.

## 2.5 Possible Futures

### What might the future hold for the singing tradition?

I will turn now to my third main research question. I shall shortly review and summarise the responses I received from all my interviewees, but it might be useful first to briefly consider here the overall state of the singing tradition, as I found it, between 2011 and 2017, and whether it might be considered to be 'healthy' or 'in decline.'

Roud proposes that the following attributes characterise a 'healthy tradition':

> There are plenty of singers, plenty of songs in general circulation, and plenty of accessible performance venues and contexts where singing takes place. New songs are readily available and are absorbed into the local repertoire to make sure it does not get too stale … Each new generation may change things, adding or subtracting, but this happens largely within the broad parameters of what they have inherited.[344]

In contract, a 'tradition in decline' evidences:

> Performers' opportunities begin to disappear because they are no longer valued; potential singers have fewer chances to hear and learn songs; singers perform less, get out of practice, and songs start to be forgotten; and the songs themselves are no longer generally appreciated and the singing styles regarded as out of touch with the taste of the majority. New songs are not introduced, the chain of transmission is broken, and as singers die bits of the tradition die with them.[345]

From the research summarised in the foregoing chapters, I conclude that the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition falls somewhere between these two extremes. It is not about to die, but neither is it in quite as healthy a state as many involved would like. As Ginette Dunn rightly cautions: 'There is always a danger that on each examination of [a] tradition, it will appear to be in its death throes, when in fact it may continue, perhaps in slightly different form.'[346] It could be argued that this singing tradition has simply reached a point where it may well continue, just 'perhaps in slightly different form.'

My interviewees' thoughts on the future of the tradition were surprisingly varied; and, interestingly, there seems to be a correlation between certain responses and the speaker's geographical location, much like the varying perceptions of issues concerning employment and housing. The explanation may be unsurprising: in locations where there are still more young people around, some of

[344] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 587.
[345] Ibid, 587-588.
[346] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song*, 170.

whom are participating in the tradition, the interviewees are likely to feel more secure about the future of the tradition and to be more confident that the next generation can carry it on.

Those who felt most optimistic about the singing tradition continuing were Edmund and Linda Porter of the Eskdale & Ennerdale Pack. This area of Cumbria is where there are the greatest numbers of jobs and affordable houses, particularly for young people. Another contributing factor in the Porters' optimism seems to be their two sons, both of whom are keen hunters and singers. They have also, in more recent years, started to get their friends to come along to hunt socials and song nights. Their elder son, Andrew, has even started to chair some song nights which appears to be a positive step.[347]

When I spoke to Edmund and Linda, they had recently held their annual joint song competition with the Ullswater Foxhounds. They were delighted to be able to tell me that the number of singers in November 2015 had almost doubled from the year before, with Edmund putting much of the increase down to participation by their sons' friends.[348] Linda told me a bit more about that night:

> Some of [the young ones] had been practising for absolutely flipping ages and were absolutely brilliant and some of them had only practised that weekend—they weren't too good—but they really, really put their heart and soul into it and they loved it. And I said to Edmund, you know, "what a turn-around." You just can't believe it can you? In this day and age.[349]

Linda also noted that there can be 'an old-fashioned stigma [that] goes with hunting,'[350] associated with the idea that only a certain type of people are involved in it. But she has quite enjoyed how some of the older members' preconceptions have been challenged recently by some of the young people in attendance 'with [their] tattoos, and all the piercings and their fancy haircuts and all this carry on.' Overall they are feeling 'quite chuffed [with] the way things are going'[351] and, as Edmund concluded: '[The young ones] are the future of the job, aren't they, you know … hopefully.'[352]

It is interesting to contrast this sort of opinion—that young people are the ones who hopefully will continue the tradition—with the initial reasons I heard as explanations why the tradition was declining. As noted previously, nearly everyone I spoke to initially blamed 'young people' for the changes

[347] Interview with Edmund and Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Ibid.

in the tradition, and yet it is those same 'young people' who have the responsibility, almost, of deciding whether it will continue.

Another person I spoke to who seemed to be 'actually quietly confident' about the future of the tradition was Barry Todhunter of the Blencathra Foxhounds. Barry spoke to me about how there are always peaks and troughs in the popularity of things, like in fashion or cars. He gave a lovely analogy, using his own sideburns as an example: Barry has had some impressive sideburns since 1972 which, for many years, were terribly out of fashion, until Bradley Wiggins brought them back 'in' again a few years ago. Barry sees the singing tradition in much the same way as his sideburns; he thinks it is just starting to come back 'in' again.[353]

Like Edmund and Linda, Barry ascribes this resurgence to a new-found interest in the tradition among some younger people. Barry told me that, until a couple of years ago, the singing tradition 'was really dying a death,' but recently they have had more children and young people starting to attend the hunt and learning songs. There are about half a dozen young people who are now singing fairly regularly, which he feels is good not only for the future of the tradition, by breathing some new life into it, but also for these young singers' confidence. He also commented on how nice it is to hear some younger voices singing some of the older songs. He summed up what he thought had brought about this transformation by telling me that: 'In the back of people's minds, the tradition is still very important for keeping identity and community together.'[354]

This idea can be linked to my earlier discussion of changing interests in the community, and it perhaps shows that those interests are starting to shift once again. Maybe these young people who are choosing to try and learn some hunting songs have realised what they risk losing if they do not take responsibility for the tradition. This resembles somewhat the changes in culinary trends in recent years, with a growing interest in traditional and regional food and drink. Innovation is often a wonderful thing, but tradition is also important, and I wonder if these young people are starting to appreciate this.

Kenny Stuart, also of the Blencathra Foxhounds, seemed to have some tentative hope that the singing tradition might be able to continue: 'I would hope that eventually, with enough young people coming on … that we might be able to strike up a little bit stronger again.'[355] Again, his hope is reliant on

[353] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Interview with Kenny Stuart, 6 July 2015, Threlkeld.

young people becoming interested in the songs and in singing, and on their desire to keep the tradition going.[356]

The last time I spoke to Kenny Stuart (in April 2017) his hopes did seem to be materialising. He rang me to discuss the draft of this work and told me that the Blencathra was 'seeing quite a resurgence' in their singing tradition. This was particularly among the younger members of the Pack; and he went on to tell me that, though often computers and social media get a bad reputation, it was '*because* of social media' that these young people were able to get together to sing.[357]

This telephone conversation took place nearly two years after I first interviewed Kenny for what has eventually become Part 2 of this thesis, and perhaps shows how much can change in a relatively short space of time. When I met Kenny for the first time in 2012, it was his responsibility to sing me some hunting songs almost as the Blencathra's representative, because they were no longer holding regular or organised song nights. To go from essentially no singing at all to seemingly much more regular singing within five years is arguably quite impressive; perhaps it shows that, given a little encouragement, young people in particular can be a vital force in reinvigorating the singing tradition.

At this point, it is worth noting which songs these younger people are choosing to sing. As outlined in Chapter 2.2 (and 3.1, to come) for many years the songs performed as part of this tradition have not been solely about hunting. Part of the original interest in attending one of these nights would be the anticipation of the variety of songs one might hear. In the case of the Blencathra Foxhounds, Barry told me that one of the problems they were having was a lack of variety in songs; the young singers were only learning old songs, not making up new ones.[358] On the other hand, with the Eskdale & Ennerdale, Linda Porter mentioned how there have been 'some lovely new songs'[359] performed recently. She told me about how, though many of these songs are not about hunting, 'they're bringing [them] in as a hunting song somehow because [of the songs'] countryside connections.'[360]

A potential new generation of singers will perhaps have quite a difficult line to navigate in order to balance tradition with innovation. One of the reasons that this singing tradition has continued for so

[356] This is in marked contrast to the conversation I had with Colin Armstrong following his reading of my draft work, in which he told me that, for the Melbreak Foxhounds, the social life of the pack was fading and that it had been really sad over Christmas and New Year of 2016/17 to have so few people in attendance. It is worth noting that there are very few young people living in the area, since the Melbreak (between Cockermouth and Keswick) is one of the most remote packs.
[357] Kenny Stuart, telephone conversation with the author, April 2017.
[358] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[359] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[360] Ibid.

long is the regular addition of new material, but there does seem to be a slight inherent contradiction to be negotiated when choosing repertoire. When I discussed this with Jacko he told me: 'the old songs like "John Peel," they still hang on. They're more like tradition … but you get the young boys coming in. I mean, to be honest, they're singing owt.'[361] However, he then continued to tell me that 'it's not all about hunting songs' and that he himself rarely sings about hunting—more 'about characters in the hunting side.'[362]

No criticism is intended here; rather, this simply exemplifies the difficulties that may have to be negotiated by this new generation. It seems that 'tradition' is important, but new songs are also regarded as essential to keep the tradition moving forward and interesting for those listening. However, it does seem that there needs to be some sort of justification for choosing to perform a certain song at a social hunting occasion; it cannot be just 'any old song'—there should preferably be some sort of 'countryside connection.' This opinion is, however, principally held by members of the previous generation. It will be interesting to see if and how these 'rules' develop over time, especially as 'in the study of folksong we are interested not only in what is created but also in what is accepted into [the] tradition.'[363]

Most other people I spoke to about the future of the tradition started out by telling me that the singing would soon die out; but then, after further conversation, many of them went on to relate recent developments that could provide some hope for the future. My conversation with Neil Blenkinship and Ted Potter (of the Lunesdale Foxhounds) is an example: they said that because there are fewer young people around nowadays and many of those are not interested in Lakeland Hunting, they thought it likely that the tradition would soon die out. When discussing the hunting ban, though, they both commented that, since the ban, 'there seems to be a stronger support'[364] for the tradition. The conversation then moved on to the 2016 New Year's Day Hunt and how well supported this had been in contrast to previous years: 'And [the] landlady was wanting us back, and she just said—well … she's written back and thanked us and said what an evening she'd had.'[365]

This, again, seems to indicate that things are starting to improve for the tradition. While telling me about the New Year's Day Hunt that year, Ted Potter mentioned that some people on the hunt committee had been worried about going to that village 'because there were a lot of new people living

[361] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Edward D. Ives, 'A Man and His Song: Joe Scott and "The Plain Golden Band",' in *Folksongs and Their Makers*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1979), 73.
[364] Interview with Ted Potter, 29 February 2016, Orton.
[365] Ibid.

[there]';[366] but in the end a big crowd of locals turned out to meet the hunt in the morning, and they also attended the evening do. This perhaps suggests that it is not only young people from old local families who are contributing to the continuation of the tradition; support can also come from people moving into the area.

Eddie and Anne Pool reported a similar situation over in the Ullswater Foxhounds' territory. They both started by telling me that Lakeland Hunting was definitely dying out, but then a new thought came to Eddie: 'Well … mind, some of these incomers, they're quite interested in hunting, you know, so they're part of it as well. And financially, actually, our pack's [the] best off it's ever been … But that's just luck.'[367] Anne agreed that this occurrence was mainly down to luck, telling me: 'We're lucky that there are people still interested in what's going on.'[368]

The two examples just given do seem to imply that people new to the area seem to be contributing to the continuation of Lakeland Hunting and, subsequently, the singing tradition. And yet it appears that such 'incomers' are still being viewed with great suspicion. Those who have been involved in Lakeland Hunting for several generations appear to have good cause to be suspicious in many cases. I do not want to relate their stories here, but I have heard many tales from my respondents about problems they have had when encountering people who are new to the area and are outright opposed to hunting. Be that as it may, if more information about the cultural significance of this tradition could be imparted to those moving into the area, perhaps they would be interested in getting involved with it—or at least accept its existence more gracefully. As Barry Todhunter said, 'the tradition is still very important for keeping identity and community together';[369] and one would think that many people who move into a new area would seek out ways to become more involved in their new communities.

The existing community is also rallying round in support of hunting and singing. Among the efforts that were reported to me were the activities of the Ullswater 'WAGs' (the wives and girlfriends of those involved in hunting). Jacko told me that the WAGs have started to organise additional social occasions[370]; and Tommy Coulthard wondered if something could be done in cooperation with Young Farmers' Clubs, as has been done with the Lakeland Dialect Society,[371] encouraging young local people to connect with their heritage.

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[366] Ibid.
[367] Interview with Eddie and Anne Pool, 29 February 2016, Glenridding.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.
[370] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[371] Interview with Tommy Coulthard, 4 November 2016, Penrith.

The various new arrivals must also adjust to a new cultural context—in particular, the relationship of the tradition to alcohol. Young people are perhaps struggling the most in finding a way to negotiate this relationship. As Jacko explained, it is particularly some of the young lads who feel that they need to be quite drunk before they can sing:

> And then they get up, make a complete idiot of themselves … and it's not like karaoke [where] the bigger fool you are, the bigger clap you get. If you've made an idiot of yourself … folk just [say] "Why bother, son?" So, you go to another do and [the lad]'s there—he doesn't get asked. They don't put his name down to sing.[372]

Jacko went on to explain that if these lads who make a bit of a fool of themselves enquire as to why they are not being asked to sing, they receive an explanation; they will often then return and actually sing quite well—with a little less alcohol on board.

This is not unlike many people's relationship with music, but is also, perhaps, a matter of prior acculturation. Many young people—particularly young men—may well have sung only at karaoke or when watching football and rugby, where it is commonly accepted or even encouraged to consume quite a bit of drink. To address this, perhaps there could be a system implemented: when young or new people attend song nights, they are given reasonably explicit information about what is expected if they want to join in with the singing. This way, those involved in the tradition for a long time will not be upset by overly drunken performances, and those who are new will not feel isolated or confused about why they might not be allowed to sing.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the people who were least optimistic about the future of the singing tradition were from the central Lakes area—most notably people associated with the Coniston Foxhounds. Mary Logan (bear in mind that she lives in Ambleside, which is one of the region's most expensive places to live) thought that the tradition probably would not continue because, as farming intensifies and fewer young people remain in the area, there just will not be people to carry it on. She also viewed the hunting ban as a particular barrier in the way of its continuation, particularly with regard to the writing of new songs.[373]

Neil Salisbury was generally of a similar opinion, but he did tell me that recently he has noticed 'some of the youngsters are actually having a go now.' He continued: 'as the youngsters have come along and seen us singing, one or two of them are learning songs and joining in … so that's quite good … It might

[372] Interview with Jacko, 18 January 2016, Penrith.
[373] Interview with Mary Logan, 4 November 2016, Ambleside.

change [for the better]. We don't know.'[374] Even in the most central, expensive area, then, there does seem to be a glimmer of hope for the future, with young people starting to take some responsibility for the future of the tradition.

**Conclusions**

The Lakeland Hunting Song tradition appears to have arisen as a natural progression from the singing that took place at the Shepherds' Meets, and the songs served primarily as a form of entertainment. However, there seems to have long been an association between the social side of hunting—and singing in particular—and fundraising for the hunts.

Both the songs and their singing appear to reinforce community identity. The majority of the songs tell a story and immortalise particularly epic days out hunting, great 'characters,' and beloved animals. These songs seem to be created for and to be all about a certain community, and they provide an important social and oral history of these areas of Cumbria.

Part 2 of this thesis has been devoted to outlining the ways in which the singing tradition has changed from 'something that everyone did' to a state in which many of those involved are worried about its continuation. Many of the causes and consequences are interlinked.

To summarise these: one of the greatest changes to occur was the termination of the peripatetic practice whereby the hunts move around their territories, staying in a certain village or valley for a week at a time. For as long as this was a common practice, hunting songs were sung on several nights per week and whole communities were involved in the social side of hunting; when it ended, an important binding force was removed. The practice stopped primarily because of improvements in transport, which made it possible and easier to return the hounds to the kennels every day, after hunting.

Improvements in transport, in turn, seem to have had a multifaceted effect on the singing tradition. Because more people started to own their own vehicles, attendance at hunts that were not necessarily in one's own valley became practical, as did the associated social occasions. However, as people became more reliant on cars and less used to walking, the drink-driving ban then had a significant effect on the singing tradition, as singing nights would not always be at one's local pub or village hall.

As people were able to move around more easily, they were also able to diversify their interests. The diversification is also linked to changes in employment—particularly farming—and thus to changes in the type of people living in these communities. As young people have chosen or have been forced to move

[374] Interview with Neil Salisbury, 20 March 2016, Hawkshead Hill.

away, many of the older 'characters'—those who traditionally organised the sing-songs—also started to pass away.

Farms were once very much part of the hunting community and provided a network of accommodation and animal feed required for the hunts to regularly move around the region. Farm workers would also regularly attend social hunting occasions as one of their main sources of evening entertainment. However, as farms became more mechanised and employment of farm lads dropped, the countryside population began to change. At the same time, those who remained in the area, particularly those on farms, became less associated with hunting because the hunts no longer stayed regularly in their areas.

All these changes also had economic consequences, and these appear to have likewise affected the hunting song tradition. People moved away from a largely self-sufficient lifestyle and started to have disposable income; this facilitated the purchase of cars and so widened the variety of leisure activities available. One had a much wider choice of things to do and places to go, and so attending hunting song nights was no longer one's only entertainment option. What may have initially seemed like economic freedom, however, has arguably gone too far, in that attending social evenings has started to become prohibitively expensive now that everything has to be paid for.

There has also been a correlated change in the population of these communities. Many of the people I talked to spoke of a change from 'knowing everyone' in the village to knowing hardly anyone at all. This was caused primarily by two factors: changes in the availability and location of jobs, and the increasing number of second homes in the area. Traditional work like farming and mining became less available, while more well-paid work became available either in other places in Cumbria (usually around the edges of the county) or elsewhere in the country. Much of the work available in what had been traditional communities became associated with the tourist trade and was (and still is) often seasonal. This, then, makes it difficult, particularly for young people, to afford to live in the Lakes, and that is exacerbated by the inflated house prices caused by the increased use of properties as second homes or holiday accommodation.

The increasing number of tourists has also had an impact on the singing tradition, perhaps most noticeably through changes seen in the region's pubs. Pubs have moved towards prioritising spaces for dining and have turned function rooms that may once have been used for hunting socials into extra accommodation for tourists.

The overall result of all of this is a shift in the frequency of social hunting occasions: where these formerly took place several times a week, now they happen—in the best cases—a couple of times a

month. All this is part of the wider changes that affect these communities: fewer permanent residents; an ageing population; a disconnect between the hunt and the community; and a greater choice in leisure activities.

Because song nights have been taking place less and less frequently, problems have also arisen with the preservation of repertoire—the ability of people to remember hunting songs. And this seems to be related to matters of confidence, considered in several sections above, and also to people's relationships with music and a growing sense that singing hunting songs is not really considered to be a 'normal' activity.

Two other external, country-wide influences on the singing tradition have been the hunting ban and the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease. Perhaps surprisingly to some, one of the effects of the hunting ban seems to have been to galvanise people's efforts to keep the tradition going (though this does tally with Ian Russell's findings in relation to the Pennine Packs[375]). However, because of the change in population in the countryside and the increasing numbers of tourists, some singers are concerned about precipitating confrontations about the ethics of hunting by singing in mixed company; this is of particular concern to older people. The foot-and-mouth outbreak also likely had an effect, as it changed for quite some time the ways in which people interacted in the countryside, particularly those from farming backgrounds.

The final question I sought to answer concerned the future of the singing tradition. Although no-one thought the future of the tradition to be entirely secure, there is some hope displayed by many of those with whom I spoke. Most noted specifically the small increase in participation by young people and those new to the area in more recent years.

Why this interest amongst these two groups has arisen now is a matter of interest. Some of it would seem to be a show of defiance against the hunting ban. It could also be the case that younger people, aware that rents are becoming increasingly expensive, are choosing to live at home with their parents for longer, so getting involved with the social side of hunting is still one of the most available local leisure activities. I also mentioned above that this increased interest could also signal an attempt by these people—young people and newcomers—to create a greater sense of community in these areas.

I am also interested in the correlation between the date when I started my research and this perceived resurgence in interest in the tradition. I first started researching Lakeland Hunting Songs in 2011; and, until around the time I was conducting my interviews, there did not seem to have been much

[375] Russell, 'The Hunt's Up?,' 127 & 140.

by way of attempts really to reinvigorate the singing tradition. I therefore have to wonder whether, by starting to ask questions about it, I have inadvertently sparked a mini-revival of the tradition. I quoted Linda Porter in Chapter 2.1—she said, 'until you started asking questions, you don't think about it'[376]—and perhaps the mere fact that someone was starting to ask such questions caused those involved in the tradition to begin to take action to preserve their heritage. Whether this is actually the case—let alone whether this has been undertaken consciously and deliberately—is very difficult for me to gauge, but it does seem like it could be a possibility.

There seems to be some hope for the future of the tradition, but it is important also to note that the way in which it may continue might well be quite different from how it existed in the past. However, one might argue that this is all part and parcel of what makes a vibrant and living cultural tradition; perhaps, by embracing this concept, this tradition can flourish once again in the future. Ways in which this could happen, and thoughts about whether such a continuance of the singing tradition should be encouraged, are both areas I will consider in the conclusion to this thesis.

[376] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.

## Part 3: The Songs

In exploring the Hunting Songs of the Lakeland Fell Packs, the three main areas that I felt required attention were:

1. The history of the singing tradition;
2. The texts of the songs, and
3. The tunes of the songs.

Part 2 of this thesis was mainly concerned with the history of the singing tradition; in Part 3 I will focus on the songs themselves, their texts and their tunes. The overall aim, then, in Part 3 is to provide a fuller and more technical understanding of what might actually be meant by the term 'Lakeland Hunting Song.' I will start by outlining the process of collecting, transcribing, and organising the songs in my collection; and I will introduce the databases I created to be able to further analyse the songs in my collection.

### 3.1 The Databases

#### Collecting and Transcribing

As outlined in Chapter 1.2, most of my song collecting initially came from attending organised hunt song nights and competitions. But, over time, I began to look beyond the song nights themselves, so my overall collection is amassed from a range of sources, both oral/aural and textual.

This collecting took place over many years, as previously described; but, for clarity, details of the events at which most of the songs came into my possession can be found in figure 1. I also acquired a number of songs via Ron Black over various meetings between February 2012 and July 2017. All of my textual sources were either gifted or suggested to me by people I met while song collecting or during interviews.

**Figure 1: Events through which songs were collected**

| Event | Venue | Date | Songs Collected* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lunesdale Foxhounds' song competition | Butcher's Arms, Crosby Ravensworth | 12th November 2011 | 23 |
| Lunesdale Foxhounds' song competition | Butcher's Arms, Crosby Ravensworth | 10th November 2012 | 17 |
| Recording with Kenny Stuart | Kenny's home, Threlkeld | 11th November 2012 | 4 |
| Mardale Shepherds' Meet (Ullswater Foxhounds) | Crown & Mitre, Bampton Grange | 17th November 2012 | 31 |
| Visiting Elli Logan | Elli's home, Wigton | 23rd November 2012 | 54 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cumbrian Hunt Song Competition (Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds) | King George IV, Eskdale Green | 24th November 2012 | 21 |
| Mardale Shepherds' Meet (Ullswater Foxhounds) | Crown & Mitre, Bampton Grange | 22nd November 2014 | 21 |
| Troutbeck Mayor Making (Coniston Foxhounds) | Troutbeck Village Hall | 27th February 2015 | 8 |
| Library visit | Vaughan Williams Memorial Library | 5th May 2015 | 5 |
| Mardale Foxhounds song competition | Embleton Village Hall | 6th February 2016 | 15 |
| Lunesdale Foxhounds song night | Cross Keys, Tebay | 20th February 2016 | 34 |
| Interview with Tom Sanderson – given recording of '1950s song night' | Tom's home, Shap | April 2016 | 9 |
| Interview with Denis Westmorland | Denis' home, Southwaite | 12th May 2017 | 46** |

*These are not necessarily unique songs – there is some repetition of material between recording sessions
** I was already in possession of some copies of these songs from Colin Armstrong (January 2016)

Around 39 percent of the overall collection, then, came from the live recordings I made. Within these there is some repetition of songs between song nights, but this was surprisingly infrequent, which perhaps demonstrates the breadth of this tradition and its range of available repertoire. As can be seen in figure 1, most of my live recording sessions occurred at organised song competitions, particularly in the early stages of my research. The only exception to this was the recording I made of Kenny Stuart in 2012, where he bravely sang some songs for me at his home so that the Blencathra Foxhounds might be represented in my research (since, at the time, they were not holding organised sing-songs).

I spent about a year after the 2012 recordings transcribing the songs I had collected to that point, both tunes and texts. At that point, I had Ron Black's books and website to check my textual transcriptions against, as well as the *Songs of the Fell Packs* book, which I seem to recall was kindly given to me by Neil Blenkinship. Otherwise, since I only had live recordings to work with, all my transcriptions were by ear. The only extant musical transcriptions were in *Songs of the Fell Packs*, but these aren't really very useful for would-be performers, since the notation was perhaps produced by someone with limited musical experience.

Because the majority of the songs collected were from live recordings, a range of elements arose for consideration when I attempted to make musical transcriptions. These were compounded by the somewhat inebriated state of many of the singers, who regularly changed key, lost their train of thought, or altered the tune and rhythm from verse to verse as they tried to make the words fit, all of which made an 'accurate' transcription something of a challenge.

I spent a lot of time worrying about trying not to impose my classical training onto the songs I had collected and thereby making unjustified musical assumptions about where the tunes 'should' go. This is arguably one of the main problems with Western musical staff notation, in that it is, as Charles Seeger wrote, 'almost entirely prescriptive in character.'[377] Most of the tunes are diatonic (rather than modal) and seemed to want to resolve in an expected fashion. To combat my concerns about imposing my classical training I decided to make two transcriptions when I thought that would be helpful: one in which I transcribed what I thought the tune 'should' sound like (a more 'prescriptive' transcription), and one transcription of what I actually heard and recorded (i.e. 'descriptive'). My primary intention then was still to produce a song catalogue, and this kind of detail felt really important; I had intended to take all my transcriptions to my various contacts and ask a range of people to verify their 'authenticity.'

To transcribe what I actually heard turned out to be nearly impossible because, since all the songs were unaccompanied, the performers wandered between keys constantly. I even resorted to trying to notate microtones at one point, such was the meandering nature of many of my recordings. The perfectionist part of my brain really wanted to see this work through, as had been similarly important to collectors such as Percy Grainger,[378] but the pragmatist in me won out. This newfound practicality was also entangled with a change of direction of my work: I had first conceived what would be solely a song catalogue for a Master's thesis, but when I was accepted into the PhD programme, I expanded the research into an overall history and understanding of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. The transcriptions were no longer the main body of my work; rather, they were a single component which could be used for further analysis.

It therefore felt unnecessary to continue with what Seeger might have called 'descriptive' transcriptions. Future work may well require this approach, though, as my current transcriptions do not 'tell us as much about how music sounds as how to make it sound.'[379] Currently, unless someone listens to my field recordings, it is impossible to truly appreciate what any of the songs in my collection actually sound like. A more 'descriptive' approach, in the future, would also provide a more accurate idea of 'what [the singer] did sing, without preconceptions [of what they] meant to, or should, have sung..'[380] Of course, ideally, we would have both, as Roud explains: 'If the full analytical representation is valuable for understanding just what is going on in the performance, then let us have it. But most people, as Sharp

[377] Charles Seeger, 'Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing,' *The Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1958), 186.
[378] Roud, *Folk Song in England*¸ 146-147.
[379] Seeger, 'Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing,' 186.
[380] Ibid, 192.

maintains, "just want the tune", and it is the transcribers' or editors' job to make that available in the best way they can.'[381]

The winter of 2014–15 saw me collecting some more live recordings, but contacts made and conversations held at these evenings led me to some prior textual and recorded sources. A similar expansion of new sources also occurred as a by-product of the interviews I conducted in 2015–16, as did access to some more 'exclusive' song nights to which I was invited in 2016.

All this further work eventually meant that I gradually acquired a good idea about how the most commonly used tunes 'should' sound. There were always slight variants between performers, and no set keys were used, so as the purpose of the transcriptions changed, so did my approach to them. It was more useful for the work I was now doing for my transcriptions to be a more general, 'abstract' version, but with common variants noted separately on ossia staves. The decision to produce almost a 'best guess' version of many of the tunes was informed by two elements: the work I had started to do on the provenance of the tunes as part of organising them into a database; and reading Ives' book on Larry Gorman, in which he notes: 'For each song I give the melody for one fairly representative stanza and make no attempt to record the multitude of stanza-to-stanza variations … My intention is to give the reader "the tune" to as many of the songs as possible.'[382] As it became clear that many of the tunes used were 'borrowed' from popular songs, it seemed less important to notate all the tiny variants that was I hearing in my live recordings. The performers were using already well-known tunes; and, given the involvement of alcohol, it seemed on the balance of probability that seemingly random deviations were more likely to be inadvertent departures than a product of artistic license.

In future work on my collection I may well return to the attempt to notate these songs completely accurately. This might make it possible to consider at what point a tune that is altered in a particular way becomes a 'new' tune; but this thesis, I felt, was not the time or place for that work.

**Organising and The Databases**

The organisation of the songs I had collected also developed over time. I first attempted to organise my collection in a database in 2014, after transcribing most of the songs found during my 2012 fieldwork sessions. Questions immediately arose about just what it was that I was organising.

In this thesis thus far, I have been discussing 'songs,' 'tunes,' and 'texts.' I need to make the distinction between these three terms clear before proceeding further. 'Song' refers to a text which is

[381] Roud, *Folk Song in England,* 147.
[382] Ives, *Larry Gorman*, ix.

conceived with the intention of being sung; most often it refers to a combination of a text and a tune, but even when I have not heard the song performed and I have only access to the text, the item is still classed as a 'song' in my database. I do this because it is possible for the text to be sung should a performer so wish; they *could* pick any usable tune to sing it, if the knowledge of which tune 'should' be used has been lost. Indeed, the introduction to *Songs of the Fell Packs* states 'numerous melodies are now added [to this edition], and these can be applied to very many of the songs within this book.'[383] 'Tune' refers to the music used for a particular song, which may or may not have a known tune name. Finally, 'text' is used only when needed to distinguish between words and music when discussing a particular song.

These nuances seem to be quite important to those involved in the tradition—they always refer to what an outsider might consider to be a poem or text as a 'song'—so wherever possible I have tried to be consistent with this definition. Moreover, adopting such definitions is consistent with (and indeed, somewhat inspired by) Edward D. Ives, who writes: 'Since a set of words can be sung to different tunes and still be the "same song", there is obviously no necessary connection between tune and identity.'[384] He goes on: 'The identity of a song is in its words, and while fairly stable tune-text relationships are frequently established, the tune is, in philosophical parlance, accident rather than essence in that it can be changed without making the song a "new" song.'[385] It seemed necessary to be clear in defining these terms before I could construct a database by which my collection could be organised. In several instances, though, separating out these three terms was more unhelpful than useful and led me down all sorts of tangents.

<u>Organising based on the Texts</u>

In the early stages, when the main aim of my research was still to produce a song catalogue, I considered using subcategories of Lakeland Hunting Songs to group songs in the database by textual theme or content. Through this I produced a visual index (an example from 2014 can be found in figure 2) with the songs ordered alphabetically by title, so that a reader could select a song to perform based on their interest or mood.

I identified the main themes of the songs I had then collected to be hunts, people, dogs/animals, protest, romance, and comedy. The question then arose whether to group these themes further, into simply Hunting Songs, Romantic Songs and Comedy Songs. After all, I reasoned, hunts, people,

[383] Melbreak Foxhounds Hunt Show Committee, *Songs of the Fell Packs* (Cleator Moor: Bethwaites Printers, 1971), inside front cover.
[384] Ives, *Larry Gorman*, 159.
[385] Ibid, 160.

dogs/animals, and protest all seemed to cluster under the umbrella of 'Hunting Songs.' However, I found that then I had 59 Hunting Songs compared with 15 Romantic Songs and 10 Comedy Songs, which suggested that these broad categories were not particularly useful. In addition, there was also a huge amount of overlap between the various genres, as can be seen in figure 2.

As well as producing a visual index, I also intended to include an index. This would then make it easier for someone to find a song about a particular person, Fell Pack or place, rather than just its general genre.

**Figure 2: Early attempt of a visual index**

| Song Title | Hunts | People | Dogs / Animals | Protest | Romance | Comedy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albert Ben'se | | ■ | | | | ■ |
| Are You Lonesome Tonight | | | | | | ■ |
| Arthur Wells | | ■ | | | ■ | |
| Autumn Chorus | ■ | | | | ■ | |
| Badger and Butcher | | | ■ | | | |
| Beagle Inn | ■ | | | | | |
| Beautiful Lakeland | | | | | ■ | |
| Bedale, The | ■ | | | | | |
| Bewcastle Hunt Song | ■ | | | | | |
| Blacksmith, The | | | | | ■ | |
| Boxing Day Meet, The | ■ | | | | | |
| Brait and Joe | | | ■ | | | |
| Bring Back the Hounds | | | | | | |
| Bristol, the Foxhound Pup | | | ■ | | | |
| Bunty | | | ■ | | | |
| Cumberland Hunt, The | ■ | | | | | |
| Cumbria's Call | | | | | ■ | |
| Dalston Mink Hounds, The | ■ | | | | | |
| Dido Bendigo | ■ | | ■ | | | |
| Down in the Mines | | | | | ■ | |
| Dragman, The | | ■ | | | ■ | |
| Drink Puppy Drink | | | ■ | | | |
| Dumfriesshire Hunt Song | ■ | | | | | |
| Eskdale and Ennerdale Pack, The | ■ | | | | | |
| Fell Packs, The (Six) | ■ | | | | | |
| Field Sports | | | | ■ | | |
| First of May | | | ■ | | | |

| Song Title | Hunts | People | Dogs / Animals | Protest | Romance | Comedy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Freedom's Choice | | | | | | |
| Gatesgarth Coffee Morning | | | | | | |
| Ghost Hound | | | | | | |
| Hark unto Fairy | | | | | | |
| Hills of Greenmore, The | | | | | | |
| Horn of the Hunter, The | | | | | | |
| Hound Pup | | | | | | |
| Hungry is the Fox | | | | | | |
| Hunt with me | | | | | | |
| Hunting Day, The | | | | | | |
| Hunting Round the Bar | | | | | | |
| Hyde Park Rally, The | | | | | | |
| Jack Taylor | | | | | | |
| Jobby Teasedale's Tip | | | | | | |
| Joe Bowman | | | | | | |
| Joe Wear | | | | | | |
| John Peel | | | | | | |
| Johnny Richardson | | | | | | |
| Joss Naylor | | | | | | |
| Kielder Hunt | | | | | | |
| Lakeland Terrier, The | | | | | | |
| Little Brown Dog on the Fell | | | | | | |
| Lord of the Valley | | | | | | |
| Mardale Hunt, The | | | | | | |
| Mardale Village | | | | | | |
| Millbeck Hunt | | | | | | |
| Morpeth Foxhounds, The | | | | | | |
| Neighbours | | | | | | |
| North Lonsdale Foxhounds | | | | | | |
| Old Mutton Pie | | | | | | |
| Old Threshing Mill, The | | | | | | |
| Opening Meet 1997 | | | | | | |
| Otter Hunting Song | | | | | | |
| Paddy' Whins | | | | | | |
| Paul Whitehead | | | | | | |
| Placefell Hunt | | | | | | |
| Pride of Lorton Town, The | | | | | | |
| Red Rover | | | | | | |
| Sedbergh Hunt, The | | | | | | |

| Song Title | Hunts | People | Dogs / Animals | Protest | Romance | Comedy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seven Drunken Nights | | | | | | |
| Skiddaw | | | | | | |
| Sport of Kings | | | | | | |
| Squire Crozier | | | | | | |
| Stan goes to Sheffield | | | | | | |
| Tally Ho | | | | | | |
| Terrier Song, The | | | | | | |
| To the Horse | | | | | | |
| Tommy Dobson | | | | | | |
| Ullswater Pack, The | | | | | | |
| Walk That Road | | | | | | |
| Why Paddy's not at work | | | | | | |
| Wild Rover | | | | | | |
| William Porter | | | | | | |
| Willie McBride | | | | | | |
| Yellow JCB | | | | | | |
| Yodelling Fox, The | | | | | | |

However, as the purposes of my database changed, these categories and subcategories became a less useful tool for someone encountering my work. Moreover, as I learned more about the songs from people within the tradition, I grew more reluctant to impose categories because I risked having misunderstood the true meaning of a song. Many of the songs have double or hidden meanings; it was not appropriate for me to categorise them just by reading the texts, taking them at face value, and essentially reaching my own judgement based on a personal response and understanding.

I firmly decided against using subcategories for the songs in my collection after reading Sue Allan's PhD thesis in 2017. A more thorough discussion of my work in relation to Allan's can be found in Chapter 3.3; here I will just observe that I felt that by adding more subcategories of songs to the emerging scholarship on Cumbrian songs, I was at risk of causing confusion, especially because some of the ways I might categorise a song conflicted directly with those used by Allan.

Organising based on the Tunes

In 2014 I also considered categorising the songs in my collection by more musical characteristics: by simple, compound or mixed time; tonality and key signature; number of verses, and presence of a refrain. I even thought at one point that it might be interesting to organise them based on the provenance

of the tunes, with subcategories that might include pop, country, folk, Scots/Irish traditional, music hall, or even broadside ballads.

However, by the time that I had amassed my final collection of 313 songs (2017), organising by tune no longer seemed to be pertinent. Indeed, as I have discussed previously, as far as I have been able to establish, few within the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition would be bothered by someone using the 'wrong' tune for a song; it is more important that the song be sung and its story shared.

Musical characteristics do appear in the databases I eventually made: Tune, Mode, Key Signature, and Time Signature. I discuss these in further detail in Chapter 3.4, but there were numerous reasons why it would not have been helpful to organise the tunes by these or by other musical characteristics. For many songs, I have not been able to establish what tune should be, or is being, used for a song—for instance, when the source is purely textual or the singer too inebriated to produce a clear tune—and furthermore there are many instances where I have been unable to determine the origin or source of the tune. It seemed problematic to organise a database by a category in which several pieces of data were missing or unobtainable.

Organising by modality would have told us relatively little as nearly all the songs in my collection are in major keys. It also appears that there are no set keys for any particular song; singers start the tunes in whatever key and on whatever starting note fits best their vocal ranges. In fact, it is not unknown for singers to have to restart once or twice, after they get halfway through the song and realise they have started at too high or low a pitch (an occurrence that Cecil Sharp also noted in some folk singers).[386] Time signatures, too, have also proved difficult to define in some cases: for one singer, some songs might 'feel' in 4/4, while for another, they may 'feel' more like 12/8. Similar ambiguities arise when trying to distinguish 3/4 from 6/8. Indeed, most of the musical elements of these songs are quite 'slippery' and, ultimately, not of great concern for the people involved in the tradition; for all these reasons, I did not proceed with organising by tune.

Organising by Song

Based on the definitions used in this thesis, by 2015 I had settled on organising my database(s) by song, alphabetically by title. Song titles were the category in which I had the most reliable information about the songs and, for the most part, their determination did not require any interpretation on my part. There are some songs which have more than one title in use ('The Ullswater Pack' is sometimes known as

[386] Cecil Sharp, *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions,* 108.

'Pass The Jug Round,' for example), but it was relatively easy to note both titles and, since all the fields in the database are searchable, I did not feel this presented any major problems.

Ian Russell had seemingly grappled with similar questions when it came to organising his collection of songs from West Sheffield but also settled on organising by 'the alphabetical ordering of song titles for each singer's repertoire.'[387] He, too, questioned whether trying to organise the songs in his collection by theme, form, or style would be appropriate or even relevant for that study.[388] Overall, it seems wisest, at least while the material in my collection is relatively new to the academic community, that it be presented in an as simple and uninterpreted manner as possible.

Ordering by song also seemed to become more logical as I became more aware of the compositional process of making these songs, through the interviews I held in 2015–16: a songwriter may have a tune in mind when writing the song, but this is not always the case.[389] Because the tunes can sometimes be an afterthought, and thus are in some ways already separate, it seemed to me that the tunes could be presented separately from the songs in the database, in their own field. This made it easier to provide information on tune names, where they were known. However, there remain many cases in my collection for which I have been unable to ascertain a tune name; in these cases, then, the tune and the text are inextricably linked, in that a specific combination makes a unique song. It is also the case that several of the songs share tunes with other songs; and separating the tune from the songs made it easier to present these overlaps in the database. I believe the result allows my work to complement the work of Ron Black and Sue Allan more successfully, since they too have organised their collections by song title.

Of course, Ron Black never noted details about which tunes correlated with particular songs, since he felt this was of little importance. But separating songs from tunes can also present problems, because knowledge of the tune intended for a particular song can then more easily be lost. This is certainly the case with many of the songs in my collection, particularly those presented in *Songs of the Fell Packs,* because there are now many songs for which no-one now knows which tune was intended to be used for a particular song. Even Ron once asked me to find a tune that could fit a song because he was particularly fond of the words and wanted to be able to hear it sung. It is perhaps easy to be nonchalant about the tunes and music when it seems like 'everyone' knows how a tune goes, but unless that information is

[387] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 152.
[388] Ibid, 153.
[389] There are some parallels here with the compositional song process of song-makers such as Joe Scott and Larry Gorman. There are at least a couple of songs in my collection which use lines or most of a stanza from the song which acted as a tune source (as was sometimes the habit of Joe Scott); but, overall, it does appear that the tunes are more often an afterthought or only considered subconsciously when lyrics are being composed.

written down somewhere, it is possible (and has come to pass in this tradition) for that knowledge to move out of living memory and it often cannot be uncovered again.

The Databases

Ultimately I created two major databases. These are available to view in the Additional Materials as 'Emmett_104000458_Database1' and 'Emmett_104000458_Database2.' The first focuses on the songs as a whole, and the other looks in closer detail at the tunes used within the tradition. By the end of September 2017, I had collected 313 Lakeland Hunting Songs, and this is the total and final number that will be examined in this thesis. Since that time further songs have come into my possession, but I had to draw a line somewhere or this part of the thesis would have been impossible to write. As mentioned previously, one singer asked that details of their song and performance not be included in this thesis but, because I did observe this performance and it may be used to inform future work, it is still included in the total number of songs in my collection.

These 313 songs are collated in Database 1 (D1); I created Database 2 (D2) in order to facilitate looking in closer detail at the tunes used for some of these songs. In several cases, only the text of a song has entered my collection, but I am still referring to D1 as a database of songs (rather than song texts, for example) because, as far as I have been able to determine, all these texts were conceived as songs—that is, with the intention of being sung. Additionally, there is the possibility that future work on this tradition may result in additional assignments of tunes to songs.

**Figure 3: Key to database fields in Database 1**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Item No.** | Number assigned to each song in the database. |
| **Roud No.** | Roud Folk Song Index number. Followed by question mark if it is possible these are not the same song. |
| **ACFC No.** | Allan Cumbrian Folk Song Corpus number. Followed by question mark if it possible these are not the same song. |
| **Song Title** | Titles listed alphabetically (alternative titles given after slashes '/').<br>There are 12 songs for which I have been unable to find a title. This are listed as 'Unknown,' followed by a description of where the song was collected. |
| **Textual Source** | Textual sources used for compiling my transcriptions of the texts.<br>Full details of sources available in Chapter 3.3. |
| **Words missing?** | Notes whether or not textual transcriptions are complete. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lyricist** | Lyricist names given, when known. If there is a degree of uncertainty, a name may be followed by a question mark, or noted as 'Unknown.' |
| **Date** | Date of song composition. Question marks are used to note uncertainties. |
| **Tune** | Tune names given, where known. Otherwise noted as 'Unknown' or followed by a question mark where a good 'guess' is available. |
| **No. Sung Sources** | Number of sung renditions in my collection.<br>Full details of sources available in Chapter 3.4. |
| **Where found?** | Details of the source(s) for each song, both textual and aural, including those in the previous field. |
| **Singers** | Singers' names given where known. Followed by question marks if uncertain, or noted as 'Unknown.'<br>N/A in cases where there is no sung source. |
| **Shared Tune?** | Indicates if the tune used is shared by other songs in my collection. |
| **Shared Chorus?** | Indicates if the chorus used is shared by other songs. |
| **Shared Words?** | Indicates if the words/phrases are used by other songs. |
| **Metric Structure** | Number of syllables noted for each line of stanza.[390]<br>Sometimes noted that there is too much variation in the song for this to be worthwhile. |
| **Notes** | Any notes that might be helpful to myself or a reader when exploring the database. |

**<u>Figure 4:</u> Key to database fields in Database 2 (Sheet 1: 'By Tune')**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Tune Code** | Code assigned to each tune in the database. |
| **Tune** | Tune name given, where known. Names followed by a question mark if assigned name lacks certainty. Where a tune name is unknown, but a song has been heard with a unique tune, this is noted as 'Unknown – [Song Name].' |
| **Songs heard with tune** | 'Song Names' (as found in D1) listed where I have heard them sung with a particular tune, OR there is tune indicated in a textual source. |
| **No. heard with tune** | Essentially the number of songs (for which there is good evidence) that correspond with the given tune. |
| **Songs COULD[391] be sung with this tune** | 'Song Name' listed where it seems likely that a song *could* be performed using the given tune.<br>Noted as N/A where this is not relevant. |
| **No. COULD be sung** | Number of songs that *could* be sung using the given tune. |
| **Total COULD be sung** | Total of 'No. heard with tune' and 'No. COULD be sung.' |

[390] This took the metrical indexes from hymn books as inspiration.

[391] The 'COULD' categories in this database exist to show where, through analysis of elements such as shared choruses, I have suggested where a tune might be suitable for a song in the case where I have been unable to find a 'definite' tune. Further details on this are available in Chapter 3.4.

| | |
|---|---|
| **Why could be shared?** | Details given for why I believe songs *could* be assigned the given tune.<br>Shared/Partial/Similar chorus<br>Shared words/phrases.<br>Noted as N/A where this is not relevant. |
| **Times tune heard** | Number of instances I have heard the tune performed, either live or on recordings. |
| **Maj, Min, Mod** | Indication of the mode of the tune, where heard. |
| **Original Key(s)*** | List of the key of each individual performance. |
| **Time Sig** | Time signatures provided where possible. Two or more time signatures may be given, followed by a question mark in cases of uncertainty. |
| **Where found *** | (See D1) |
| **Singer(s)*** | (See D1) |
| **Notes** | Notes about the tunes. |

*These fields should be read horizontally from 'Songs heard with tune' to find the songs to which these performances correspond.

**Key to database fields in Database 2 (Sheet 2: 'By Song')**

All the database fields in this spreadsheet can also be found in D1 or D2-Sheet 1 'By Tune'

**<u>Figure 5:</u> Key to database fields in Database 2 (Sheet 3: 'Tune Categories')**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Tune Code** | See figure 4. |
| **Tune** | See figure 4. |
| **Songs heard with tune** | See figure 4. |
| **Tune Category** | See Chapter 3.4. |

It can be seen in D1 that there are 169 songs for which tunes are noted as 'Unknown,' either because I have never heard the song performed or because I have heard the song performed but the tune's provenance is unclear. In the latter case, most of the tunes come from the Country Voices project. I took the decision early on in my work not to spend too much time identifying these tunes, since they are most likely a slight variation on existing popular tunes, altered just enough to avoid infringing on copyright. I have been unable to confirm this with anyone involved in the Country Voices project due to Elli Logan's ill health, but Stewart Guy from 'Countryside Audio & Visual'[392] agreed in a telephone conversation in July 2015 that this was likely.[393]

[392] "Home", *Countryside Audio & Visual,* accessed July 2015, https://countryside-video.co.uk/.

[393] Stewart has been involved in similar projects in different parts of the UK and he explained that they would start with a known tune for a few bars and then deviate just enough to get around the copyright for the tune and, being aware of Elli and her project, thought the process would be 'probably similar' for many of the tunes on the Country Voices CDs.

The aim of compiling these databases was to collate all of the information I was able to find about the songs in my collection. Along with the 313 songs, I have found approximately 147 tunes which I have been able to assign to around 189 of the songs through analysis of features such as shared tunes, choruses and words/phrases. In the remainder of Part 2, I look in more detail at all the information compiled in the databases, while attempting to analyse what my collection might be able to tell us about Lakeland Hunting Songs through their texts and tunes.

## 3.2 Hunting Songs Then and Now

I have described the songs that I have collected as 'Lakeland Hunting Songs,' but upon what basis do I use this term? Was there anything in the texts of these songs that could reinforce this claim? And if not, what reasons justify calling them 'Hunting Songs'? Moreover, in what sense are they 'Lakeland Songs,' other than the geographical location in which they were collected? I will discuss how they might be considered to be 'Lakeland Songs' in Chapter 3.3; the present chapter will consider historical precedents of 'Hunting Songs' and compare them to the songs in my collection.

The University of California's English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) and the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) have been invaluable resources for this chapter. Just by searching 'hunting songs' on ECCO, for example, 537 monographs, many containing multiple examples of hunting songs, are available to me for comparison. These publications included slip-songs, broadsides and chapbooks; however, though many are collections of songs that had been performed on the stage, none of those cited in this chapter give any indication of the tune that should be used. This is arguably not surprising, since 'printed materials which circulated the words of songs rarely included the music.'[394]

The hunting songs I have found on both EBBA and ECCO (simply by searching for the phrase 'hunting song') bear a striking resemblance in both text and narrative to the songs in my collection that are specifically about hunting. Broadly, these songs are all structured to include the following key elements:

1. Setting off to the hunt, early in the morning, with a description of the weather;
2. A description of people there, the hounds and the horses;
3. The landscape through which they travelled;
4. A description of the chase and how the fox/hare/stag/boar tried to outwit them;
5. The hunted animal being caught and a celebration of the sport, and
6. The hunters retiring at the end of the day for a drink.

Within this broad structure are also many words and phrases that appear in songs of various dates within my collection, examples of which are given below. In addition to this, many of the songs (in EBBA/ECCO and also in my collection) have a chorus or a last line of a stanza that is repeated, presumably by way of encouraging audience participation.

[394] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 32.

The comparisons also made evident how similar the 'feel' of the lines is between the early and more contemporary songs, as well as the stanzaic structure. Most of the lines in the stanzas fall into two metric groups:

1. In threes: (u / u u / u u / u u /)
2. In twos: (u / u / u / u /)

In both instances, I do not think it is too great a leap to suggest that both metric patterns could have been influenced by the actual experience of those involved in hunting. Assuming that these earlier songs were composed with hunting on horseback in mind, the first example could be said to emulate the sound of a horse's cantering hooves (which fall in a three-beat gait); the second could be either a trotting horse (a two-beat gait) or even the human heartbeat, excited by a day's hunting. This may be romanticising the issue but, since the melodies are sometimes musically centred around the sound of the hunting horn (that is, with oscillating fifths), it seems plausible to make this connection. And David Hillery offers a similar interpretation of the arguably unique essence of hunting songs, especially amongst those for whom hunting is a passion:

> Simply to locate the role, function and effect of hunting songs only in the immediate aftermath of the hunt itself is to overlook the hunt's symbolic value to those who practise and support it. For those people (and for many who have never seen a hunt), the colourful images of the hunt are easily brought to mind. The ways in which the images have habitually been represented, though distorted in recent years by hunt saboteurs and earlier by artists such as William Hogarth and William Blake, have commonly been benign: the de rigueur dress codes of the different classes and the assertive conviviality of the leading actors; the freedom to roam in a manicured but fertile landscape; the well-groomed horses and hounds working in concert; the almost inevitably fine weather; the implied inclusivity of the occasion when anyone could participate; the professed mutual respect between predators and victim.[395]

The broadside ballads in the above collections are all printed sources, of course; and this begs the question of the history of literacy in CumbrIa—or what was known as Cumberland and Westmorland at the time of the genesis of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. Schools have existed in some way in the Lake District from at least the mid-fourteenth century when Keswick School was founded.[396] The

[395] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 89-90.
[396] "History of Keswick School", *Keswick School*, accessed 23 August 2015, https://www.keswick.cumbria.sch.uk/our-school/history-of-keswick-school.

secondary school in Kirkby Lonsdale that I myself attended was founded in 1591, and Sedbergh School and St. Bees School were founded in 1525 and 1583 respectively. Moreover, education was available in Ambleside from at least the early 1600s.[397] The first curate of Ambleside, John Bell, like many other parish priests, supplemented his stipend through teaching. This first school eventually became the 'Kelsick School' after the death in 1723 of Ambleside resident John Kelsick, who left property and an endowment for a free school in his will. Among the school's pupils were the sons of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth.[398]

In the 1850s, Westmorland (one of the former administrative counties which now makes up Cumbria) was in the top three English counties for the 'highest proportion of week-day scholars to total population.'[399] And throughout the nineteenth century Cumberland and Westmorland led all the English counties in terms of apparent literacy.[400] How this came about does not appear to be entirely clear, but Marshall and Walton suggest in *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century* that a proportionally high number of Sunday Schools and favourable ratios of schoolteachers to pupils contributed greatly to these statistics. But, above all, it seems there was a general attitude among Cumbrian society that education was a worthwhile and valuable pursuit.[401]

Given these seemingly high levels of literacy, it thus seems inevitable that, by the mid-nineteenth century, when the Lakeland Fell Packs had become established in a form recognisable today, printed balladry and poetry would have left their mark on the style of songs being written and performed in Lakeland. Indeed, the development of the printing press 'led to an explosion of printed ballads and broadsides in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,'[402] the influence of which on Lakeland Hunting Songs will be central to the rest of this chapter.

It could be easy to assume that, due to its difficult terrain, Cumbria may have been somewhat cut off from popular trends emerging from London during previous centuries. However, as previously discussed, this is certainly not the case. Hillery notes:

> [that] at least from the early eighteenth century, important influences upon the shape of popular culture in [North Yorkshire] have come from outside the locale; that these

[397] Barbara Crossley, *The Other Ambleside* (Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, 2000), 11.
[398] Ibid.
[399] J. D. Marshall & John K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press: 1981), 140.
[400] Ibid, 141.
[401] Ibid, 138-153.
[402] Fumerton and Guerrini, 'Introduction: Straws in the Wind,' 1.

> influences have been driven by urban, sometimes metropolitan, economic forces; and that an important mode of inward transmission has been literary as well as oral.[403]

The influence of broadsides can be seen throughout England, certainly by the time the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition was coming into its own. Roud tells us that 'it has been reliably claimed that 90 to 95 per cent of the items the Victorian and Edwardian collectors noted as 'folk songs' had appeared on broadsides in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'[404] Thus, although hunting songs, specifically, had probably 'originally been aimed at consumers of the higher social classes,'[405] the reproduction of these in the Lakes in printed form might well have allowed members of the Fell Packs to use them for their own purposes.[406]

If we now take a look at some actual examples, I hope the similarities between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hunting songs and the hunting songs in my collection will become clear. Since Lakeland Hunting really only established itself in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century, by which time ballads and broadsides had had time to reach all levels of society[407] (particularly in England), it is arguably not surprising that this newly-established practice looked to songs already in existence for inspiration.

[403] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 85-86.
[404] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 442.
[405] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 91.
[406] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 443.
[407] Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, 'Introduction: Straws in the Wind,' in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 2.

**Broad structure and key elements**

First, let us consider examples that show that the broad structure of a 'hunting song' (i.e. one that talks explicitly of a day's hunting) appears to have changed very little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1. Setting off to the hunt, early in the morning, with a description of the weather

Generally, these songs start by setting the scene of the day being recalled. Notable features include 'calls' for the hunters/sportsmen, since often the hunts start early in the morning. Setting off early is a practical decision, because it is easier for the hounds to find a scent, but one supposes that there is also a dramatic element present in setting up the listener for an epic hunt that took all day. I also enjoy how nearly every hunting song will include a description of the weather, and I wonder whether this is a British peculiarity; I certainly feel it better sets the scene for me as a listener, but it would be interesting to look at hunting songs from other countries and see if this element receives equal weight in those traditions. Hunting takes place during the winter months, so it may be that good weather is remarked upon merely for its rarity, but it is also generally believed that the best days for hunting are sunny with low wind: foxes, in particular, are less likely to venture out if it is very wet unless they absolutely have to. Mentions of mist and dew are also common, as mist will often eventually rise on a winter's morning to reveal good weather; perhaps these presage something good to come. One further element to note here is that mentions of horns appear to be relatively absent from the songs in my collection when compared to those from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Horns do still commonly appear in songs in my collection; but it appears that, over time, for reasons I have been unable to ascertain, they are mentioned later in the song.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| The hounds are all out, and the morning doth peep,<br>Come rise up, you sluggardly lot:[1] | Stubble field and autumn mist and cobwebs pearled with dew,<br>Riders standing silent as the sun creeps into view[2] | [1] 'Hunting Songs, ESTC: T167924 (ECCO)<br>[2] 'Autumn Chorus' |
| One Valentines Day in the Morning,<br>bright Phoebus began to appear,[3] | Now we'll all go a hunting on this fine Boxing morn,[4] | [3] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298)<br>[4] 'The Boxing Day Meet' |
| The sun from the east tips the mountains with gold,<br>And, the meadows all spangled with dew-drops, behold<br>The lark's early mattin proclaims the new day,<br>And the horn's chearful summons rebukes our delay[5] | Come rise brother sportsmen, the morning it is fine,<br>Our horses we'll mount and we're sure to have a find,[6] | [5] 'Hunting Song,' ESTC: T300924 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Dumfriesshire Hunt Song' |
| Away to the field, see the morning looks grey,<br>And, sweetly bedappled, forbodes a fine day;[7] | Come with me at the dawn of the day,[8] | [7] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: N35272 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Hunt with me' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| From the East breaks the morn,<br>See the sun beams adorn[9] | The morn is here, awake, my lads,<br>Away, away.[10] | [9] 'A Hunting Cantata,' ESTC: T189263 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'The Mardale Hunt' |
| While beams the bright morn,<br>How sweet sounds the horn,<br>For the chace while the hunters prepare,[11] | On boxing day morning we went to the hunt<br>We met them at seven on t' public house front[12] | [11] 'Duet,' ESTC: T180636, (ECCO)<br>[12] 'Paul Whitehead' |

2. A description of who was there, the hounds, and the horses

These descriptions, again, help set the scene for the hunt that is about to unfold. What I find most notable about these examples are how some 'insider' knowledge is generally needed, in the case of the songs from my collection, to really understand who was there, since full names are rarely given. One could perhaps look up Charles Turner (for example, in *Baily's Hunting Directory*[408]) to get an idea who this person was; but that becomes very difficult if all you have to go on is 'Ernie' or 'young Barbara.' In the second example below ('The Duck Hunt,' from my collection), one would first need to know that this is a Coniston Foxhounds song, which would then make it much easier to work out who all the people are. But this does perhaps reinforce the idea that many of the songs in my collection were written with a particular audience in mind: listeners with prior knowledge of the tradition, people, and locations.

Some of the language used here will be considered further below in a discussion of recurrent words and phrases, but it is perhaps worth noting here the consistencies in the language that so often describes dogs, horses, and foxes, as well as in the type of names the dogs are given. Dogs' barks are often described as 'talking,' 'calling,' 'roaring' or 'music'; bravery amongst animals is often celebrated (mettle, gallant, and foxes [Reynard] are often described as 'bold'), and bloodlines are also important ('sprung from the Race of Charles Turners fam'd breed'). Again, with a little insider knowledge, it may be possible to decode the species of animal being discussed both from the type of language used and the names used. Dido and Countess, for example, are famous dogs' names, and we know that Thunder must be a dog because the text refers to his 'call'—a term that would not be applied to a horse. Then again, 'Brait' and 'Joe,' names from Lakeland Hunting Songs, must refer to dogs, since these hunts are not mounted.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| Dexter and Delver and Dido for speed,<br>All sprung from the Race of Charles Turners fam'd breed[1] | This we knew by Thunder's call<br>With Geordie Birkett and many others[2] | [1] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[2] 'Brait and Joe' |
| George Baker, on Blacklegs how determind his looks, | There's Ernie all in scarlet dress | [3] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090) |

[408] Published since 1897 and now found online: https://www.bailyshuntingdirectory.com/hunting-directory/.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| He defies the whole field over hedge, ditch, or brooks[3] | There's Anthony there in his red vest,<br>There's Mr Bruce—one of the best, away, my lads, away.[4] | [4] 'The Duck Hunt' |
| Tom Mossman cries God sounds<br>Uncouple all your Hounds<br>Or else we shall never come near him.<br>Then Caper and Countess,<br>And Comely were thrown off,<br>With Famous Thumper and Cryer.[5] | Cos Barker's voice says 'yer can gar, bold Reynard's ligin' high';<br>So up they spread, la'al Countess said, 'Bold Reynard's nearby,'<br>But Tramper's pace was up t'crag face, he'd seen bold Reynard fly.[6] | [5] 'The FOX-CHACE or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the / Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, &c.,' (EBBA 32675).<br>[6] 'Placefell Hunt' |
| The Fouler did roar, hearing Toiler before,<br>Brave music makes Sweet-lips and Mally,[7] | The Major and Tom, John Cross they were there<br>With Robin and Dick and young Barbara so fair[8] | [7] 'The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: T202875 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Otter Hunting Song' |
| Dick Thickset came mounted upon a fine black,<br>A better fleet gelding, ne'er hunter did back,<br>Tom Trip rode a bay, full of mettle and bone;<br>And gaily Bob Bexom rode proud on a roan;<br>But the horse of all horses that rival'd the day,<br>Was the Squire's Neck-o'nothing, and that was a grey[9] | Young Countess and Careless were first in the chase,<br>Going nearly a mile in a minute;<br>For Matchem and Music too hot was the pace,<br>But Trixie and Comrade were in it.[10] | [9] 'Hunting Songs – 2,' ESTC: T84266 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'The Ullswater Pack' |

3. The landscape through which they travelled

In both sets of examples it would seem that the more ground and variety of terrain covered, the better; presumably this demonstrates the skill, tenacity, and bravery of the hunters and hounds. As in the previous tables, the Lakeland Hunting Song examples are much more geared towards some 'insider' knowledge of the Lake District. The journey from the Duddon valley to Pillar, for example (as seen in the table below), is around 20 miles, running from Broughton-in-Furness to Ennerdale and including a quick trip up Scafell Pike (the highest mountain in England),[409] but this would be lost on anyone without the necessary geographical knowledge. This 'cataloguing [of] places, characters or events'[410] is a feature also seen in songs of the Pennine Packs in their locally-composed songs.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| Oer Mountains, Moors and Rocks.[1] | O'er moor and crag he sped[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'Early Morning Hunt With Carol' |
| They rode up the highest Hills,<br>And down the steepest Dales,[3] | From Duddons valley fair to the Pillar gaunt and bare<br>O'er Red Pike back to Scafell searching every rocky lair[4] | [3] 'The FOX-CHACE or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the / Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, &c.,' (EBBA 32675)<br>[4] 'Tommy Dobson (1)' |

[409] This particular song is not talking about one single hunt – rather the area covered by the huntsman – but the point still stands, I believe.
[410] Russell, 'The Hunt's Up?,' 132.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Oft doth he trace, through Wood, Parke and Chase[5] | Those hounds they drew in front of brook, 'twas there they struck a drag<br>And it took them ower Sickers Fell and roused in Hobdale Crag[6] | [5] 'Maister Basse his Careere, / OR / The new Hunting of the Hare.,' (EBBA 20213)<br>[6] 'The Sedbergh Hunt' |
| The wild heath and the mountains so high.<br>The wild heath, &c.[7] | So Paul took his hounds away on the fell<br>He caught up with Reynard in Cautley Cragg[8] | [7] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T118512 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Paul Whitehead' |
| O'er rocks, hills, and hedges, and rivers we fly,[9] | In the green and pleasant pastures[10] | [9] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T178825 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Neighbours' |
| When we sweep o'er the Vallies, or climb<br>U[p] the Health-breathing Mountains sublime,[11] | And through the peaceful valley steals[12] | [11] 'The Hunters Garland,' ESTC: T36857 (ECCO)<br>[12] 'In Memory of the Late William Porter of Eskdale' |
| Each woodland and hill,<br>Each river or rill,<br>Enliven the sweet smelling scene,<br>Each meadow is grac'd.<br>By nature's own taste,[13] | The up Scarrowmanwick, and up Lime Kiln top,<br>He hadn't a breather and no time to stop,<br>Then over Clints Lonning and up Renwick Fell[14] | [13] 'The New Hunting Song,' ESTC: T178329 (ECCO)<br>[14] 'Bewcastle Hunt Song' |

4. A description of the chase and how the fox / hare / stag / boar tried to outwit them

It is my understanding that many people involved in Lakeland Hunting ascribed central importance to the attempts of the animal being hunted (before the hunting ban, of course) to *outwit* the hounds and hunters. What makes a good hunt (for those involved with Lakeland Hunting) is not when the quarry is caught easily; I am told that hunters want to see animals behaving in their natural way and using their instincts. During my interviews, many of those I spoke to told me about some of the best hunts they had attended, and in many instances the fox (in most cases) actually got away, a factor acknowledged by Roger Renwick when discussing a Yorkshire hunting song: 'Not too strangely, the noble fox wins this particular contest by escaping, for this is not a world of good and evil, of winners and losers.'[411] My point—and one that many who hold anti-hunting views struggle to comprehend—is that everyone I have met involved in Lakeland Hunting would likely consider themselves to be animal lovers. Hunting for sport is still something in which I do not want to participate personally, but I can still appreciate this viewpoint. This is why it is not unusual that the language used to describe the quarry so often borders on the reverential, with the prey's attempts to escape celebrated in the songs. Of course, I also understand that many people might find this distressing—that an animal is being chased and under duress for a long period of time.

[411] Roger deV. Renwick, *English Folk Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 120.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| To Ellerby, to Hinderwell,<br>Still stubborn Reynard flies,[1] | Well Reynard knew the fate in store<br>In vain he doubled back[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'Badger and Butcher' |
| Who presently lept oer a brook,<br>And a desperate leap I declare[3] | Our fox started twisting, hounds stuck to his line…<br>They coursed him through heather and ran him to view.[4] | [3] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match' (EBBA 31298)<br>[4] 'The Cumberland Hunt' |
| See yonder sits Reynard so crafty and sly,<br>Come saddle your couriers apace,<br>The hounds have a scent, and are all in full cry,<br>They long to be giving him chace[5] | He hadn't a breather and no time to stop,<br>Then over Clints Lonning and up Renwick Fell,<br>The last sight of Reynard he was going like hell.[6] | [5] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T189930 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Bewcastle Hunt Song' |
| Each earth see he tries at in vain,<br>In cover no safety can find;[7] | The fox shot out to save his brush<br>And over the top did go<br>So that's your lot, he'll never stop[8] | [7] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T76196 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell' |
| Then casting about, we find her anew,<br>And we raise then a hallo to chear them;[9] | Now hunters now were squandered wide and they all rushed in off t' tops<br>And everyone did all agree he was a handsome fox<br>But still they gave sly Reynard chase till on past Hollin Hill[10] | [9] 'The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: T173923 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'The Sedbergh Hunt' |

5. The hunted animal being caught and / or celebration of the sport

I think it useful to note here that it is not the hunted animal being killed that is celebrated as such; the actual kill is often almost glossed over in many songs. But the act of having eventually caught the quarry *is* celebrated; the central point is that these hunters and hounds were able to outsmart or outrun the cunning fox. In Lakeland Hunting Songs in particular it would seem that there is some importance in stating which pack was responsible for the kill, perhaps almost as a way of asserting dominance over the other Lakeland Fell Packs.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| But our Hounds being in<br>They after him did swim,<br>And so they destroyd him for ever.[1] | Here's to the hunters and hounds in pursuit<br>May we hunt till the end of our time[2] | [1] 'The FOX-CHACE or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the / Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, &c.,' (EBBA 32675)<br>[2] 'The Dragman' |
| And heres a good health to the Sportman<br>That hunts with the horn and the hound<br>I hope youl all pledge for the future,<br>And so let this health go round[3] | Kill him we may but this I'll say<br>He'll always get fair play,<br>On mountain steep, or borran deep<br>A chance to slip away.[4] | [3] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298)<br>[4] 'Hunt with me' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At last from strength to faintess worn,<br>Poor Reynard ceases flight;[5] | Then when the chase is done, after victory is won<br>When Reynard's lifeless body meets their gaze ere set o' sun<br>Every hunter boasts with pride, throughout all the countryside<br>No equals have their pack and Tommy Dobson[6] | [5] 'A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: N21242 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Tommy Dobson (1)' |
| By eager pursuing we'll have him at last,<br>He's too tir'd poor rogue down he lies,<br>Now starts up afresh - young Snap has him fast,<br>He trembles, kicks, struggles, and dies.[7] | Out of the rocks he bolts with one big rush,<br>But is far too late to try to save his brush,<br>The Ullswater Hounds they catch him, no other pack can match them,<br>Out of the rocks he bolts in one big rush.[8] | [7] [Untitled], ESTC: T75328 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Hunting in the Morning' |
| And now he scarce creeps thro' the dale;<br>All parch'd from his mouth hangs his tongue!<br>His speed can no longer avail;<br>Nor his life can his cunning prolong.[9] | Though he took o'er Kidsty we held to his track,<br>For we hunted, my lads, with the Ullswater pack,<br>Who caught up the fox and effected a kill<br>By the silvery stream of the bonny Ramps Gill.[10] | [9] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T178825 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Joe Bowman' |
| And for hounds, our opinion, with thousands we'll back;<br>That all England throughout can't produce such a pack[11] | He falters he stumbles, he turns round to face them<br>With his last dying breath he defies them to take him<br>A sudden wild burst, his life it is over<br>The horn sounds farewell, gone home the red rover[12] | [11] 'A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: T66618 (ECCO)<br>[12] 'Red Rover' |

6. The hunters retiring at the end of the day for a drink

As with any winter sport, arguably the best part of the day is getting into the pub and out of the cold at the end of the day. Looking at examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests that this practice is nothing new! As with previous examples, this is another area in which a particular community's identity is reinforced with 'insider' references. There are often references to tatie pot suppers (the Cumbrian equivalent of a Lancashire Hotpot), which are commonly served after hunt meets, but also certain pub names require local knowledge, if one is to fully appreciate the location; some songs even mention people who might have been in attendance.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| Come sportsmen all your Glasses fill,<br>And let the toast go round;<br>May each Foxhunter flourish still,<br>In Health and Strength abound,[1] | A drink with me before you part<br>A hunting song to end,<br>A good day gone and a new friend won,<br>Good night! Good luck, my friend.[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'Hunt with me' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Now our sport being over lets home wihout fail,<br>And drown those misfortunes in Punch and good Ale;[3] | So it's back to the pub we'll go[4] | [3] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[4] 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell' |
| To laugh and qu[a]ff in Wine or Beer,<br>A full Carouse to your Career.[5] | So it's back to the pub for the ale and the grub<br>Tatie pot piled on the platters[6] | [5] 'THE / Hunting of the Hare; / WITH / Her Last Will and Testament.,' (EBBA 31312)<br>[6] 'Bring Back the Days' |
| Then weary homeward we return,<br>And drink away the night.[7] | Then home with our prize to the White Lion Inn<br>Where beer and good vittles' abounded.[8] | [7] 'A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: N21242 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'The Ullswater Pack' |
| Now home, my brave boys, and to Bacchus repair,<br>And each take a glass to his favourite fair:<br>Day and night is thus spent, in mirth, joy, and content;<br>And may huntsmen for ever be strangers to care.[9] | To the pub we go to drink and sing a song,<br>Of the hunting in the hills where we belong,<br>So stand and raise your glasses to all hunting lads and lasses,<br>Who go hunting on our mountains in the morn.[10] | [9] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Hunting in the Morning' |

What appears to make a song a 'Hunting Song' is the inclusion of the six elements outlined above, though it is not necessary to include all of these elements every single time. Indeed, examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often omit the names of people, dogs, or places (perhaps not surprising, given that many of these songs were written to be performed in theatres and pleasure gardens rather than at hunt suppers); but the overall structure defined by the use of these elements justifies, I believe, assigning them to the genre of 'Hunting Songs.'

These findings correlate with those of Roger Renwick when discussing 'local hunting songs,' who notes that the songs' 'focus is the core value of [their] bracketed world.'[412] He continues by observing the tendency of such songs to catalogue all involved, both hunters and animals, 'for each part is but a microcosm of a unity of good-fellowship and singular enjoyment.'[413] Thus to understand Lakeland Hunting Songs a collector must have a certain degree of 'insider' knowledge; possibly this explains why the Edwardian collectors, in particular, did not collect any more than one of the songs in my collection. Indeed, in considering 'The Fylingdale Fox-hunt' (as performed by Jack Beeforth) David Hillery notes that:

> Only if it is considered within its context can a song of this genre's real meaning, significance and function be properly understood. To outsiders, it tediously recounts an unremarkable episode. To the local society the narrative and description is engaging and recognisable as a real event. In verse one Jack personalises the song by shifting the date from Kidson's 1811 to 1911 so that it comes within his own hunting lifetime. The ten verses of the Beeforth version are peppered with local topographical detail and landmarks.[414]

[412] Ibid, 119.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 36-37.

Similarly in the satirical song-making traditions of north-eastern America, this idea that these are local songs for local people 'makes them difficult for the outsider to collect, and they are conspicuously absent from a number of area collections.'[415] This also explains my own advantage in collecting and researching these songs: due to my position as a partial insider, I am able to appreciate many Lakeland Hunting Songs (on at least some level) much more than any outsider could. However, I do not believe that this should be used to excuse further study of these songs; indeed, I would be surprised if anyone with any degree of interest in sociocultural history found them to be tedious, as Hillery alludes.

While it is true that the structure of hunting songs has remained largely unchanged from the seventeenth century (songs written in the past five years or so still follow this if they pertain directly to hunting, even since the hunting ban), it is also the case that, within this structure, there were several areas in which songs marked themselves as *Lakeland* Hunting Songs by inserting local geographic and personal names (albeit sometimes given in shorthand). This might suggest that, at least in the hunting genre, it might be possible to identify a piece as a *Lakeland* Hunting Song just by reading the text.

**Recurring words and phrases**

As shown above, much of the language and turns of phrase used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hunting songs are strikingly similar to those used in the Lakeland Hunting Songs in my collection today. As a result the older songs would arguably still seem very familiar to persons associated with Lakeland Hunting nowadays. To help dissect this relationship, I have created six subcategories of recurring words and phrases, which appear below in no particular order: Foxes; Dogs; People; Terrain; Hunting, and Drinking.

1. Foxes

Foxes (commonly named 'Reynard') are often described in a particular way: they are usually 'bold,' and they use their cunning to try and outwit the hunters and hounds. They are also fast on their feet; thus 'Reynard' might often 'fly' while 'he tries' to save his 'brush' (the fox's tail, which in the past might have been hung up in the pub to display as trophies from the hunt that day), and he is 'often the equal of those in pursuit.'[416] Hillery suggests 'an explanation for the continuing anthropomorphism in these songs may be that it gives heightened significance to the fox-hunt proceedings; if the prey is worthy, if the prize has been hard-won. The boast is then worth the uttering, the song worth the singing.'[417] I was surprised at first to see 'Reynard' so widely used in Lakeland Hunting Songs, given this character's medieval origins.[418] Since the character of Reynard the Fox was a hero in a satire about German society in the Middle Ages, the word Reynard means

[415] Szwed, 'Paul E. Hall,' 156.
[416] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 39.
[417] Ibid, 40.
[418] *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, ed. Alix Gudefin (Leicester: Blitz Editions, 1993), s.v. "Reynard the Fox", 1053.

'deep counsel or wit.'[419] It could be that 'Reynard' continues to be used in Lakeland Hunting Songs because of the already-established style of writing national hunting songs; song writers may have felt it added gravitas or romanticism to their songs, or perhaps that it was what one was 'supposed' to call a fox in song. It might also be the case that 'Reynard' serves as a euphemism to mask the fact that an animal was killed: it was the character, and his wicked and crafty traits, that the people were hunting.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| the thick Cover **he tries**[1] | He doubles, he dodges, **he tries** every trick[2] | [1] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[2] 'Otter Hunting Song' |
| for **bold Reynards brush**[3] | I'll take you to **bold Reynard's** lair[4] | [3] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[4] 'The Duck Hunt' |
| **Poor Reynard** ceases flight[5] | We could see by his **brush** that **poor Reynard** was paid[6] | [5] 'A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: N21242 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Bewcastle Hunt Song' |
| Nor his life can **his cunning** prolong[7] | Where he hoped by **his cunning** to give us a check[8] | [7] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T178825 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Joe Bowman' |
| Tho Reynard may **fly**, his fate is to die[9] | he'd seen bold Reynard **fly**[10] | [9] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Placefell Hunt' |

2. Dogs

Three main themes seem to characterise the words or phrases used to describe the dogs found in hunting songs: how they behave; the noises they make; and to which pack they belong. The first theme includes natural canine behaviours such as questing, scenting, and rallying, but the dogs are also very often described as gallant—they are brave but also engage in fair play—which is a curious (and very anthropomorphic) way of describing an animal. Canine noises are often equated to music, so common words include 'harmony,' 'chorus,' and 'music.' Since all of these terms also appear in earlier hunting songs, these words might simply suggest the continuation of tradition, applied specifically to descriptions of the sounds dogs make (their 'music' specifically refers to the yelps made by hounds as they communicate with other members of their pack); but I personally find it pleasing to postulate a parallel between the 'music' being made on the hillsides by the dogs with that made by singers in the pub afterwards. Finally, many hunting songs will end with a celebration of a particular pack of dogs and the Fell Pack to which they belong, presumably to reinforce a sense of community identity.

[419] Ibid.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| But if he keep running at this **gallant** pace[1] | with his speedy **gallant** hounds[2] | [1] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[2] 'Neighbours' |
| And let them go **questing** along[3] | the game little beagles are **questing**[4] | [3] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298)<br>[4] 'Beagle Inn' |
| [O]ur Hounds have **a Scent** of the Game[5] | hounds still run free on **a scent** which is true[6] | [5] 'The Hunters Garland,' ESTC: T36857 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'The Dragman' |
| And the squat makes the ratches to **rally**.[7] | As we hark to the pack's clinking **rally**[8] | [7] ' The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: T147978 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Bring Back the Days' |
| Which **re-echoes** around[9] | The rugged hills o'er Kirkstone Pass<br>**Re-echoed** with their song.[10] | [9] 'Duet,' ESTC: T180636 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Badger and Butcher' |
| With the Noise of our sweet **harmony**[11] | He'd never seen a hound before<br>Or heard such **harmony**[12] | [11] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298)<br>[12] 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell' |
| The hounds have a scent, and are all in **full cry**[13] | Of hounds running in **full cry**[14] | [13] 'Hunting Songs and Cantatas – 46,' ESTC: T189255 (ECCO)<br>[14] 'Hunting Round the Bar' |
| When we follow the hounds in full **chorus**[15] | Hounds **chorus** morning Joe[16] | [15] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[16] 'Joe Wear' |
| Brave **music** makes Sweet-lips and Mally,[17] | 'Tis **music** sweet to dalesman's ear,<br>When hounds give mouth so loud and clear[18] | [17] 'The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: T202875 (ECCO)<br>[18] 'The Mardale Hunt' |
| For the **cry of the hounds**[19] | Through the valley sounds the **cry of the hounds**[20] | [19] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: N21242 (ECCO)<br>[20] 'Hunt with me' |
| And **musical** Echo-well, with his deep mouth[21] | "Tally ho!", cried Joe Bowman, "the hounds are away,<br>O'er the hills let us follow their **musical** bay."[22] | [21] 'Hunting Songs – 2,' ESTC: T84266 (ECCO)<br>[22] 'Joe Bowman' |
| While joyous **from valley to valley resounds**[23] | Chorus of hounds **from the fell tops resounds**[24] | [23] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T76196<br>[24] 'Bring Back the Days' |
| That all England throughout can't produce **such a pack**[25] | **famed** Ullswater **pack**[26] | [25] 'A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: T66618 (ECCO)<br>[26] 'Badger and Butcher' |

3. People

In describing the people involved, the main themes seem to be bravery and sportsmanship. This is perhaps linked with the description of hounds as 'gallant'; the important idea in both cases is seems to be that the hunt is fair. The songs also often use the word 'rare' when talking about specific huntsmen,

suggesting that no-one else behaved in the same way or were as good as they were. Again, this could serve to strengthen a particular community's identity, but perhaps it also legitimises the song being written, in that it commemorates particularly special acts or behaviour.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| A sportsman so **rare**[1] | Our Bowman is a huntsman **rare**[2] | [1] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[2] 'The Mardale Hunt' |
| As a **true honest Sportsman** he never will yield[3] | To the north Bob Proud's a huntsman and a **sportsman true and fine**[4] | [3] 'A New Hunting Song, / Made on a FOX Chase,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[4] 'Neighbours' |
| See how the brave hunters, with **courage** elate[5] | Such **courage** and beauty none other can claim[6] | [5] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T76196<br>[6] 'The Cock of the Game' |
| Look out, **brother sportsmen**, the morning is clear[7] | Come rise **brother sportsmen**, the morning it is fine[8] | [7] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Dumfriesshire Hunt Song' |
| The **shouts of the hunters** and cry of the hounds.[9] | The **shout of the hunters** it startled the stag[10] | [9] 'Song 209.' ESTC: T99277 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Joe Bowman' |
| Now home, my **brave boys**[11] | The **brave lads** of the valleys[12] | [11] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[12] 'The Terrier Song (1)' |
| In vain on your **mettle** you try boys in vain[13] | Here's to the blood, in his **mettle** and pride[14] | [13] 'The Fox-Chace. A Favourite Hunting Song,' ESTC: T224688 (ECCO)<br>[14] 'The Cock of the Game' |

4. Terrain

It appears that emphasising extremes in terrain is common in hunting songs, perhaps to reinforce the bravery and temerity of the hunters and hounds. Other words commonly used are 'cover' and 'earth,' describing places where foxes might hide.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| Oer **Mountains, Moors and Rocks**[1] | We ken our **moors, our rocks and dells**[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'The Mardale Hunt' |
| And forcd him to turn to his **Cover**[3] | Made straight away for the **cover**[4] | [3] 'The FOX-CHACE or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the / Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, &c.,' (EBBA 32675)<br>[4] 'Dido Bendigo' |
| That we killd **above the Rocks**[5] | We'll catch a fox up **on the rocks**[6] | [5] 'The FOX-CHACE or the Huntsman's Harmony, by the / Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds, &c.,' (EBBA 32675)<br>[6] 'The Sedbergh Hunt' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Each **earth** see he tries at in vain,[7] | In no **earth** could he find refuge[8] | [7] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T76196 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'The Morpeth Fouxhounds' |
| We scour the **Hills and the Dales**[9] | O ye who love to race after foxes in the chase<br>Mongst the **hills and dales** of Cumbria[10] | [9] 'The Hounds &c,' ESTC: T178321 (ECCO)<br>[10] 'Tommy Dobson (1)' |

5. Hunting

This category contains a slight miscellany of recurrent words and phrases. The first four examples are all words or phrases that I feel are specific to hunting as a sport and that are commonly used in the choruses of hunting songs. Again, their use in Lakeland Hunting Songs at first took me somewhat by surprise, since I had associated phrases like 'tally-ho' specifically with upper-class culture (which is generally not prevalent among Lakeland hunters). However, their continuing use could, again be simply a matter of tradition: these are the words that are 'supposed' to be used in the chorus of a hunting song.

The other words and phrases used here are more general and did not fit nicely into any of my other categories. They are, however, quite common throughout the hunting songs in my collection, especially those about finding enjoyment in hunting. What is worth noting, though, are the reflexive turns of phrase, something I will discuss in more detail shortly.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| When **a hunting we do go**[1]<br><br>And **a hunting we will go**, - oho, oho, oho[3] | So **a-hunting we will** go me lads a-hunting we will go[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'The Sedbergh Hunt'<br>[3] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T76194 (ECCO) |
| **Tally-ho!** my brave boys[5] | **Tally ho**, tally ho, tally, ho<br>Hark forrad, good hounds, tally ho[4] | [5] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO)<br>[4] 'The Six Fell Packs' |
| **Hark away**, 'tis the merry ton'd Horn[7] | Oh! its forrard away, **hark away**, hark away[6] | [7] 'Song CCXLI,' ESTC: T117970 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'The Cumberland Hunt' |
| Then we'll go **hallowing** Home[9] | As a view **halloa** sounds[8] | [9] 'Song VIII – A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T226736<br>[8] 'Beagle Inn' |
| Both **young and olde** prepare, to the sport that is so rare[11] | So come now hunters **old and young**[10] | [11] 'The Faulconers Hunting.,' (EBBA 32625)<br>[10] 'Jack Taylor' |
| That hunts with the **horn and the hound**[13] | With his **hounds and his horn** in the morning[12] | [13] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298) [12] 'John Peel' |
| **Give me a Pack of Hounds** in Field,[15] | **Give me a hound** driving scent on the ground[14] | [15] 'THE / Hunting of the Hare; / WITH / Her Last Will and Testament.,' (EBBA 31312)<br>[14] 'The Dragman' |
| **Our Joys know no Bounds**[17] | **our joy it knew no bounds**[16] | [17] 'The Hunters Garland,' ESTC: T36857 (ECCO)<br>[16] 'The Mayor's Hunt in 1972' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At the sound of the horn all disturbance and **care Flies away** from the din as defeated.[19] | And **drive all cares away**[18] | [19] 'The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: N13434 (ECCO)<br>[18] 'Brimmer Head' |
| **No pleasure** like hunting to pass the long day[21] | **No greater pleasure** can be found[20] | [21] 'Song LXXV. The Hounds &c.,' ESTC: T77504 (ECCO)<br>[20] 'Hunt with me' |

6. Drinking

Finally, most songs end with raising a toast to the hunters and hounds. When proposing a toast, the most commonly used phrase is 'a health,' and 'good luck' is also quite common, particularly in the Lakeland Hunting Songs of my collection. This would perhaps suggest there is danger in going out hunting that the hunters and hounds need that luck or wishes of good health for the future—that success is not guaranteed—again reinforcing the idea of bravery.

| **Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs** | **Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection** | **Sources** |
|---|---|---|
| And **heres a good health** to the Sportman[1] | **Here's a health** to good old Kitty<br>Brait and Joe and all the hounds[2] | [1] 'Princely Diversion, or the Jovial Hunting Match,' (EBBA 31298)<br>[2] 'Brait and Joe' |
| When over a pot of good **ale**[3] | I've supped your **ale**, heard your songs and tales<br>I've had a reet good day[4] | [3] 'Hunting Songs, ESTC: T167924 (ECCO)<br>[4] 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell' |
| Good liquors abound, **and healths go round**[5] | **A health to Jack our huntsman**, we wish full life and long[6] | [5] 'The Hunter's Song,' ESTC: N13434 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Jack Taylor' |

The foregoing summary of words and phrases from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that recur in the songs in my collection confirms that really very little has changed with respect to the language used. The English language, of course, has evolved significantly in that time, and styles have evolved accordingly. An early example of a hunting song suggests how stylised the language once was:

> Long ere the Morne expects the returne
> of *Apollo* from the Ocean Queene:
> Before the creak of the Croe or the breake of the day
> in the Welkin is seene,
> Mounted *Idelia* cheerfully makes
> to the Chase with his Bugle cleere:
> And nimbly bounds to the cry of the Hounds
> and the Musicke of his Careere.
> Oft doth he trace, through Wood, Parke and Chase,
> when he mounteth his Steed aloft:
> Oft he doth runne beyond farre his home,
> and deceiveth his pillow soft:
> Oft he expects, yet still hath defects,
> for still he is crost by the Hare:
> But more often he bounds to the cry of his Hounds,
> and doth thunder out his Careere.
> *Hercules* Hunted and spoyled the game,
> wheresoever he made his sport:
> *Adon* did Hunt but was slaine by the same,
> through *Junoes* bad consort:[420]

This song, thought to date from around 1620, is one of the earliest examples I have managed to find. The language is typical of its era—it would be highly unusual nowadays to include classical gods in a hunting song—and the archaic spelling (e.g. Musicke, spoyled) marks it as a much older text. However, the reflexive construction of the lines, alluded to above, is still found throughout the Lakeland Hunting Songs in my collection:

> *'But more often he bounds to the cry of his Hounds'*
> or
> *'When his horne did resound, the noise to the hound'*

[420] 'The new Hunting of the Hare,' EBBA 20213.

are not so very different to lines one might find today, for example:

*'And the chorus of hounds from the felltops resounds'*[421]

or

*'O'er the hills let us follow their musical bay.'*[422]

Hence, although the Lakeland examples are relatively modern, they are still clearly stylised: no-one today would say 'from the felltops resounds' rather than 'resounds from the felltops.' It would seem today's authors remember, perhaps semi-consciously, earlier songs and poetry, upon which they then base their own songs. An example of this can be found in the song 'Neighbours,' written by Bill Crisp most likely in the 1970s. One line reads:

*'In the green and pleasant pastures that these hunters do surround . . .'*

Here, again, we find a reflexive turn of phrase; but the inclusion of 'green and pleasant pastures' is also interesting, perhaps half 'stolen' from Blake's poem 'And did those feet in ancient time,' popularised in Parry's *Jerusalem*:

*'In England's green and pleasant Land.'*

A similar instance occurs in the 'The Sedbergh Hunt,' which contains the line

*'Scores of folk were gathered there wid smiling fyaces met.'*

This recalls a line from the nineteenth-century Geordie song, 'Blaydon Races':

*'Thor wes lots o' lads an' lasses there, all wi' smiling faces.'*

By using bits and pieces of other well-known songs or poems, whether consciously or not, writers of lyrics for Lakeland Hunting Songs are able quickly to set a scene or create a feeling with which their listeners can easily identify, having grown up in the same culture with similar schooling.

[421] 'Bring Back the Days.'
[422] 'Joe Bowman.'

**Choruses**

Another regular feature of hunting songs then and now is the inclusion of a chorus. This can appear as a standalone chorus, which is repeated throughout the song; or sometimes the last line or two of a verse is repeated immediately, so that the audience can join in during the repetition.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| When a hunting we do go, oho, oho oho,<br>And a hunting we will go, oho, oho, oho,<br>And a hunting we will go, oho, oho, oho,<br>with the Huntsman Tally, ho.[1]<br><br>And a hunting we will go, - oho, oho, oho,<br>And a hunting we will go, - oho, oho, oho<br>A hunting we will go, - o-oho,<br>And a hunting we will go.[3] | So a-hunting we will go me lads a-hunting we will go<br>We'll catch a fox up on the rocks and never let him go[2] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'The Sedbergh Hunt'<br>[3] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T76194 (ECCO) |
| With the sports of the field there's no pleasure can view,<br>While jocund we follow, follow, follow follow,<br>Follow, follow, follow, follow, follow, follow,<br>Follow, follow, follow, the hounds in full cry.[5] | For the Dalesmen love to hear those Lonsdale hounds draw near,<br>And everyone will know when I give my rousing cry<br>For I sent a varmint fox from out among the rocks<br>And tally ho the distant hills reply.[4] | [5] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T189263 (ECCO)<br>[4] 'Millbeck Hunt' |
| Then hark, in the morn, to the call of the horn,<br>And join with the jovial crew,<br>While the season invites, with all its delighted,<br>The health-giving chace to pursue.[7] | So always remember your terrier,<br>Protect them from wet and from cold<br>For the love of a tyke for his master<br>Can never be measured in gold[6] | [7] 'Hunting Songs,' ESTC: T76196 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'The Terrier Song (1)' |
| The wild heath and the mountains so high.<br>The wild heath, &c.[9] | There's a little brown dog lying well in the lead<br>And it's going like billy-ho"<br>There's a little brown dog…[8] | [9] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: T118512 (ECCO)<br>[8] 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell' |
| And all the Day long,<br>This, this, is our Song,<br>Still hollowing, and following,<br>So frolick and free;<br>Our joys know no Bounds,<br>While we are after the Hounds,<br>No Mortals on Earth<br>Are so jolly as we.[11] | Pass the jug round<br>toasting each hound<br>They merit a bumper<br>so pass the jug round<br>Ready are they<br>fit for the fray<br>Hoo git away,<br>git away, git away.[12] | [11] 'The Hunters Garland,' ESTC: T36857 (ECCO)<br>[12] 'The Ullswater Pack' |

The choruses included in the Lakeland Hunting Songs in my collection are perhaps particularly suited to the environment in which they are performed. The songs are explicitly about hunting itself, but also they are also about Lakeland more generally; they are usually celebratory in style and affirm the values of a group of people that is commemorating their community and the feats it has achieved. The chorus, an intrinsically communal style of performance, gives 'the audience a role in [the song's] performance'[423] and arguably cries out for group participation to reinforce the group's own identity and traditions. Another important function of the chorus is that it 'gives the singer time to remember the next verse and gather composure for its delivery.'[424]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the inclusion of a chorus may also be tied to their mode of dissemination. If one assumes that these songs started as broadsides, written for the mass market and stuck up on alehouse walls, of course there may well have been a communal element (assuming a basic level of literacy amongst at least some of the audience).[425] The quandary, however, is whether these broadside songs actually originated among those who went hunting, or whether the songs were themselves adapted from broadside precedents. Published broadsides seem to fairly accurately portray a day's hunting, even as it exists today, but it may be unlikely that the hunting community itself would have employed such very stylised turns of phrase. Supporting this hypothesis is the very 'classical' style of some of the earliest examples I have so far found, where comparisons to Diana (presumably the Roman goddess of the hunt) are made and where, at the end of the day, the huntsmen 'to Bacchus repair.'[426] Of course, since hunting is often thought to be an upper-class sport, there may well have been some poets among those involved in earlier times; on the other hand, it may be that the spread of this style of hunting song can be attributed to those writing and distributing broadsides, which was a profession much more associated with the working classes.

Roud notes that the Edwardian collectors seemingly 'severely underestimated the influence of higher-class art/popular music of the pleasure gardens and theatres on traditional-song repertoires' and did not fully take into considerations the influence of printed materials on traditional song.[427] Considering that songs from the pleasure gardens were available in a wide array of print formats from at least the 1780s,[428] it would not be surprising for the hunting song style seen in this repertoire to have made its way

[423] Hillery, 'Vernacular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 38.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 434.
[426] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO).
[427] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 296.
[428] Ibid, 3025.

to Cumbria in the intervening centuries. This is further supported by Roud's assertion that the period 'from about the 1790s to the 1860s, was the golden age for broadside song material,'[429] as these dates overlap conveniently with the inception of the Lakeland Fell Packs and, therefore, their singing tradition.

The inclusion of a chorus would also have suited well the repertoire as hunting songs became popular on the stage. Many of the examples of hunting songs available on EBBA and ECCO are attributed to a particular performer; among the examples used in this chapter are found inscriptions such as: 'The Hunting Song in the Entertainment of Cephalus and Procris; composed by Monsieur Le Brun, the famous Harlequin'[430], and 'Sung by Mr Dignum.'[431] Performance at venues such as the pleasure gardens might indicate that hunting songs were universally popular, particularly in the eighteenth century.

Consider a hunting song that was 'Sung by Mr. Chapman, at the *Royalty Theatre*':

Look out, brother sportsmen, the morning is clear,
And Phoebus o'er Hambledon hills does appear:
Our sports are delighting, the day is inviting,
Then away to the chace, to the chace without fear,

Tho Reynard may fly, his fate is to die,
For we shrink from no danger before us:
To us, life's no trouble, and care is a bubble,
When we follow the hounds in full chorus.

Tally-ho! Tally-ho! my brave boys; see he slackens his speed;
Strength failing him, he to his cunning takes heed:
His art now forsakes him, see Dancer o'er takes him;
The hounds now seize on him—poor Reynard is dead.
Tho' Reynard, &c.

Now home, my brave boys, and to Bacchus repair,
And each take a glass to his favourite fair:
Day and night is thus spent, in mirth, joy, and content;
And may huntsmen for ever be strangers to care.[432]

[429] Ibid, 434.
[430] 'The Hunters Garland,' ESTC: T36857 (ECCO).
[431] The New Hunting Song,' ESTC: T178329 (ECCO).
[432] 'A Hunting Song by Mr. Chapman,' ESTC: T179920 (ECCO).

Apart from Phoebus (otherwise known as Apollo, god of the sun) appearing over the hill and repairing to Bacchus (god of wine), this song arguably would not be out of place if performed at a Lakeland Hunting Song night today (though Diana, goddess of hunting, is actually mentioned in one of the songs in my collection[433]). All the key structural elements are there: the turn of phrase is very familiar, there is a chorus, and the rhythm is generally in the 'three time' as discussed above. That this type of song was performed on the stage and, presumably, had been popular enough to print might suggest that there was a captive audience (and not just the upper classes) for this type of song, and that they understood, or identified with, its content.

[433] 'Diana herself, that great huntress so fleet' – from 'Tommy Dobson (3).'

**Rhythm**

Not all hunting songs fit into the two rhythmic categories outlined above (in three- or two-time), but the majority do; indeed, many of the songs in my overall collection also fit into them. I have listed some examples of this below.

| Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Songs | Lakeland Hunting Songs from the Emmett Collection | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| In three:<br>COME all you Foxhunters when ever you be,<br>Repair to the Leven if Sportsmen youd see<br>Such hounds and such horses of mettle and game;<br>As are worthy to be recorded in Fame.[1]<br><br>The sun from the east tips the mountains with gold;<br>The meadows all spangl'd with dew-drops behold!<br>The lark's early matin proclaims the new day,<br>And the horn's chearful summons rebukes our delay![3]<br><br>Away to the field, see the morning looks grey,<br>And, sweetly bedappl'd, forbodes a fine day;<br>The hounds are all eager the sports to embrace,<br>And carol aloud to be led to the chace.[5] | In three:<br>Ted Proud and his hounds are out hunting today<br>Full cry up to Geltsdale, so merry and gay;<br>They went up Old Water as far as the bridge,<br>And we caught sight of Reynard going over the ridge.[2]<br><br>John Brockland's our Master, he farms at Westwood,<br>He's known for his barley and cattle indoors,<br>He breeds good racehorses well known in the north,<br>The point-to-point people all know of their worth[4]<br><br>With steps that were light and with hearts that were gay<br>To a right smittle spot we all hastened today<br>The voice of Joe Bowman, how it rang like a bell:<br>As he cast off his hounds by the side of Swarth Fell.[6] | [1] 'A New Hunting Song, Made on a FOX Chase.,' (EBBA 31090)<br>[2] 'Bewcastle Hunt Song'<br><br>[3] 'Hunting Song,' ESTC: T300924 (ECCO)<br>[4] 'The Cumberland Hunt'<br><br>[5] 'A Hunting Song,' ESTC: N35272 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Joe Bowman' |
| In two:<br>YE hardy sons of Chace give ear,<br>All listen to my Song;<br>Tis of a Hunt performd this Year,<br>That will be talkd of long.[1]<br><br>OF all Delights that Earth doth yield,<br>Give me a Pack of Hounds in Field,<br>Whose Eccho shall throughout the Sky,<br>Make Jove admire our Harmony;[3]<br><br>The dusky night rides down the sky,<br>And ushers in the morn;<br>The hounds all join in jovial cry,<br>The huntsman winds his horn[5] | In two:<br>Albert Ben'se to Ireland came<br>Cock fighting was his game<br>With Milbeck cocks as tough as rocks<br>He sought to make a name.[2]<br><br>T'was early spring in '48<br>and hounds were running strong<br>The rugged hills o'er Kirkstone Pass<br>Re-echoed with their song.[4]<br><br>Some people love the opera, where prima donnas sing<br>While others like an orchestra, to make the rafters ring<br>With instruments and voices, the lofty hall resounds<br>But frankly sir, I much prefer, the music of the hounds.[6] | [1] 'A New Fox-hunting SONG,' (EBBA 31464)<br>[2] 'Albert Ben'se'<br><br>[3] 'THE / Hunting of the Hare; / WITH / Her Last Will and Testament.,' (EBBA 31312) [4]<br>[4] 'Badger and Butcher'<br><br>[5] 'A Favourite Hunting Song by Dr. Arne,' ESTC: N21242 (ECCO)<br>[6] 'Music of the Hounds' |

Although I have provided three examples of each rhythmical structure here, it is the three-beat structure that seems to prevail in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century songs. When I expand the scope to include all 313 songs in my collection—not just those specifically about hunting—there are 108 songs (35 percent) that evidence the three-beat pattern, 82 (26 percent) for the two-beat pattern, and 123 (39 percent) that do not fit either pattern. Although I have not broken down the songs in my collection beyond terming them generally 'Lakeland Hunting Songs' (as previously explained in Chapter 3.1), it does appear that the songs that fit into these two categories are generally concerned directly with describing a day's hunting or memorialising members of the hunting tradition.

Of course, a plausible explanation for the association of songs about a hunt or huntsmen with these two rhythmical structures must also consider the tunes that are most often used for this type of song. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3.4; here I will just note that there is one particularly prolific tune that fits perfectly with most of the songs that use the three-beat rhythm and also tends to be used only for songs concerned directly with hunting. However, given the many similarities between the earlier songs and those I have collected, it also seems probable that the association of certain rhythmical structures with songs concerned with hunting arises simply because that structure is what comes to mind when songwriters address these topics; that is, again, it merely serves to continue the tradition.

**Conclusion**

This chapter attempted to set out some reasons why the songs in my collection might be considered to be 'Hunting Songs.' We discovered that songs and broadsides from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have many similarities to my Lakeland Hunting Songs, particularly (but not exclusively) those about hunters and hunting.

When it comes to songs that outline a day's hunting, remarkably little has changed: in structuring the text, six key elements almost always appear. In many ways, this is not surprising: the practice of hunting (before the hunting ban at least) has changed very little from that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, it does seem that these six elements are now, as that were before, a vital part of composing a 'Hunting Song.'

The other features considered in this chapter (recurring words/phrases, choruses, and rhythm) can be found in songs that might not immediately be identifiable as 'hunting songs,' in that their content may not necessarily describe a day's hunting. The recurring words and phrases are peppered throughout all the songs in my collection; indeed, I believe this is one of the strongest arguments in favour of describing all those songs as 'Hunting Songs.' It seems likely that 'half-remembered' traditions cause these words and phrases to slip into a variety of songs. One must remember, though, that the majority of the songs in my collection were written by members of the relatively homogeneous Lakeland Hunting Song community, of whom we will speak further in the following chapter.

Choruses continue to be a popular feature of Lakeland Hunting Songs, and while they are a feature that extends beyond 'Hunting Songs,' their inclusion clearly adds to the participatory nature of the tradition. It could be argued, then, that a further feature that makes a successful 'Hunting Song'—no matter its subject—would be to write a chorus. The subject matter of the songs in my collection is somewhat eclectic; but, in general, the outliers seem to 'earn their place' and become acceptable for performance in part because they include a chorus, thus making it possible for everyone in attendance to participate.

Finally, the rhythmic structures of many of the songs in my collection bear a great resemblance to those in earlier Hunting Songs. This may be dictated by the tunes rather than by the textual content; this is a topic for further research. However, it is clear that there is a correlation between two specific rhythmic patterns and songs that are deemed to be 'Hunting Songs,' and that this makes it possible to fit new words to well-established tunes used in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition.

Roud suggests that:

> [we] have a welcome opportunity to get to grips with questions of what really happened to songs when they entered a local tradition. If we know how they started

> and how they ended up, we can at least start to investigate what happened in between.[434]

In this chapter I have shown the many similarities between 'how they [the songs] started' and 'how they ended up' (i.e., in my collection). It would be fascinating to begin to understand a little more about what really happened in between, but that will have to be saved for future work.

[434] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 444.

## 3.3 Lakeland Hunting Songs

In Chapter 3.2 I compared the songs in my collection with historical precedents to determine in what ways they might be termed 'hunting songs.' In this chapter I will attempt to answer the parallel question: in what sense are they 'Lakeland Songs,' other than the geographical location in which they were collected? I will do this through a comparison of Lakeland Hunting Songs with Bothy Ballads and with the Allan Cumbrian Folk Song Corpus, followed by a consideration of the lyrical content of the songs in my collection.

### Bothy Ballads

I have often been asked about the similarities between Lakeland Hunting Songs and a folk song tradition of North Eastern Scotland: Bothy Ballads (sometimes known as Cornkisters). In terms of style, the Bothy Ballads are characterised by a much more linear narrative[435] and greater outside influences from sources such as English poetry, chap literature, and even the Bible,[436] with a greater tendency towards realism in the textual content of the poetry.[437]

However, in many ways it is possible to draw comparisons between the two singing traditions. 'Bothy Ballads' as the name for a genre appears to be hotly debated, but in general the term usually refers to songs sung by farmworkers in North-east Scotland, most often Aberdeenshire. The bothies were outbuildings used as accommodation for unmarried farmworkers who were hired for a term (usually about six months) to work on a certain farm (though it is said that the term 'bothy' was not used widely in Aberdeenshire). The living conditions were often fairly elemental, and the songs were often comic in nature, decrying the conditions in which people were expected to live—which was often worse than those for the horses. This transient agricultural lifestyle would be common to both those who sang Bothy Ballads and their nineteenth-century contemporaries in the Lakes. Indeed, though not in the Lakes at this time (1941-1954), my grandfather spent his unmarried working life moving from farm to farm. It was not an easy life, and a certain sense of humour definitely helped to make these workers' experiences more bearable.

As I have just alluded to, branding a song as a 'Bothy Ballad' appears to be quite problematic: Ian Russell notes that it is 'essentially . . . a term with which the modern meaning has been associated retrospectively.'[438] Buchan wrestles with whether a Bothy Ballad is a song sung by those in the bothies, or a narrative song dealing 'with the life of the men who inhabited the bothies,'[439] settling on the

[435] Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 229.
[436] Ibid, 232.
[437] Ibid, 252.
[438] Ian Russell, 'Competing with Ballads (and Whisky?): The Construction, Celebration, and Commercialization of North-East Scottish Identity,' *Folk Music Journal* 9, no. 2 (2007): 172.
[439] Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 261.

latter. In *Bothy Songs and Ballads*, John Ord prefers to expand the term to include any song still being sung by men in the bothies or farm kitchens.[440]

Ord's definition draws immediate parallels for me with Lakeland Hunting Songs, as this is how I have chosen to broadly define the songs in my collection. Bothy Ballads also tend to share certain topics with Lakeland Hunting Songs, namely 'work, leisure, and people encountered during a term's feeing at one particular farm.'[441] They appear 'more personal, realistic and down to earth than the longer ballads of the past.'[442] Buchan also quotes Greig in a statement that rings true of both Bothy Ballads and Lakeland Hunting Songs:

> These ditties of farm life constitute the most genuinely native part of our popular minstrelsy. They may not amount to much as poetry: but there is an air of sincerity and conviction about them that makes for force and vitality. Further, they illustrate local life and language better than any other kind of song or ballad which we have.[443]

Similarities can also be found in the mode of performance. Just as Lakeland Hunting Songs were not written to be performed while actually hunting, Bothy Ballads were not 'work songs' and were performed during leisure time.[444] Furthermore, the Bothy Ballads contained an eclectic mix of repertoire from outside influences, even at the start of the twentieth century.[445] Indeed, songs related to the Napoleonic Wars—including the Battle of Waterloo—were in circulation not long after the event itself.[446] Ballad sellers were a common sight at feeing markets, and different songs would be spread around the region as farm servants moved through different farms from term to term.[447]

Writing in 1925, Ord notes that 'many of the bothy-songs in vogue in the past have fallen into disuse as the circumstances and modes of life that called them into being have passed away.'[448] He was, even then, giving his reason to collect the Bothy Ballads as for posterity: 'to gladden the hearts of generations yet unborn, and teach them something of the lives and customs of their countrymen of past generations, which cannot be learned from histories and school books.'[449] Somewhat similarly, Bob Munro concludes his article on Bothy Ballads (written in the 1970s) by discussing how the style—in pastiche form—had moved into the music hall. He asserts that 'it is therefore not surprising that

[440] Ord, *Bothy Songs and Ballads,* 25.
[441] Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 262.
[442] Bob Munro, 'The Bothy Ballads: the social context and meaning of the farm servants' songs of North-Eastern Scotland,' *History Workshop* 3 (1977): 185.
[443] Greig, quoted in Buchan, *The Ballad and the Folk*, 266.
[444] Russell, 'Competing with Ballads (and Whisky?),' 172.
[445] Ibid, 178.
[446] Ord, *Bothy Songs and Ballads,* 22.
[447] Munro, 'The Bothy Ballads,' 190.
[448] Ibid, 3.
[449] Ibid, 26.

the song culture of these North Eastern peasants could not survive a situation in which audiences had become separate from performers.'[450]

In this way, then, the Bothy Ballad tradition differs from Lakeland Hunting Songs: the former appears not to be a continuous tradition. Indeed, by the 1970s it seems that Bothy Ballad revivals were well underway. Russell attributes this resurgence, which followed the First World War—'long after the agricultural system in which they were created [had] ceased to exist'[451]—with performance in village halls and then on the music hall stage.[452] The real revival, resulting in the style of songs still being sung today (or at least in 2004), came in the late 1960s, with the creation of a Bothy Ballad section in music festival song competitions. 'Authenticity' was brought to these affairs by including performances of the songs by men who had once worked in the pre-mechanised farming system.[453]

Perhaps unfortunately, since the revival has come by way of a competition, the repertoire and performance of Bothy Ballads has become somewhat standardised, with eclecticism frowned upon. Only songs 'that explicitly related to farm life were considered appropriate,'[454] while new material and songs composed for the music hall were discouraged for not being 'traditional.'[455] These developments do not echo at all in the current Lakeland Hunting Song tradition; indeed, original songs seem to be encouraged at Lakeland Hunting Song nights, even at the level of competitions, at which it would arguably be easier just to perform a 'crowd-pleaser.'

Both Lakeland Hunting Songs and Bothy Ballads appear to be associated with deep-rooted drinking cultures. Most singers of Lakeland Hunting Songs will, in my experience, tell you that they need at least three pints in them before they have the confidence to sing to a crowd. For Bothy Ballads it appears that whisky is the drink of choice. The difference, according to Russell, is that the whisky is not 'essential' in persuading the singers to perform, though it serves the purpose of 'remov[ing] inhibitions and creat[ing] a mild sense of euphoria, among both competitors and audience.'[456]

Competition nights seem to be similar, as well. In both traditions, evenings are likely to intersperse songs with jokes (sometimes in dialect) and silly tales. Also, traditional stews are served to singers and audiences: in Lakeland it would be 'tatie pot,' and in North East Scotland it would likely be 'stovies . . . a mixture of potatoes, beef, onions, and gravy.'[457]

It is interesting to note Russell's positive remarks about the 'traditions' at Bothy Ballad competitions, considering that the genre has not been continuous, especially when compared to

[450] Munro, 'The Bothy Ballads,' 193.
[451] Russell, 'Competing with Ballads (and Whisky?),' 173.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid, 175.
[454] Ibid, 178.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid, 184.
[457] Ibid, 186.

Lakeland Hunting Songs. Russell believes that the competitions are a way of reinforcing local identity through 'performance, presentation, speech, song, costuming, and refreshments.'[458] However, the somewhat defensive stance taken in the Bothy Ballad community about the 'authenticity' of performances and the need to 'legitimise' the continued practice of performing the songs[459] seems to be in sharp contrast with the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. One sees this, for instance, in the ease performers and audiences seem to feel in the presence of the eclectic mix of songs that can be heard at Lakeland Hunting Song nights. Perhaps the fact that there has not been a break in the tradition, as in the case of the Bothy Ballads, can explain this. Albert Lord posits what I consider a pleasing explanation of this 'ease' amongst the Lakeland Hunting Song community: 'Traditions are subject to change . . . A really living tradition has no need of "preservation" because it is always being preserved with every truly traditional performance by a truly traditional singer . . . A tradition is dynamic and ongoing. It lasts as long as there are singers and listeners.'[460]

**My collection in relation to others**

Two of the fields in Database 1 indicate whether a song in my collection can also be found in the Roud Index or the Allan Cumbrian Folk Song Corpus (ACFC). I have not noted where there is overlap with Ron Black's collection because his collection has not yet been catalogued (it is currently in the possession of the Borthwick Institute for Archives). Looking just at Roud and the ACFC, then, we find that approximately 48 of the songs from my collection appear in the Roud Index and approximately 118 in the ACFC. These numbers have to be approximate because some of the songs share a title with those in Roud and the ACFC, but I cannot be entirely sure that they are indeed the same song. This is not to say that the remaining 180 songs are unique to my collection, or to the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. Indeed, around 15 percent of those remaining 180 songs may be well known by scholars and lay persons alike as songs popularised by groups such as Foster & Allen[461] and The Dubliners[462], or as rugby or football songs. That, however, still leaves around 159 which are particular to my collection (though the majority are present either in Ron Black's collection or in print, scattered through various Lakeland Hunting publications), which supports the notion that there is much still to be studied within this singing tradition, and that there is a large corpus of noteworthy material.

It does not seem particularly useful, though, to look at those 159 songs in isolation, since the songs also found in Roud and the ACFC have not previously been studied from the perspective of

[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid, 187.
[460] Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, 3.
[461] Mick Foster and Tony Allen – a musical duo from Ireland who record and perform country and trad./Irish music and songs.
[462] An Irish folk band active from the early 1960s until 2012.

Lakeland Hunting. It is therefore interesting to note that Allan categorises the main themes of the songs in the ACFC by subject and that these overlap, to some extent, with my collection. Of the approximately 118 shared songs, Allan classes four as 'Amatory and sentimental songs,' six as 'Farming songs,' 101 as 'Hunting songs,' five as 'Place-centred songs' (listing and/or celebrating places in Cumbria), and one as 'Religious and moral.' Allan, of course, is categorising the songs just by looking objectively at the subject matter, whereas I have grouped all of the songs within my collection as (Lakeland) Hunting Songs for broader, more contextual reasons. However, as over 85 percent of the songs shared by our collections are what Allan would also term 'Hunting songs,' this perhaps supports my claim that, overall, the subject matter of my collected songs is about, or related to, hunting.

Looking briefly at the total numbers in the ACFC song themes and subjects (see figure 6), one sees that around a third of the total songs in Allan's corpus are 'Hunting songs.' Purely by subject alone, then, assuming that Allan's corpus is representative of 'Cumbrian song,' this confirms the prevalence of Hunting songs in general, and it supports their centrality in Cumbrian history and heritage. If one then further observes that several songs that are ostensibly 'Amatory and sentimental' or 'Farming' in subject would, by many involved in Lakeland Hunting, also be considered 'Hunting songs' (by my and their definition), this further validates the idea that Hunting Songs can be much more than just songs about hunting; they are a reflection of the people and places associated with this tradition.

**Figure 6: ACFC song themes and subjects**[463]

| Song themes and subjects | No. in corpus |
|---|---|
| Amatory & Sentimental | 151 |
| Border Ballads | 18 |
| Children's songs | 7 |
| Drinking songs | 15 |
| Farming songs | 45 |
| Hunting songs | 151 |
| Historical songs | 9 |
| Industrial songs | 6 |
| Maritime songs | 7 |
| Nonsense songs | 3 |
| Songs celebrating place | 63 |
| Religious and moral | 34 |
| Unclassified | 6 |

[463] Adapted from Figure 5 in Allan, 'Folk Song in Cumbria,' 112.

Textual Sources

We can also see how my collection overlaps with the work of others by looking at the written sources I used (if any) when compiling my own transcriptions. These are summarised in figure 7.

**Figure 7: Textual sources**

| Source | Notes on Sources | No. Songs |
|---|---|---|
| AB book | *La'al Barker and his Pride* (Kirkby Stephen: Hayloft, 2001). Biography of Anthony Barker. | 3 |
| BC Booklet | Memorial booklet produced on the death of Bill Crisp of his best-loved songs. | 12 |
| Colin Armstrong | Provided copies of words in his possession and checked over my transcriptions. | 1 |
| Coniston Foxhounds book | *The History of the Coniston Foxhounds, 1825-1925. "In the Steps of Mighty Men" (*Ambleside: Ryelands, 2008). Lakeland Hunting-specific book including texts of some hunting songs. | 13 |
| Elli Logan | Provided copies of words in her possession. | 13 |
| FN book | *A Westmorland Shepherd*. *His life, poems and* songs (Kendal: Helm Press, 1997). Fred Nevinson's autobiography. | 20 |
| HSA | 'Hunting Songs Again.' Booklet and accompanying recording by Country Voices project. | 13 |
| HSCV | 'Hunting Songs from Country Voices.' Booklet and accompanying recording by Country Voices project. | 11 |
| HSFY | 'Hunting Songs For You.' Booklet and accompanying recording by Country Voices project. | 14 |
| Jacko | Provided copies of words in his possession. | 4 |
| Kenny Stuart | Provided copies of words in his possession and checked over my transcriptions. | 5 |
| Kenny Stuart - from transcription by Eddie Wren | Kenny provided transcription given to him by a friend. | 1 |
| MHS | 'More Hunting Songs.' Booklet and accompanying recording by Country Voices project. | 13 |
| Neil Blenkinship | Provided copies of words in his possession and checked over my transcriptions. | 6 |
| Neil Salisbury | Provided copies of words in his possession and checked over my transcriptions. | 1 |
| Paul Edgar | Provided copies of words in his possession. | 2 |
| PD | Songs available in the public domain. | 31 |
| RB | Texts provided by Ron Black. Some sources are noted as RB–LHS2 which refers to his book *Lakeland Hunting Songs 2*. | 42 |
| SFP | *Songs of the Fell Packs* (Cleator Moor: Bethwaites Printers, 1971). | 95 |
| Scarlet and Green | *Scarlet and Green. An illustrated history of three centuries and more of hunting in the Colne Valley* (Doncaster: Askew Design and Print, 1995). Book about Colne Valley hunting with texts of some hunting songs. | 2 |
| Stuart Lawrence | Lawrence's collection of Cumbrian songs is held in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library and contains some Lakeland Hunting Songs. This had not yet been catalogued when I visited the library, but I was able to peruse his collection, as suggested by Sue Allan. | 6 |
| Tom Sanderson | Provided copies of words in his possession and checked over my transcriptions. | 2 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Transcription | Designates the cases for which I had to transcribe the words myself because I could not find a written source, or where words are altered considerably from a PD source. | 80 |
| Try Back Lads | *Try Back Lads, Try Back 2. Reminiscences of Northern Hunting Folk* (Self-published, 2012). Book about hunting in the North of England including texts of some hunting songs. | 1 |

From figure 7 we can see that the source that contributed the most material was *Songs of the Fell Packs*, which makes up almost a third of my collection. The inclusion of these songs in this volume in itself implies that all of them require no further legitimisation as Lakeland Hunting Songs.

The second largest group of songs were those that I myself transcribed, since I was unable to find written or printed sources. However, readers may notice that the total number of songs included in figure 7 is greater than 313. The discrepancy arises because for some songs (73) there was more than one textual source; and, in fact, half of the songs included in the Transcription category also have a second or third source noted, most of which were in the Public Domain. I have noted both categories for these songs because often I had transcribed the texts before realising the songs were more widely known; but I justified my own transcriptions also because words are frequently changed here and there, often to include names of people or places related to Lakeland or to Hunting (The song 'Brave Mountaineers' would be an example of this). Most of the other songs with multiple sources are ones that I transcribed and then asked a singer from inside the tradition to review for me.

The third most substantial source was Ron Black, and had I completed the database at a slightly later date, this figure would have been even greater. All the other sources have relatively low numbers, which probably arises from my hunt for source material in a large number of different places, with songs often appearing in slightly unexpected publications. The Fred Nevinson autobiography is a prime example of this. Nevinson was a shepherd from Langdale who eventually settled near Shap; though he was not himself a member of a Fell Pack, he wrote a number of a songs that touch on hunting but are primarily about the Westmorland countryside.[464] During his lifetime he performed many of his songs at Shepherds' Meets and song competitions. Two of his songs are included in current Lakeland Hunting Song repertoire ('The Cunning Old Fox' and 'Our Johnny'), but it was not until relatively late in my research that I was alerted to this publication by Tommy Coulthard.

I believe it is possible, then—by considering the textual *sources*—to justify categorising many of the songs in my collection as 'Lakeland' simply because they are included in some of these publications (specifically the AB book, BC Booklet, Coniston Foxhounds book, FN book, SFP and Try Back Lads). The same probably applies to any song taken from Ron Black's collection, since his focus was always on Lakeland Hunting Songs. Songs included in the Country Voices' publications are much

[464] Fred Nevinson, *A Westmorland Shepherd. His life, poems and songs* (Kendal: Helm Press, 1997), 3.

less certain (as discussed previously), but many of them are also found in other, more certain Lakeland Hunting sources. Moreover, I was advised numerous times by members of the tradition to include these songs in my source material. I would also argue that all of the songs passed on to me by members of the Fell Packs themselves are most certainly entitled to be called Lakeland Hunting Songs. Finally, the texts of the songs from Stuart Lawrence's collection either overlap with sources from *Songs of the Fell Packs* or are clearly related to Lakeland or Hunting in their contents.

Although Lakeland Hunting Songs—especially the tunes (see Chapter 3.4)—are transmitted orally/aurally to some extent, the sources detailed above show that the texts are transmitted predominantly through the sharing of written words. When I have asked for words of newer songs from contemporary lyricists, they will almost always be able to pull out some typed or handwritten pages used when they composed the song. The text-based nature of this tradition is perhaps influenced by the unusually high literacy rate in Cumbria (as detailed in the previous chapter), but it also reflects the dissemination of songs in general over the last long century, from broadsides to newspaper clippings. This differs from many English local and vernacular singing traditions, in which the words are often—to some extent—still learned aurally. Russell writes of the West Sheffield tradition, for example, that 'although the importance of writing and print as a reinforcing agent has been emphasised, the essential method of transmission still remains largely aural.'[465]

Ultimately, though, the songs included in my collection are there because of where or by whom I heard them performed, or because texts and recordings have been passed to me by members of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. Still, this is by no means a definitive collection, and I imagine it will continue to evolve over time as I, or others, work with this material in the future.

Words Missing?

I added the 'Words missing?' field initially just for my own information, to keep track of those songs which required further research, but it eventually became interesting in its own right since it indicated the types of songs for which I was struggling to find textual sources. At the time that D1 took on its final form, there were 278 songs for which I had complete lyrics and 35 which still had words missing.

The songs with words missing are associated with only three of the Textual Sources as noted in figure 7: Elli Logan, Stuart Lawrence, and Transcription. For the first two of these sources, the problem arose from my inability to decipher handwriting—that of Esme Smith (of whose collection Elli Logan was in possession) and two of Stuart Lawrence's transcriptions. This leaves only 26 songs for which I have thus far been unable to find any textual source; and for nine of those songs I am quite

[465] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 177.

confident that I could, with a little more time for some further fieldwork, eventually locate one or more. So, really, out of a collection of 313 songs, there are only 17 for which I have been unable to find a textual source of some kind—and even those, I strongly suspect, may exist somewhere if I simply keep asking the 'right' people.

All of this supports the notion that this is not really an 'oral' tradition in the true sense of the phrase; it seems highly likely that all of the songs in my collection are written down somewhere. However, the fact that the words are very rarely paired with any manuscript, or indeed any indication of what tune 'should' be used, might suggest there is some sort of oral/aural element in play here, in the setting of texts to tunes.

That the majority, if not all, of the songs in my collection are written down and in the possession of people from within the Lakeland Hunting singing tradition is yet another argument that justifies my decision to classify these songs as Lakeland Hunting Songs.

Lyricists

The final field from D1 that will be considered in this chapter contains the songs' lyricists. I have used the term 'lyricist' here, rather than 'poet,' since the texts produced are conceived as songs, most commonly with a tune in mind, and always with the intention that they will be sung rather than simply read or spoken.

There are 102 named lyricists (probably actually 100, since it seems likely that three separately named sources are actually a single person) for 191 of the songs in my collection; hence there are 122 songs for which the writer or writers are unknown. The names of the most prolific song writers in my collection can be found in figure 8, where we can see 23 lyricists have written two or more songs.

I have attributed 11 songs to Esme Smith, though in hindsight it is possible that he might not have been the lyricist. I was given copies of these songs by Elli Logan who, I believe, told me that they were 'Esme's songs.' This occurred quite early in my research, and so I took this to mean that Esme had written them; but now that I understand the tradition better, it could be that these handwritten songs were 'his songs' only in the sense that they were regularly performed by him and were understood by other members of the tradition to be 'his.'

**Figure 8: Lyricists**

| Lyricist | No. Songs |
|---|---|
| Unknown | 122 |
| Fred Nevinson | 20 |
| Denis Westmorland | 12 |
| Bill Crisp | 11 |
| Esme Smith | 11 |
| Bill Brown | 10 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Colin Armstrong | 4 |
| Elli Logan | 4 |
| Sylvia Shepherd | 4 |
| Edward Nelson | 3 |
| Jacko | 3 |
| Joe Townsend | 3 |
| William Hill | 3 |
| Ada Crisp | 2 |
| D. P. Todd | 2 |
| Dennis Raine | 2 |
| Dr Eaton | 2 |
| Dr. W. S. Eaton, of Ennerdale | 2 |
| G. J. Whyte(-Melville) | 2 |
| Jo Fergus | 2 |
| John Woodcock Graves | 2 |
| Kenny Stuart | 2 |
| Peter Doey | 2 |
| Robin Logan | 2 |
| (79 further lyricists) | 1 each |

It seems quite remarkable that so many different people—predominantly men, but also women—have written songs for a seemingly niche folk tradition from the Lake District. I would argue, though, that this emphasises the pervasive importance that the Fell Packs, and in particular their singing tradition, hold for people living in that area.

**Dating**

Dating the songs in my collection has been difficult, since there is very little published material that can be reliably dated. In the end, I was able only to definitively date 28 songs. Beyond that, there are a further 223 songs for which I have been able propose a date as an educated guess, but these indications range from specifying a year with some degree of confidence to very vague phrases like 'Before 2001.' Most of the details about dating individual songs can be found in the 'Notes' section of Database 1. But, more generally, if a particular year is followed by a question mark, this usually indicates that I have found something like a newspaper clipping which reports the hunt described in the song. The date is followed by a question mark because I don't know how soon after the hunt the song was written. However, from conversations I have had with people in the tradition, it seems that songs are often written within a few months of an event, while people can still clearly remember what happened. Likewise, when a song's date is given as 'Before [DATE],' this is usually because I have found the text in a dated publication, or because the lyricist died in the given year.

I wanted to see if there were any particular spikes in the output of songs over the years and what that might tell me about the tradition more generally. I took the decision to exclude any songs that I could only date quite vaguely. I took 1970 as a cut-off point, since the time spanned by anything

non-specific after that date would be too great. Thus, if a song could only be dated as 'Before 1970' or later, it was excluded from this analysis. This still left me with 197 songs to use as a sample—enough, I felt, to still produce a meaningful result.

The results of this analysis can be found in figure 9. Initially, I grouped the songs, when possible, by the decades when they were written; this gave a total of 118 songs. The oldest song included here was from 1793 and the most recent from 2016. Most songs were from the twentieth century, with particular spikes in the 1910s and the 1990s. It is not particularly clear why the 1910s produced a relatively high number of songs, other than the death of Tommy Dobson (Master of the Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds) in 1910: several of the songs from this decade are tributes to him. The reason for an increase in output in the 1990s is more clear as this was when the hunting ban was being debated, and many of the songs from this time are protest songs.

A further 48 songs could be dated within a particular century or half-century. Of the songs I could date by half-century, most, again, were written in the twentieth century, with a slight majority appearing in the second half of the century. The greatest imbalance appears, though, when songs are grouped by century: we find that 80 percent of the songs sampled were written in the twentieth century (this covers the so-called 'golden age' of Lakeland Hunting Songs: the 1960s-80s). This includes the work of some quite prolific songwriters, such as Fred Nevinson and Bill Crisp, whose songs I was usually unable to date more accurately than just within their lifetimes. This highly skewed result might argue convincingly that this is a relatively contemporary tradition, with its main corpus created within the last century or so. It is also my feeling—though I am, of course, unable to prove this—that most of the songs in my collection but not included in this analysis were also written in the twentieth century (I base this on matters like the language used and the tunes with which they tend to be paired). Therefore, the percentage of songs from my entire collection that were conceived in the twentieth century could easily be even higher than 80 percent.

This prevalence of twentieth-century material might explain why Lakeland Hunting Songs have been overlooked by twentieth-century folk song collectors: because of the contemporaneous and evolving nature of the tradition, these collectors may have felt that many of these songs were too 'new.' This may also be coloured by older definitions of what constitutes a folk song: that they should be transmitted orally. However, as David Atkinson notes, 'estimates are that up to ninety-five percent of what have come to be considered as the standard repertoire of English 'folk' songs, as noted from singers, have at some time also circulated in cheap printed form.'[466] For a collector in the twenty-first century, then, Lakeland Hunting Songs' value as an oral history of a region and of a distinctive culture should not be underestimated.

[466] David Atkinson, 'Folk Songs in Print: Text and Tradition.' *Folk Music Journal* 8, no. 4 (2004): 457.

**Figure 9: Song dating analysis**

**Songs dated within a decade**

| Decade | Number of Songs | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1790s | 1 | 1% |
| 1800s | 0 | 0% |
| 1810s | 1 | 1% |
| 1820s | 0 | 0% |
| 1830s | 0 | 0% |
| 1840s | 1 | 1% |
| 1850s | 1 | 1% |
| 1860s | 6 | 5% |
| 1870s | 5 | 4% |
| 1880s | 4 | 3% |
| 1890s | 1 | 1% |
| 1900s | 7 | 6% |
| 1910s | 14 | 12% |
| 1920s | 8 | 7% |
| 1930s | 8 | 7% |
| 1940s | 8 | 7% |
| 1950s | 8 | 7% |
| 1960s | 8 | 7% |
| 1970s | 10 | 8% |
| 1980s | 8 | 7% |
| 1990s | 16 | 14% |
| 2000s | 2 | 2% |
| 2010s | 1 | 1% |
| **Total** | 118 | |

**Songs dated within a half-century**

| Half-century | Number of Songs | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1750-1799 | 1 | 1% |
| 1800-1849 | 3 | 2% |
| 1850-1899 | 17 | 12% |
| 1900-1949 | 49 | 36% |
| 1950-1999 | 64 | 47% |
| 2000-2017 | 3 | 2% |
| **Total** | 137 | |

**Songs dated within a century**

| Century | Number of Songs | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1500s | 1 | 1% |
| 1600s | 1 | 1% |
| 1700s | 1 | 1% |
| 1800s | 28 | 17% |
| 1900s | 132 | 80% |
| 2000s | 3 | 2% |
| **Total** | 166 | |

**Songs dated within two centuries**

| Centuries | Number of Songs | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| 1500s-1600s | 2 | 1% |
| 1600s-1700s | 2 | 1% |
| 1700s-1800s | 29 | 8% |
| 1800s-1900s | 190 | 53% |
| 1900s-2000s | 136 | 38% |
| **Total** | 197 | |

The remaining 31 songs that could be dated spanned centuries; these are included in the final table of figure 9. Some of these songs could be dated quite accurately (e.g. 1894-1903) but most of the songs added here were those dated as 'Before [DATE]' which then placed most of these songs in the 1800s-1900s bracket. The rest of this table includes all the songs already dated within both centuries *plus* songs which spanned centuries. Overall, then, the results are slightly weighted towards the nineteenth century, above the 'long' twentieth century; this would seem to be consistent with the preceding analyses and is correlated, roughly, with the time period in which the singing tradition was most prevalent.

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored and contrasted the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition with that of the Bothy Ballads, as well as situating my collection in relation to others that include Lakeland Hunting Songs.

I have concluded that, although there are many similarities between the Bothy Ballad and Lakeland Hunting Song traditions, the resemblance is not in structure but more in the purpose and content of the songs. Both traditions started as a means of evening entertainment, and both traditions

include an eclectic mixture of songs that contain themes readily identified by those who participate in the tradition. However, the tradition of Bothy Ballads experienced a lull and has now been 'revived'; Lakeland Hunting Songs, in contrast, exist today in an unbroken tradition with the past: 'Songs are regularly being written showing that the happy tradition continues, and are still sung at any gathering of hunting folk after sport in the Inns.'[467] I hope that this comparison of Lakeland Hunting Songs with this Scots folk tradition of the Bothy Ballads, which has already been treated to significant academic inquiry, helps to better situate my work and demonstrates that—through their many similarities—the songs in my collection are worthy of further study.

Returning now to the question I posed earlier: In what sense are the songs in my collection 'Lakeland' Songs, other than by their mere geographical location? I have shown that they are 'Lakeland Songs' and, more specifically, 'Lakeland *Hunting* Songs' in three ways.

First, they are interconnected with the repertoire in Sue Allan's ACFC. This is a collection of 'Cumbrian' songs; and since about 38 percent of the songs in my collection also are found in the ACFC, this provides good evidence for a Lakeland origin for at least those songs.

Second, they are 'Lakeland Songs' by virtue of their textual sources and lyricists. A substantial majority of the songs in my collection either have a text or text source which is specifically from Lakeland or about Lakeland Hunting, or have come to me (in text form) from members of the Fell Packs. The lyricists, when known, are also largely from or associated with Lakeland and/or the Fell Packs. And the songs that do not have Lakeland text sources or lyricists can be included by the very fact that they were performed (and most often raucously appreciated) by members of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition.

Finally, dating the songs in my collection has shown some correlation between the often acknowledged zenith of Lakeland Hunting: between the mid 1800s and the mid-to-late twentieth century. (This also has a significant bearing on the tunes we find utilised in this tradition, as is considered in the following chapter.) This further supports a 'Lakeland' link, since the songs in my collection have mainly been acquired by members of the singing tradition with the intention of being sung at Lakeland Hunt occasions.

I conclude that, overall, the songs in my collection are 'Lakeland Hunting Songs' (until I or others receive further information to the contrary), much in the same way that John Ord constructed a corpus when selecting which songs to include in *Bothy Songs and Ballads.* A song can belong in a specific folk song collection because of the locations in which in are sung or because of the people who choose to sing them or because of the intrinsic content of the song text. Most of the songs in my collection satisfy all three of these conditions.

[467] Melbreak Foxhounds, *Songs of the Fell Packs*, inside cover.

## 3.4 Tunes, Singers, Sources

This final chapter is primarily devoted to analysing the information contained in the remaining fields of both of my databases (D1 and D2). The two preceding chapters have focused on the texts of Lakeland Hunting Songs; this chapter focuses instead on their tunes, considering their sources and musical elements, the singers, and what we can learn about the singing tradition through the tunes it employs.

**Where were the songs found and who are the singers?**

The 313 songs in my collection were amassed from 23 sources, both textual and oral/aural. Perhaps unsurprisingly, many of the songs have multiple sources; in some cases, for instance, I heard a song sung at several song nights and then found one or more textual sources for it as well (as discussed in Chapters 3.1 and 3.3). The database uses a code to identify these 23 sources, as listed in figure 10.

**Figure 10: Key to song sources**

| Where found? | Detail | Text or Oral/Aural | Songs heard/found |
|---|---|---|---|
| AB book | Anthony Barker book | Text | 3 |
| BC Booklet | Bill Crisp booklet | Text | 5 |
| CF book | Coniston Foxhounds book | Text | 7 |
| CF2015 | Troutbeck Mayor Making (Coniston Foxhounds song night) 2015 | Oral/Aural | 8 |
| CV | Country Voices project | Text and Oral/Aural | 52 |
| DW | Denis Westmorland | Oral/Aural | 46 |
| EEF2012 | Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds song night 2012 (Ennerdale Bridge) | Oral/Aural | 19 |
| EL | Elli Logan | Text | 13 |
| FN book | Fred Nevison(sp?) book | Text | 16 |
| FolkTrax | FolkTrax recordings (from Sue Allan) | Oral/Aural | 14 |
| JR Tape | Johnny Richardson tape (from Elli Logan) | Oral/Aural | 5 |
| Kenny Stuart | Kenny Stuart visits in 2011 and 2012 | Oral/Aural | 3 |
| LF2011 | Lunesdale Foxhounds song night November 2011 (Crosby Ravensworth) | Oral/Aural | 20 |
| LF2012 | Lunesdale Foxhounds song night November 2012 (Crosby Ravensworth) | Oral/Aural | 17 |
| LF2016 | Lunesdale Foxhounds song night February 2016 (Tebay) | Oral/Aural | 34 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MF2016 | Melbreak Foxhounds song night February 2016 (Embleton) | Oral/Aural | 15 |
| MSM2012 | Mardale Shepherds Meet – Ullswater Foxhounds song night November 2012 (Bampton Grange) | Oral/Aural | 32 |
| MSM2014 | Mardale Shepherds Meet – Ullswater Foxhounds song night November 2014 (Bampton Grange) | Oral/Aural | 20 |
| PJR | Pass the Jug Round CD | Oral/Aural | 9 |
| RB | Ron Black | Text | 30 |
| SFP | *Songs of the Fell Packs* book | Text | 73 |
| VWML | Vaughan Williams Memorial Library | Text | 5 |
| YouTube (via RB) | YouTube – sent link by Ron Black | Oral/Aural | 1 |

As can be seen, 14 of my sources were oral/aural (either live events or recordings that I had been given), and eight were textual. One was both: the Country Voices project, which produced both tapes and booklets with the song texts. I found this to be a useful source, since it included several songs that I had heard live but had been struggling to transcribe, or for which I lacked a title. 245 (55 percent) of the items collected came from these oral/aural sources, 152 (34 percent) from textual sources, and the remaining 52 (11 percent) came from Country Voices. In total 441 items appear here, for just 313 songs, so there is clearly some overlap between the oral/aural and textual sources; but it is important to note that I collected well over half of the songs from oral/aural sources. Indeed, I have been lucky enough to attend eight song nights, at which 165 songs were performed. These make up 37 percent of the titles in my collection, which arguably demonstrates that this is still an active and continuing tradition, even if some have perceived it to be in decline. The tradition's present-day vitality is further confirmed by the fact that 41 (13 percent) of the 313 songs in my overall collection lack any textual sources at all (i.e. they have only been transcribed by me). This is not to say that these songs have never been written down—given the nature of composition in the tradition, this seems highly unlikely—but it does perhaps suggest the possibility that some kind of oral transmission is still taking place, at the very least because audience members learn new choruses.

Roud discusses oral/aural transmission in quite some detail in *Folk Song in England* and makes the point that, though this has always been an important element in folk traditions, 'since the invention of printing, there has probably never been a purely 'oral' tradition, even among the lower classes.'[468] Roud does believe, however, that there is still a genuine case to be argued for orality

[468] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 24.

through the performance of songs (even if the song is learnt from written sources), since performances usually occur without the aid of textual aids or notated tunes.[469] He continues:

> Once a song was learnt, oral performance without the aid of a written text was the norm, and to argue for orality as significant part of folk-song definition is entirely justifiable. And, even more to the point, we can immediately demonstrate that the concept of an oral tradition is quite accurately used for one half of the folk-song equation – the tunes.[470]

This idea that the term 'oral tradition' can be applied to at least the learning of tunes is one to which I will return later in this chapter.

Next in the database we come to the singers. The 245 songs in my collection that come from an oral/aural source were rendered by 108 singers whose names I know and 13 whom I have not been able to identify. Assuming, for a moment, that those 13 unknown singers are all separate individuals, the total number of different singers captured as part of my collection would be 121. It is quite difficult to find a similar collection with which to compare this number, but if we take the Yorkshire Garland Group's collection of 146 songs as an example, there were 62 singers.[471] Another comparison could be drawn with the Pennine Fox Hounds where Ian Russell found 'up to 20 singers on whom they can call'[472] as the most active singing Pennine Pack at the time. Whether this continues to be the case remains to be seen. I am led to believe that there are active singing Foot Packs in Wales and Cornwall, too, and I would be interested in conducting work with them in the future. Either way, that the majority of these 121 singers are alive and still singing today is, I believe, quite remarkable and demonstrates again the vitality of this tradition. Of the named singers there are 16 women; the remaining 92 are men. Collecting demographic information from singers at song nights was not a viable option, so I do not have any data on their ages, but it does appear that a good-cross section of ages is represented; in other words, it is not just 'old men' who are still performing, though they are certainly in the majority. Of course, not all the recordings in my collection are contemporary, but it is heartening to see that there are still so many people involved in this tradition.

The most prolific singer in my collection is Denis Westmorland, with 46 songs, which is due to the four hunting-song CDs he has produced. I will discuss his effect on the tradition in more detail later in this chapter, but it is worth noting here that the mere existence of these CDs perhaps shows how popular and pervasive these songs remain among people living in these Lake District communities.

[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid, 31.
[471] Steve Gardham, email message to the author, 5 February 2021.
[472] Russell, 'The Hunt's Up?,' 133.

There are then another 15 named singers who I have heard perform five or more times; their names are easily found in the database should any readers be interested.

The role of women within the tradition is slightly difficult to define, and women are mentioned only rarely in the literature (particularly historical) concerned with Lakeland Hunting or its singing tradition. Women are welcome to attend the hunts, but it is still men who are in the majority, and the same can be said of song nights. I have never been made to feel unwelcome because of my gender when attending song nights, but there is arguably a slightly old-fashioned attitude to women singers: an effort to create order is often made with cries from the chairmen like 'Quiet, please, for the lady singer!.' Traditionally the role of women in Lakeland Hunting was mainly to provide hospitality and refreshments. However, it does seem likely that wives of huntsmen and hunt servants would also have some role in looking after hounds and terriers, in the same way that farmers' wives are generally involved in the running of farms; everyone has to 'get stuck in' to get by.

More work is needed to further chart the role and participation of women in Lakeland Hunting; it is certainly not just the men who are interesting 'characters.' As we have seen in Chapter 3.3, some of the more prolific song writers are women—notably Elli Logan and Sylvia Shepherd—but the same cannot really be said when it comes to singing. This may possibly result from women's relationships with pubs; the pub singing tradition described in *The Fellowship of Song* is similarly constrained because, as Dunn notes: 'The pub is and has been out of bounds to certain women, and performance in the pub forbidden by public opinion to most women.'[473] Lyn Murfin writes that Cumbria's 'public houses were never wholly male preserves . . . [but] . . . the extent to which women participated in pub culture in general is however difficult to assess.'[474] Practically speaking, the 1908 Children's Act which banned children from licensed premises would have made it difficult for many women to go to the pub, as did the cost of buying alcohol.[475] Murfin additionally notes that 'women who did frequent public houses usually did so furtively. They did not usually mix with the men.'[476] This would correlate with anecdotal evidence from my own family: my maternal grandmother always proudly told me that 'ladies were never seen in the pub'; indeed, my father can remember waiting in the car with his mother and aunt in the early 1960s while his father and uncle went for a drink in the pub. My mother has also told me that, when she and my father were 'going out' (around the late 1970s and early 1980s), they would go to the pub but only ever sit in the lounge bar; the public bar was just for working men. Granted, women sometimes strayed into the public bar to join the men playing darts; but this was not something that 'respectable' women would do, and the more

[473] Dunn, *The Fellowship of Song,* 112.
[474] Murfin, *Popular leisure in the Lake Counties*, 79.
[475] Ibid, 79-80.
[476] Ibid, 80.

impromptu hunt sing-songs most often took place in the public bars. Women were more likely to come across hunting songs at the Hunt Balls; these, along with Young Farmers' events, are still one of the main ways for young people to meet in rural areas. There is, of course, much more to be unpacked here, but doing that could easily constitute another full thesis.

**Tunes**

The remaining fields in D1 that have not previously been discussed (Tune, Shared Tune, Shared Chorus, Shared Words and Metric Structure) also appear in D2, so at this point I refer the reader to my second database to examine the tunes used in this tradition.

The tune given for each song in D1 is often derived from the analysis done in D2. The purpose of D2 was twofold: to look in more detail at shared characteristics of songs in order to suggest a tune that *could* be used (when a tune has not been specified in a textual source); and to analyse musical features such as modes and time signatures to see if any patterns arose that could further inform hypotheses about why some tunes are particularly favoured in this tradition.

There are three sheets in D2. The first is a database of the tunes; this first indicates which songs I have heard sung to those tunes and then provides some more detail about songs which *could* be sung to those tunes and why. The second sheet was made to enable sorting each song in my collection by its tune, which can be a little tricky using D1 because of the additional data it contains. The third sheet contains information on tune categories.

As stated in Chapter 3.1, there are 147 'definite' tunes in my collection. These are tunes that I have either heard performed, have been told what tune 'should' be used by informants, or are noted in a textual source. I used the word 'approximately' when stating the number of tunes in my collection because I am aware that with further scholarship this number could change. A number of reasons contribute to my uncertainty: I might have heard only snippets of a song due to performers' lapses of memory, or I might be unable to clearly distinguish a tune due to the inebriation of the performer. However, for the most part, the uncertainties concern naming or identifying the tune. This arises primarily with tunes that appear on the Country Voices recordings (as previously explained in Chapter 3.1). However, tune identification and provenance are not primary concerns in this thesis; I have pursued provenance rather as a starting point for future research.

These 147 tunes correspond to *approximately* 189 songs. Again I use the word 'approximately' because in a handful of cases it is difficult to be entirely sure if a song uses that particular tune. This occurs sometimes because a textual source indicates a particular tune to use but I have then heard the same song performed with a different tune. This 'slipperiness' when it comes to tunes used perhaps typifies the attitude of many within the tradition: it does not matter too much which tune is

used for a particular song, just as long as it is sung. As a result, I have not made a great effort to definitively identify tunes and their names; this seems not to be a great concern in this tradition.

The flexible use of tunes may have historical roots: many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hunting songs discussed in Chapter 3.2 gave no indication what tune 'should' be used for them. This is perhaps not surprising, given the performance history of broadsides, but it could be that the current practice of not assigning a specific tune to a newly written song is a convention brought forward from much earlier hunting songs. However, a more likely reason is probably that tune names are not known to performers; when I asked singers what a tune was, they usually responded by telling me another song that shared that tune—not the tune name. In conversation with Ron Black, he once told me that many people contacted him asking for tunes for the songs he published on his website. When I asked why he did not include them he answered, first, that he cannot read music, but second, he added, really the tune is not that important; the story is what matters and as long as one can fit the words to one tune or another then that is enough.[477] While at times this was frustrating for me as a collector, I have had to accept that (for now, at least) my data for the tunes in this tradition is incomplete.

Without getting bogged down too much with hypotheticals, there were, however, a further 47 songs to which I felt I could assign a tune with reasonable confidence. I did this by noting features such as shared choruses or words and characteristic metric structures; these allowed me to propose that a particular tune would be likely to be used for some songs that I had not heard performed. A good example is 'The Ennerdale Hunt—1917,' which uses the same structure and chorus as 'The Mardale Hunt' (see figure 11), the textual resemblance strongly suggests that the two songs would share a tune.

**Figure 11: Songs with shared structure and chorus**

| **The Ennerdale Hunt—1917** | **The Mardale Hunt** |
|---|---|
| The dawn is here, awake my Lad's away, away,<br>The mist has left the Brake, my Lad's away, my Lad's away,<br>Their clouds are rolling up the Hill o'er<br>Fairy dell and silver rill<br>Up Frowning height and rugged gill,<br>Away my Lads, away. | The morn is here, awake, my lads,<br>Away, away.<br>The hounds are giving mouth, my lads.<br>Away, my lads, away.<br>The Mardale Hunt is out today,<br>Joe Bowman strong shall lead the way,<br>Who ne'er has lad his hunt stray,<br>Away, my lads away. |

'Shared choruses' would seem to clearly signal shared tunes, but 'shared words' require some clarification. I have used this to identify tunes in only a handful of cases, and these all involve iconic Lakeland Hunting Song phrases. For example, 'D'ye ken' and 'in the morning' probably bring the song

[477] Ron Black, conversation with the author, 20 July 2012.

'John Peel' to mind for anyone familiar with the tradition. The position of these phrases in the text is also significant. Thus, in this example, to infer the tune 'John Peel,' 'D'ye ken' would have to appear at the start of a line, but 'in the morning' would have to end a stanza.

Metric structure alone proved insufficient to assign tunes to songs, but metric structure was useful to consider when it was coupled with shared choruses or words. It was, however helpful to analyse which songs were likely to fit the 2-beat or 3-beat rhythm as described in Chapter 3.2. I found that most of the songs with 14 syllables (or subdivisions thereof) per line fit the 2-beat rhythm, whereas songs with 11 syllables generally worked with the 3-beat rhythm. So, although it was not useful in the analysis for which it was intended, treating the metric structures of all the songs in this way was eventually rewarding.

The tune that I thought most often *could* be assigned to a song was the tune I have termed 'Hark Forrad, good hounds, tally-ho'; at least 34 songs could use this tune. In all cases, these songs were identified first by the chorus they use and then by checking that their metric structure fitted for the verse. This seems to be a particularly popular tune in the tradition not only for its chorus (well-known by everyone within the tradition), which promotes audience participation, but also for its apparent malleability, something I will discuss in more detail shortly.

I have, therefore, been able to assign 235 of the songs in my collection with a tune with a fair degree of confidence. These 235 texts use a total of 147 tunes, which clearly shows that some tunes are used multiple times.[478] Figure 12 displays all the tunes that I believe can used for more than one song in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition.

**Figure 12: Tunes which are used for multiple songs**

| Tune Name | Songs heard with tune | Songs that *could* have this tune | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| The 10th Day of March | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Bonnie Dundee | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Clementine | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Keep yer feet still Geordie Hinny | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Macnamara's Band | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Spancil Hill | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Tell you bible stories? | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| These are my Mountains | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| When the old man came home sober | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Why Paddy's not at work | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Forty Shades of Green | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Orthwaite Fells | 3 | 0 | 3 |

[478] I am indebted particularly to Steve Gardham and Peter Wood for giving me their time and helping me to identify many of the tunes in this collection. Having no background myself in folk or traditional music, this would have been a huge challenge had they not been able to tell me what many of the tunes were, or give me some leads on what tunes could be, or might once have been.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roamin' in the Gloamin' | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| A-hunting We Will Go | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| The Hunting Day | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| John Peel | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| T'Laal Melbreak* | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Wearing of the Green | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| All Jolly Fellows / Villikins and his Dinah | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Brimmer Head** | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Mardale Hunt, The | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| Hark Forrad, good hounds, tally-ho | 5 | 29 | 34 |

* Several songs in the collection give 'T'Laal Melbreak' as the tune name, but it may be better known outside of Cumbria as 'The Horn of the Hunter' or 'Bellman.' Of these songs, 'The Horn of the Hunter' is likely the oldest song, having been written by Jackson Gillbanks, who hunted with John Peel. Sue Allan told me that he died in 1878, and she thought it 'quite likely that he wrote the song shortly after the death of Peel in 1854. But of course what we don't know was whether he wrote his text to an existing hunting song tune.'[479]
** Again, several songs give 'Brimmer Head' as a tune; there is arguably a root in 'Wearing of the Green' here, particularly in the verse, but the chorus is quite different.

Nearly all of these most prolifically used tunes appear to have been used only for songs concerned with hunting or memorialising famous huntsmen, something I mentioned in Chapter 3.2. This happens partly because some songs' choruses remain unchanged, although the verses vary from song to song. See, for example, Hark Forrad…, The Mardale Hunt, T'Laal Melbreak and A-hunting We Will Go (though this last example has a few variants in the second line of the chorus). Because the shared choruses directly relate to hunting, it makes sense that the songs set to these tunes share the subject matter.

The other features included in D2 were modes, key signatures and time signatures. All but seven of the tunes in my collection are in a major key, with none being in a minor key; the remaining seven (used for eight songs) are modal. This perhaps reflects the general nature of hunting songs—they have a celebratory purpose—but it may also stem from the origin of many tunes used in the collection: they appear primarily to come from or be influenced by twentieth-century popular music, which, for the most part, uses major keys.

The heavy predominance of major keys may also be one of the reasons why Lakeland Hunting Songs were not of interest to early twentieth-century collectors, despite having been in existence for some time by then. These collectors have been well criticised by the likes of Harker[480] and Boyes[481] not only for their political and nationalist aims but also for their belief that modal tunes (rather than major or minor tunes) were in some way 'more authentic.' Vic Gammon notes in his paper 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914' that, even though most tunes collected were in major

[479] Sue Allan, email message to the author, 8 December 2018.
[480] Dave Harker, *Fakesong.*
[481] Georgina Boyes, *The imagined village.*

keys, there was a significant bias in favour of publishing modal tunes, therefore distorting the reality of what was actually being performed by 'the people.' Gammon uses the work of Henry Burstow and Samuel Willett as an example[482]:

| | Percentage of Major tunes published | Percentage of Other Scale tunes published |
|---|---|---|
| Henry Burstow | 43 | 85 |
| Samuel Willett | 13 | 100 |

Regardless, the apparent preference for major tunes in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition, and their perceived 'newness,' could be part of the reason why they have been excluded by previous collectors from their collections.

A brief side note may also be of interest: none of the modal tunes I have collected are Cumbrian in origin, and neither are most of the lyrics set to them. The one exception is 'Spancil Hill'—a tune perhaps most associated with The Dubliners—which has two original Lakeland lyrical settings.

Key Signatures and Time Signatures

It might appear that scrutinizing the keys in which I have heard these 147 tunes performed would be fruitless, since nearly every performance of each tune employs a different key. This probably happens because performers change keys to suit their own vocal ranges, which is easily managed since the songs are generally unaccompanied.

However, a brief look at the data in more detail (see figure 13) shows that F major, with 45 instances, appears to be the most favoured key, followed by D major, with 36. It might be interesting to investigate in the future why those two keys seem to be used more than others. Perhaps these keys sit most comfortably within the average male vocal range, but it might also be revealing to compare performances of particular tunes with corresponding popular recordings, such as those by The Dubliners or Foster & Allen.

**Figure 13: Keys used in sung sources**

| | |
|---|---|
| A major | 25 |
| Ab major | 26 |
| B aeolian | 1 |
| B dorian | 1 |
| B major | 7 |
| Bb major | 14 |
| C major | 29 |
| D / Eb maj | 1 |
| D aeolian | 1 |

[482] Vic Gammon, 'Folk Song Collecting in Sussex and Surrey, 1843-1914,' *History Workshop* 10 (1980), 71.

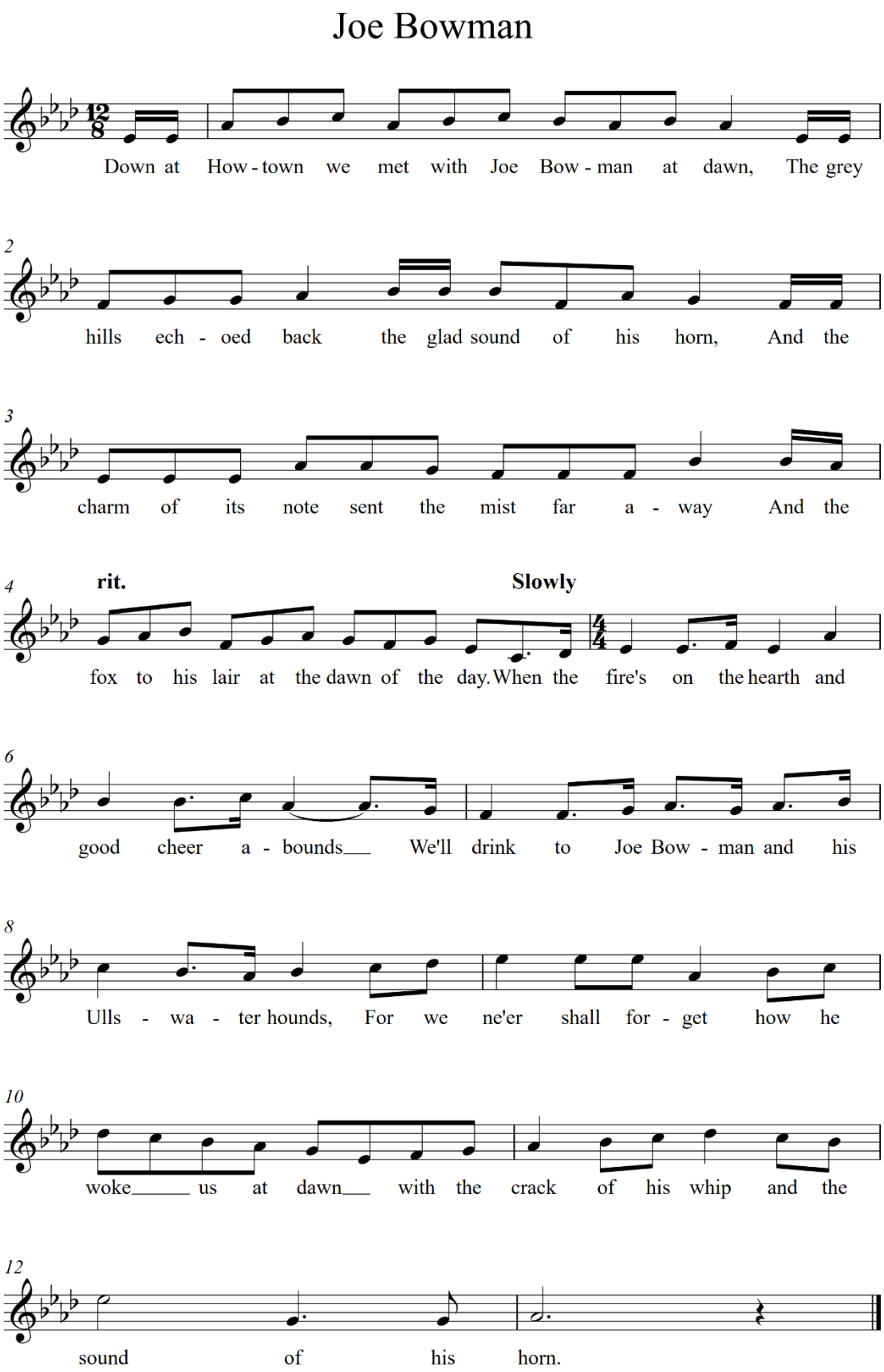
| | |
|---|---|
| D major | 36 |
| D mixolydian | 2 |
| Db aeolian | 1 |
| Db major | 9 |
| E / F major | 1 |
| E major | 21 |
| Eb major | 31 |
| F dorian | 1 |
| F major | 45 |
| F# major | 12 |
| G dorian | 2 |
| G major | 18 |

Similarly, it is not immediately evident exactly what is learned by analysing time signatures. From figure 14 we can see that, by far, the most commonly used time signature is 4/4, which applies to more than half the tunes in my collection. For a few tunes, the time signature is unknown, either because I have only heard a snippet or because, although a tune name has been given, I have not been able to find sheet music or further details about it. There are also a few instances where I have suggested two or even three different time signatures for a tune; these usually arise because I have heard the tunes performed in different ways—for example, depending on the performance, a tune might imply either 6/8 or 3/4, with the whole feeling of the tune changing accordingly. This is especially the case when different songs use the same tune but with changes in underlay affecting the metre. Finally, there are songs which apparently change time signature between the verse and chorus—'Joe Bowman,' for example (see Example 1), where the verse appears to be in 12/8 or 6/8 (depending on the performer) but the chorus is more like 4/4.

**Figure 14: Time signatures used in collected tunes**

| Time Signature | Number of tunes |
|---|---|
| 4/4 | 71 |
| 6/8 | 27 |
| 3/4 | 17 |
| Unknown | 4 |
| 6/8 or 3/4 | 6 |
| 6/8 or 12/8 | 3 |
| 12/8 | 1 |
| 2/4 | 1 |
| 2/4 or 4/4 | 1 |
| 6/8, 12/8 or 4/4 | 1 |

**<u>Example 1:</u> 'Joe Bowman'**



1. Down at Howtown we met with Joe Bowman at dawn
   The grey hills echoed back the glad sound of his horn,
   And the charm of its note sent the mist far away
   And the fox to his lair at the dawn of the day.

Chorus

   When the fire's on the hearth and good cheer abounds
   We'll drink to Joe Bowman and his Ullswater hounds,
   For we ne'er will forget how he woke us at dawn
   With the crack of his whip and the sound of his horn.

2. With steps that were light and with hearts that were gay
   To a right smittle spot we all hastened today
   The voice of Joe Bowman, how it rand like a bell:
   As he cast off his hounds by the side of Swarth Fell.

3. The shout of the hunters it startled the stag
   As the fox came to view on the lofty Brock Crag.
   "Tally ho!", cried Joe Bowman, "the hounds are away,
   O'er the hills let us follow their musical bay."

4. Master Reynard was anxious his brush for to keep,
   So he followed the wind o'er the high mountain steep,
   Past the deep silent tarn, to the bright running back,
   Where he hoped by his cunning to give us a check.

5. Though he took o'er Kidsty we held to his track,
   For we hunted, my lads, with the Ullswater pack,
   Who caught up the fox and effected a kill
   By the silvery stream of the bonny Ramps Gill.

6. Now his head's on the crook and the bowl is below,
   And we're gathered around by the fire's warming glow:
   Our songs they are merry, our choruses high
   As we drink to the hunters who joined in the cry.

All but 17 tunes in my collection (and possibly an additional six, depending on performance) are in duple meter. This predominance may simply reflect the activities mentioned in the songs, in particular walking or tramping through the countryside. Like work songs or sea shanties, activities often imply duple time: there is an action and then a return (e.g. chopping wood—lowering and raising an axe). However, the reliance on duple time may also be explained by the tunes' sources: the majority come from the popular music of the last century or so, which also tends to use duple meter much more than triple meter. Again, this reflects the relatively contemporaneous nature of this tradition.

**What makes a tune popular or useful?**

Lakeland Hunting Songs are performed in pubs, with the tunes constantly repurposed for different occasions, singers, or texts. A key attribute then, would seem to be simplicity and flexibility, especially in rhythm. Most pub performances have a tendency to distort time in at least two ways: singers hold high notes (to the extent that it almost becomes a competition to see who can hold them the longest!); and singers and songwriters attempt to fit in extra syllables. These tunes are a vehicle for telling a story and the more simple and 'malleable' they are, the more popular and 'useful' they seem to be.

When I asked Colin Armstrong about his composition process—whether he (like his contemporaries) tended to write a poem and then later set it to music—he told me the following story:

> Yes, that's what I do. I'll write something and then you'll find—when you try to sing it to a particular tune—you've got to start altering the song. You can't alter music. I remember the first time we did these—we were trying to raise the money when foot-and-mouth was on—a guy called Tony Rennie did all the backing music. And I used to write the song and go and put it through Tony's letter box and then a couple of weeks later I would come home from work and there'd be a tape and I'd play the tape. And I remember going to Tony's house and—this shows how much I know about music—I said 'Tony, line 3 in verse 2, I need you to stick another three notes on—I've a note left.' And he says 'you don't do it like that.' I said 'well I've got a word left and the music's stopped.' He says 'yeah, you're going to have to alter it.' I said 'just put another three notes on it' and he said 'I can't, it doesn't work like that.' He was going on about stanzas or something, he says 'you'll have to alter it.' And if I've got a theme I can sit down and write a song in half an hour. I think it took me three weeks just to alter one line that—to get it to rhyme and still mean the same and go with the music. We still joke about that.[483]

In this instance, someone else wrote the music specifically for Colin's song, because it was going to be recorded and they needed to be careful about copyright. But far more often, hunting songs do not fit the tunes to which they are sung particularly well. Consider 'Little Brown Dog on the Fell,' for example, specifically the first verse:

> Well hunting is the greatest sport of this there is no doubt
> You've all met the feller who knows it all,
> And the other one that knows nowt.
> About any huntsman, any hound, or even Tally Ho,
> Then I'll tell you a tale about this chap,

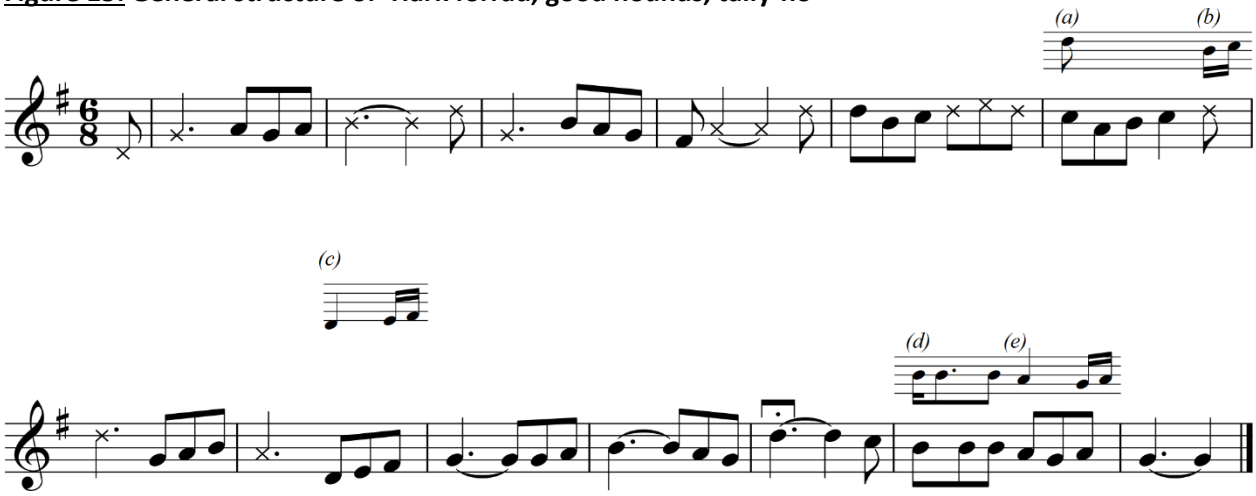
[483] Interview with Colin Armstrong, 18 January 2016, Lorton.

And how little he did know.

The given tune for this song is 'The Lincolnshire Poacher'; it is certainly possible to make this verse fit, but one needs to add in fistfuls of semiquavers, all over the place. I have heard this song performed four times and people really struggle to get through this verse—there are just too many words for most people to fit in! Perhaps the lyricist, Bill Crisp, managed things without a problem, but it is clearly tricky for many performers today. This may show how 'musical' Crisp was in fitting text to tune; but in any case, it is arguably a testament to him and the popularity of his songs that it is still performed so regularly, despite its perceived difficulty.

What seems to make 'Hark forrad, good hounds, tally-ho' such a popular and usable tune is that it can be treated like a recitative. Practically every note in the tune can be doubled, halved, quartered or inflected in whatever manner the performer needs to be able to fit in the text. In figure 15, I have tried to give an idea of some of these alterations; there are so many variations that it was impractical to notate them all, but I hope this gives the reader an idea of what *could* be done with the tune.

**Figure 15: General structure of 'Hark forrad, good hounds, tally-ho'**

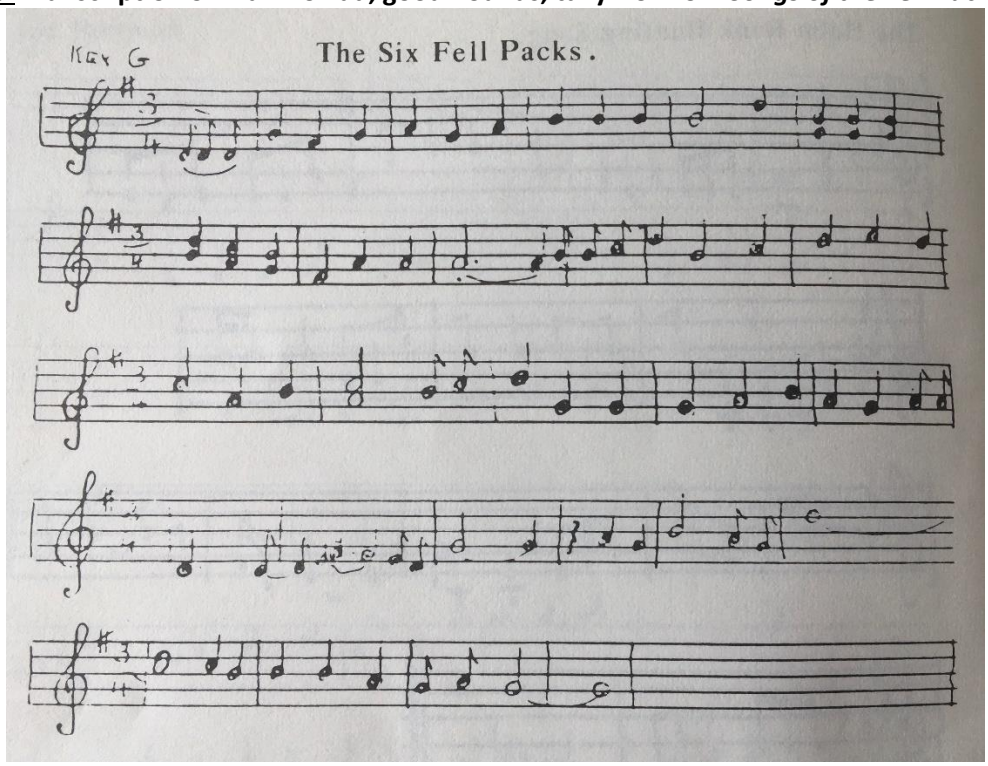



The cross-heads in figure 15 indicate moments when, based on the versions I have heard, the rhythm can be distorted in whichever way might best fit the textual underlay or best suit the mood of the performer or audience that day. The ossia staves show common melodic variations, but the choice is not binary, either performing the main stave variant *or* the ossia stave—they can be mixed and matched. Indeed, the ossia in bars 6 and 12 show two variants each: sometimes the D is sung in bar 6, but not the semiquaver B and C, but then again they might be, even within the same performance. The same applies to bar 12, where each half of the ossia bar could be performed separately or together. One should also note the pause mark in bar 11 over the main high note in the song. This can be held for ages and ages, especially in the final verse, and particularly towards the end of a song

night. Some performers even take a breath after a while and then re-enter to hold it for as long as the second breath will sustain them!

This 'loose' treatment of tunes would appear to be a long-term feature of the tradition. There are a few transcribed tunes included in *Songs of the Fell Packs*[484] (SFP), one of which is 'Hark Forrad…' or, as it is given in that transcription, 'The Six Fell Packs' (which I have noted as a shared tune in my databases). A photograph of this transcription can be found in figure 16. I felt it was more useful to include a photograph than my own copy, since the original SFP version might give a reader an idea of some of the difficulties I have faced when doing my own transcriptions; meter and rhythm are often a law unto themselves in this tradition!

**<u>Figure 16:</u> Transcription of 'Hark forrad, good hounds, tally-ho' from *Songs of the Fell Packs***




The equivalent of the pause in bar 11 of my transcription (in figure 15) can be found at bar 21 in the SFP version in figure 16, where a semibreve D is tied to a minim D (rather than notating it with a pause). Because the SFP version is transcribed in 3/4, the semibreve might well have been used to indicate that this is a *really* long note, one which lasts longer than a normal bar.

The pervasive metric, rhythmical and melodic distortions are all evident in figure 16. In several places there are more or less than three beats per bar, and I believe the notated thirds indicate that either of the notes could be sung in a performance. Indeed, there is some overlap with the either-or sections in my own transcription; in other cases I have heard the alternate notes as uncommon

[484] Melbreak Foxhounds, *Songs of the Fell Packs,* 79-83.

variants. Some of the ties, or the placement of notes very close to a bar line, may signify moments when rhythms sometimes change or can be rendered differently by different performers (see bar 8, for example).

It is also worth noting that I have used 6/8 as the time signature while the SFP version uses 3/4. In fact, I would say that neither time signature quite fits what is most often heard at a song night, but I would argue that the versions I have heard evidence a more duple feel, though that could just be my interpretation. And certainly I have heard some performances where it feels a little more like they are using a triple meter. Again, however, given the nature of this tradition, it seems fruitless to me to fret over which time signature is 'correct' because, to the performers, it does not really matter; this tune is so popular and useful precisely because it can flit between two different time signatures, the rhythm can be freely altered to fit the words, and even the pitches can be changed.

Another reason for the differences between my transcription and the one in SFP (most likely notated in about 1971) could be the influence of some of Denis Westmorland's music. Denis has a song called 'The Lakeland Fell Packs' that is based on 'The Six Fell Packs' but uses a variant of the most common tune. 'The Lakeland Fell Packs' is very firmly in triple time and in some ways feels, to me, more like a waltz—a dance tune—than a hunting song; but providing dance music is part of Denis' profession. Some of the more common melodic and rhythmic variants I have heard seem likely to come from 'The Lakeland Fell Packs.'

Because the tunes are so similar, I have also been interested in some live performances of 'The Lakeland Fell Packs' that are mostly Denis' version but with bits of 'Hark Forrad…' often—to my ear, anyway—tending to creep in. This was something Denis acknowledged when I spoke with him; having told him about singers performing 'The Lakeland Fell Packs,' sometimes still using bits of the 'Hark Forrad…' tune, he said, 'You *could* have the tally-ho bit in'[485]—meaning it would be acceptable to use the original chorus.

I also asked Denis if he thought he had had any influence on the hunting song tradition, perhaps by providing some new tunes. He told me:

> I reckon, yeah. I was at a do one night and there were singers from all over the place, they booked me to play, they said :'We don't know if we'll need you but it's nice if you're there, if we run out of things you can play an hour at the end.' And there were actually guys who I didn't know from other parts of Northumberland, Durham, etc., and they were singing my songs. I don't think they were aware it was a song that I'd written. And they sang them well, you know, good strong voices etc. So they've obviously picked up on that. You know, they'll have their own songs from their own area, and then there's the John Peels and Joe Bowmans. Then obviously

[485] Interview with Denis Westmorland, 12 May 2017, Southwaite.

> they've heard the CDs, and they've been kind enough to say 'That's a good song, I'll learn that song.' And little did they know that there, sitting in the corner, was the man that wrote it. So I just sat there with a rather satisfied smile on my face.[486]

We also touched on the evolving nature of tunes:

> DW: Sometimes you get a tune in your head, and you can imagine these guys maybe singing a hunting song to it, and it becomes that. It just becomes that. That Forty Shades of Green, Johnny Cash song, it's a dead simple thing and a lot of them write words to that, like the John Richardson song. When I first heard that it was just Forty Shades of Green, so all I did was change it around a little bit, and it's more or less the same tune, the same feel to it, but it isn't Johnny Cash anymore, it's Denis. And I've heard people singing it actually, to my tune.
>
> ME: I've heard both versions.
>
> DW: You know, you get a bit of stick from time to time. They say 'You're singing it wrong, you don't sing to that tune'—who's right and who's wrong?[487]

This part of the conversation was particularly interesting to me because, until then, I had been really struggling to pinpoint the tune for 'Our Johnny.' But as soon as Denis mentioned it, it became clear to me that most performances of 'Our Johnny' I had heard were using a tweaked version (most likely Denis') of 'Forty Shades of Green.' I first heard 'Our Johnny' in 2011, so it took nearly six years of working on these tunes for me to finally have this realisation. Again, this confirms the 'slippery' nature of these tunes: they can be partly one tune, but with bits of another, and then become arguably a whole new tune in themselves. And again, this helps to explain why determining tune provenance has been so challenging.

The foregoing confirms that a variety of outside influences (popular music, local popular performers etc.) have affected the genesis of the songs and tunes of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. Another intriguing example of this can be found by comparing two examples of 'The Ullswater Pack,' sometimes known as 'Pass the Jug Round.' Tunes change over time for a number of reasons: people have put their own spin on them, or changed them a little bit for copyright reasons, or they might just have had a little bit too much to drink one night! But this example is particularly curious.

In the Accompanying Material are three audio files to which I now draw the reader's attention. First they should listen to 'Emmett_104000458_PJR1' which is a recording of Mickey Moscrop from 1953. This should then be compared with 'Emmett_104000458_PJR2' which is a recording of me singing the same song, but as I have heard it many times during my fieldwork over more recent years.

[486] Ibid.
[487] Ibid.

Finally, listen to 'Emmett_104000458_TTGH' to hear what I believe may be the source for the alteration of the tune from that sung by Moscrop, to the version performed today.

The first two examples can still, arguably, be identified as the same tune, but I think that the chorus has been strongly influenced by the theme tune for 'Andy Pandy,' particularly the version that was aired in the 1970s-80s. The TV series first came out in 1950 and, in conversations with people in the tradition, I learned that, certainly by the early 1980s the chorus apparently had morphed from the original melody into something more like the tune for 'Time to go Home.' This is not a monumental shift (the 1950s version was already similar), but it shows how a shared upbringing—most people born in the 1950s/60s (and beyond) who were brought up in the UK know 'Time to go Home'—can influence a community and a tradition. All these outside musical influences have, in some ways, probably helped to sustain this tradition by providing new tunes, thereby keeping the tradition relevant to people's daily lives in some way.

**Tune Sources**

Roud suggests that one of folk music's main strengths is that 'it has regularly been refreshed, not weakened, by its ability to incorporate items from anywhere that offers suitable material which can be assimilated into the genre and fulfils its basic functions.'[488] We have also seen that many of the songs in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition are likely learnt from textual sources, although, as with other English folk song and vernacular singing traditions, tunes have (since the First World War) most probably been picked up by singers listening to recordings on the gramophone and radio.[489] It was, therefore, (as Russell equally notes of the West Sheffield tradition) 'indisputable and indeed inevitable' that there would be a strong relationship between Lakeland Hunting Songs and popular song of the last few centuries.[490]

Coming from a classical music background, when embarking on this project I thought that tracing the sources of all the tunes I collected would be a main objective in my thesis. But as time has passed—and as I have spent more time with ethnomusicologists, folk music specialists and particularly the people involved with the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition—the importance of finding out exactly what these tunes are and how they made it into the tradition has lost much of its allure.

Despite spending months and even years trying to discover what a particular tune is, in many cases I have not been successful. I do not view this as a failure on my part, though, because it truly does not seem that the music and tunes are the most important aspect of this singing tradition, much as in the West Sheffield tradition where the 'singers tend to associate a song with its text and consider

[488] Roud, *Folk Song in England,* 12.
[489] Ibid, 610.
[490] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 141.

the melody as a vehicle of performance.'[491] Necessary, yes; but as I have stated throughout this thesis, it does not matter *that* much what tune you use so long as you are able to sing the song. Thus, I have come to feel that it is a fruitless endeavour to diligently track down the sources of all the tunes, when even the tune *names* are not commonly known in the tradition. Singers may know the tune names for some of the songs they sing (though I have never been given a tune name when enquiring about a given tune—at best I have been given the name of another song that shares the tune), but they are very unlikely to know the tune names for other performers' songs.

In nearly every case where I have been able to find a tune name, the tunes come from popular culture (in one form or another), a fact that might support the idea that tune usage is ever-evolving. It seems that most of the tunes used come from the music that those involved in the tradition commonly listen to: national hunting tunes; Irish or Scots songs; country & western or folk songs; or twentieth-century popular song. Of the 147 tunes in my collection, I have been able to establish some sort of 'tune name' for 101 of them.

To give the reader a better idea of the eclecticism of the tunes used in the tradition, I attempted to group the tune sources into some rough categories (see figure 17). Much of this is probably conjecture on my part, but I hope it will act as a stepping-stone for further scholarship. Full details of which tunes have been placed into which category can be found on Sheet 3 of D2. Tunes marked as 'Unknown' are not included in this analysis, the majority being from songs produced by Country Voices. It may be that, in the future, it will be deemed possible to categorise these tunes as 'Hunting songs' by merit of the song/lyrics with which they are partnered, but this needs further scholarly inspection.

**Figure 17: Tune category analysis**

| Tune Source | No. Tunes |
|---|---|
| Hunting songs | 24 |
| The Dubliners / The Clancy Bros (& Tommy Makem) / The Watersons / Val Doonican / The Corries / Foster & Allen | 20 |
| English folk songs | 11 |
| Scots & Irish songs | 11 |
| Pop/Country & Western | 11 |
| American folk songs | 8 |
| Music Hall / Minstrel songs | 4 |
| Rugby/Football songs | 4 |
| Johnny Cash | 3 |
| Hymn tunes | 2 |
| Classical music | 1 |
| Nursery rhyme | 1 |
| Bothy ballads | 1 |

[491] Ibid, 177.

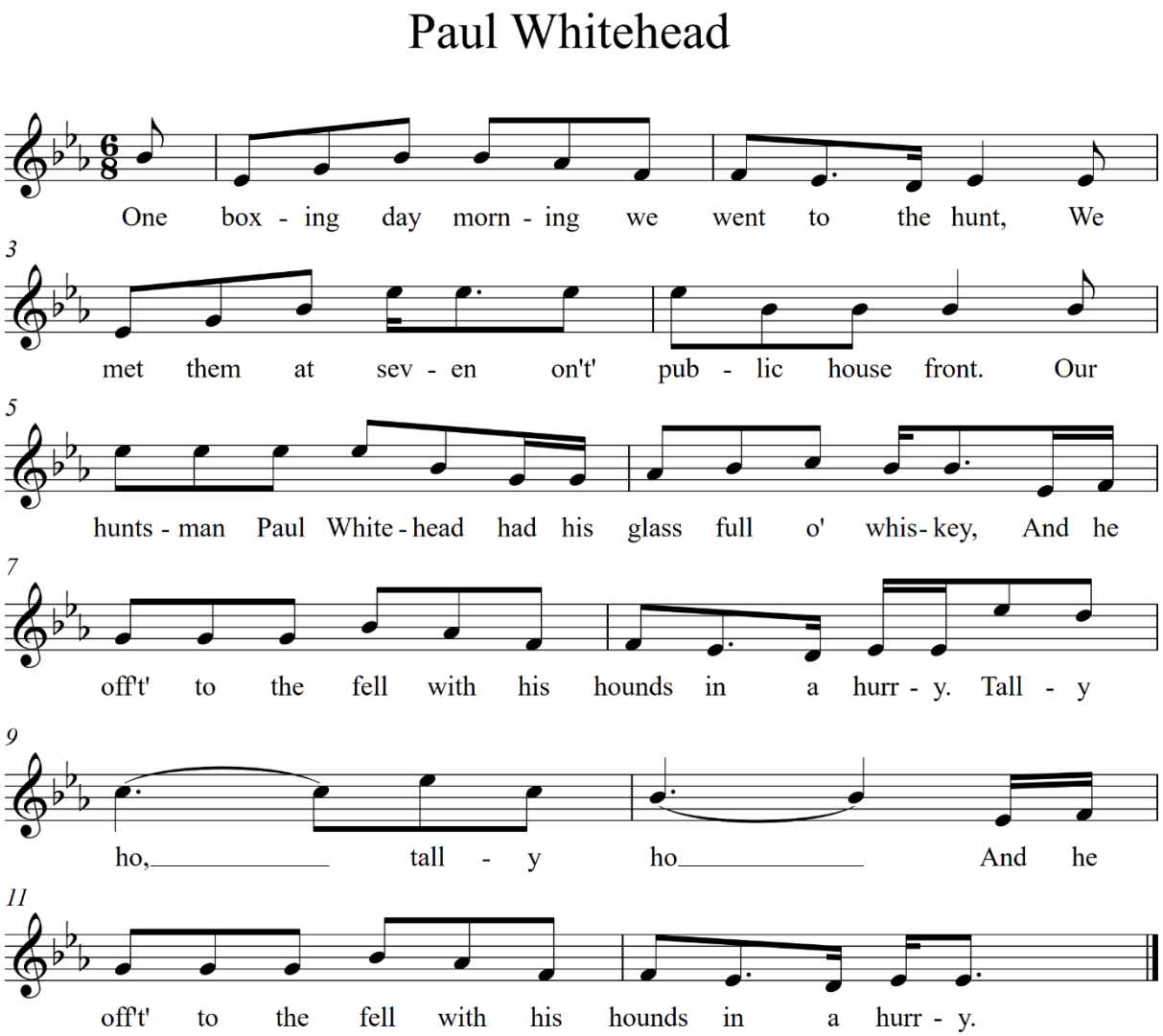
My purpose in making these categories was to try to show some of the different ways that tunes may have entered the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition. It may seem odd, at first, to see a category for Scots & Irish songs, and then a separate one for commercial performers (The Dubliners, etc.). However, on the few occasions members of the singing tradition have been able to give me a tune source, more often than not they would tell me 'It's a Dubliners song.' So this categorisation attempts to display the most likely sources for the tunes as they might be characterised by members of the singing tradition. It seems more important to consider the source from a singer's perspective—at least at this point in the study of this tradition—than to dig more deeply into every single tune's provenance. For example, the tune for 'Fathom the Bowl' is used (more or less) for 'The North Lonsdale Foxhounds,' but to a member of the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition this is most likely 'A song by The Watersons,' rather than a nineteenth-century drinking song.

Some consequences of my categorisation are worth exploring in more detail. Let us first look at the tune I have, for the time being, called 'All Jolly Fellows / Villikins & his Dinah' (See Example 2). 'Villikins' (Roud 271) has '[given] its name to one of the most used tunes in the folk repertoire,'[492] but its tendency to morph to and from 'All Jolly Fellows' (Roud 346) has been documented elsewhere. Russell notes that the dominant melody used for 'We Are All Jolly Fellows' in the West Sheffield tradition is 'Villikins,' though certainly not exclusively.[493] Hillery, too, reports that Walter Pardon's rendition of 'All Jolly Fellows' is very close to the 'Villikins' tune, though 'the rhythm is sometimes distorted and the melody thus bent.'[494]

I am reluctant to delve into the idea of 'tune families,'[495] as I am not fully convinced by the evidence cited to demonstrate their existence, especially when we consider that 'tune similarities between songs are something which largely goes unnoticed by traditional singers themselves.'[496] However, I hope it is safe to suggest here that, through adapting pre-existing tunes to new words, we may consider these two tunes to be of the same family in the sense that, by doing so, we might 'capture something of [the] interactions and impacts'[497] behind the resultant tune found in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition today.

[492] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 370.
[493] Russell, 'Traditional Singing in West Sheffield,' 175-76.
[494] Hillery, 'Vernancular Song from a North Yorkshire Hill Farm,' 258.
[495] Roud, *Folk Song in England*, 659-663.
[496] Ibid, 662.
[497] Ibid, 660.

**<u>Example 2:</u> 'Paul Whitehead,' set to the tune 'All Jolly Fellows / Villikins & his Dinah'**




1. One boxing day morning we went to the hunt
   We met them at seven on t' public house front
   Our huntsman Paul Whitehead had his full glass o' whiskey
   And he off't to the fell with his hounds in a hurry

<u>Chorus</u>

Tally-ho, tally-ho
[Repeat last line of previous verse]

2. Now they came round with t'cap just to make a few bob
   Cos that fella called Whitehead does a hell of a job
   I said to me mate Collin 'they'll get yan in a bit'
   But first yan got up, he ran right to a set

3. So Paul took his hounds away on the fell
   He caught up with Reynard in Cautley Cragg
   Another fox was soon up and off like a lark
   He went right over t'top and through Nathet Park

4. The next time we saw him he was going like hell
   I said let's get the Ravenstonedale as quick as we can
   The poor old fox was about tired out
   And the hounds were harked forward with a hell of a shout

5. By this time the hounds were going in full cry
   Poor old Reynard was sure to die
   When the hounds went past us they were going like heck
   And they caught up with Reynard down by the beck

6. So our Boxing Day hunt it did come to a close
   It was turning right nippy and I'd a drop on me nose
   Ted Metcalfe and Maurice Haygarth went home as well
   Lawrence revved up his jeep and he offed like hell

We saw in figure 12 that this is likely the third most used tune in this tradition; I have placed it in the 'Hunting song' category primarily because of the songs with which it is most often partnered, but also because it is possible that this has become a new tune in itself, with a set chorus structure, as can be seen with the song 'Paul Whitehead' in Example 2.

Whenever this tune is used in the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition (except for 'Ploughboys'), the 'Tally-ho' chorus is included (perhaps marking it more as a descendant of 'Viillikins'). This, I believe, is what would place this tune in the 'Hunting songs' category for a member of the singing tradition, regardless of its historical provenance.

When I examined the 'English folk songs' category, it became clear that around a third of the songs appear to be North-eastern in origin. Indeed I almost created a separate category for these tunes ('Keep yer feet still Geordie Hinny,' 'The Wild Hill of Wannie,' and 'Lambton Worm'). I did wonder if perhaps a member of the singing tradition had been a fan of The High Level Ranters, but, because of the texts set to these tunes, I felt there was insufficient evidence for this. Geographically speaking, though, it is perhaps not surprising that North-eastern tunes appear more often than tunes from other regions: Newcastle is one of the area's closest cities and easily accessed from Carlisle by road or train; and touring folk bands have certainly appeared in Cumbria too.

Finally, it is worth explaining why I created a separate category for Johnny Cash songs. This decision was made primarily because of the popularity of 'Forty Shades of Green' (discussed above), but at least two other tunes were most likely popularised and transmitted to the tradition through his recordings. 'The Old Rugged Cross' is given as a tune name for 'The Cunning Old Fox,' and I have heard the song performed accordingly. For many people this is a hymn tune; but Tom Sanderson—whom I heard sing this song—described it as a Johnny Cash song. Again, I have been guided by the implicit categories used by performers in the tradition. There were also at least two other tunes which *could*

have been placed in the Johnny Cash category, but the evidence and chronology supporting that assignment were less convincing.

Overall, the categories as displayed in figure 17 probably reflect the genesis of the tune tradition in general. There appears to be a fairly large corpus of 'traditional' tunes, be they Hunting songs, Scots/Irish songs or English folk songs, which has then been supplemented by Pop or Country & Western songs from the 1930s onwards. The 'golden age' of the singing tradition (often said to be the 1960s-80s) may well have been fuelled partly by a great influx of new tune material, inspired by popular artists such as The Dubliners and Johnny Cash. This appears to correlate with my findings in Chapter 3.3, which placed most songs between the early 1800s and the mid-late twentieth century. Even though very few, if any, of the tunes used in this tradition are Cumbrian in origin, I believe that the tunes that *are* used are still of great interest, as they implicitly reflect the tastes and passions of the people involved. When paired with the lyrics, tunes that 'mean' something to members of the tradition create songs which are uniquely meaningful and significant for the people involved.

## 4.0 Conclusion

This thesis—the first piece of academic research focusing exclusively on Lakeland Hunting Songs—has sought to elucidate three main areas:

1. The history of the singing tradition;
2. The text of the songs, and
3. The tunes of the songs.

Part 2 of the thesis was concerned with the first of these topics, showing how the tradition probably arose as a form of entertainment, but also as a means of raising money for the Fell Packs. The songs, and the act of singing them, helped reinforce this community's identity; but we have seen how various changes, which have affected those who live in these Lakeland communities, have also impacted the singing tradition, to a point at which some have been concerned about its continuation.

Part 3 then focused on the texts and tunes of these Lakeland Hunting Songs. The significance of this tradition is demonstrated by the quantity of songs in my collection (and the total, 313, has subsequently been enlarged by songs which came into my possession after completing work on the databases). The songs cover a wide range of subject material, though hunting is the main theme throughout. Some date back several centuries, but the majority has been written more recently. The proportion of relatively youthful songs demonstrates the continued importance and relevance of the tradition to the people involved. Songs are still performed, by singers of relatively diverse ages, though weighted somewhat towards the older generation. More than half of the songs in my collection came to me by oral/aural sources, again demonstrating the vitality of this singing tradition.

Although I initially focused on the music of this tradition, I have come to understand that the tunes have a relatively low status in the composition of a Lakeland Hunting Song. There do not really seem to be any tunes that are unique to this tradition, and it is not a tune-writing community—nearly all the tunes are borrowed—but I believe the tunes that *are* used provide further insights into this community, reflecting its tastes and interests. The use of borrowed tunes may also facilitate the participatory nature of pub performances. The tunes are most vital, though, as vehicles for transmitting the songs; the texts are always intended to be sung, and hence contemporary song writers refer to new texts as 'songs,' rather than 'poems.'

In Chapter 1.2 I defined Lakeland Hunting Songs as any song that I have heard sung by members of the Lakeland Fell Packs or that has been passed to me as songs of their community by members of the Packs. However, I believe it is possible to slightly alter this definition in retrospect, based on some of the considerations that have arisen in Part 3 of this thesis. It is clear that both the textual sources and the lyricists are important in defining a Lakeland Hunting Song. It also appears that one of the most important criteria when introducing new songs to the canon is a 'countryside

connection.'[498] Indeed, this seems to be an overarching theme in all the songs in my collection; perhaps it is this with which the people within the tradition feel a connection. Thus, to make a song that is meaningful and significant, a song writer must use a tune that 'means' something to members of the tradition, in conjunction with a lyric that is thematically linked to both hunting (broadly speaking) and to the region.

It remains surprising to me that this tradition has not been the subject of previous academic study, given the volume of repertoire and its apparent sociocultural importance to the region. Possibly this is because the tunes were not deemed 'interesting' or 'original' enough for folk music collectors; and others may have been dissuaded by the controversial nature of the subject matter. But, overall, this is still—for the time being—very much a living song tradition, and I firmly believe it is worthy of further study, with a huge repertoire to be further explored and preserved.

It could be argued that the main reason this remains a 'living tradition' is in its continual introduction of novel repertoire. Indeed, in the 1980s, the tradition began to stagnate when the same repertoire was repeated time and again at song nights. But as more young people started to attend sing-songs again, they brought with them 'some lovely new songs.'[499] Not just 'any old song' can be sung at a singing evening—there appears to need to be the 'countryside connection' mentioned above—but innovation is clearly welcomed by members of the tradition. After all, the prime function of these songs is as a form of entertainment; as long as a song is deemed appropriate by the majority of those in attendance, fresh material will be gratefully received.

The tradition also 'lives' in that it provides an essential social lifeline for members of these very rural and often isolated communities, especially for older people. Hunt occasions—particularly the coffee mornings and the sing-songs—are among the main motivations for these communities to gather together. Barry Todhunter, for one, was very aware that the singing tradition was 'still very important for keeping identity and community together.'[500] Moreover, I would suggest that the very existence of many of these songs has great cultural significance for Cumbria, since they record a great part of the county's social history. The Coniston Foxhounds came into being in 1825, so there are now almost 200 years of famed huntsmen, dogs, and and chases that are specific to the region and now immortalised in song.

In Chapter 2.5 I asked how, and indeed whether, the singing tradition should be encouraged in the future. It seems to me that the cultural significance of this tradition cannot be underestimated and should arguably be given greater recognition, perhaps even through UNESCO intangible cultural heritage status. At the very least, it seems that greater education about the singing tradition is needed,

[498] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[499] Interview with Linda Porter, 14 December 2015, Eskdale Green.
[500] Interview with Barry Todhunter, 22 March 2016, Threlkeld.

particularly in Cumbria itself, perhaps through schools, but also Cumbria Tourism. The tradition would surely be better appreciated if both locals and tourists were aware of the function and historical significance of the songs and singing, especially if it can be framed in a way that helps people to get past their prejudices towards the content potentially relating to fox hunting. The songs are so much more than a celebration of hunting, much in the same way that 'the hunt' is more than people following hounds.

Clearly, attending a Lakeland Hunting Song evening will not be an event that appeals to everyone. Ultimately, the majority of people involved in Lakeland Hunting—even those involved only in the social side—would like to see the hunting ban overturned. It is thus probably unrealistic to expect a person who holds strongly anti-hunting sentiments to attend a sing-song and be able to set aside everything except the social and cultural significance of the songs. However, it is my understanding that anyone (no matter their personal beliefs on hunting) would be welcome at a sing-song so long as they were respectful of the singers and approached the evening with an open mind. Education could, therefore, be particularly important in helping singers feel less afraid that confrontation will arise in a gathering that mixes participants, locals from outside the tradition, and tourists.

In Chapter 2.5 I noted that there seemed to be some hope for the future of the singing tradition, but that the ways in which it might continue may be quite different from how things had once been. I argued that 'this is all part and parcel of what makes a vibrant and living cultural tradition; perhaps, by embracing this concept, this tradition can flourish once again in the future.' In order to continue, the singing tradition needs to involve more people; these might be younger local people but, considering the demographics of the county, more often they may be people (of various ages) who have recently moved into the area. For long-standing reasons, members of the Fell Packs may be predisposed to be wary of people they do not already know, but it is in their interest to welcome new blood; they perhaps need to better consider how to make the social side of hunting, in particular, more inclusive. This might necessitate a more relaxed attitude about the use of written words when performing, or more explicit information provided to new singers about what is expected of them regarding alcohol, repertoire, and general behaviour.

I write this, however, in the midst of the coronavirus epidemic, and one does have to wonder whether the singing tradition will continue and recover as I have suggested previously in this thesis. There is a real concern that several pubs at which sing-songs tend to be held may not reopen and, as during the 2001 foot-and-mouth epidemic, people have now spent many months at home and are no longer in the habit of attending song nights. The full effect of this pandemic on the tradition remains to be seen.

Future work that I, or other scholars, may wish to undertake might include:

- A separate, bounded study of the effect that the foot-and-mouth outbreak had on both the Lakeland Hunting Song tradition and also the Shepherds' Meets, which seemingly ceased around that time;
- Further work on the sources of the tunes;
- Charting the role of women in Lakeland Hunting, both generally and in relation to the singing tradition;
- A study of the use of dialect and Cumbrian accent in the singing tradition;
- An investigation into the history of accompaniment of Lakeland Hunting Songs; and
- Further research into the songwriters and song writing in the tradition.

In many ways, I started my research into Lakeland Hunting Songs as a way to feel closer to home. Though this singing tradition was not part of my upbringing, immersing myself in this culture (for almost ten years now) has had a transformative effect on me. I have physically spent much more time at home than I would have done otherwise, in part to have somewhere local to stay when conducting fieldwork; but conducting this research has also brought me closer to home emotionally, as many common themes from my family history and own childhood have been brought to the fore. What started as a part of my undergraduate dissertation has evolved into this PhD thesis, and my life has changed as a result. I look forward, I hope, to many years to come in which further research into this tradition, whether professionally or simply out of personal interest and passion, will renew and extend my sense of self and place.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Titles and First Lines

**A6 Road, The**
*One day I thought I'd write a song, about a place I know*
**After the Hunt**
*The way has been rough and the wind has been swell[?]*
**Albert (Edward) Ben'se / Cocks they crew**
*Albert Ben'se to Ireland came*
**All For My Grog**
*And it's all for my grog my noggin, noggin grog*
**Anthony Barker's Hare Hounds**
*Anthony Barker went to Forest Hall*
**Anthony Chapman / Tribute to a Huntsman, A**
*Well I'll sing you a song about a huntsman*
**Any Hunt**
*The morn was fine, the air like wine*
**Appreciation of Jimmy Petrie, An**
*I'll try to sing a line or two of Jimmy Petrie's fame*
**Are You Lonesome Tonight (Parody)**
*Are you lonesome tonight?*
**Arkle**
*It happened in the springtime*
**Arthur Wells**
*When I was sitting in one night, I was watching the TV*
**Autumn Chorus**
*Stubble field and autumn mist and cobwebs pearled with dew*
**Badger and Butcher**
*T'was early spring in '48 and hounds were running strong*
**Ballad of Braithwaite Black, The**
*In a northern clime, in snow and rime*
**Beagle Inn, (The) (Old)**
*There's joy on a fine hunting morning*
**Beautiful Eskdale**
*How lovely in Eskdale on a fine frosty morn*
**Beautiful Hunting Day**
*We will kick up our heels at the sound of the horn*
**Beautiful Swaledale**
*I will sing of a place that is dear to my heart*
**Beckstones Hunt**
*From the crags above to the valley below, on a bright November morn*
**Bedale, The**
*At the covertside, in a frosty field, on a North Yorkshire farm*
**Bellman**
*Let's drink a tribute to Bellman*
**Bewcastle Hunt Song**
*Ted Proud and his hounds are out hunting today*
**Billy Bowman's Band**
*You will all ken Billy Bowman, of music he's renowned*

**Birds Upon the Trees, The**
*I am a happy fellow for my name is Tommy Bell*
**Black Swan Inn**
*It were 28th February, at Black Swan Inn was t' meet*
**Black Velvet Band**
*And her eyes they shown like diamonds*
**Blacksmith, The**
*Twenty years ago last Christmas*
**Blencathra Foxhounds at Wythburn**
*The morning was charming all nature looked gay*
**Bonnie Grey, The**
*Come all you cockers far and near,*
**Bootle Fell Hunt**
*Come listen you lads, of a hunt I will tell*
**Borrowdale Collie**
*Some sing of Blencathra, a pack of great fame*
**Borrowdale Hunt**
*Ya morn when it was barley leet. Ha way! Ha way!*
**Borrowdale Hunt 1981**
*Now all ye hunter I'll tell you a tale*
**Boxing Day Meet, The**
*Now we'll all go a hunting on this fine Boxing morn*
**Braeside Hunt, 1960**
*In the last day of December in nineteen sixty*
**Brait and Joe**
*One fine morning in December*
**Brave Mountaineers**
*I was born in the country and I like your country ways*
**Brimmer Head**
*It was on one May morn, we went to Brimmer Head*
**Bring Back the Days**
*Oh bring back the days, those wonderful days*
**Bristol, the Foxhound Pup**
*"His head is rather like a snake's", said Jan with a grin*
**Broughton Mills Hunt, The**
*Give attention I pray and of your fox chase*
**Bryan Beck Hunt, The**
*It was early one fine morning March 3rd being the date*
**Bunch of Violets, The**
*It was in the moonlit garden, not far from the ballroom grand*
**Bunty**
*The news it came one dark November morning*
**Car Hunters, The**
*Our hounds they come from Patterdale*
**Carlisle Otter Hounds (1)**
*The Carlisle Otter Hounds are a pack of renown*
**Carlisle Otter Hounds (2)**
*D'ye ken J. W. Graham with his pack so renown*
**Cartmel Hunting Song, Circa 1840**
*Bold Nimrod to Cartmel from Newby Bridge came*

**Clifton's Hunting Song**
*One morning in March to the Green we did go*
**Cobbler, The**
*Oh me name is Dick Darby, I'm a cobbler*
**Cock of the Game, The**
*Here' to the blood, in his mettle and pride*
**Coniston and Eskdale & Ennerdale Joint Meet**
*Of famous Joe Bowman they sing many a song*
**Coniston Fox Chase, The**
*Of Coniston Foxhounds I'm going to relate*
**Coniston Foxhounds (1)**
*A famous pack this Coniston*
**Coniston Foxhounds (2)**
*Twas the second fair day we set out for a spree*
**Coniston Foxhounds (3)**
*It being Christmas time, we set out in good cheer*
**Coniston Pack, The**
*We all sing songs of foxhounds*
**Coniston, The**
*You bold and ardent hunters be ready on the morn*
**Copshawholme Butcher, The**
*It was of a brisk young butcher from Copshawholme he came*
**Copshawholme Fair**
*On a Friday it fell, in the month of April*
**Cumberland Hunt, The**
*John Brockland's our Master, he farms at Westward*
**Cumbria's Call**
*It's the mountains that are calling*
**Cunning Old Fox, The**
*On a hill over there stands a cunning old fox*
**Dalesfolk's Hunting Song, The**
*Our glorious chase is ended. Come, sportsmen, join with me*
**Dalston Mink Hounds, The**
*"Cross the river now" shouted Steven to the field*
**Dark as a Dungeon**
*Come all you young fellas so brave and so fine*
**Dawning of the Day, At the**
*By Ribble's gleaming river*
**Day of the Coniston Foxhounds, A**
*'Twas early in the morning*
**Days End**
*Huntsman wind your horn again and call the pack away*
**Days of my Youth**
*And well I know each crag and scree*
**Dedicated to the Coniston Foxhounds. March, 1918**
*Hark to the music that comes from the fells*
**Dido Bendigo**
*T'was on a bright and shinin' morn*
**Dirty Old Town**
*I met my love by the gas works wall*

**Dragman, The**
*Give me a day that sets my mind free*
**Dreams**
*In my dreams I've seen*
**Drink Puppy, Drink**
*Here's to the fox in his earth below the rocks*
**Duck Hunt, The**
*The New Year's Hunt is out today, away, away*
**Dumfriesshire Hunt**
*Come rise brother sportsmen, the morning it is fine*
**Early Morning Hunt with Carol**
*The Ullswater's not a mounted pack*
**End of the Road**
*Now let's all salute a legend, a sportsman and a friend*
**Engineer's Song, The**
*An engineer told me before he died*
**Ennerdale Hunt, The - 1917**
*The dawn is here, awake my Lad's away, away*
**Ennerdale Sweet Ennerdale**
*Oh Ennerdale my darling lake from mountain I my last look take*
**Eskdale and Ennerdale Hunt Song**
*The dawn is here, awake me lads*
**Eskdale and Ennerdale Pack, The**
*Come hunters let's go to the coverts below*
**Eskdale Foxhounds, The**
*The famous Eskdale Foxhounds at Li'le Langdale did meet*
**Eskdale Show**
*Now the season's fast approaching when Jim Dalton's cheery horn*
**Fangs Moss Hunt, December 8th, 1931**
*Oor Queen was in Cummerlan' leatly*
**Farmer's Boy**
*The sun had set behind the hill*
**Field Sports**
*Now come all you sporting fellows, come now tell me is it wrong*
**Fields of Athenry, The**
*By a lonely prison wall*
**First of May**
*The sun shone on the kennels*
**Forty Shades of Green**
*I close my eyes and picture the emerald of the sea*
**Fox and the Hare, The**
*Kind Christians all you I call and you that feel inclined*
**Fox Hunt, September 11th, 1899**
*Come all you fox hunters and listen awhile*
**Fox, The**
*A fox went out in a hungry plight*
**Freedom's Choice**
*A figure in the darkening light*
**From Autumn Through Til Spring**
*When trees are standing bare, and scent is in the air*

**Gambler, The**
*On a warm summer's evening*
**Gasgale Gill**
*Last night as I lay dreaming of pleasant days gone by*
**Gatesgarth Coffee Morning**
*Now the hounds they came to Gatesgarth Farm, t'was on a coffee morn*
**Gatesgarth Hunt, The**
*Come all ye keen sportsmen that love the fox chase*
**Gay Young Spark, The**
*Now Alan's his name and he's ken'd far and wide*
**Ghost Hounds**
*Old age thinks back of the days gone by*
**Gilsland Hunt Ball, The**
*On the 27th of February, on a Friday it did fall*
**Gone Far Away**
*Now here's a song of Will Irving*
**Greenholme Hunt**
*Now all ye hunters just gather near*
**Grisedale Hunt, 1930s**
*Now listen me lads and let the roof ring*
**Hampsfell, 1955**
*Now I know you like to hear song songs of hunting*
**Hare Hunting Song**
*The morning is charming, all nature looks gay*
**Hark unto Fairy**
*You ken Barty Charlton, long master of the pack*
**Hawkshead Hunt**
*While staying at Hawkshead Hill Anthony and Sid*
**Hills of Greenmore, The**
*On a fine summer's morning our horns they did blow*
**Hodder Valley Foxhounds**
*The Hodder Valley Foxhounds are our toast today*
**Holm-Bank Hunting Song (Squire Sands)**
*One morning last winter to Holm-bank there came*
**Holy Ground, The**
*Fare thee well, my lovely Dinah, a thousand times adieu!*
**Home Boys Home**
*And it's home boys, home*
**Horn of the Hunter, The (or John Peel's Echo)**
*For forty long years we have known him*
**Horse, To The**
*He jumped o'er the wall and thorn, his whiskers never shorn*
**Hound Pup**
*When I was a young lad my dad gave to me*
**Hound Trail at Astley Brow, The**
*Come all you jolly sporting men, come listen to me now*
**Hound Trail Run at Threlkeld, The**
*How sweet to hear at early morn the hunter's horn resound*
**Hungry is the Fox**
*From the coppiced wild willow wood*

**Hunt at Strawberry Bank, Cartmel Fell, January 15th 1914. Record Hunt of 9 1/2 hours**
*On January 15th to Strawberry Bank came*
**Hunt in the Lune, 1862, The**
*It was the last week in August, I never shall forget*
**Hunt with me**
*Come with me at the dawn of the day*
**Hunt with the Eskdale, A – About 1900 Sometime**
*They met at dawn on Birkby Fell*
**Hunters Lament, The**
*Dear old Dunny Bull, thy time is drawing night*
**Hunters, The**
*We like to see the picture of those hounds upon the fell*
**Hunting**
*Some folks would rather lie in bed*
**Hunting Day, The**
*What a fine hunting day, it's as balmy as May*
**Hunting in the Morning**
*We love hunting on the mountains in the morn*
**Hunting Next Year**
*Oh will we be hunting next year?*
**Hunting Round the Bar**
*George tells us very loudly*
**Hunting Song**
*'Twas a fine hunting day, in black berrying time*
**Hunting Song About Tommy Dobson, A**
*Old Tommy was a hunting man*
**Hunting the Hare**
*Hark for'ard, hark for'ard, hark for'ard, to hills where October*
**Huntsman's Farewell**
*Now come all you sportsmen of Lakeland*
**Hyde Park Rally, The**
*We went down to London one fine July day*
**I Should've Been Home**
*I should've been home an hour ago*
**If All The Young Girls**
*If all the young girls were like hares on the mountain*
**Ike Jenkinson's Game Cocks**
*It was on a Saturday morning*
**In Memory of the Late William Porter, of Eskdale**
*A hunting song I sing my lads, away, away*
**Irish Gentleman**
*It's many years ago since I left old Ireland's shore*
**Irthing Water Hunt, The**
*On the 27th February 1873 I'll give you full particulars*
**Jack Taylor**
*Jack Taylor is a huntsman from across the Irish Sea*
**JCB Song**
*Now there's this man O'Malley he's a man of high renown*
**Jedforest, The**
*For one hundred years and more these hills have given sport*

**Jobby Teasedale's Tip**
*Ah nivver nivver wull forgit*
**Joe Bowman**
*Down at Howtown we met with Joe Bowman at dawn*
**Joe Wear / Come Gather Round the Fire Lads**
*Come gather round the fire boys and I'll tell you all a tale*
**John Nic and his Lunesdale Pack**
*John Nic and his hound pack, they will be meeting today*
**John Peel**
*Do ye ken John Peel with his coat so grey*
**Johnny Richardson**
*Now gather round you hunters, there's a song I'll sing to you*
**Joss Naylor**
*In Cumberland we pride ourselves on having fit strong men*
**Kielder Hunt**
*Hark, hark I hear Long Will's clear voice*
**La'al Melbreak, 1956, T'**
*Oor Queen was in Cummerlan' leatly*
**Lakeland (1)**
*We talk and we sing about beautiful Lakeland*
**Lakeland (2)**
*In Ireland they sing of Killarney*
**Lakeland Fell Packs**
*All ye who love hunting come lend me your ears*
**Lakeland Rambler, The**
*I've walked over Scafell and back around Bow Fell*
**Lakeland Terrier, The**
*Wherever you live in Cumbria*
**Lambton Worm**
*One Sunday morn young Lambton went*
**Lancashire Hare, A**
*O brown are the moors in the grey morning lying*
**Landlord Fill the Flowing Bowl**
*Landlord fill the flowing bowl until it doth run over*
**Langdales, The**
*Here's to the Langdales, the place where I was born*
**Lil Melbreak**
*We all like to hear songs of hunting*
**Li'le Broughton Hunt**
*They sing of Blencathra, that pack of great fame*
**Linbeck Ghyll**
*Good company they say, it should always have its way*
**Lish Young Buy-a-Broom, The**
*As I was a wandering the North Country*
**Little Brown Dog (on the Fell)**
*Well hunting is the greatest sport*
**Little Langdale Lad, The**
*There is a little Langdale lad, Dennis Barrow is his name*
**Long John**
*There's a new huntsman running the Ullswater pack*

**Longsleddale Hunt**
*It's a fine hunting day, as bonny as May*
**Lord of the Valley**
*Hunters are fretting and hacks in a lather*
**Loweswater Hounds, The**
*You have heard of John Peel, with his coat so grey*
**Loweswater Tally O!**
*The meet at Rogerscale beside Co. Highet's*
**Lowsing of the Stag, The**
*In a northern clime, in snow and rime*
**Macclesfield Chase**
*One eighth of December, a memorable morn*
**Mardale Hunt, The**
*The morn is here, awake, my lads*
**Mardale Meet Hunting Song**
*Come listen my lads and let the roof ring*
**Mardalians Lament, The**
*The farmsteads are empty; their roof tiles are gone*
**Mart Hunt, The**
*Good company they say should always have its way*
**Master McGrath**
*1869 being the date and the year*
**Mayor's Hunt in 1972, The**
*It was Mayor's Hunt in Troutbeck in 1972*
**Melbreak Foxhounds, The**
*Tho' their numbers not many, they're staunch and game*
**Melbreak Hounds, The**
*When chill October bares the fells*
**Melbreak Hunt, February 1967, A**
*From Maggy Lonning forth they set*
**Mellbreck Hounds, December 24, 1869**
*Come all ye keen hunters while I relate*
**Memories of Willie Porter**
*I'll sing of the Eskdale and Ennerdale, one of the best in the land*
**Millbeck Hunt**
*Now to Millbeck Farm we all did go*
**Monody on the Death of John Peel**
*O heave not my heart, for this tear from mine eye*
**Moonshiner**
*I've been a moonshiner for many's the year*
**Morpeth Foxhounds, The**
*The Morpeth Foxhounds met at Blackpool*
**Mount Joy Hunt, The**
*Twas the Coniston Foxhounds that brought out a few*
**Mountain Glory**
*These are our mountains where we love to roam*
**Muncaster Fell Boxing Day Hunt, 1921**
*To the King George in Eskdale on last Boxing Day*
**Mungrisdale Hunt - 1920**
*On Glad New Year's Day there's a grand hunt they say*

**Mungrisedale Hunt**
*It was the 3rd day of January, 1923*
**Music of the Hounds, The**
*Some people love the opera, where prima donnas sing*
**My Cumbrian Home**
*Oh leave me in my Cumbrian home somewhere north of old Shap Fell*
**Neighbours**
*Now the days are growing colder, and the summer sun has gone*
**Nobody's Child**
*I was slowly passing an orphan's home one day*
**North Country Nimrod, A**
*We shall never hear again*
**North Lonsdale Foxhounds**
*Now all you hunters give an ear to my song*
**Old Anthony**
*While staying at Hawkshead Hill Anthony and Sid*
**Old Darky**
*The Meet was a Harrad yan wet misty morn*
**Old Grandee**
*Once a fox held his court and provided good sport*
**Old Hunt Ball**
*Give me the days of the old hunt ball*
**Old King Cole (Parody)**
*On a hill over there stands a cunning old fox*
**Old Manged Fox, The**
*On the third of December three hounds they did come*
**Old Man's Tribute to Lakeland, An**
*One hill at a time dear Lakeland*
**Old Mardale**
*From the rocky mountainside, surveying the scene below*
**Old Mutton Pie**
*Now gather round lads and listen now*
**Old Snowball and Bold Reynard**
*You gentlemen of High Renown*
**Old Threshing Mill, The**
*As I walked down the road on this fine autumn morn*
**On Ilkley Moor Baht 'at**
*Where 'ast tha bin since ah saw thee, ah saw thee?*
**On The 10th Day of March**
*On the 10th day of March in the year 1879*
**Opening Meet 1997**
*Restless tapestry of red and gold*
**Opening Meet at Blenkinsopp, The (November, 1862)**
*Come, all you gallant hunters, and listen one and all*
**Orthwaite Fells**
*Ye gallant lovers of the chase come listen to me I pray*
**Other Terrier Song, The**
*Well here I am, a terrier dog, just ligin in my pen*
**Otter Hunt on the Lune**
*Our hounds met at Tunstal[l] one fine day in June*

**Otter Hunting in Ribblesdale**
*Through yon little planting, by yonder streamside*
**Otter we're Hunting Today, Tis an**
*When the fox lies secure in the thicket*
**Our Johnny**
*Now gather round you hunters, a song I'll sing to you*
**Oxenpark Hunt**
*On the nineteenth of Feb'ry, the year Twenty-one*
**Paddy's Whins**
*Twas a morning fair and clear, I was walking through to Paddy's*
**Paul Whitehead**
*One boxing day morning we went to the hunt*
**Peter Wybergh**
*So give a toast to Peter Wybergh (Peter Wybergh)*
**Place Where The Old Horse Died, The**
*In the hollow, by the pollard, where the crop is tall and rank*
**Placefell Hunt**
*Noo the ho'nds they came t'White Lion Inn, 'twas on a huntin' morn*
**Ploughboys**
*It was early one morning at the break of day*
**Porter And His Pack**
*Ye keen and ardent hunters*
**Pride of Lorton Town**
*Since as a youth I've hunted these Lakeland mountains grey*
**Pull Scar Hunt**
*We lowsed at Pull Scar on one fine hunting morn*
**Rambles of Spring, The**
*There's a fearsome winter breeze*
**Red Rover**
*The huntsman in redcoat stands ready and waiting*
**Sandy, The Carlisle Otter Hunter**
*O'er yon grand old Border City the Fiery Cross had sped*
**Sandy, The Huntsman**
*Now, Sandy, brace your iron nerves, the bugle sounds afar*
**Scotsman, The**
*Well a Scotsman clad in kilt left the bar one evening fair*
**Sedbergh Hunt, The**
*T'was the eight day of December in nineteen fifty three*
**Sedbergh Hunting Song**
*It was in the pleasant month of May*
**Seven Drunken Nights**
*As I came home on a Monday night as drunk as drunk could be*
**Sharp Yeat (or Five Foxes in One Day)**
*Come, all ye jovial hunters, and join with me in song*
**Singing in the Bar**
*He's off to hunt a fox today and seek it high and low*
**Six Fell Packs, The**
*Now I'll give you a toast, lads, to all the fell packs*
**Sixty Pound a Ton**
*I'm farming up at Dowthwaite Head but I'm getting short o' hay*

**Skiddaw**
*Old Skiddaw of Lakeland – your forest and scree*
**Solitude**
*Away from bustle and from crowds*
**Song of Exmoor, A**
*The forest above and the coombe below on a bright September morn*
**Sport of Kings**
*Now sportsmen all I'll tell you*
**Squire Crozier**
*Our glorious chase is ended*
**Squire Logan - Sawrey Hunt**
*It's of a grand fox hunt I'd like you to hear*
**Squire Rawthmel**
*Now come gentlemen around us, just listen awhile*
**Staintondale Hunting Song, 1811**
*You loyal foxhunters take heed to my song*
**Stan goes to Sheffield**
*Geoff and Stan drove off to Bradfield, lost their way near Leeds*
**Swarth Fell Rocks**
*Early one morning, as I rose from my bed*
**Sweet Killarney**
*I was born in sweet Killarney, one day when I was young*
**Tally Ho**
*Oh, we started soon and we got back late, as most of you do know*
**Tatie Pot**
*In Cumberland we've nowt to do*
**Terrier Song (1), The**
*Now there's many a song about hunting*
**Terrier Song (2)**
*Tally ho, tally ho, what a heart-stirring cry*
**Terrier Song (3), The**
*Here I am a terrier dog just lying in my pen*
**These are my Mountains**
*For fame and for fortune, I've wandered the earth*
**Threshing Day**
*There's clart under foot, stoor in the air*
**Thwaites of Cumbria**
*As you travel round Cumbria some fine sights you will see*
**Tommy Dobson (1)**
*I'll try to write a line of two on Tommy Dobson' fame*
**Tommy Dobson (2)**
*O ye who love to race after foxes in the chase*
**Tommy Dobson (3)**
*To Eskdale's green valley when Tommy first came*
**Tommy Dobson (4)**
*The fame of lile Dobson has often been sung*
**Tramps and Hawkers**
*O come all ye tramps and hawker lads*
**Tribute to John, A**
*We'll just drink a toast to a Huntsman so grand*

**Tribute to the Lunesdale Foxhounds**
*Drive on you gallant foxhounds, for victory is in sight*
**Ullswater Foxhounds' Chorus of Victory, The**
*Come, gather round, my hearty men*
**Ullswater Huntsmen, 1976**
*The Ullswater Pack is so well known by name*
**Ullswater Pack, The / Pass the Jug Round**
*Did you ever hear how the Ullswater Pack*
**'Unicorn' Hunt, The - Ambleside**
*Come all you young sport men and listen to me*
**Unknown - Bill Crisp**
*Their eyes met across the dance floor*
**Unknown - Esme Smith (1)**
*From Wasdale Head to Pooley Bridge*
**Unknown - Esme Smith (2)**
*When in these hills and lakes I roam*
**Unknown - Esme Smith (3)**
*Gin and T, rum and pep, sherry, wine and porter*
**Unknown - Esme Smith (4)**
*Come all my friends and comrades and listen to my song*
**Unknown - Esme Smith (5)**
*We've had a good hunt and we did very well*
**Unknown - Eskdale (6)**
*We are roaming round Lakeland, what a pleasure and a joy*
**Unknown - JR (4)**
*We sing of Blencathra, likewise the Melbreak hounds*
**Unknown - Lunesdale16 (5)**
*From Brigsteer Woods to Barrowfield there was a fox or two*
**Unknown - Mardale12 (4)**
*The mist is slowly rising*
**Unknown - Melbreak16 (1)**
*When he comes I'll be homeward tread*
**Unknown - Melbreak16 (2)**
*Bewcastle is noted for its grand pack of hounds*
**Vale of Mardale**
*Oh they say it was George Orwell who made 1984*
**Walk That Road**
*From the corners of the Kingdom*
**Walla Crag**
*Twas early one morn at the break of the day*
**Waters of Eden**
*Soon I hope to return from that far distant land*
**Welcome Back to Lakeland**
*Welcome back to Lakeland, we've been here all the year*
**Welton Hunt, The**
*The day'd been appointed which proved fine and clear*
**What a Merry, Merry, Jovial Cry**
*See Bowler how he drives the quest*
**When Adam was First Created**
*Now when Adam was first created*

**White Fox of Placefell, The**
*The meet was at Side Farm one day with Joe Wear and his pack*
**Why Paddy's not at work**
*Dear Sir I write this note to you to tell you of me plight*
**Wild Rover**
*I've been a wild rover for many a year*
**Willie McBride**
*Well, how do you do, young Willie McBride*
**Willie Porter Song**
*A hunting song I sing, my lads, away, away*
**Wilson Boo**
*On Brantrake Fell I now must dwell*
**Windermere Harriers, The**
*The morning is charming, all nature looks gay*
**Winning Dream, The**
*It was early Friday morning as I cycled into town*
**Witherslack Hunting Song, The**
*One morning last Winter to Whitbarrow came*
**Written After 20 Years' Hunting With The Coniston**
*Give me the shining daybreak*
**Written to Commemorate the Record Season of the Coniston, 1954-1955 (105 Foxes)**
*Now come all you hunters and while you sit back*
**Wyndham**
*You gallant sportsmen one and all wherever you may be*
**Yodelling Fox, The**
*I had a dream – a lovely dream – when fast asleep last night*
**You'll Never Get in Without**
*We hed a hunt at Mard'le yance not very lang ago*

## Appendix 2: Live Song Recordings

Song nights listed chronologically with the singers/songs from each night ordered in the order in which they were occurred. For cross-referencing purposes, the code for each event as used in the Databases is given in brackets after the date.

Where more than one song is listed per performer's turn, this is usually due to the singer attempting another song if they were unable to complete the first (i.e. due to lapse of memory, etc.).

**12th November 2011 (LF2011)**
**Lunesdale Foxhounds' Song Competition**
**Butcher's Arms, Crosby Ravensworth**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Robert Proud | Bewcastle Hunt Song |
| Eric Capstick | Dido Bendigo |
| Lee Alderson | Hound Pup |
| Mike Idle | Joe Bowman |
| David Trotter | Hunting Day, The |
| Ted Relph | Mardale Hunt, The |
| Dale | Sedbergh Hunt, The |
| Lee Alderson | Terrier Song (1), The |
| Jacko | Long John |
| Johnny Graveson | Joe Wear / Come Gather Round the Fire Lads |
| Dave Dixon | Our Johnny |
| Tom Sanderson | Vale of Mardale |
| Dave Dixon | Old Mutton Pie |
| Wendy Mourne | Skiddaw |
| Jacko | JCB Song |
| Les Sanderson | Willie McBride |
| Les Sanderson | Pride of Lorton Town |
| Dave Dixon | Wild Rover |
| Len Clarke | Paul Whitehead |
| Monty Fairish | Otter Hunt on the Lune |
| Wendy Mourne | Autumn Chorus |
| Ted Potter | Red Rover |

**10th November 2012 (LF2012)**
**Lunesdale Foxhounds' Song Competition**
**Butcher's Arms, Crosby Ravensworth**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Neil Blenkinship | Terrier Song |
| Dave Dixon | Our Johnny |
| Len Clarke | Paul Whitehead |
| Matthew | Tommy Dobson |
| Ted Potter | Red Rover |
| Lee Alderson | Six Fell Packs, The |

| | |
|---|---|
| Mike Idle | Joe Bowman |
| Johnny Graveson | Joe Wear |
| Neil Blenkinship | Albert (Edward) Ben'se / Cocks they crew |
| Dave Dixon | Old Mutton Pie |
| Len Clarke | John Peel (preceded by silly stories) |
| Matthew | Mardale Hunt, The |
| Ted Potter | Blacksmith, The |
| Bob | Joss Naylor |
| Lee Alderson | Hound Pup |
| Johnny Graveson | Neighbours |
| Matthew | Seven Drunken Nights |

**11th November 2012 (Kenny Stuart)**
**Recording with Kenny Stuart**
**Kenny's home, Threlkeld**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Kenny Stuart | Dragman, The |
| Kenny Stuart | Badger and Butcher |
| Kenny Stuart | Jobby Teasedale's Tip |
| Kenny Stuart | Freedom's Choice |

**17th November 2012 (MSM2012)**
**Mardale Shepherds' Meet**
**Crown & Mitre, Bampton Grange**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Monty Fairish | Bewcastle Hunt Song |
| Les Sanderson | Red Rover |
| Neil Blenkinship | Terrier Song (1), The |
| Mike Idle | Joe Bowman |
| Thomas O'Malley | Six Fell Packs, The |
| Unknown | Rambles of Spring |
| Johnny Graveson | Joe Wear |
| Jacko | Old Threshing Mill, The |
| Unknown singer | Little Brown Dog (on the Fell) |
| John Taylor | Eskdale and Ennerdale Pack, The |
| Brian | Dark as a Dungeon |
| Unknown | Unknown - Mardale12 (4) |
| Dave Dixon | Our Johnny |
| Lee Alderson | Six Fell Packs, The |
| Sandra Westgarth | Lakeland Terrier, The |
| Luke | Wild Rover |
| Les Sanderson | Pride of Lorton Town |
| Tom Sanderson? | Mardale Hunt, The |
| **[Break]** | **[Break]** |
| Monty Fairish | Otter Hunt on the Lune |
| Johnny Graveson | Neighbours |

| | |
|---|---|
| Neil Blenkinship | Albert (Edward) Ben'se / Cocks they crew |
| Thomas O'Malley | Fields of Athenry, The |
| Jacko | JCB Song |
| Dave Dixon | Old Mutton Pie |
| Unknown | Dido Bendigo |
| Brian | Holy Ground, The |
| Tom Hodgson | Why Paddy's not at work |
| Mike Idle | Ullswater Pack, The / Pass the Jug Round |
| Jacko | Arthur Wells |
| Lee Alderson | Joe Bowman |
| Mary Hartley (Emmett) | Sedbergh Hunt, The |

**24th November 2012 (EEF2012)**
**Cumbrian Hunt Song Competition (Eskdale & Ennerdale Foxhounds)**
**King George IV, Eskdale Green**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Monty Fairish | Bewcastle Hunt Song, |
| Ted | Joe Bowman |
| Kevin | Six Fell Packs, The |
| Mike | Brait and Joe |
| [Redacted] | [Item removed at singer's request] |
| David | Terrier Song (1), The |
| Anne Dawes | Ghost Hound |
| Mark | Days of my Youth |
| Thomas O'Malley | Fields of Athenry, The |
| Colin Armstrong | Bring Back the Days |
| Joan Barker | Placefell Hunt |
| Brian | Early Morning Hunt with Carol |
| Roger | In Memory of the Late William Porter, of Eskdale |
| John Anderson | Ullswater Pack, The / Pass the Jug Round |
| Unknown | Albert (Edward) Ben'se / Cocks they crew |
| Pat Temple | Unknown - Eskdale (6) |
| Andy Steele | Hunting Day, The |
| John 'JB' Brown | Lakeland (2) |
| Bill | Wilson Boo |
| Unknown | Brimmer Head |

**22nd November 2014 (MSM2014)**
**Mardale Shepherds' Meet**
**Crown & Mitre, Bampton Grange**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Monty Fairish | Otter Hunt on the Lune |
| Johnny Graveson | Joe Wear |
| Luke | Wild Rover<br>Dido Bendigo |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Little Brown Dog (on the Fell) |
| Mike Idle | Joe Bowman |
| Rebecca | Dido Bendigo |
| Thomas | Willie McBride |
| Jacko | JCB Song |
| Colleen | Hunting in the Morning |
| Paul Edgar | Fox and the Hare, The |
| Brian | Down in the Mines |
| Emma | Bunch of Violets<br>Wilson Boo |
| Sean | Singing in the Bar |
| Will | Mardale Hunt, The |
| Rebecca | Music of the Hounds, The |
| Hayley | Ullswater Pack, The / Pass the Jug Round |
| Tom Sanderson | Mardale Hunt, The |
| Tom | Albert Ben'se |

**27th February 2015 (CF2015)**
**Troutbeck Mayor Making**
**Troutbeck Village Hall**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| Unknown | Sixty Pound a Ton |
| Neil Salisbury | Mayor's Hunt in 1972, The |
| Michael Nicholson | Anthony Chapman / Tribute to a Huntsman, A |
| Alan Mason | Forty Shades of Green |
| David | Joe Bowman |
| Michael Nicholson | Terrier Song (1), The |
| Neil Salisbury | Fields of Athenry, The |
| Michael Nicholson | Duck Hunt, The |

**6th February 2016 (MF2016)**
**Melbreak Foxhounds Singing Competition**
**Embleton Village Hall**

| Performer | Song |
|---|---|
| John Jackson | Six Fell Packs, The |
| Colin Armstrong | Unknown - Melbreak16 (1) |
| Terry | On Ilkley Moor Baht 'at |
| John Hunter | Hound Trail at Astley Brow, The |
| Edward Liddle | Wilson Boo |
| Tommy Coulthard | Hunting Day, The |
| Elli Logan | If All The Young Girls |
| Ian Jolly | Beagle Inn, (The) (Old) |
| Jan Kerr | Kielder Hunt |
| Liam Jarmin | Joss Naylor |
| John Dodds | Bewcastle Hunt |
| Sheila Jackson | Gasgale Gill |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ian Dodds | Lambton Worm |
| Adrian Guthrie | Bonnie Grey, The |
| Agnes Armstrong | Nobody's Child |

**20th February 2016 (LF2016)**
**Lunesdale Foxhounds song night**
**Cross Keys, Tebay**

| **Performer** | **Song Title** |
|---|---|
| Monty Fairish | Otter Hunt on the Lune |
| Jacko | Long John |
| David Trotter | Engineer's Song, The |
| Tom Sanderson | Brimmer Head |
| Dave Dixon | Our Johnny |
| Johnny Graveson | Old King Cole (Parody) |
| Mike Idle | Joe Bowman |
| Wacker | Little Brown Dog (on the Fell) |
| Tom Hodgson | Why Paddy's not at work |
| Len Clarke | Paul Whitehead (with joke before) |
| Keira | Dirty Old Town |
| Mr Fishwick | Winning Dream, The |
| Luke | Dido Bendigo |
| Emma | Red Rover |
| Thomas O'Malley | Six Fell Pack, The |
| Robert Proud | Terrier Song (1), The |
| Ted Potter | Joss Naylor |
| Andrew Mourne | Bewcastle Hunt Song |
| Hayley Hodgson | Ullswater Pack, The / Pass the Jug Round |
| Jonny Graveson | Joe Wear / Come Gather Round the Fire Lads |
| Neil Blenkinship | Albert (Edward) Ben'se / Cocks they crew |
| **[Break]** | **[Break]** |
| Monty Fairish | Badger and Butcher |
| Jacko | JCB Song |
| Tom Sanderson | Cunning Old Fox, The |
| David Trotter | Wild Rover |
| Dave Dixon | Unknown - Lunesdale16 (5)<br>Are You Lonesome Tonight? (Parody) |
| Wacker | Lakeland Fell Packs |
| Keira | Willie McBride |
| Luke | Fields of Athenry, The |
| Neil Blenkinship | Tommy Dobson (2) |
| Emma | Bunch of Violets, (The) |
| Andrew Mourne | Gambler, The |
| Len Clarke | John Peel (following silly tales) |

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